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CHRONOLOGICAL RETROSPECT,  
OR  
MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
PRINCIPAL EVENTS  
OF  
**MAHOMMEDAN HISTORY,**

FROM  
THE DEATH OF THE ARABIAN LEGISLATOR,  
TO THE ACCESSION OF  
*THE EMPEROR AKBAR,*  
AND  
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MOGHUL EMPIRE  
IN

**HINDUSTAN.**

FROM ORIGINAL PERSIAN AUTHORITIES.

BY MAJOR DAVID PRICE,  
OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

Per quas  
Crevère vires, famaque et imperi,  
Porrecta majestas ad ortum  
Solis ab Hesperia cubili.

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VOL. III. PART I.

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1820.

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TO  
**THE READER.**

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**I**F, in consigning this, and the preceding volumes, finally, to the protection of a British Public, the Author shall contribute to implant more deeply in the minds of his generous Countrymen, the conviction of that important Truth, that the only sure foundation of NATIONAL HAPPINESS IS NATIONAL VIRTUE, and that the best security for NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IS NATIONAL RENOWN—to influence them more highly to appreciate the inestimable blessings of a Government by KNOWN and ESTABLISHED LAWS, *impartially administered*, and to cling more devotedly to the institutions, in CHURCH and STATE, transmitted to them by their glorious ancestors—whatever disappointments, in other respects, he may be destined to experience, his labours will, in this assurance alone, have obtained their noblest compensation.

**BRECKNOCK,**

31st of October, 1820.



## LIST OF ERRATA.



- Page 71, line 11 from the bottom, *for* distroyed, *read* destroyed.  
82, 17 from ditto, *for* he, *read* the.  
89, 12 from ditto, *for* Shazdah, *read* Shahzadah.  
120, 11 from the top, *for* erescent, *read* crescent.  
157, the bottom line, *for* be, *read* he.  
183, 17 from the top, *read* he, *before* experienced.  
196, 10 from ditto, *read* with a full stop, instead of a comma, after dominions.  
197, 6 from the bottom, *for* haven, *read* have  
199, 6 from ditto, *for* afrighted, *read* affrighted.  
248, last line in the notes, *for* cultvated, *read* cultivated.  
353, 10 from the bottom, *for* from, *read* for.  
356, 17 from the top, *for* south, *read* north.  
387, 15 from the bottom, *for* encampent, *read* encampment.  
438, 11 from ditto, *omit* *be* after *would*.  
476, last line in the notes, *for* 80, *read* 86.

### PART II.

- 486, 15 from the top, *for* obnoxiois, *read* obnoxious.  
487, 3 from ditto, *for* solemny, *read* solemnly.  
558, 7 from ditto, *for* followibg, *read* following.  
567, 6 from ditto, *for* army, *read* troops  
573, 18 from ditto, *for* cffected, *read* affected.  
585, 4 from ditto, *for* order, *read* ordinary.  
592, 4 from the bottom, *for* death Bâber, *read* death of.  
601, 17 from the top, *for* expreas, *read* express.  
608, top line, *for* progreess, *read* progress.  
Do. 19 from the top, *for* distingushed, *read* distinguished.  
636, the bottom line, *for* service, *read* secrecy.  
645, 11 from the top, *for* four fifths, *read* two-fifths.  
692, bottom line, *for* the full stop after victory, should be a comma.  
701, 8 from the bottom, *for* of month, *read* of the month.  
717, 9 from the top, *for* the full stop after brother, a comma.  
728, 13 from the bottom, *for* Mahommedan, *read* Mahommed.  
806, 12 from the top, *for* Homayûm, *read* Homayûn.  
810, 7 from the bottom, *for* cotinued, *read* continued.  
825, in the note, *for* 1450, *read* 1540.  
833, 10 from the top, *for* robbers, *read* robbers.  
850, 8 from the bottom, *for* protracted, *read* protracted.  
876, 10 from the top, *for* satisfaction, *read* satisfaction.  
946, 2 from the bottom, *for* the asterisk, *read* †.  
Do. In the note *for* February, 1566, *read* February, 1556.

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### DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

AS the UId Volume had grown to a magnitude beyond the Author's calculation it was conceived expedient, in order to render it more manageable, to divide it into TWO PARTS; and, accordingly, a centre sheet, that signatored 3 Q, has been cancelled, and so re-printed as to admit of such separation without inconvenience. The title to PART II d will be found in the concluding sheet of the work, signatored 6 E.

This arrangement became unavoidable, and has been adopted in concurrence with the recommendation of some much esteemed and judicious friends.

N. B The three shées from the first 4 R to 4 X have been wrong signatored, the letter U being omitted; but the difficulty will be obviated by a reference to the page.

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## THE THIRD VOLUME.

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## CHAPTER XI.

*Eight Hundred and Fiftieth to the Eight Hundred and Ninety ninth of the Hidjerah.*

Proceedings on the death of Shah Rokh. Unworthy treatment of his widow Gouherschaud. Allá ad doulah ascends the throne at Herát. Abdullútteif is surprised and taken prisoner by the troops of the former; but is released in consequence of a treaty with his father Olugh Beg. Abúl Kaussem Báber obtains possession of Herát. The jealousies between Olugh Beg and his son Abdullutteif terminate in hostilities. While these are carrying on along the banks of the Oxus, Abú Sáeid the grandson of Meiran Shah, makes an attempt to obtain possession of Samarkand, but is prevented by the sudden return of Olugh Beg. The latter is defeated by Abdullutteif, and is refused admission into Samarkand, by his own officers. He is finally murdered through the subornation of Abdullútteif. The latter also perishes by a conspiracy just six months after the assassination of his father. Subsequent proceedings. Sultan Abú Sáeid obtains possession of Samarkand, and preserves it from being pillaged by the Ouzbeks; Allá-ad-doulah again obtains possession of Herát, but is driven into Buddukhschaun, by his brother Báber; is finally seized near Herát, and imprisoned. Hostilities between Mirza Báber and his brother Sultan Mahommed; defeat and death of the latter. Báber obtains possession of Farss; is recalled into Khorassaun, in consequence of the escape of Allá-ad-doulah; his generals expelled from Farss by the Turkomans. He is recalled from his expedition towards Irák Ajem, by the approach of Abu Sáeid, who had crossed the Oxus; Mirza Báber subsequently enters Transoxiana, and besieges Abu Sáeid in the metropolis of Samarkand. These hostilities terminate however in a treaty of peace, on which Báber returns to Herát. His officers reduce Seiestaun. He is dismayed by an

accident happening to one of his hawks; takes to drinking, and dies; not without suspicion of poison. Distractions which succeeded to his death. His son Mahommed holds the government for a time; but is expelled from Herat, and defeated in battle by Ibrahim the son of Allâ ud-doulah. Abu Sâcid from Samarkand now enters Khorassan, and for a time gets possession of Herat. He puts to death the dowager Gouhershand; is recalled from Herat by an insurrection in Transoxiana. The Turkomauns enter Khorassan. Numerous competitors for power at this period in that province. Allâ ud-doulah re-appears at Herat; which he is however compelled to abandon on the approach of Jahaun Shah and the Turkomauns; who are compelled to withdraw in their turn on the advance of Abu Saeid; who takes final possession of Herat; defeats a formidable combination set on foot by the Mirzas Alla ud-doulah, Ibrahim, &c. Early history of Abulghauzy Sultan Hüsseyne; who obtains possession of Asterabad. Jealousies between him and Abu Sâcid. Proceedings of the latter. Abulghauzy is compelled, on his approach, to withdraw into Khaurezm. Attack on Herat defeated by the inhabitants. Death of Alla ud doulah. Abu Sâcid is recalled into Transoxiana by intelligence of an insurrection in favor of the son of Abdullâiteif; again constrained to return for the relief of Herat, which had been invested during his absence by Abulghauzy: the latter again returns into Khaurezm; although the attempts on Khorassan are repeatedly renewed. Hostilities between Ameir Jahaun Shah the Turkoman, and his son. The former is surprised and killed by Ozûn Hussun; Abu Saeid in consequence determines on the reduction of Azerbaijaun; negotiation with Ozûn Hussun; judicious measures of the latter; and distress of Sultan Saeid's army on his arrival on the Araxes; by which the Sultan is finally compelled to retreat. Difficulties attending the retreat; precursory disasters; fruitless attempts at accommodation. The camp of Abu Sâcid is taken possession of by the Turkomauns; and he becomes the prisoner of Ozun Hussun, or Usun Cassan. He is finally put to death in the camp of that prince. Account of his surviving family. Proceedings of Abulghauzy Sultan Husseyne, who obtains possession of Herat; of all Khorassan, and finally of Mazanderaun. He is however attacked by Yadgaur Mahommed, supported by the troops of Ozun Hussun; and for some time dispossessed in consequence of the defection of his army. Mirza Yadgaur accordingly occupies Herat. The misconduct of this prince, and of the Turkomauns, nevertheless, enables Abulghauzy to attack and recover that capital. Capture and death of Mirza Yadgaur; and permanent establishment of the authority of Abulghauzy. Sketch of a description of Herat as given by Khondemeir. - - - 566

## CHAPTER XII.

### *Eight Hundred and tenth to the Nine Hundred and Forty third of the Hidjerah.*

The history recedes to the death of Meiran Shah, in the 810th of the hidjerah, in order to trace to its origin the Hindo-Teymurian line; which commences with Sultan Mahommed Mirza, the sixth son of that prince, descending through Sûltan Abû Sâcid. Sûltan Omar Sheikh—who perishes by the fall of a bridge over one of the branches of the Seyhûn, at Aukseiket, in Ferghaunah. His estimable character. Situation and limits of Ferghaunah. Accession of Mahommed Bâber the son of Omar Sheikh, 1st of the house of Teymûr, who reigned in Hindustaun—His successful defence of his hereditary possessions. Reasons on which, however, he was induced to abandon them, and try his fortune in the south of Asia. He reduces Kabul. Great earthquake at that place. Bâber is invited into Khorassan to assist his relatives against the Ouzbeks. On his return from that province he is informed of an insurrection at Kabul against his authority; which he suppresses with singular promptitude. He reduces Kandahaur; obtains possession of Samarkand; which, nevertheless, he is finally compelled to abandon to the Ouzbeks. He turns his views towards the conquest of Hindustaun. His first expedition to that quarter. Second expedition. Third, in which he crosses the Indus, in the vicinity of Koh-joud. Of the fourth expedition the date uncertain. Fifth and final expedition. He crosses the Indus with not more than twelve thousand horse. After some partial engagements he reaches Pânipet; gains a great victory at that place over Sultan Ibrahim Lôdy, who is killed in the battle. Bâber enters Dehly and proceeds to Agrah. His

profuse liberality, and precarious situation. Discontents among his troops. His exhortations and magnanimous resolution; at last supported by that of his principal officers. His measures to suppress the refractory designs of the native chiefs. Successful expedition towards Sumbul and Jounpour, under prince Homayûn. Submission of Gwaliar, Beiaunah, and other places. Bâber marches toward Beiaunah to oppose the power of Rana Sankah. Great force of that chieftain. Battle, and signal victory obtained over him, at Khanwah. Further proceedings of Baber. Reduction of Tchendeiry. Death of Rana Sankah. Movements of the Afghans on the Ganges. Bâber's successful operations in that direction. Unexpected return of Homayûn from Buddukhshaun; which is attacked without success by the Khaun of Yaurkend. Mirza Saliman appointed to the government of Buddukh-shaun. Parental affection, and declining health of Bâber. He arranges the succession in favor of Homayûn, and dies. His elegant attainments and great ability. Surviving family. Accession of Homayûn, 11d of the house of Teymur, in Hindûstân [5th of March 1508]. His liberal conduct towards his brothers. Treaty with Sheir Khaun the Afghan. Further proceedings. Duplicity and disloyal designs of Mirza Kamraun, who contrives to seize on Lahour; confirmed in his usurpations by the generosity of Homayûn. Misunderstanding between the latter and Sûltan Bahauder of Gûjêrat. Correspondence between those monarchs, on the subject of Allâ-ud-dein Lody, and the other refugees. Tâtar Khaun Lody is defeated by the troops of Homayûn. The latter determines on the subjugation of Gûjêrat, and marches to Oujein. Capture of Tcheitour by Sûltan Bahauder, who proceeds to oppose Homayûn; against whom he secures himself, however, in an entrenched camp. He becomes terrified and abandons his camp in the night. His army disperse, and his camp is taken possession of by the troops of Homayûn. Siege and surprise of Mandou, from whence the Sultan escapes with difficulty to Tchampaneir. From thence he is pursued by Homayun to Kambay; but he finally escapes to the Portuguese settlement at Diu. Mirza Kamraun defeats the Persians before Kandahaur. The Eheels attempt to surprise Homayun, near Kambay, but are foiled. That monarch returns to prosecute the siege of Tchampaneir; of which he succeeds in making himself master by a perilous escalade. He omits to take possession of that part of Gûjêrat northwest of the river Melandery; which is in consequence, with Ahmedabad, re-occupied by the officers of Sultan Bahauder. An act of severity unusual with Homayun, exercised at Tchampaneir. The troops of Gujerat are defeated by the officers of Homayûn, on his march to Ahmedabad. He subsequently enters that city. He is suddenly recalled from thence by intelligence of disturbances in Malwah, as well as in other parts of the empire. He fixes the seat of government at Mandou. In consequence of mismanagement among the Moghul officers in Gûjêrat, Sultan Bahauder regains possession of the country, and entirely expels the troops of Homayun. Disloyal designs of his perfidious relatives, disconcerted in the first instance by that prince; who is, nevertheless, constrained to return towards Agrah. Transactions in Gujerat on the restoration of Sultân Bahauder; who is destroyed on his return from a visit to the Portuguese viceroy, on board his squadron, at Diu. Contradictory statements on the subject. Short lived sovereignty of Mahommed Zemman Mirza. Tranquillity restored at Agrah, on the return of Homayun.

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### CHAPTER XIII:

#### *Nine Hundred and Forty Third to the Nine Hundred and Fiftieth of the Hijerah.*

Homayûn is prevented from resuming his designs on Gûjêrat by the hostile movements of Sheir Khaun the Afghan. Sketch of the origin, and early history, of that celebrated chief; against whom the arms of the Moghul monarch are now directed. Consequent siege and reduction of Tchunâr. Contrary to the advice of his officers. Homayun determines on entering Bengal in the rainy season. One of his detachments surprised and defeated near Guhrry, by the troops of Sheir Khaun. He finally obtains possession of Bengal. On the other hand, Sheir Khaun, by a perfidious stratagem, makes himself master of Rohtass. Unaccountable supineness of Homayun, and his generals in Bengal. The Afghan takes possession of Banares, and lays siege to Jounpour. Suspicious proceedings of Mirza Hindal at Agrah; who is joined by some discontented Ameirs from the army in

Bengal; by whom he is persuaded to put to death the agent of Homayun, and to usurp the royal authority. Anticipated in his design on Dehly by the activity of Yadgaur Nausser, he is compelled to raise the siege of that city by the approach of Mirza Kamraun from Lahour. He submits to that prince, and the whole now unite, professedly, to oppose the growing power of Sheir Khaun. Disgraceful absorption of Homayun and his officers, in Bengal; from which, being at length awakened, he marches from that province, on his return to Agrah. Proceedings of the Afghan, who selects a position to harass the rear of Homayun; whom he compels to suspend his march; finally attacks by surprise, and totally defeats at Yossah. Homayun narrowly escapes being drowned, but makes good his retreat to Agrah. Sheir Khaun resumes possession of Bengal, and extends his usurpations westward. Homayun prepares to avenge his losses. Refractory and impolitic behavior of his brother Kamraun. Arguments of Homayun to check the contagion of his example. Incidental reflections. Homayun marches once more against the Afghans. He is frustrated in his attempt to cross the Ganges. Desertion of some of his most distinguished followers; by which he is compelled to pass the river, in order to give battle to the enemy. His unfortunate choice of an encampment. Sheir Khaun accepts of his offer of battle, and gives him another signal discomfiture. Reflections of the author. Homayun, with some difficulty, escapes once more across the Ganges; reaches Agrah in safety; determines on retiring into Punjaub for the present, and makes good his retreat to Lahour; where he is, in a short time, rejoined by all his brothers. Various plans recommended. Short sighted and perfidious policy of Mirza Kamraun, who dispatches secret proposals to the Afghan. In consequence of which the latter is encouraged to enter Punjaub. On this Homayun and the Teymûrians retire towards the Tclunaub, and finally to the Indus. Projects of Mirza Heyder for the reduction of Kashmir. Homayun is successively abandoned by his brothers, and most of his principal generals; and retreats towards Bukkur. Various transactions in the neighborhood of that place; the blockade of which he consigns to Yadgaur Nausser, and from thence proceeds down the Indus towards Schwaun, of which he forms the siege. Proceedings of Yadgaur Nausser; who suffers himself to be seduced from his allegiance by the prince of Tattah. Homayun is constrained, by accumulating disappointments, to relinquish the siege of Schwaun, and return towards the upper Indus. Adopts the resolution of repairing to the territory of Maldeu, Râjah of Joudehpour. On his march being, however, forewarned of some intended treachery, he turns back towards Jesselmeir; after escaping considerable danger from an attack of the hostile Rajah's troops, he reaches the latter place in safety. From thence he proceeds to Amerkôte. Birth of AKBAR. Homayun returns to the banks of the Indus. Hostilities with the natives in the neighborhood of Jown. He is rejoined by Beyram Khaun, some account of that officer's escape from the power of Sheir Khaun, singular occurrences related of the infancy of Akbar. Homayun enters into an accommodation with the prince of Tattah; crosses the Indus and proceeds towards Kandahaur; but is finally constrained to direct his flight into Seiestaun. Circumstances which produced that necessity. Mirza Asskery obtains possession of his camp, together with the person of the infant Akbar; who is finally lodged in the castle of Kandahaur. Sketch of the proceedings of Sheir Khaun, subsequent to the expulsion of Homayun. Death of that celebrated adventurer. Proceedings of Mirza Heyder, who obtains possession of Kashmir; his sometime prosperous government; and final assassination by the native chiefs. Proceedings of Mirza Kamraun, who establishes himself at Kabûl; obtains nominal possession of Buddukhshau; reduces Kandahaur, of which he retains the government until the return of Homayun. Proceedings of Mirza Hindal, and lastly of Yadgaur Nausser; the latter of whom, after separating from the prince of Tattah, is permitted to attach himself to Mirza Kamraun at Kabûl. Disastrous fate of the escort employed to convey his wife, the daughter of Bâber, from the territory of Tattah to Kandahaur, and death of the princess.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Nine Hundred and Fiftieth to the Nine Hundred and Sixty first of the Hidjerah.*

Homayun accomplishes his retreat through Gurrumseyr into Seiestaun; from thence dispatches to demand the protection of Shah Tahmasp, from whom he receives an invita-



tion to the court of Persia. He proceeds to Herát, and finally to the camp of the Persian monarch, between Sùltauniah and Ebber. His distinguished reception by, and transactions with Shah Tahmasp. A division of twelve thousand horse destined to aid him in the recovery of his dominions. He takes leave of the Persian court; returns into Seistaun. Young Akbar is removed from Kandahaur to Kabul, on intelligence of the approach of Homayun. Reduction of Bost by the Persian auxiliaries. The troops of Homayun receive a severe check before Kandahaur. He encamps in person before that place. Beyram Khaun is dispatched with proposals of accommodation to Mirza Kamraun, at Kabùl. Progress of the siege, and final surrender of Kandahaur. Proceedings of Mirza Kamraun, who is successively deserted by most of his relatives. Misconduct of the Persian auxiliaries, who are in consequence dispossessed of Kandahaur, by a stratagem. Homayun marches towards Kabul. Flight of Mirza Kamraun, and reduction of that city. Minor transactions. Final imprisonment and execution of Yadgaur Nausser. Homayun proceeds into, and reduces the greater part of Buddukhshaun. His dangerous illness and recovery. Mirza Kamraun repossesses himself of Kabul, and of the person of young Akbar. Homayun hastens to his relief. Contrary to the opinion of his followers, he attacks, and obtains possession of the suburbs of Kabùl. Further proceedings, and mutual enormities. Kamraun secretly withdraws from Kabul, and escapes into Buddukhshaun; of which he obtains possession through the assistance of the Ouzbeks. Homayun is again deserted by many of his principal Ameirs; again marches into Buddukhshaun. He invests the fortress of Taulekau, which is finally surrendered to him by Kamraun. The latter becomes reconciled to his imperial brother. Notice of a silver mine in the neighborhood of Perrian. Homayun returns to Kabul; again re-enters Buddukhshaun, and proceeds against the Ouzbeks of Balkh. Successful opening of the campaign rendered useless by delay. After advancing to the neighborhood of Balkh, he is constrained, by the remonstrances of his Ameirs, to retreat. He is pursued by the Ouzbeks, and exposed to great hazards; but finally effects his retreat to Kabul. Peir Mahommed the Ouzbek's generous treatment of his prisoners. Proceedings of Mirza Kamraun; who is invited to Kabul by the treacherous Ameirs of Homayun's court. He defeats that monarch, who again withdraws into Buddukhshaun. Abstract of further events derived from Dow's history. - - - - - 833

## CHAPTER XV.

*Nine Hundred and Sixty first to the Nine Hundred and Sixty third of the Hidjerah.*

Reference to the successors of Sheir Shah. Origin and elevation of Himmù. Homayun prepares for the recovery of Hindùstaun—arrives on the Indus—enters Labour. Beyram Khaun crosses the Setleje, and is besieged in Schrind by Sekunder Sour the Afghan. Homayun marches to his relief, and obtains a decisive victory over Sekunder and the Afghans. He proceeds to Samaunah—receives intelligence that his officers were in possession of Dehly—prosecutes his march, and finally re-establishes his authority in that metropolis. Subordinate occurrences. Young Akbar is appointed to the government of the Punjaub. Sketch of some singular court arrangements instituted by Homayun—concluding circumstances of the life of that monarch. He suffers from the effects of a dangerous fall, in consequence of which he expires a few days afterwards. Proceedings on his death, and final accession of Akbar. Conclusion of the work. - - - - - 912



# CHRONOLOGICAL RETROSPECT

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

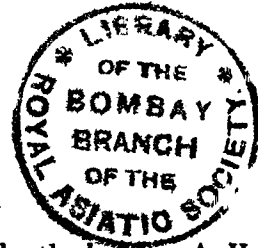
OF

## *Mahommedan History,*

*&c.*

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CHAP. I.



**I**N the distribution of his vast dominions made, at his death, by the otherwise invincible *Jengueiz*, the territory of *Mawur-un-neher*, lying between the rivers *Seyhûn* and *Oxus*, together with the country of the *Eyghûrs* and of *Kashghâr*, *Badakhshaun*, and *Bâlkh*, was allotted, as formerly shewn, to his second son, *Tcheghatâi Khaun*; who is represented to have surpassed his brothers in the subtilities of legislative and political skill, not less than he was distinguished for his austere and inflexible temper. Notwithstanding this character for superior sagacity, he was, however, consigned by his father, on the close of his eventful career, to the tutelage of the able and experienced *Kâratchaur Nûyan*, the fifth ancestor of *Teymûr*; without the concurrence of whose sage and prudent counsels, he accordingly neither planned nor executed any measure of importance to his government. Of this, on the death of *Jengueiz*, he fixed the seat at *Peish-bâlegh*; residing however, for the most part in his own person, at the court of his younger brother *Ougtâi*. And, hence, the immediate superintendance of the territories allotted to his share appears to have been in general committed to *Kâratchaur*.

A. H. 624-30.

A. D. 1227-32.

*Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.*

Proportion of the conquests of *Jengueiz* assigned to *Tcheghatâi*.

The transactions of the reign of *Tcheghatâi* are confined by the author to a single occurrence; which he, however, considers among the

A. H. 624-30  
A. D. 1227-32.

Kholaussut-  
ul-akhbaur

most singularly extraordinary of a period full of extraordinary events. A person under the auspicious name of Mahmûd, made his appearance at Taraub, an obscure village about three farsangs from Bokhâra; and having by various impostures drawn together a multitude of disciples from among the lower orders of the inhabitants of the surrounding territory, succeeded at last, some time during the six hundred and thirtieth of the hidjerah, in expelling the governor on the part of Tcheghatâi, who fled with all the officers attached to his authority, and in rendering himself master of that city. The insurgent then assuming the government of Bokhâra in his own name, proceeded to put to death many of the most distinguished citizens; and, unfortunately, giving power to the lawless and licentious banditti who had flocked to his standard, these, in their turn, proceeded to indulge in every species of violence and outrage, entering without restraint the dwellings of the wealthier classes, and seizing their property at will.

In the mean time, the fugitive governor, and the Tcheghatâian Ameirs, having assembled a sufficient force, returned towards Bokhâra; but the Taraubian hastening to give them battle, at the head of a formidable multitude, the Moghûls were so completely subdued by an impression of awe which had possessed their minds, with respect to the power of this supposed magician's incantations, that not one of them could be prevailed upon to advance a step to the attack. An arrow from an unknown and accidental hand, however, reached the impostor, and put a period to his existence; although, amidst the enormous cloud of dust occasioned by the movement of the hostile squadrons, the circumstance remained undiscovered to his followers. While the Moghûls, ascribing the same cloud to the spells of the inchanter, abandoned the field in the utmost consternation, closely pursued by their adversaries, by whom they were put to the sword to the number of ten thousand men. When the victors returned to their station, and discovered that their chief had fallen, they circulated that he had voluntarily withdrawn himself (perhaps miraculously) from among them; and they proceeded without further deliberation to nominate his two brothers, Mahommed and Ally, to succeed to his authority.

This success on their part, was however not destined to produce

any permanent result. An account of their proceedings had by this time reached the knowledge of Ameir Kâratçhaur, who administered, as already observed, the affairs of his kingdom in the name of Tcheghatâi; and Eyldûz Nûyan, and Tchekein Kourtchei, two commanders of distinction in the monarchy, were immediately employed by that minister to terminate the rebellion. The two generals appeared soon afterwards in the territory of Bokhâra at the head of a numerous army; and having speedily closed their account with the brothers of the Taraubian, by the total destruction of the party, they were preparing to exhibit the ordinary spectacle of plunder and slaughter, when the principal inhabitants of Bokhâra adventured to implore that they would suspend their vindictive designs, until such time as a representation of their wretched condition should have been laid before Kâratçhaur; on whose final determination they expressed their willingness to rest their fate. The Ameirs, with a placability not frequently exhibited in the Moghûl character, yielded to these intreaties; and the prayer of the Bokharians being conveyed to Kâratçhaur; that illustrious chief immediately struck his pen through the record of their offences; and dispatching a mandate in the name of his sovereign, to restrain the Tcheghataians from further pillage and the effusion of blood, the people of Bokhâra were thus at once relieved from the cruelties inflicted upon them by the Taraubians, and from the impending vengeance of the Moghûl troops.

The death of Tcheghatâi Khaun is stated to have taken place during the month of Zulkaidah of the six hundred and thirty eighth of the hidjerah;\* and of his successors in the dominions of Târaun, or western Tartary, thirty in number, either immediately descended from himself, or collaterally from his nearest relatives, we are constrained to limit our account to the following enumeration, as briefly furnished by the author.

I. Beissoumenka, the son of Tcheghatâi. II. Kâra Hâlaukû, the son of Beissoumenka; who is represented to have been indebted for his elevation, to the zeal and activity of Kâratçhaur. And it was during the reign of this prince, some time in the six hundred and

A. H. 630-36.  
A. D. 1232-41.  
Kholaussut-  
ul-akhbaur.

Death of Tcheghatâi Khaun.

\* June A. D. 1241.

A. H. 652-730.  
 A. D. 1254-1330.  
 Kholaussut-  
 ul-akhbaur.

Summary enu-  
 meration of his  
 successors.

fifty second of the hidjerah,\* and at the advanced age of eighty nine, that the veteran and illustrious statesman just mentioned, was removed to a state of more permanent existence. III. Erghanah Khauntûn, the daughter of Noureiltchei Gârekan. She was the widow of Kâra Hûlaurkû, by whom she had a son of the name of Mûbaurek Shah; during whose minority, on the death of her husband, she undertook to exercise the functions of sovereign power. IVth Nalyghoua the son of Bâidaur, the son of Tcheghatâi. This prince is more frequently distinguished among historians, by the name of Alghoua, and Alghû; is represented as a warlike monarch; and had for his lieutenant-general Enjil Nûyan the son of Kâratchaur. Vth Mûbaurek Shah, the son of Kâra Hûlaurkû; who was elevated to the sovereign power, on the death of Nalyghoua, through the influence and exertions of the same Enjil Nûyan. VIth Berauk Khaun, the son of Beissountoua, the son of Metoukan, or Menouka. This monarch was the same that invaded Khorassan, in the time of Abaka Khaun; but embracing the Mahomedan religion, on his return to Bokhâra, after his discomfiture by that prince, he assumed the title of Sûltan Gheyauth-ud-dein. He died towards the close of the six hundred and sixty eighth of the hidjerah.† VIIth Neikpey, the son of Sarman or Saryan, the son of Tcheghatâi. VIIIth Bouka Teymûr, the son of Kedaâi, son of Boury, son of Metoukan, or Menouka. IXth Dowaus, or Dowâ Khaun, the son of Berauk Khaun; a just and puissant prince, under whom the authority of Ameir-ul-ûmra or Captain general, was vested in Eylengueir the son of Enjil Nûyan. Xth Kounjek Khaun, the son of Dowaus Khaun. XIth Nalyghoua the son of Kedaâi, and brother of Bouka Teymûr. XIIth Abeisouka the son Dowaus Khaun. XIIIth Kebeik, or Kepek Khaun. He is described to have been a just and virtuous prince, and to have rebuilt the city of Balkh. XIVth Eiltchigadâi, or Eiltchikedâi Khaun, the son of Dowaus Khaun. XVth Dawa Teymûr Khaun the son of Dowaus Khaun. XVIth, Termahsherin Khaun the son of Dowaus Khaun. He is said to have been a monarch whose actions

\* A. D. 1254, so that he appears to have survived his puissant master, for a period of about six and twenty years.

† A. D. 1270.

were governed by a love of justice; and he was the same that led an army into Hindûstaun, and made considerable conquests in that quarter, between the seven hundred and twenty fourth, and the seven hundred and thirtieth of the hidjerah. In the seven hundred and twenty fifth, we have already seen that his troops were, however, defeated in the neighborhood of Gheznein, by Sheikh Hussun the son of Tchobaun, during the reign of Abû Sâeid. XVIIth, Jenkeshei, the son of Aboukan, and grandson of Dowaus Khaun. XVIIIth, Beissou Teymûr the son of Aboukan, who put his brother Jenkeshei to death, and usurped his throne. He is described to have been affected with insanity, and to have cut off the breasts of his own mother; because, as he alleged, she had stimulated him to the recent acts of blood and violence, of which he had been guilty towards an injured brother. XIXth, Ally Sûltan of the race of Ougtâi Kaân possessed himself of the sovereign authority by force, after subverting the power of the Tcheghatâian line. XXth, Mahommed Khaun, the son of Pûlaud, the son of Kounjek Khaun. In him the race of Tcheghatâi appears to have been restored. XXIst, Kuzzun, or Kazzan Sûltan the son of Beissour Oghlan, descended from Metouka or Menouka. He became the successor to the throne of Tcheghatâi, some time in the seven hundred and thirty third of the hidjerah.\* Under the reign of this monarch is to be recorded the birth of *Teymûr*; and it was while he exercised the supreme authority, that Ameir Kuzghun, or Kazghan, or Cazagan, obtained his predominance over the race of Tcheghatai; an event which is cursorily described in the following summary.

A. H. 730-46.  
A. D. 1330-45.  
Kholaussut-  
ul-akhbaur.

Having rendered himself extremely odious by his haughty and arrogant demeanor, but more particularly by the frequent executions which he caused to take place among the most distinguished chiefs of the monarchy, the survivors, including many of the race of Tcheghatâi, at last entered into a confederacy with Ameir Kuzghun, already one of the most powerful men in Transoxiana, to subvert the authority of Kazan Sûltan. When their resolutions had been finally taken, Ameir Kuzghun proceeded to assemble the troops of the confederacy at Sauliserâi, a town which is described to lie somewhere

\* A. D. 1332-33.

A. H. 746-60.  
 A. D. 1345-58.  
 Kholaussut-  
 ul-akhbaur.

on the Jeyhûn above Termed. But, receiving early intelligence of the designs which were in agitation, the Sûltan hastened in good time to anticipate the danger; and, in the course of the seven hundred and forty sixth of the hidjerah,\* he was met, on the plains adjoining to the village of Derrehzengui, by Ameir Kuzghun at the head of the insurgent nobility. In the battle which immediately ensued the general of the insurgents being wounded in the eye by an arrow, they suffered a serious discomfiture, and the Sûltan returned in triumph to Karshy—the city of Nakhsheb, said to be so denominated from a palace there erected by Kepeik Khaun, the thirteenth monarch of his race. The greater part of the Sûltan's cattle of every description, having, however, perished, through the severity of the succeeding winter, his distress became known to Ameir Kuzghun; who hastened to take advantage of his situation, and to try the issue of another conflict. The insurgents were finally victorious, and Kazan Sûltan was killed in the second action. Ameir Kuzghun is described to have used his victory with moderation; to have withheld his troops from plunder, and from the unnecessary effusion of blood; and to have treated the family of the fallen monarch with kindness and humanity.

XXIId, Daneshmundjeh Khaun, another descendant from Ougtâi, was now raised to the sovereign power by Ameir Kuzghun; and at the expiration of two years, with equal facility put to death by the author of his elevation. XXIIIId, Beyan Kûly Khaun, the son of Sourghedou, the son of Dowaus Khaun, in whom we find the line of Tcheghatai once more restored, was next invested with the titular sovereignty by Ameir Kuzghun; after which this minister applied himself without interruption, and with exemplary zeal, and unabating diligence, to rectify the disorders of the country—to diffuse to the people the inestimable advantages of a just and benevolent government—and to secure the hearts of all classes of men by numberless proofs of his bounty and liberality. This able and beneficent chief was assassinated, nevertheless, in the course of the seven hundred and sixtieth of the hidjerah,† while on a hunting party, by a person of the name of Kûtluk Teymûr, the husband of his sister; from a long smothered spirit of revenge which he entertained against his

\* A. D. 1345.

† A. D. 1358.



brother in law. The assassin fled towards Kūndez, in Tokharestaun; but being immediately pursued, he was there overtaken and hacked to pieces by the relatives of the deceased. Ameir Kuzghun was succeeded in his power by his son Abdullah, who fixed the seat of government at Samarkand; and having contracted an adulterous passion for the wife of his sovereign, he proceeded to put the unfortunate monarch to death, and to substitute another pageant in his room. XXIVth, Teymūr Shah, the son of Beissour Teymūr, the son of Aboukan, was the person chosen on this occasion by the regent Abdullah, to sustain the degraded semblance of royal authority. But, Ameir Beyan Seldūz associating with Ameir Hadjy Berlas, a descendant from Yessoumenka the son of Karatchaur, in a design to subvert this obnoxious system of double government, Ameir Abdullah and the pageant of his selection, were soon afterwards attacked by the confederated Ameirs; and both falling in battle, the country of Mawur-un-nehr was taken possession of in full sovereignty, by Ameir Beyan Seldūz. This prince being, however, of a mild and indolent disposition, entirely devoted to his pleasures, but more particularly to an intemperate indulgence in wine, the whole country was suffered to decline into a state of alienation and anarchy. Thus, in every city, aspiring individuals were permitted at will to usurp the governing power, and to invest themselves without restraint with all the functions of the neglected authority. Among others Ameir Hadjy Berlas, asserted his independence at Kesh; while the same was done at Khojend, by Ameir Bayezid Jellæir; at Balkh by Ouljai Bougha Seldūz; and at Shebreghaun, by Mahommed Khaujah Abredy, or Aperdy. At the same time, Ameir Hūsseyne the son of Mūsella, and grandson of Ameir Kuzghun, at the head of a numerous body of followers whom he had attached to his fortunes, harrassed the whole country in different directions with incessant alarms;\* and Ameir Khezzer, or Kheder, Yessoury, maintained himself on his part, without bending to the authority of any of the surrounding powers.

XXVth, Toghlūk Teymūr Khaun, the son of Aeil, or Aymil Khaujah, the son of Dowaps Khaun. This monarch had succeeded to the sovereign authority in the region of Jettah, or of the Getæ,

\* According to the younger de la Croix in his history of Teymūr, Hūsseyne was in possession of Kabûl.

A. H. 760-65. north-east of the Seyhûn; which appears to have been, about this  
 A. D. 1360-64. time, separated from the other dominions of the Tcheghataian mon-  
 Kholaussut- archy. Apprized however of the distractions which prevailed in  
 ul-akhbaur. Mawur-un neher, he marched his armies, in the course of the seven  
 hundred and sixty first of the hidjerah,† to the frontiers of that pro-  
 vince; and succeeded in reducing the greater part of the turbulent A  
 meirs, to acknowledge his authority: after which he withdrew in tri-  
 umph from the banks of the Seyhûn, into his own country. But, the  
 Ameirs of Transoxiana falling again into dissensions and animosities  
 among themselves on the departure of the Khaun, the country became,  
 as before, a prey to the mischiefs of anarchy and civil strife. Hence,  
 in the course of the year seven hundred and sixty three.‡ Toghlu̇k Tey-  
 mûr Khaun again entered Mawur-un-nehr in person with his armies ;  
 and having put the Ameirs Bayezid Jellaeir, and Beyan Seldûz to  
 death, proceeded to invest his own son Eleias Khaujah with the so-  
 vereignty of the province; after which he finally withdrew across the  
 Seyhûn, into his hereditary dominions. XXVIth, Eleias Khaujah  
 Khaun, the son of Toghlu̇k Teymûr, after holding a precarious govern-  
 ment over Transoxiana, for about two years, was finally expelled the  
 country, in the course of the seven hundred and sixty fifth of the  
 hidjerah,§ by Ameir Hûseyne, the grandson of Ameir Kuzghun,  
 formerly mentioned, assisted by the united gallantry and skill of the  
 immortal Teymûr, now in the prime of manhood. Eleias Khaujah  
 was killed in his flight towards his father's dominions, by Kummur-  
 ud-dein Doughlaut. XXVIIth, Adel Sûltan, the son of Mahom-  
 med Pâlaud, the son of Kounjek Khaun; an ephemeral raised to the  
 throne by Ameir Hûseyne, and in consequence of some indica-  
 tions of a hostile tendency, drowned in the river of Jeska at the ex-  
 piration of a few days, by direction of the same chief. XXVIIIth,  
 Kaboul Sûltan, the son of Dourtchei, son of Eiltchigadâi, was placed  
 on the throne by Ameir Hûseyne, on making away with his prede-  
 cessor. XXIXth, Seyûrghetmesh, the son of Daneshmundjeh Khaun,  
 was indebted for his nominal elevation, to *Teymûr* himself now be-  
 come irresistible in the Tcheghataian territory. XXXth, Sûltan Mah-  
 mûd Khaun, the son of Seyûrghetmesh, whose name, on the death of

† A. D. 1360.

‡ A. D. 1362.

§ A. D. 1364.

his father, Teymûr, from a pretended and specious respect for the institutions of his ancestors, caused to be exhibited at the head of the mandates of government.

A. H. 765-71.

A. D. 1364-70.

Kholaussut-  
ul-akhbaur.

It is here finally stated that the names and number of the Tcheghatâian princes who enjoyed this pageant sovereignty to the time of the author, being but very imperfectly known, he thought it expedient to confine his account to the above summary, expressly framed from a treatise on the subject of the four cardinal tribes, composed by Mirza Olûgh Beg the son of Shah Rokh. The narrative will now be employed to describe, more at large, the events which have rendered the life of Teymûr so extensively memorable in the history of nations.

The descent of this celebrated conqueror, then, is regularly traced by our author through the following ancestry; *Ameir Teymûr*, the son of Turaghâi, the son of Berkil, the son of Eylengueir, the son of Enjil, the son of Karatchaur Nûyan, the son of Soghûtchein, the son of Eirdemtchei Berlas, the son of *Katchûly* Bahauder, son of Toum-nah Khaun; in whom, as will formerly have been observed, it merges in one common stock with that of *Jengueiz*.

Of Ameir Berkil\* it is briefly observed, that he was a man of retired habits, fond of the peaceful enjoyments of life; and who, voluntarily relinquishing his hereditary command of the armies of the Tcheghatâian monarchy, fixed his residence in the city of Kesh, to which beyond all other places in the world, he declared his preference. But Ameir Turaghâi, the father of Teymûr, was a man of more active benevolence, of distinguished piety and virtue, and of a liberality which knew no bounds. Much of his attention was, at the same time, devoted to the society of Sheikh Shums-ud-dein Kellaul, perhaps Gûlaul, a noted Peir, or religious oracle of that age; with whom, and with several other individuals of the same character, either distinguished for their blameless lives, or for their total disregard of sublunary concerns, he cultivated on all occasions an innocent and friendly intercourse.

The birth of Teymûr is described to have taken place, in sight, or in the precincts, of the just mentioned city of Kesh, here, and elsewhere, not unfrequently denominated the green city, on Tuesday, the

\* Berkulk, of De la Croix.

A. H. 736-61.  
 A. D. 1336 60.  
 Kholaussut-  
 ul-akhbaur.

Birth of Teymûr.

twenty fifth of Shabaun, of the seven hundred and thirty sixth of the hidjerah ;\* precisely four months and eight days after the demise of Abû Sâeid, the ninth of the Perso-Jenguizian monarchs. From earliest infancy the auspicious youth appears to have evinced, what is described as, a remarkable predilection for equestrian exercises, and for the manly and active amusements of the chase ; and many circumstances concurred to indicate that his genius was cast for that exalted station among the sovereigns of the earth, at which he was ultimately destined to arrive.

From infancy to manhood the life of Teymur appears, nevertheless, to have passed in mirthful and contented obscurity, in his native city ; from which he was roused about the seven hundred and sixty first of the hidjerah,† by the approach of Toghlûk Teymûr Khaun with the armies of Jettah. Having encamped, however, with the main body at the station of Khenauk Bûlauk, not far from the river of Khojend, that monarch conceived it sufficient to detach a powerful division across that river, under Olûgh Toga Teymûr, Hadjy Beg Arkenouty, and Begtchek a Kankuly chief, to repress the disturbances by which the country had been long molested. On passing the Seyhûn these commanders were peaceably joined by Ameir Bayezid Jullâeir, who had possessed himself of that part of Transoxiana, with all his adherents ; with whom they proceeded in conjunction, towards Kesh, at this period under the authority of Ameir Hadjy Berlas the uncle of Teymûr. An insuperable impression of terror having prevailed with this chief to abandon his government, he fled immediately towards Khorassaun; accompanied as far as the banks of the Jeyhûn, by his relative, now about the age of four and twenty. But, on reaching the banks of that river, the nephew communicated a request that, in order to provide for the future welfare and security of his tribe and family, he might be permitted to return to his native city. Having obtained his kinsman's permission for the execution of a design which appeared so honorably directed, Teymûr hastened, in the first instance, to the camp of the associated Ameirs : whom by his singular eloquence and pleasing address, he not only succeeded in dissuading from their plans of hostility and blood, but in impressing

\* 8th April, 1336.

† A. D. 1360.

with such favorable conceptions of his own superior talents, that they immediately conferred upon him the government of Kesh, with the tomauns, or districts, formerly annexed to it. The young chief repaired, without delay, to take possession of the territory thus allotted to the indications of superior merit; and at no very distant period it was observed, that a numerous and respectable band of soldiers had already enrolled themselves under a standard, which seemed thus suddenly displayed, to point out the road to success and glory.

A. H. 761-63.  
A. D. 1360 62.  
Kholaussüt-  
ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, the generals of Toghlúk Teymur Khaun, having quarrelled among themselves, evacuated Mawur-un-nehr, and returned to the north-eastward of the Seyhûn; their sovereign having previously withdrawn into the region of Jettah, his hereditary dominions. This abandonment was succeeded by a train of frequent hostilities between Teymûr, and the other independent chiefs of Transoxiana; which generally terminated to the advantage of the former. But of these, as it would be unnecessary to enter into the detail, the author has conceived it equally inexpedient to take any further notice.

In the course of the seven hundred and sixty third of the hidjerah,\* finding his presence still necessary to the restoration of tranquillity in Mawur-un-neher, Toghlúk Teymûr Khaun again approached that country at the head of his armies; and Ameir Hadjy Berlas, who had long since returned from Khorassaun, adopted the resolution of accompanying Teymûr to the presence of the Khaun. But when they had proceeded together to some distance on their journey, intelligence reached them that the Khaun had availed himself of some occasion or other to put Ameir Bayezid Jullâeir, the prince of Khojend to death; and this circumstance naturally alarming the apprehensions of Ameir Hadjy Berlas, he withdrew again with precipitation into Khorassaun: where, not long afterwards, at the village of Khorasha, dependent on Jowein in the territory of Subbuzwaur, he was cut off by a band of robbers. Teymûr, however, through the intercession of Ameir Hameid, an officer of distinguished rank about the Khaun's person, experienced a favorable reception from the Tartar monarch; and was continued as before in the government of Kesh, and its dependencies. In the middle of the ensuing winter, determined on the

\* A. D. 1362.

A. H. 763 65.  
 A. D. 1362-64.  
 Kholaussut-  
 ul-akhbaur.

destruction of Ameir Hússeyne, the grandson of Ameir Kuzghun, at this period in possession of the fortress of Shaudeman northward of Termed, Toghlúk Teymúr Khaun marched with a powerful army to the attack of that chieftain; by whom he was opposed on the banks of the river Wakhesh—possibly one of the tributary streams of the Oxus. But, while the hostile armies were arranging for battle, Key Khossrou Khotlauny from a spirit of resentment for the execution of a brother, suddenly quitting the standard of Ameir Hússeyne, and going over to his adversary, that chieftain was constrained to abandon the field, without a conflict; and to commit his fortunes to the contingencies of a precipitate retreat. Toghlúk Teymúr Khaun proceeded, shortly afterwards, to arrange matters for his return, establishing his son Eleias Khaujah in the government of Mawur-un-neher, with Begtchek and several other chiefs, at the head of a division of the army for the support of his authority; and finally leaving directions that Teymúr should be a constant attendant about the person and court of his son.

On the departure of the Khaun of Jettah, however, the commander whom he had deputed for the above important purpose, evinced, in the measures which he early adopted to retrench certain emoluments, and advantages usually enjoyed by the Ameirs and principal stipendiaries, a disposition so arbitrary and offensive, that Teymúr, becoming disgusted with his behaviour, quitted the court of Eleias Khaujah, and proceeded immediately in quest of the fugitive Ameir Hússeyne; whom he finally discovered by the well or fountain of Saugh-eje, in the desert of Kheyvek dependent on Khaurezm. The meeting appears to have been equally gratifying to both parties; and the two chiefs thence forward uniting their destiny, experienced together, in various parts of Transoxiana and the neighboring provinces, many surprising and perilous adventures, which will be found detailed with sufficient minuteness in the history of the younger De la Croix.

We shall in the mean time pass with our author, at once to the seven hundred and sixty fifth of the hidjerah,\* when the associated chiefs led their troops directly to give battle to Eleias Khaujah; whom they finally defeated, after a very obstinate and sanguinary conflict,

\* A. D. 1364. beginning the 9th of Oct. 1363.

at a place called Keyametein, or perhaps Cabamitan, about four leagues from Kesh. The Khaun, with his general the obnoxious Begtchek, escaped by flight, leaving many of their most distinguished captains, in the hands of the victors; who retired shortly afterwards to their respective places of residence, having, as it would appear, obtained possession of Samarkand in consequence of the recent victory.

The ensuing spring was, however, no sooner at an end, than Eleias Khaujah Khaun returned with a fresh army towards Mawur-unneher, in order to avenge his disgrace; and the Ameirs Teymûr and Hûseyne, having re-united their force, again hastened to meet their adversary: with whom they came to a battle some where in the vicinity of the Badaum, which is a stream possibly communicating with the Seyhûn in the territory of Ulshaush, or Taushkent. Here, after a severe and arduous contest, the troops of Eleias Khaujah obtained a signal victory; which is ascribed to the mysterious application of the Jeddah Taush, or Lapis imbrifer, formerly mentioned in the history of the Moghûls. In this battle, to which historians have assigned the name of the battle of the sloughs, [Jung-e-lâi] some perverse and unaccommodating circumstances in the behavior of Ameir Hûseyne, produced the first serious dissatisfaction between him and his illustrious associate; his remissness, or wilful inactivity in the course of the action, having been followed by the slaughter of nearly ten thousand of his own troops. After so serious a discomfiture it was, however, found expedient to retire immediately across the Jeyhûn, Ameir Hûseyne taking up his abode at Shebertou, and Teymûr on his part withdrawing to Balkh.

Not long afterwards the troops of Eleias Khaujah appeared before Samarkand; of which he was, however, prevented from taking possession, by the resolute defence of the inhabitants under the direction of Mowlana Zâdah Samarkandi, and Mowlana Khardek of Bokhâra. A dreadful mortality, at the same time, carrying off the greater part of their horses, oxen, and camels, the besiegers were finally compelled to evacuate Transoxiana altogether, and withdraw across the Seyhûn towards the confines of Jettah. On intelligence of this important change, the Ameirs Hûseyne and Teymûr hastened to a conference near Bakalaun; after which the former proceeded to Sâlise-

A. H. 765.  
A. D. 1364.  
Kholaussut-  
ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 766-71. râi, on the Oxus about ten leagues north-east of Termed, and Tey-  
 A. D. 1365-69. mûr to his native city; in which circumstances affairs continued un-  
 Kholaussut- til the termination of the winter.  
 ul-akhbaur.

But in the course of the seven hundred and sixty seventh of the hid-  
 jerah\* fomented by the malignant reports of parasites and slanderers,  
 the jealousy, which had for some time subsisted between the two A-  
 meirs, at last broke out into open hostilities, that continued with una-  
 bated violence for a period of almost two years. In these, with little  
 variation, victory declared in every conflict on the side of Teymûr; al-  
 though at the termination of that period he consented to an accommo-  
 dation with his rival, which was brought about some time in the course  
 of the year seven hundred and sixty nine; after which he again took  
 up his residence at Kesh; Ameir Hûseyne proceeding to Balkh, which  
 he is now said to have repaired, and to have constituted the seat of  
 his government.

About the conclusion of the succeeding year having, nevertheless,  
 conceived the treacherous design of seizing the person of Teymûr,  
 Ameir Hûseyne dispatched a message to desire that he would, with  
 the whole of his family and kindred, repair immediately to Balkh; al-  
 leging that he had matters of weighty importance to arrange, of which  
 the execution must necessarily be suspended until he was on the spot.  
 In the mean time, because her husband Ameir Mûeyud Erlat had  
 already fled to Balkh, in consequence of having, in a drunken quarrel,  
 killed one of the Moghûl chiefs; he sent to demand that Sheirin Beg  
 Aga the sister of Teymûr, might be permitted to proceed to the same  
 place. These, in addition to some other circumstances of a tendency  
 more or less obnoxious, excited afresh the resentment of Teymûr; and  
 he accordingly suffered it to be circulated without further reserve, that  
 he was about to engage in an expedition, of which the immediate ob-  
 ject was the reduction of Balkh. In consequence of this, the majority  
 of the Tcheghataian Ameirs and soldiery, disgusted with the sordid  
 and illiberal disposition recently betrayed in the conduct of Ameir  
 Hûseyne, immediately forsook his standard, and came over to that of  
 Teymûr; which promised to be productive of advantages so much more  
 flattering to their hopes.

\* A. D. 1366.



In prosecution of his design Teymûr, in the course of the seven hundred and seventy first of the hidjerah,\* quitted Kesh at the head of a numerous and formidable army; and directed his march for the capital of his rival. While encamped at the station of Bâya, about three farsangs on that side of the Oxus, from Termed, he received a visit from Ameir Seyud Berrekah, at this period most distinguished among the descendants of the prophet. This personage had been recently dismissed by Ameir Hûseyne, to whom he had resorted for the purpose of soliciting the just application of those funds, which had been devised on different occasions, for the service of the sacred cities; with a success but little compatible with that sanctity of character with which, as the representative of his illustrious family, he conceived himself to be clothed. Mortified by a reception thus discouraging he now appeared before Teymûr; and presenting him with a standard and kettle drum, formally announced that wherever he bent his course, success and victory would attend him in all his undertakings. Conceiving that the visit of this venerable Seyud, and the presentation of the insignia of sovereign power, were equally auspicious to the attainment of his hopes, Teymûr made little difficulty to place at his disposal the whole of the funds which had been for some time alienated from the proper object; and bestowed upon him in other respects the most liberal marks of his bounty and veneration. And it is well known that a strict and inviolable friendship continued to be cultivated between them ever afterwards, the Seyud becoming the inseparable attendant of Teymûr's person to the day of his death. On his arrival at Oumauje, or perhaps Oubauje, Teymûr was further joined by Sheikh Mahommed Beyan Seldûz, and, at Khullum, by Shah Sheikh Mahommed prince of Badakhshaun, and Meir Ouljaitû Aperdy, the governor of Kondûz, south-west of Termed, on the part of Ameir Hûseyne.

Having by this time crossed to the westward of the Jeyhûn, the Ameirs Sheikh Ally and Khatâi Bahauder at the head of an advanced division of Teymûr's army, became soon afterwards engaged with the advanced troops of the enemy, whom they defeated with considerable loss. And it was at this period that Teymûr, found it expedient

A. H. 771.  
A. D. 1370.  
Kho' aussut.  
ul-akhbaur.

\* A. D. 1369-70.

A. H. 771.  
 A. D. 1370.  
 Khotaussut-  
 ul-akhbaur.

to place *Seyûrghetmesh oghlan* in nominal possession of the throne of the Tcheghatâian monarchy; after which he encamped his army in sight of Balkh; of which, or possibly of the citadel of Hindûaun recently repaired by Ameir Hûseyne, he immediately commenced the siege. During the operations of the first day, although at this period he had scarcely attained to his fifteenth year, Mirza Omar Sheikh, Teymûr's second son, after signalizing himself by the most distinguished gallantry, was pierced through the foot by an arrow; and is said to have discovered extraordinary fortitude in suffering the wound to be cauterized, without exhibiting the slightest symptom of impatience. But, in these circumstances perceiving, at the expiration of the second or third day, the imminent disgrace and ruin which surrounded him on every side, Ameir Hûseyne, by repeated messages made known to Teymûr, that he had now nothing to hope or ask for, but that his life might be spared; and that the troops employed in the siege might be directed to let him pass without molestation, as a pilgrim on his way to Mekkah. To this the consent of Teymûr was obtained without much difficulty; and the troops were immediately informed that Ameir Hûseyne was not to be prevented from passing whenever he chose to take his departure. Not daring, however, to rely altogether on the faith of his rival, Ameir Hûseyne quitted Balkh privately during the night; but discovering as the day broke that he had taken, contrary to his intention, the road through the old city, he found it necessary to conceal himself, as well as he could, in the upper part of an adjoining minaret. Unfortunately, that same morning, a soldier who had lost his horse ascended the minaret, for the purpose of commanding a wider range of view, and came most unexpectedly upon the unhappy fugitive, whom he instantly recognized. Trembling for life Ameir Hûseyne drew from his person a handful of loose pearl, which he presented to his discoverer, abjectly intreating that he would forbear to destroy him. The soldier appeased his apprehensions of immediate death by an oath that he should not molest him; but at the same moment hastened to the presence of Teymûr, to whom he disclosed the circumstance of his discovery; and a detachment of troops was immediately ordered to proceed towards the minaret. Ameir Hûseyne, alarmed by the trampling of their horses, hastened to change

the place of his retreat, and endeavored further to conceal himself in a cavern, or opening, in some of the ruins hard by. He could not however long elude the search of his pursuers. They discovered him in his last retreat, and binding him neck and hand conveyed him in that situation to the presence of Teymûr. The latter declared, on seeing him, that having already promised to spare his life, he considered that engagement once given, as inviolable. But when the unfortunate captive was removed from the presence of his triumphant associate, Ameir Key Khossrou the Khotlanian proceeded to represent that, having without offence presumed to take away the life of his brother Key Kobaud, he conceived he had a just right to demand that Ameir Hûseyne should be placed at his disposal, to suffer by the inexorable law of retaliation. Teymûr endeavored to assuage his resentment by reminding him, with tears in his eyes, of the obligations of mutual friendship that had so long subsisted between them. In the mean time, convinced from appearances that Teymûr was sufficiently sincere in his professions of forgiveness, and conceiving that if the obnoxious chief was now suffered to escape their vengeance, it might peradventure be followed by certain destruction to the whole of the party, Ameir Ouljâitû Apredy cast a significant glance with his eye towards Ameir Mûeyud, and Key Khossrou, who immediately quitted the pavilion of Teymûr; and, without his permission, finally terminated all arguments on the subject, by putting the unfortunate occasion of it, immediately to death. His two sons, with Kaboul Sâltan, the pageant Khaun of his creation, experienced a similar fate very shortly afterwards.

The power of Ameir Hûseyne having been thus forever extinguished, and that of Teymûr now arising, with a splendor that was destined to diffuse itself to the extremities of the earth, the principal Ameirs attached to his interests, including Ameir Sheikh Mahommed Beyan Seldûz, Ameir Ouljâitû Apredy, Ameir Key Khossrou Khotlauny, and Ameir Jaukû Berlas, with the recently mentioned Seyud Berrekah at the head of the race of the prophet, proceeded, on the twelfth day of Ramzaun of the seven hundred and seventy first of the hidjerah,\* to elevate their favorite and admired chief to the throne of sovereign authority. The zeal of his followers was rewarded on the part of Tey-

A. H. 771.  
A. D. 1370.  
Khotlaunsut.  
ul-akhbaur.

Teymûr elevated  
to the Sovereign  
dignity.

\* 8th of April, 1370.

A. H. 771-79. mûr by the most liberal proofs of his bounty; to all of them being further  
 A. D. 1370-77. assigned advancement, and revenue in proportion to their rank and res-  
 Kholaussut. pective merit. After which, conferring the government of Balkh on Mû-  
 ul-akhbaur. rad the son of Tchoghaun Berlas, he hastened towards Samarkand, where  
 he finally determined to fix the seat of his authority; extending to every  
 class and condition of inhabitants in that highly favored territory, the  
 brightest beams of a just, and beneficent government.

Subsequent to this, during a period of several years, Teymûr was al-  
 ternately engaged in a variety of expeditions to the east-ward of the  
 Seyhûn, against the nations of Jettah and Moghûlstaun; northward in  
 Keptchauk, in support of Tokhtemesh Khaun; and north-west-ward  
 of the Oxus against the territory of Hûseyne Souffy the Kharezmi-  
 an. Of these, on which it would be here superfluous to dwell, the oriental  
 scholar will find the relation detailed with ample minuteness in the Rou-  
 zut-us-suffâ, and the general English reader in the work of Petis de la  
 Croix the younger, the history of Timur Bec as he calls it, translated  
 from the Zuffur-nâmah of the Yezdian.

In the early part of the seven hundred and seventy seventh of the  
 hidjerah,\* on his return from one of these expeditions to the east-ward,  
 he sustained a very severe domestic affliction in the death of his eldest  
 son, Ameir zâdah Jahangueir; a loss which was, however, two years af-  
 terwards in some measure repaired by the birth, on Thursday the four-  
 teenth of the latter Jummaudy, of the seven hundred and seventy ninth  
 of the hidjerah,† of Mirza Shah Rokh, who was destined to succeed  
 to the principal part of his dominions.

In the winter of the former year,‡ while Teymûr, during one of his  
 Rouzut-us-suffa. campaigns against Orous Khaun the monarch of Keptchauk, was pent  
 up at Otraur by the severity of the season, Yûssuf Souffy, who had suc-  
 ceeded to the kingdom of Kharezmi, availed himself of the opportunity  
 to employ a detachment of his troops in the plunder of Bokhâra. An  
 agent was immediately dispatched, on the part of Teymur, to demand  
 the reason of this unprovoked aggression in defiance of the subsisting  
 treaty of peace and amity; and the Kharezmi instead of redress,  
 proceeding to aggravate the injury, by the imprisonment of his agent,  
 Teymûr dictated a dispatch, which he conveyed to his aggressor by an

\* June to Oct. 1375.

† 17th Oct. A. D. 1377.

‡ A. D. 1376.

ordinary messenger, to the following effect. "Yussuf Souffy must be aware that, both with respect to life and liberty, the person of an ambassador is to be considered strictly inviolable; neither is he in ought obnoxious but to the unreserved communications of truth;"\* and he concluded by announcing his expectation that his agent might be permitted to return without further delay. With equal arrogance and improvidence, the Kharezmian added afresh to the injuries already sufficiently aggravating, by detaining the messenger; and by sending, moreover, another detachment to Bokhâra, to seize and carry off a tribe of Turkomans with their cattle, settled in the territory adjoining to that city.

A. H. 779-80.  
A. D. 1377-78.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

It was at this crisis that Ameir Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, on his return from a pilgrimage to Mekkah, described to Teymûr the state of the Persian empire, in consequence of the distractions which had ensued shortly after the death of Abû Sâeid.

Before he proceeded, however, to more serious operations, Teymûr availed himself of a short interval of repose to unite himself, by marriage, to the princess Touman Agha, the daughter of Ameir Moussa; after which he amused himself in giving directions to form, and enclose the gardens of Baugh-e-behisht, west of the city of Samarkand: then retiring to pass the succeeding winter at Zenjeir Serâi, a country palace about two farsangs to the westward of Nakhshab.

In the spring of the seven hundred and eightieth of the hidjerah,† provoked beyond endurance by the insolent behavior of Yûssuf Souffy, Teymûr finally invaded Kharezm; and passing by Eskiakurz, proceeded immediately to invest the capital; his first object being directed to secure his own troops from the attempts of the numerous garrison, by surrounding the city on every side with an immense line of circumvallation. The siege was then prosecuted, with persevering vigor, by a series of attacks carried on from morning till night; from which it might be concluded that the intervening period was devoted to repose, although such a circumstance is little consistent with probability. In the mean time, detachments of the army were employed to ravage and lay waste the country in every direction, and to make captives of the defenceless inhabitants. When the siege had contin-

\* Ma-ala-urrussoul-illa-ul-belaugh-ul-mûbeina.

† A. D. 1379.

A. H. 780.  
A. D. 1378.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

ued for some time under these circumstances, Teymûr received from Yûssuf Souffy a note, in which he demanded how long it was proposed to subject so many myriads of Mûssulman beings to be harassed in their lives and property, in a contest in which two individuals were alone concerned. To put at once a termination to these calamities, there was, he said, a very simple and obvious expedient; and this was to decide their quarrel by single combat, to which he now expressly invited his antagonist. Teymûr, whose intrepidity was never questioned, sent to inform him in reply, that he considered his proposal not less just than reasonable, and that he had long cherished the idea among the most ardent wishes of his heart. But in order to demonstrate that he was perfectly sincere in what he stated, he immediately armed himself and mounted his charger; and in spite of the expostulations of his generals, and of Ameir Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein in particular, who at the hazard of his life presumed to seize his horse by the bridle, proceeded to present himself under the walls of the town, taking his stand on the very edge of the ditch. From thence he called aloud to the men on the works to announce to their sovereign that in compliance with his invitation, he was come to give him the meeting; and that it particularly behoved the Kharezmian to be punctual in adhering to his own proposal of submitting their quarrel, by an immediate and personal appeal to the sword, to the decision of an over-ruling providence. Terrified beyond measure when this speech was repeated to him, Yûssuf Souffy at once receded from his rash resolution; and the love of life prevailing over the dread of dishonor, he heard the challenge without daring to notice it. Conceiving, nevertheless, that he might yet succeed in stimulating his resentment, although he failed in awakening a sense of honor, Teymûr again raised his voice to proclaim that that man was unworthy of life, who could degrade himself by a departure from his engagement. These and other arguments which he made use of on the occasion, proved however ineffectual, as the Kharezmian continued equally deaf to every appeal; so that wearied out at length by this persevering inattention to the calls of honor, Teymûr withdrew to his tents amidst the applause and acclamations of his admiring soldiers. Not long afterwards receiving a supply of melons from Termed, the first of the season, Teymûr, with a liberality which marks

in some respects, the polished character of this prince, resolved to divide them with his adversary; observing that he found it repugnant to his feelings to indulge in a gratification from which another was debarred. Accordingly setting apart a proportion of the melons, he directed them to be conveyed to the Kharezmian on a tray of gold, notwithstanding the representations of his courtiers that one of wood, or earthenware, would answer the purpose much better; and a person having borne it to the counterscarp of the ditch, there placed it, after announcing to the soldiers on the ramparts, the object with which it had been brought. The present was laid before the Kharezmian, and it might have been expected that this attempt to soften the rigors of war would in common prudence have been received, on his part, with a corresponding moderation. Nevertheless, either through defect of judgment, narrowness of mind, or a misguided policy, according to our author, Yûssuf Souffy, after consigning the golden vehicle to the porter by whom it was brought to him, directed the contents to be cast into the town ditch, with every mark of contempt in his power to display towards the illustrious donor. Immediately afterwards one of his captains at the head of a part of the garrison sallied from the gate, with unexpected and extraordinary resolution; but being opposed with equal vigor and promptitude by Mirza Omar Sheikh, the second son of Teymûr, who crossed the water which separated him from, and attacked them, with a division of the besiegers, they were, after a conflict of peculiar obstinacy, and after considerable slaughter on both sides, again driven within their walls. Two Teymûrian commanders of high distinction, Noushirvaun the son of Aukbouga, and Eiltchy Bahauder, were severely wounded on this occasion, the latter mortally; the former recovered at a subsequent period.

After this Teymûr directing his attacks to be carried on with augmented fierceness and vigor, and a battery of Catapultae being brought to bear immediately on the palace of Yûssuf Souffy, it was in a short time laid in ruins, by the stones incessantly impelled against it from these machines. In short the siege had not been protracted many days longer, before the Kharezmian perceived too many proofs of the ascendancy which the troops of his adversary were gaining over his exhausted garrison; and the terror and despondence which, with all

A. H. 780.  
A. D. 1378.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.



A. H. 780-81. their distempered concomitants, now seized upon his frame and habit, producing a disorder which was mortal; soon hurried him to his grave. On the death of their prince, a dissension arose among the principal Kharezmians on the subject of a successor to his authority; part espousing the claims of Mounek Souffy, the brother possibly, and part declaring in favor of Khaujah Lauk, the lineal, and legitimate heir of the deceased. But the party of his competitor prevailing, the latter quitted the town and threw himself upon the protection of Teymûr, to whom he disclosed the state of affairs which reigned within, Teymûr immediately determined on a general assault; and the whole of the army rushing, accordingly, at once towards the walls, and by various methods effecting a passage through and over them, poured into the city from different quarters. The usual scenes of pillage and slaughter ensued. All things, whether moveable or immoveable, were consumed with fire; and scarcely a vestige was left standing to mark the spot once occupied by this flourishing capital. The Seyuds, Sheikhs, and ûlema, or jurisperiti, with the most distinguished of the surviving inhabitants, and tradespeople, were removed to the other side of the Jeyhûn to the favorite city of Kesh. Sheikh Ally Bahauder was appointed to the government of the ruins of Khaurezm, and possibly of the province at large; after which Teymûr returned into Transoxiana, where he passed the cold season at his winter palace of Zenjeirserâi near Nakhshab. The ensuing spring he issued orders for building the walls of Kesh; and the work being distributed in regular proportions to the several tomauns of the army, was immediately put in a train of speedy completion. The Kharezmian architects were employed, at the same time, in erecting a sumptuous villa without the town, which when finished received the appellation of Aukserâi,—the white palace.

From his winter quarters at Zenjeir Serâi, Teymûr had dispatched to Melek Gheyauth-ud-dein, the son of Melek Hûsseyne Guerret, prince of Herât; a message to announce that, about the period of the approaching vernal equinox, he proposed to convene a Kuriltâi, or general diet of the states of his empire; and to express an expectation that Gheyauth-ud-dein would not withhold his presence from the august assembly. The prince of Herât treated the messenger with distin-



guished kindness ; but availing himself of any pretext that occurred, to elude a compliance with the summons, he conveyed to the court of Teymûr a request in reply, that Ameir Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein might be permitted to visit him at his capital, and that on his return, with a mind more perfectly at ease from apprehension, he should not fail to accompany that respectable chieftain. In conformity with an application which seemed so reasonable, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein proceeded to Herât, where he experienced from the prince all those marks of distinction and honor, that bespoke the highest respect for his character, and that of the monarch, whom he was delegated to represent. But, under the pretence of making the necessary preparations for his journey, and of providing a course of presents, or peishkesh, suitable to the occasion, he found Gheyauth-ud-dein evidently disposed to protract, from time to time, the expected visit to the other side of the oxus, without any serious design of ever engaging his person on such a journey. On the other hand his exertions were all the while employed, without intermission, to complete an exterior wall of two farsangs in circumference, which, for a twelve-month before the arrival of Seyf-ud-dein, he had begun to erect round the suburbs of Herât. Neither was he less actively engaged in laying in from the surrounding territory, an abundant store of grain, and every description of provision, for the supply of the inhabitants. The stay of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein having been, however, protracted beyond all reasonable expediency, the object of Gheyauth-ud-dein became at last too obvious to be mistaken ; and the illustrious envoy returned without further delay to the presence of his sovereign ; the prince of Herât engaging to follow him, at some subsequent period, although the performance of such an engagement was of all other circumstances the least in his contemplation. In the mean time, by the return of his agent, Teymûr became fully apprized of all that had been thus disclosed in the behaviour of Gheyauth-ud-dein.

At this conjuncture of affairs, Ally Beg, the son of Arghûn Shah Jowny Kerbauny, appeared, in consequence of a similar invitation, at the court of Teymûr ; by whom some recent offences on his part were liberally forgiven, and himself treated with princely hospitality. A daughter of this chief was now betrothed to Ameir Zâdah Mahommed Sûltan, the son of the departed Shahzadâh Jahangueir, and a sump-

A. H. 780-81  
A. D. 1378-79  
Ronzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 781-82.  
 A. D. 1379-81.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

tuous entertainment given on the occasion. He was moreover consulted on the subject of the expedition already determined upon against Herât, which he engaged to accompany at the opening of the spring, and he confirmed this engagement by the most solemn oath; although his evil destiny led him, at the appointed period, to set it at nought, and in the issue to bring upon himself and the greater part of his tribe, final disgrace and ruin.

As a preliminary movement, Teymûr, on the departure of Ally Beg, determined on advancing a powerful division of his troops into Khorassaun, under a general of the first distinction; in order by their presence to deter his adversaries in that province from any act of open hostility, until his measures should be thoroughly ripe for execution. His choice, on this occasion, fell upon his third son, Meiran Shah; whom with fifty Kûshûns,\* he directed immediately to enter Khorassaun, and to take up his quarters, for the ensuing autumn and winter,† at Balkh and Shabreghaun. The Shahzadah, accompanied by the Amiers Jahangueir the brother of Hadjy Berlas, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, Aukbôuga, Othmaun, Abbas, Mahommed Sûltan Shah, Komaury the brother of Temoukah Koutchin, with Taban Bahander, Orouss Bouga the brother of Saur Bouga, and other distinguished leaders, proceeded accordingly across the Jeyhûn; and disposed of his troops in the manner indicated by his father's instructions.

At the conclusion of winter the whole territory of Baudgheiss, the most flourishing and populous under the government of Herât, was over-run and laid waste by the Samarkandian Moghûls; who possessed themselves of a vast booty, in horses, camels, sheep, and oxen, with which they rejoined the head quarters of Meiran Shah, without obstacle. In the mean time, a message was communicated to Teymûr from Ally Beg Jowny Kerbauny, or Garbauny, stating with humble zeal, that if in conformity with the plan recently determined upon, the imperial standard was actually about to enter Khorassaun, he should rejoice in the opportunity of evincing his attachment by officiating as guide to the army.

\* The Kûshûn appears to have been a subdivision of the hazaurah, probably from three to five hundred men.

† A. D. 1381.

In the spring of the seven hundred and eighty second of the hidje-rah,\* having finally completed his arrangements, Teymûr crossed the Oxus and conducted his army to Andekhoud. From this station in consequence of the faith which he uniformly appeared to repose in the benevolent influence arising from a communication with devout and pious men, he proceeded to visit Bâba Serkou, described to be without dispute, one of the most extraordinary enthusiasts of the age in which he lived. In the spirit of frenzy, or abstraction of mind, affected by his order, this man, on his approach, throwing a breast of mutton at him, the incident was held by Teymûr as an omen most auspicious to the result of his undertaking, and he expressly declared that the king of kings was about to transfer to him the province of Khorassaun; that being universally considered by the oriental nations as the breast, or bosom, of the habitable globe. Advised on the other hand of the approach of the Teymûrian armies Melek Mahommed the brother of Ghey-auth-ud-dein, who at this period held the government of Serkhes, hastened to tender his submission to the Moghûl monarch, who received him with a distinction that appears to have greatly flattered him. From the neighborhood of Jûldokhteran, Teymûr dispatched to require that according to promise, Ally Beg the Kerbaunian would without delay join the imperial encampment, with the troops which he had already been able to assemble. Not satisfied with setting at nought the order, which his evil destiny might have impelled him to disobey, this man further evinced his perfidy in a manner equally inconsistent with his character as a soldier, and with his religious duties as a true believer, by detaining the messenger.

According to some accounts it would appear that a short time previous to the period under consideration, Gheyauth-ud-dein had conquered the territory of Neyshapûr from the Serbedaurians, and a great part of his troops still continued detached to secure his recent acquisitions in that quarter. In order to prevent the junction of these troops with the garrison of Herât, Teymûr conducted his army immediately to Jaum and Kousûyah, thus completely intersecting the line of communication with the capital. But on this subject, the author further states to have heard from an aged person of undoubted veracity, that

A. H. 782.  
A. D. 1381.  
Rouzut us-  
suffa.

\* A. H. 1381.

**A. H. 782.** the position taken up on the occasion by Teymûr was the result rather of accident than design ; for that Ahmed the son of Mahommed Sûltan Shah, who acted as master of the guides, having lost the road in the obscurity of the night, conducted the army by mere accident to Kousûyah ; and Pehlewaun Mehedy the governor of the place voluntarily submitting, the inhabitants fortunately escaped the mischiefs, which usually accompany the passage of numerous and licentious bodies of troops.

**A. D 1381.**  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

Directing his march further towards Herât, Teymûr next appeared before the town of Foshunge, the inhabitants shutting the gates of the castle in his teeth, and preparing for a resolute defence. The place being surrounded by a formidable wet ditch, the Teymûrians were occupied for three days, in completing their arrangements for the attack ; but on the fourth day at sunrise, having received their final orders they rushed forwards, on all sides at once, towards the works, and some of their most distinguished captains having with their divisions forced the passage of the ditch, and lodged themselves in the *fausse bray*, the rampart was breached in several places. After this the assailants succeeded in entering the castle from different quarters, and, in an indiscriminate scene of pillage and slaughter, abundantly avenged themselves for the unavailing resistance of the garrison.

After the reduction of Foshunje, Teymûr appeared without further obstacle before the gates of Herât ; within which, relying on its improved strength, its numerous garrison, and abundant resources, Mel-ek Gheyauth-ud-dein Peir Ally seemed disposed to defend himself to the last extremity. The siege commenced on the part of Teymûr, with the exfodiation of an immense ditch which invested the entire circumference of the fortifications of the town, as well to frustrate the attempts of the garrison from within as to cut off all possibility of relief from without ; and which was completed with extraordinary expedition. Nevertheless, while this work was going on, and Teymûr was making a circuit on horseback to view the fortifications, a body of Ghourians, who composed the strength of the garrison, suddenly threw open the gates and, with singular impetuosity and resolution, attacked the besiegers. But, being opposed with equal firmness and valour by the Teymûrians, they were finally driven back into the town

with great slaughter ; both parties on this occasion, in order to render objects visible during the obscurity of the night, displaying innumerable mashauls, or flambeaus, along the ramparts and the advanced posts in front of them.

A. H. 782.83.  
A. D. 1381.  
Ronzut-us  
suffa.

The ensuing morning soon after daylight, the whole Teymûrian army was seen displayed in order of battle, under the exterior walls of the city ; but as the spirit of the garrison appeared to have sustained considerable depression from the result of the recent conflict, they no longer ventured to commit themselves without the gates, and the day passed without the occurrence of any thing remarkable. Under cover of the night, a body of the enemy sallied out once more, notwithstanding, from the Ansaury gate, and succeeded in surprising the besiegers, of whom they put several to the sword ; after which they retired with all possible celerity within the protection of their walls. On the day following, conducted by their sovereign on horseback to the very foot of the works, the Teymûrians proceeded to make a general attack on the exterior line of Gheyauth-ud-dein's defences ; and, led on by Ameir Eidkûtemûr, Sounjek the brother of Khatâi Bahauder, and Mûbasher Berlas in particular, succeeded in carrying the works by escalade. The efforts of Gheyauth-ud-dein, who on his post near the gate, at the head of the bridge of the Enjeil, exerted himself this day with distinguished bravery, availed as little as the harmless flutterings of a gnat, to oppose the irresistible ardor of the assailants. For these, receiving the arrows of their adversaries on their bucklers, and in many instances exposing their heads and shoulders bare to the innumerable missiles directed against them from all quarters, gained the parapets ; Khaleil one of the Yessawels, or exempts of the court, being the first that mounted, and the soldiers animated by his example following in fearful swarms. Part of the assailants entered, however, by the passage through which the stream of the Enjeil is conducted through the town, near the Merghenny pavilion, and breaking open the adjoining gate, gave free admission to their fierce associates ; who now poured without interruption on every side into the new enclosure, the garrison retiring in dismay towards the fortifications of the interior city, accompanied by their prince, notwithstanding the long vaunted arrangements to the contrary. Nearly two thousand prisoners re-

A. H. 783.  
 A. D. 1381.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa

mained, however, in the hands of the Tcheghatâians ; and being conducted to the presence of Teymûr, that monarch immediately availed himself of an opportunity so seasonable to make a display of his bounty ; presenting the whole with rich suits, and dismissing them highly gratified with their reception, with a message to their fellow citizens announcing, that all who forbore to lend their assistance in defence of the town, and confined themselves to their houses, would be inviolably protected in their property, lives, and families. On the other hand that all who neglected this precaution would expose themselves to the direst effects of his vengeance.

This message produced upon the inhabitants of Herât all the impression that could have been desired, since they immediately abandoned their posts on the ramparts ; neither were they to be prevailed upon, either by proclamations, menaces or intreaty, on the part of their sovereign, to appear any more on the fortifications, or to engage in any shape in the defence of the place. In such circumstances Eskunder Sheikhy, the son of Afrasiaub Jellauvy the Mazanderaunian, who, on the assassination of his father, and the accession to power of Ameir Kowaum-ud-dein, had sought an asylum at Herât, recommended to Gheyauth-ud-dein to put to death one person in every ward of the city, in order to terrify the remainder to the performance of their duty ; a measure which was peremptorily rejected by the prince, with the declaration that in no case should his consent be ever given to shed the blood of the innocent ; although this sentiment corresponds but little with the perfidious character generally assigned by historians to the princes of the race of Guerret.

Sufficiently apprized, peradventure, of the difficulty to which he was thus reduced, Teymûr now dispatched a deputation to Gheyauth-ud-dein ; to remind him in the first instance, that the territory of Herât had always been considered as dependent on the dominions of the Moghûl sovereigns, as much as its possessors, the princes of the race of Guerret, had been ever numbered among the acknowledged tributaries of the monarchs of the blood of Jengueiz ; to place under his contemplation the many advantages that would be derived to his country if he abandoned, without further delay, the system of absurd and unavailing hostility to which he had hitherto resigned himself ; and lastly to admon-

ish him of the tremendous fate that awaited himself, and so many myriads of his fellow Mussulmans, should he determine to persist in his present refractory and obstinate course of proceeding. Gheyauth-ud-dein having already too many reasons to perceive that he had no alternative but submission, resolved with a good grace to send out his eldest son Peir Mahommed,\* accompanied by the above mentioned Eskunder Sheikhy, here described as a descendant from Pejzhen one of the heroes of the Shahnámah, with a proposal to surrender to the mercy of Teymûr. The younger chief was favorably received, and was dismissed with the ordinary present of a robe of honor, or pelisse, and embroidered scarf, or girdle. He was, at the same time, instructed to salute his father in the name of Teymûr, and to lament those groundless animosities, which had taken place of the ties of amity and good neighborhood that had formerly subsisted between them; to assure him that there still existed the strongest motives of sound policy and mutual welfare, for re-establishing the friendly system so unhappily interrupted; that he had no difficulty in ascribing all that had recently occurred, to mistaken reasons of state, and to the influence of an over-ruling destiny; and finally, to urge the expediency of his repairing without further delay, and in the full confidence of personal security, to some convenient spot without the walls, in order to replace upon a foundation of permanent stability those relations of peace and friendship, which it would be attended with so many important mutual advantages to cultivate between them. Teymûr, nevertheless, thought fit to detain the person of Eskunder Sheikhy, by whom he was now more fully apprized of all that was passing within the town.

On returning to the presence of his father, Peir Mahommed made a faithful report of all he had heard and seen during his conference with Teymûr; and at the expiration of three days, Gheyauth-ud-dein himself proceeded to visit the Tartar monarch, in the Baugh-e-zaughan, or zoghûn, the raven gardens, where he had fixed his head quarters. He was received with distinguished attention; and permitted to return to the city, bearing with him a diadem enriched with jewels of great price, and a girdle of singular beauty and value presented to him by

\* It is also stated in the Zuffur namah, that he was accompanied by Sûltan Khautûn, the mother of Gheyauth-ud-dein, in some degree related to Togha Teymûr Khaun.

A. H. 783.  
A. D. 1381.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 783.  
A. D. 1381.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

his besieger. The day following, the whole of the Seyuds, descendants of the prophet, with the principal inhabitants, ûlema, or legislators, learned in the law, and a multitude of the inferior orders, hastened to the pavilions of the Tartar monarch; and experienced a degree of kindness and liberality in proportion to their several classes. Teymûr, upon this, removed his quarters from the Baugh-e-zaughan to the lawns of Kehdestaun, which lay to the eastward of the city; and, having given his orders for the deportation of the treasure amassed during so many generations, and with so much care and industry, by the Ghourian princes, directed the walls of the city, both old and new to be levelled with the ground. At the same time his commands were issued that Moulana Kûtbud-dein, the head of all the ûlma in Khorassaun, together with two hundred of the most respectable householders in Herât, should proceed immediately, under the escort of Temûr Taush the nephew of Ameir Aukbouka, to Kesh. A moderate contribution having been then imposed on the inhabitants, and levied in the course of three days, and the walls and towers effectually demolished, the gates of the city, which were overlaid with iron, and on which had been engraven the names and designations of the different princes of the Ghourian race from the period of their introduction to power, were also finally directed to be conveyed, as a lasting memorial of his triumph, to his same favorite city of Kesh. It may be further necessary to observe that the reduction of Herât, on this occasion, appears to have taken place sometime in the month of Mohurrim of the seven hundred and eighty third of the hidjerah.\*

The strong fortress of Eskiljah, better known by the name of Amankôh, nevertheless, still continued to hold out against the authority of Teymûr, under Ameir Ghoury; another of the sons of Gheyauth-ud-dein, not more distinguished by his illustrious birth than by his superior prowess. Gheyauth-ud-dein was therefore immediately required to exert his influence with his son, and prevail upon him to surrender his charge, on a promise that life and property should be secured to him; at the same time it was intimated to him, in terms sufficiently explicit, that if he felt himself in the slightest degree so disposed he was at perfect liberty to make, within the walls of Amankôh, one

\* April A. D. 1381.



conclusive experiment further, in what manner the will of providence might yet be manifested with respect to the destiny of the race of Guerret. With intentions far less hostile Gheyauth-ud-dein, however, succeeded in obtaining an interview with his son, on whom by mild expostulations, and prudent counsels, he finally prevailed to relinquish his impregnable position, and to accompany him to the presence of Teymûr; from whom he experienced also a very liberal and distinguished reception.

A. H. 783.  
A. D. 1381.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

Having secured these important acquisitions, Teymûr next employed a part of his army in the reduction of Neyshapûr, and Subbuzwaur; proceeding himself onwards in the direction of Tâsse, for the purpose of rewarding in his own bosom the multiplied infidelities of Ally Beg the Kerbaunian. The terror of his approach was, however, alone sufficient on this occasion, to bring that chieftain prostrate to the foot of the throne; and he was, as well as Khaujah Mûeyud of Subbuzwaur the ruler of the Serbedaurians, who gladly availed himself of the same opportunity, graciously received by the Tartar conqueror.

While in the neighborhood of Neyshapûr on this occasion, Teymûr paid a visit to the tomb of Abû Mosslem the Merouzian, the champion of the house of Abbas; whose gallant spirit he invoked to prosper him in the execution of his magnificent designs. He then presented himself before Esfrâein, between Neyshapûr and Jurjaun, which he caused to be suddenly attacked before his troops had yet pitched their tents; and before the garrison, on the part of Ameir Wully the Mazânderanian, were well able to take post for their defence. The place was accordingly carried at the very first onset with great slaughter; and an immense booty became the lot of the assailants. It was then rased to the foundations, and not a vestige left to indicate where it had once stood. From thence, however, he dispatched an agent to offer to the prince of Mazanderaun the most honorable terms, if he would immediately repair to his presence; but threatening the most dire calamities if he delayed to avail himself of these conciliatory advances, on the part of his adversary. The envoy returned some time afterwards with a submissive reply from Ameir Wully, and a promise that he would speedily follow, to humble himself at the feet of the destined master of the oriental world.

A. H. 783.  
 A. D. 1382.  
 Rouzut us-  
 suffa.

Teymûr remained some days, to recover the strength of his cattle, among the rich pastures in the neighborhood of Esfrâein; during which he availed himself of the opportunity to punish the inhabitants of Khe-raushah for the murder of his kinsman Hady Berlas, further bestowing the district in Seyûrghaul, or perpetual jagueur, on the grandson and nephew of that chief; with whom it remained to the days of the author. He then departed from the summer quarters of Oghûljâitû, on his return to the metropolis of Samarkand; from whence after a short residence he finally proceeded to pass the winter at Bokhâra. In the mean time Meiran Shah, who had been employed in the direction of Serkhess, against Melek Mahommed the brother of Gheyauth-ud-dein notwithstanding the merit of his early submission, having succeeded in securing the person of that chief and sent him to court, established his winter quarters in the neighborhood of that place.

During his residence at Bokhâra on this occasion, Teymûr appears to have experienced the deepest affliction from the death of his favorite daughter Toghâi Shah, whom he had fondly named his Agah Beggy; and who had been married to Ameir Mahommed Beg,\* by whom she left a son called Sûltan Hûseyne. The Tartar monarch, who, amidst the pursuits of ambition and blood, seems to have ever preserved a sense of the strongest affection for every branch of his family, now suffered that energy of mind, in which he is described to have had no equal under the canopy of heaven, to give way to the violence of his grief; and it was not without considerable difficulty that he was at last aroused by the most serious remonstrances on the part of his eldest sister Kûtlûg Tûrkan Agha, who proceeded, at the instance of his principal Ameirs, to lay before him the dispatches received from Ally Mûeyud the Serbedaurian; stating that Ameir Wully of Mazanderaun, and Ally Beg Jowny Kerbauny, had united their troops for the purpose of an immediate attack upon Subbuzwaur, and imploring that he might not be permitted to fall a sacrifice to the vengeance of his enemies.

Awakened at length from the debilitating torpor into which he had fallen, by a sense of his duty as a sovereign to protect his vassals, and to repel the injury which threatened the empire from whatever quarter,

\* The son of Ameir Moussa.

Teymûr directed his armies to be assembled without delay; and, towards the close of winter, causing a report to be previously circulated that he was on his march towards Mazanderaun, proceeded across the Jey-hûn. But when this report had been allowed a sufficient interval to produce the impression which he intended, he suddenly appeared under the walls of Kolaut, a hill fortress of reputed impregnable strength between Abiwerd and Nissa, at this period in the possession of Ally Beg the Kerbaunian, and in an instant swept off the whole of the cattle which in prodigious number the inhabitants, deceived by their information, had neglected to secure within cover of their works. Shortly afterwards Teymûr was joined by his son Meiran Shah with the troops from Serkness, and by Gheyâth-ud-dein from Hêrât, who hastened on this occasion to enrol himself among the feudatories in the train of his conqueror.

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suffa.

Reposing an entire confidence in the strength of Kolaut, Ally Beg, previous to the arrival of his puissant adversary, had taken the precaution to lodge the whole of his family and relatives within the walls of that place; and Teymûr still retaining, or affecting to retain, some consideration for the amicable ties which had formerly subsisted between them, exhibited no small repugnance to consign him, without alternative, to the operation of the dreadful calamities which seemed to impend over him. Thus actuated he dispatched an envoy to expostulate with the Kerbaunian on his needless apprehensions, and to invite him to repair in the full confidence of security to his camp; in order to re-establish, on a basis of permanence, that system of friendship by which they had been so long united, and to avert that train of mischiefs which otherwise threatened to overwhelm him, and all who adhered to his destiny. Against these apparently moderate and friendly admonitions Ally Beg obstinately closed his ears; declining altogether the interview to which he had been invited by the Tartar monarch. On which, the latter, withdrawing from before Kolaut into the territory of Abiwerd, proceeded afresh to circulate among his troops the report that they were now, seriously, about to enter the dominions of the prince of Mazanderaun. Hence, on the departure of Teymûr, and the revival of this report, Ally Beg, in spite of recent experience suffered himself to be thrown completely off his guard, and sent the whole of the

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remaining horses, camels, sheep, and oxen, which had been before prudently collected within the works of Kolaut, to range the pastures in the surrounding vicinity; taking care, however, to remain himself in perfect security behind the fortifications. In these circumstances Teymûr, to the utter surprise of the enemy, suddenly re-appeared, and pitched his tents in full view of Kolaut; while his troops hastened to put themselves in possession of the vast booty in cattle of every description which, without the smallest resistance, awaited their seizure, and which placed whole strings of mules and horses in the hands of many an individual little qualified to estimate his good fortune. The whole circumference of the fortress was then, as if with the web of an adverse destiny, closely invested; the imperial tents of Teymûr being displayed immediately opposite to the gate called the gate of the four villages, and the quarters of the Shahzadahs and other principal generals being distributed in the same way, in front of the other gates and avenues.

Thus cut off from all reasonable prospect of relief, and conceiving himself even in this world surrounded, as it were, with the terrors of the day of judgment, Ally Beg was completely subdued by his fears, and by the sense of accumulating danger. He therefore resolved on humbling himself to the level of his destiny; and in a letter to Teymûr, conceived in terms the most suppliant, proceeded to acknowledge his equal remorse and shame, for his recent contumacious and refractory conduct. At the same time, he represented his sense of guilt to weigh so heavily upon his mind, as to divest him of that confidence which was necessary to sustain him through the distress of a personal interview, with his offended superior. In these circumstances he trusted, as he said, that it would not be considered unreasonable if he requested that Teymûr, with that magnanimity of which he had given so many illustrious proofs, would meet him, with as few attendants as possible, near one of the gates which he mentioned; in order to relieve him from every apprehension, by an immediate and express assurance of pardon, from the lips of him whom he had so grievously offended.

To this proposal Teymûr acceded without hesitation; and on the day appointed proceeded to the place of conference, accompanied by no more than five of his cavalry. The approach to this spot led

through a very gloomy, intricate, and narrow defile; and it was no sooner known to Ally Beg that his adversary had reached the place appointed, with so slender a retinue, than the suggestions of a malignant spirit urged him to form the design of cutting him off. And he accordingly dispatched a party of his followers to lie in ambush in the defile, for the base purpose of assassinating the Tartar monarch on his return. Teymûr, nevertheless, who appears on this and many other occasions to have enjoyed the peculiar protection of providence, contrived by some means or other, to escape the snare which had been laid for him; and he rejoined his camp in perfect safety, after having long in vain awaited the appearance of the Kerbaunian.

The indignation of Teymûr having been inflamed to a degree of fury by the discovery of this perfidious design, orders were immediately issued for a general attack on the mountain, and its different ridges on every side; and a body of the natives of Mekreit and Badakhshaun being particularly selected for this service, from their singular agility and adroitness in scaling rocks and precipices, succeeded in the course of the same night, by an extraordinary and daring exertion, in lodging themselves on the very summit of the mountain; while a division of chosen troops under Aukitemûr Bahauder and Eykû Teymûr, drove the enemy before them on another part of the hill, and Mûbasher and Omar the son of Abbas with a third, established themselves in advance on one of the connecting ridges. This latter division was suddenly attacked by a superior force of the enemy; but being as seasonably supported by some fresh troops detached to their aid by Teymûr himself, they fell together upon the garrison from different quarters, and compelled them, with equal consternation and dismay, to retire within their works, from which they now abjectly implored for quarter. Ally Beg on his part also, finding himself thus driven to the verge of perdition, hastened once more to assuage the clemency of Teymûr by dispatching to assure him, that if his victorious legions would for the present cease from further hostilities, he would not fail, on the morrow, to prostrate himself with unfeigned submission at the foot of the throne. These assurances he confirmed by the most solemn appeal to the truths of their common faith, and conveyed to the presence of the Tartar monarch, by Neikrouz and Sheikh Mahom-

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suffa.

A. H. 784. med Hadjy; two of the most distinguished Ameirs of his tribe, accom-  
 A. D. 1382. panied by his own daughter, who had been long since betrothed to  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa Shahzadah Mahommed Sultán.

No argument of supplication was omitted on the part of these deputies to intercede with, and bespeak the compassion of Teymûr for the abject and hopeless state of their chief; and the Tartar monarch, in consonance with the saying so rarely verified by experience, "that benevolence surpasses in the true believer," was again induced to give credit to the professions of his rebellious vassal; and having directed his generals to retire from the posts, from which they had so successfully repelled the enemy, withdrew to his tents, attended by Neikrouz and Sheikh Mahommed, the agents of the Kerbaunian. Next day, reposing as usual on the protection of an over-ruling providence, Teymûr presented himself on horseback before one of the gates of Kolaut, where on this occasion, with whatever grace, Ally Beg did not fail to give him the meeting, and to become a suppliant for life and forgiveness. In this his prayer having been graciously received, he proceeded next to intreat that he might not be longer detained on the present occasion; and that on the day following he should be most punctual in his attendance to receive the final orders of his superior Lord. Teymûr, with equal moderation and indulgence, yielded to his wishes in this respect also; and both parties retired from the interview, to all appearance, mutually reconciled. But the fortune of this chief being finally destined to terminate in the most gloomy reverse, he assiduously availed himself of the obscurity of the succeeding night to block up and secure the avenues, by which the Teymurians had contrived to gain the adjoining heights; and having thus, for the present, effectually barred the approach of the assailants, once more boldly forfeited his allegiance, and recurred to hostilities.

A further period of fourteen days having been consumed in fruitless exertions to make himself master of the place, Teymûr found himself at last constrained, a sufficient proof of its impregnable strength, to withdraw from before Kolaut, and to remove his camp to the neighborhood of Kahkah; an old fortress in ruins situate between Kolaut and Abiwerd, which his troops were immediately employed to repair, and put in a state of defence. When this had been accomplished, in

the space of two days and as many nights, through the unintermitting zeal and exertion of the army, the place thus renovated was left in charge of Hadjy Khaujah, at the head of a suitable garrison ; while Ameir zadah Ally, the son of Ameir Mûeyud Erlat, the sister's son of Teymûr, and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with their respective tomauns, were stationed to cut off the communications with Kolaut from other quarters.

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suffa.

When, in the language of the original, Ally Beg had been thus, in a manner entombed alive within his den, Teymûr directed the march of his troops for Tersheiz ; a well known mountain fortress of singular strength on the western boundary of Khorassaun, to the reduction of which he next appears to have turned his views with much seriousness of application. At the period under consideration this place was in charge of Melek Ally the Sedeidian, to which he had been selected by Gheyauth-ud-dein Guerret himself, with a chosen body of his own tribe, that of Sedeid, the most distinguished among the nations of Ghour for intrepidity and martial skill. The garrison was provided, at the same time, with an abundant supply of every thing necessary for the maintenance of a protracted and obstinate defence. Having, however, been originally stationed under the authority of Gheyauth-ud-dein, Teymûr in the first instance called upon that chief to exert his influence in order to prevail upon the garrison to submit; but, this failing to produce the slightest impression, he proceeded without further delay to employ the means of coercion. His object was now more immediately directed to cut open a channel by which to drain off the water from the surrounding wet ditch ; while the most skilful engineers were engaged in planting the warlike machines to batter and dismantle the fortifications. The superior fortune of the besiegers became, however, in a very short time sufficiently obvious; the walls and towers being shaken to pieces by the constant impetus of the machines employed to batter them, and the Sedeidian garrison, convinced that against such formidable means of attack resistance was in vain, finally resolved to supplicate for life, and to cast themselves on the mercy of Teymûr. It was found expedient to wink at their offending, and they were admitted to a favorable capitulation. But, as he had experienced some very conspicuous proofs of their determina-

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 A. D. 1382-83.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

ed courage as well as skill in the profession of arms, the Tartar monarch, after treating them on their surrender with extensive liberality, caused them to be removed with all their families into Transoxiana, and ultimately beyond the Seyhûn towards Tûrkestaun; where he employed them in defence of the posts on the more remote frontiers of the empire. The government of Tersheiz was conferred on Saurek Etkah, under the authority of Meiran Shah.

It was about this period that Omar Shah, the ambassador of Shah Shujia of the race of Mûzuffur, prince of Shirauz, equally celebrated for his talents and accomplishments, and for the splendor of his court, appeared in the presence of Teymâr; with letters from his master expressive of his anxiety to cultivate the relations of peace and friendship with the Moghûl conqueror. The letters were accompanied with a display of presents, on the part of the Shirauzian, suitable to the magnitude of the occasion, and exhibiting every article that was rare and costly; and the ambassador, after having experienced a most honorable and liberal reception, was dismissed in due time loaded with favors. He was attended by one of Teymûr's officers, at the same time, bearing for Shah Shujia a letter from his sovereign, which breathed a spirit of benevolence and friendship, corresponding with what had been communicated on the part of the prince of Shirauz, and finally demanding one of the princesses of the race of Mûzuffur for Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir.

On the reduction of Tersheiz, Teymûr prepared in earnest for the invasion of Mazanderaun; and proceeding by the way of Boughed, or Boughy, perhaps Roughy, shortly afterwards encamped his army at the station of Kaboudjâmah. But, alarmed at his approach, Ameir Wully dispatching to intreat that the course of imperial vengeance might for this one period be diverted from his dominions, and promising that he would not fail to present himself at the imperial threshold, and to devote himself for life to the faithful and zealous discharge of his duty, the moment his apprehensions could be in some measure tranquillized, the Tartar monarch was again prevailed upon to suspend the expedition; and, accordingly, changing the direction of his march, drew off, by Selmaghan and Jermagaun, to the luxuriant pastures of Raudegan.



In the mean time Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who, together with Ameir Ally the son of Mûeyud-Erlat, had been stationed to blockade the approaches towards Kolaut, ventured one night, without the concurrence of his colleague, and followed by a few of his own dependents, to ascend one of the ridges of the mountain; and missing his way in the obscurity of the night, found himself contrary to his intention, on the summit of one of the most elevated points adjoining to the works of the enemy. Here, being immediately discovered and attacked by the garrison, he was, after a gallant resistance, during which he discharged every arrow in his quiver, compelled to submit to his destiny, and conveyed a prisoner into the fortress. This misadventure in the issue, proved, however, in no small degree instrumental to the final surrender of that important place; for a contagious disorder having in the course of the summer made cruel ravages among the troops of the garrison, this same Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who had wrought himself, by his singular address, into the confidence of Ally Beg the Kerbaunian, was dispatched in the quality of a mediator, to the camp of Teymûr at Raudegan, and succeeded in obtaining for the rebellious vassal a promise of personal indemnity. On the faith of this he soon afterwards presented himself before Teymûr, with his sword in one hand and his winding sheet in the other, and received an assurance of pardon for his offences; but, with all the chiefs of his tribe and their dependents, he was conveyed without delay to take up his abode in safe custody at Samarkand.

Having recrossed the Oxus, at the close of the seven hundred and eighty fourth of the hidjerah,\* Teymûr proceeded to pass the winter at Samarkand; while Meiran Shah established his quarters for the season at the station of Punjdeh, or the five villages, on the banks of the Mûrghaub. About this period, availing himself of some deceitful prospect of advantage, Melk Mahommed, the son of Fakher-uddein Guerret formerly prince of Herât, who had been raised by the liberality of Teymûr, from a state of indigence and wretchedness to the government of Ghour, marched with a body of the natives of his government, with the view of seizing upon the city of Herât; and with the assistance of Abû Sâeid Espahbed, another chief of Ghour.

A. H. 784.  
A. D. 1383.  
Rouzut-us  
suffa.

\* January, February, 1383-

A. H. 784-85.  
 A. D. 1383.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

rian extraction, who had also been rescued from penury and a prison by the Tartar monarch, succeeded in making himself master of the town, and ultimately of the castle of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein; after compelling the Moghûl garrison of the latter to precipitate themselves from the walls, by setting fire to the gates. On intelligence of this unlooked for event, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein and Ameir Aukbouka hastened, by direction of Meiran Shah, at the head of a part of his division towards Herât; that prince proposing to follow in person with the remainder, as soon as he could put them in motion. The two commanders were opposed at the gates of Herât by the Ghourian insurgents; and an action of considerable duration and obstinacy took place at the entrance of one of the principal streets, that of the Kheyabaun, in which the Moghûls, were however, finally victorious; a great part of the Ghourians being put to the sword, while the remainder who fled into the town, took the opportunity of dispersing in different directions under cover of the night. Meiran Shah arrived shortly afterwards; and the imperial troops, having satiated themselves with slaughter, proceeded to erect several minars, or pyramids, with the heads of the slain, as a frightful memento to deter from future insurrection. In the mean time, the seizure of Herât became no sooner known to Teymûr than he issued a mandate for the death of Gheyauth-ud-dein and his eldest son Peir Mahommed, who were both in confinement in the citadel of Samarkand; as well as of his son Ameir Ghoury and Ally Beg Jowny Kerbauny, who had been recently removed to Andugaun in Ferghaunah, under the care of Omar Sheikh. These fatal orders were carried into execution, as might have been expected, with equal punctuality and dispatch.

In the course of the ensuing year, the 785th of the hidjerah,\* after a few days illness, expired the princess Dilshaud Khautûn, one of the wives of Teymûr, and daughter of Kummur-ud-dein Doughlout the monarch of Jettah; whom he had married some time in the year seven hundred and seventy six. And shortly after this he suffered a further domestic affliction in the death of his eldest sister Kâtlûk Tûrkan Agah, a princess not less distinguished for her uncommon understanding, than for her love of justice and extensive charity. The lat-

\* A. D. 1383.

ter was buried at Samarkand, close by the tomb of Kothem the son of Abbas, the cousin german of the Arabian prophet.

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Rouzut-us-suffa,

The Tartar monarch is described to have been again so entirely absorbed in his grief for the loss of these two distinguished females, as for sometime to have neglected the affairs of his government in a manner to endanger the general tranquillity to a very serious extent, until awakened to a sense of impending evil, by the representations and remonstrances of the heads of the law, and other principal inhabitants of Samarkand. His attention being, however, at last sufficiently aroused, his first object was to employ a force under his nephew Ameir zâdah Ally, the son of Mûeyud Erlat, to check the designs of Kummur-ud-dein the father of his departed consort; who is honorably accused of being the fermenting principle of those acts of hostility, by which the armies of Jettah were so perpetually set in motion. Having thus provided as he conceived for the security of his dominions to the right of the Seyhûn, Teymûr retired towards Kesh; but being rejoined, shortly afterwards, by Ameir Ally, in consequence of the defeat of his troops, and the plunder of his camp and equipments, by the tribe of Beherein, it was found expedient to dispatch a fresh army, under the Ameirs Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Seyf-ul-Mûlk the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, with Ettelmesh, Arghûn Shah Akhtachej, and other captains, in order to oppose the further progress of the Jettah tribes: and, as no intelligence was for a considerable period received of the success of these troops, a third division, of ten thousand horse, was detached to their support, under the Ameirs Jahaun Shah Jaukû, Eiltchy Bougha, Shums ud-dein the son of Ouje, or Outch Kâra Bahauder, and Sâein Temûr.\* The troops under Ameir Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and his associated commanders, had however, fallen in with, and cut to pieces, a great number of the hostile tribe of Beherein, in the midst of their native solitudes, and were returned to the station of Atakum, with a considerable booty, and a numerous train of captive women and children, when they were joined by the division which was hastening to their support. But as Ameir Jahaun Shah and his colleagues had it in particular charge to seek out Kummur-ud-dein, with un-

\* From the manner in which this name is exhibited in De la Croix's history, one might easily be led to imagine it was that of a French knight—*Sainte Maure Bahauder*.

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 suffa.

ceasing activity, and to pursue him as long as there remained the slightest prospect of securing his person, the whole now proceeded together towards Aussigoul, a lake situated to the north-east of Taushkent; from whence, however, after having failed to discover any trace of their object, they again finally led back their troops, and rejoined the camp of their sovereign, by whom their exertions were, notwithstanding, acknowledged with sufficient indulgence and liberality.

On the arrival of autumn, Teymûr, at the head of a formidable army, again crossed the Jeyhûn at the ordinary passage of Termed, with the renewed design of attacking the province of Mazanderaun; but, on reaching the banks of the Mûrghaub, or river of Merû, receiving intelligence that Toumen the Nikoudrian, of Gurrumseir, had placed himself in an attitude of hostility against his government, and that Sheikh Dâoud, who was indebted to the favor of the Moghûl monarch, for his distinguished station at Subbuzwaur, had also, thrown off his allegiance, and destroyed the imperial commissioner, Taban Bahauder; and furthermore, that the people of Seiestaun were in open revolt against his authority, Teymûr found it once more expedient to relinquish the design: and to employ Ameir Sheikh Ally, and Outch Kara Bahauder, in the minor task of confining the hostile plans of Ameir Wully to the limits of his own frontier, while he proceeded in person on the road to Seiestaun. In the mean time, the Ameirs Aukbouka, and Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, with part of the division of Meiran Shah, had invested Subbuzwaur; from whence after a considerable slaughter of his followers, Sheikh Dâoud had recently contrived to make his escape, and to shut himself up in the castle of Budderabad, situated on the summit of a hill, of which the two imperial generals were now prosecuting the siege. Having continued his march, however, as far as Herât, where he imposed a heavy contribution on the inhabitants for the share which they had taken in the late insurrection of the Ghourians, Teymûr turned short in his course and took the direction of Subbuzwaur; where he joined the division of his troops engaged in the attack of Budderabad. In the course of the siege, Sheikh Yaheya one of the Vezzeirs, who conducted the labor of the miners, having carried a gallery under the foundation of the ramparts, a great

part of the wall prematurely fell down, and he was buried under the ruins, together with a considerable number of the people employed under his directions. The fort shortly afterwards fell into the hands of the besiegers; and two thousand of the garrison piled one upon another, and interlaid with brick and mortar into the form of a pyramid, exhibited a memorial, equally horrible and singular, of the punishment of unsuccessful rebellion. In short, observes our original, such were the consequences produced throughout Khorassaun by the daring outrages, and the temerity, of a turbulent and sanguinary set of men, that the whole province became again the scene of the most frightful desolation and ruin. The wretched natives perished, without number or estimate, under the rack and bastinado, and in Herât and Subbuzwaur, the accumulation of the dead was so great, that the living were found insufficient to perform the melancholy rites of sepulture to the remains of their departed fellow citizens. Numbers there were, however, of unhappy Mussulmans who chose to abandon their wives and families, and to pass their lives in hopeless exile, bereaved of every circumstance that is usually considered to render existence desirable.

When he was at leisure from the task of vindicating the rights of his authority at Subbuzwaur, Teymûr sent back a part of his cavalry towards the frontiers of Seiestaun, following in due time, in person, at the head of the main body of the army, in the same direction. On approaching the confines of Seiestaun he was met by Shah Jullaul-udein Ferauhy; who held at this period the government of his native city of Ferah, and who was received with distinction by Teymûr, and immediately enrolled among the vassals of the empire. The inhabitants continued, however, refractory, and the imperial troops were directed to overrun and pillage the country. Teymûr appeared himself before the fortress of Zerah, on the lake of that name, and, on the same day, attacked and carried the place by assault. Five thousand of the native soldiery ventured, notwithstanding, to engage the Teymûrians in the field, with extraordinary resolution and obstinacy, although ultimately defeated with considerable loss. Arrived before the gates of the chief city of Seiestaun, bearing the same name with the province,\* and having ascended some sand hills in the neighborhood to take a view

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suffa.

\* The Zarenje of the maps.

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of the fortifications, Teymûr was there visited by Shah Shâhan, and Tauj-ud-dein Killagahy with other chiefs deputed to treat of an accommodation, on the part of Shah Kûtub-ud-dein prince of Seiestaun. But when the Tartar monarch was thought to be sufficiently engaged in discussing the terms of the treaty, the men of Seiestaun in formidable strength both horse and foot, suddenly issued from the gates to combat their besiegers. With his usual promptitude and presence of mind, Teymûr instantly directed a body of two thousand horse to be placed in ambuscade in a particular spot which he pointed out, while Ameir Mahommed Sûltan Shah advanced to meet the enemy at the head of a small squadron, with instructions to give way at the very first onset. This commander retiring according to his instructions, the enemy, elated by his apparent dismay, pursued with eager impetuosity, until they found themselves, on all sides, unexpectedly assailed by the body which had been posted in ambush to intercept them. The Seiestaunians defended themselves, nevertheless, with considerable resolution, and although they sustained a very heavy loss during the conflict, continued to keep their ground without the walls of the town, until night interposed to put an end to the combat; both armies then ceasing from the effusion of blood, and betaking themselves to a precarious and perturbed repose in the presence of each other.

The following day at sunrise, Teymûr appears to have discovered more than ordinary precision in the arrangement of his troops for battle; taking post himself in the centre, and assigning the direction of the right wing to Meiran Shah, aided by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, Aukbouka Bahauder and other distinguished commanders, while that of the left was committed to the experienced valor of Ameir Saur Bougha, and Khodadaud the son of Hûsseyne. In this disposition the Teymûrians proceeded to circumscribe the town more closely; but in order to secure themselves more completely against the enterprising spirit of the garrison, they did not disdain to interpose between them and the works all round, a pretty deep ditch, strengthened, on the side towards their camp, with palisades. The enemy, to the number of ten thousand men, issuing under cover of the night from the town, contrived, notwithstanding, to cross this ditch, where it was, possibly with

design, but negligently guarded by Ameir Shums-ud-dein Abbas and Beraut Khaujah, and to penetrate to the very centre of the imperial encampment; where they discharged their fury on the camels and horses of which they killed and disabled a great number. In this situation, surrounded and assailed on all quarters, by volleys of arrows poured in upon them by the Teymûrians now thoroughly alarmed, they were for the greater part destroyed; although a considerable number bravely fought their way back again, through every obstacle, to the town. On the following day, the contending armies became again fiercely engaged before the gates of Seiestaun, and Ameir Ally the son of Mûeyud Erlat, having repulsed the troops of the enemy opposed to the division under his command, and mixing with the fugitives, in the ardor of the pursuit entered one of the gates at the head of five hundred horse during the confusion. The garrison soon discovered that the division was without support, and availing themselves of their advantage, immediately penned them up in every direction. Here a conflict commenced in which, according to our original, the achievements of the most renowned heroes of Persian story\* were surpassed by the exploits of the warriors of either party now engaged; the imperial division, seeing their retreat cut off, preparing to die resolutely, and combating with all the energy of despair. In the very crisis of their fate, however, Aukitemûr Bahauder with a thousand chosen cavalry, having dislodged the guards at the gate, succeeded in forcing his way into the town; and, with the rapidity of a thunderbolt, dispersing that part of the garrison which intercepted the retreat of his countrymen, most seasonably furnished to the Ameir zâdah an opportunity of withdrawing from the snare, into which he had been led by the impulse of a rash and improvident valor.

Shâh Kûtb-ud-dein by this time, on his part, began to discover the inutility of contending against the superior fortune of his adversary; and, descending at once from his lofty claims of independence, hastened to present himself, in an attitude of humble supplication, before the majesty of Teymûr; and he obtained from the royal magnanimity a promise of life, and a pardon for his rash and contumacious resistance. But, while the Tartar monarch, confiding to the suspension of hosti-

\* Of Rûstum and his renowned grandfather Saum Nerimaun.

A. H. 785.  
A. D. 1383.  
Rouzut-us  
suffa.

A. H. 785.  
 A. D. 1383.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa

lities, and accompanied by no more than fifteen of his guards and attendants, was proceeding unarmed to visit the left wing of his army, the men of Seiestaun, to the number of thirty thousand, armed with bows and arrows, descended from their walls by clinging hand to hand to one another, and although fully aware that their chief was, at the same moment, in the power of their enemies, advanced with determined audacity to attack the camp of the besiegers. Fortunately perceiving the approach of the assailants, Teymûr returned without delay towards the centre, in order to prepare his troops to repel the danger. He was however exposed in his retreat to a volley of arrows discharged by the Seiestaunians, one of which pierced the horse on which he rode. The monarch reached his tent notwithstanding without further injury; and, having directed the person of Shah Kûtb-ud-dein to be placed in proper security, and his troops to arrange themselves in order of battle, was proceeding on horseback to lead them into action, when his generals affectionately interposed to remonstrate against any further unnecessary hazard of his person; and they finally prevailed upon him in this instance, to confide the discomfiture of the enemy's plans, to the zeal and exertions of those who had so long and greatly prospered under the influence of his bounty. The advancing columns of the garrison were then assailed with irresistible fury on both flanks, and for the greater part miserably perished by the arrows, swords, and lances of the Teymûrians; a small proportion only, and with the utmost difficulty, effecting their retreat, covered with wounds and overwhelmed with dismay, into the town; the gates of which they hastened to secure, idly conceiving, observes our original, that it was possible with a handful of clay to impede the course of that torrent of vengeance, which was about to be let loose upon them. The besiegers immediately effected a lodgment in the *faussebray*, and soon afterwards breaching the principal rampart in several places became finally masters of the city in every point; and, having put to the sword all who had borne arms in its defence, rased the walls to the foundations, and consigned the empty dwellings as a melancholy residence to the kite and raven. The government was then conferred upon Shah Shahan, one of the native chiefs who was present at the interview with Teymûr, when he first appeared before the walls of the town; but the whole moveable property of the country, toge-



ther with shah Kâtb-ud-dein, the late ruler, and the principal inhabitants, was translated to Samarkand; the ulema, and religious classes, being all conveyed to Herât.

A. H. 7835.  
A. D. 1383.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

The reduction of Seietaun having been thus accomplished,\* Teymûr directed his march for Bost; in their progress towards which, his troops are described to have possessed themselves of the fortress, or fortified town of Tauk. During their course through the province, in which it was occasionally expedient to remain stationary, a dike or embankment, called the Bund-e-Rûstûm, or boundary of Rûstûm, probably thrown up to confine the inundations of the Heirmend, either by accident or design was destroyed on the approach of the Teymûrians. In the usual metaphorical strain, the author, however, states that it was shaken to pieces by the *tentennah*, or sounds of triumph, which attended the march of the imperial armies; but it is more probable that it was demolished from an antipathy to the memory of the hero whose name it bore, the scourge of Tartary, and the champion of the Persian empire. In the mean time, putting his troops in motion from a place called Koukeh Kellah, advices reached Teymûr, that Toumen, the veteran chief of the Nikoudrians, was retired in the direction of Kidge, or Kutch, and Mekraun. On which, ever vigilant to provide for the security of his power, he conceived it immediately expedient to detach his son Meiran Shah, accompanied by Ameirkeh Mahommed, the son of Sheir-e-Behraum, rendered illustrious by his alliance with Teymûr, and Ameir Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, with other distinguished commanders, in order to crush at once those plans of hostility that might be engendering in that quarter.

After a march which he continued with little intermission, both night and day, Meiran Shah, on the plains of Keren, at last came up with the Nikoudrian; whom he found at the head of his tribe prepared to give him battle. From a consideration of the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them, and of the advanced age of the old chief, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, nevertheless, ventured to address him aloud by name; and in respectful and soothing language, endeavoured to prevail upon him, without apprehension of evil, to accompany him

\* About the ninth of Shavaul, of the 785th of the hidjerah, according to De la Croix; or December. A. D. 1383.

A. H. 785.  
 A. D. 1383.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

to the presence of Teymûr, assuring him, at the same time, of the happy consequences that would be the infallible result of such a concession on his part. But, as the messenger of death was already at hand to seize his victim, the counsels of friendship had lost their effect upon the mind of the Nikoudrian; and the action immediately commencing, his head was struck off at the very first onset by the troops of Meiran Shah, who failed not to transmit without delay to his father's camp, this assured proof of the success of his enterprise. The Moghûl monarch now proceeded upwards along the banks of the Heirmen, and in the course of his progress was surprised by an unexpected visit from the prince of Memkatû, by whom in his early career he had been wounded in the hand; at that period when he was returning from the same province of Seiestaun, from an expedition in which he had been engaged, in conjunction with Ameir Hûseyne, to assist the native ruler of the country. Relying on the change produced in his person by the revolution of more than twenty years, this chief, having provided himself with a suitable present, composed of every thing that was rare and costly, did not hesitate to appear before Teymûr; but being recognized at the very first glance, he had no sooner quitted the audience tent, than a mandate followed to shoot him to death with arrows, which was carried into immediate execution. The fortress of Memkatû, and the Killa sùrkh, or red fort, were now taken possession of by the imperial troops.

Information having, in the mean time, been conveyed to Teymûr, during his further progress through the country, that three thousand of the adherents of the Nikoudrian had thrown themselves into the fortifications of Hazaurbenn;\* and being the grossest of infidels, equally destitute of the knowledge of God and of the legation of his messenger; that they had long harrassed the neighboring Mussulman inhabitants with every species of outrage and violence, he conceived it peculiarly incumbent upon a monarch of his distinguished pre-eminence among the faithful, to chastize and repress the enormities of this stigmatised banditti. He accordingly led his troops without further delay in that direction. The fortress in which the Nikoudrians ventured on this occasion to combat for existence, does not,

\* The Hazaurpez of De la Croix.

however, appear to have long withstood the superior skill and fortune of Teymûr; it was finally taken possession of, and while part of the garrison was thrown headlong from the precipices on which the place was erected, the remainder suffered the milder punishment of jugulation from the retributive justice of their conqueror. The castle of Dehnah defended by a body of the Togha, or Tagatchei, a tribe of that name, was next attacked and reduced by the Teymûrians, and the garrison put to the sword, several pyramids being erected with the heads of the slain, to commemorate the severity of the execution to the neighboring tribes.

Some time previous to the period under consideration, the Avghans, or Afghans of Sûlimankoh, the Sûliman mountains south of Kandahaur, had dispatched to signify their submission to the authority of Teymûr, and to request that one of the imperial commanders might be sent to put himself at the the head of their government. Nevertheless, intelligence was now received that this fierce and intractable people had already violated their engagement, and were in open and undisguised revolt. The attention of the Tartar monarch was therefore unavoidably drawn to that quarter; and a vigorous attack was commenced upon the stronghold in which the principal body of those Afghans had assembled, on the very day on which the imperial armies encamped before it. The resistance which they experienced was, however, singularly fierce and obstinate, Jengui, or peradventure Yengui Shah, the son of Mûbaurek Shah Bourdaleighy, being killed, and Mirza Ally and Ankû Teymûr, with other commanders of the most distinguished rank, being wounded soon after the commencement of the attack. On this occasion from a knowledge of his inconsiderate and unbridled valor, Teymûr had thought fit to restrain Auky Teymûr Bahauder from engaging in the conflict, by directing him to take his station near the person of his sovereign; neither could he prevail upon his august patron to withdraw this restriction, although, on information of what had occurred to so many distinguished associates, he besought it on his knees with the tears streaming from his eyes. The conflict continued, however, to rage with uncommon fury and obstinacy, the Afghans in their turn having become the assailants, and compelling the Teymûrians to give way in entire divisions; and

A. H. 785.  
A. D. 1384.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 785.  
A. D. 1384.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa

Ramzaun Khaujah, with his Kûshûn, being left to combat alone against overwhelming multitudes, whose efforts he opposed with unshaken firmness, and under every disadvantage, until relieved by powerful reinforcements of fresh troops. The enemy were then beaten back with dismay and loss, and afforded to the Teymûrians ample scope of vengeance for their recent check. As an instance of bravery singular in its kind, the author has not omitted to mention what was performed, on this occasion, by Abed, or perhaps, Aeid Khaujah, a lad belonging to the troops of Teymûr in the very earliest stage of adolescence. Placing himself in ambush near a projecting rock, this lad watched his opportunity, and from thence springing upon one of the flying Afghans, at once bore him by the hair from his horse to the ground, struck off his head, and immediately conveyed it to the presence of Teymûr; who expressed his equal surprise and admiration at such a proof of early hardihood in the youthful warrior—in one who had scarcely escaped from the trammels of the nursery. But, to disengage ourselves from the web of puerilities into which the narrative has been inadvertently betrayed by adhering too closely to the course of the translation, we shall proceed to state that the whole of the imperial army soon afterwards uniting in a general assault upon the works, they were finally carried; and the entire of the garrison, together with every surviving individual in the place, being distributed for the purpose, to the several Hazaurahs and Kûshûns of the army, were put to the sword without distinction.

Having satiated his vengeance against the Afghans of Sûliman Koh, Teymûr directed his march for Kandahaur; which had recently submitted to a division of the army detached against it, under the orders of Ameir Jahaun Shah. From Kandahaur, where, on the arrival of his sovereign, his services were rewarded by distinguished favor, the same chief was further dispatched to the attack of Kûlaut, a fortress of the highest importance in the Gurrumseyr, or hot region, eastward of Kandahaur, which he reduced by assault; returning afterwards to rejoin his master and to enjoy the further reward of his successful exertions. About the same period Meiran Shah, who had been employed in the direction of Khessaud, probably Kosdar, and the Rebbaut of Sûltan Mahmûd, was again restored to the happiness of his father's

presence; and every thing hostile being, by these successful operations, effectually extinguished in both provinces of Seiestaun and Zábúl, Teymûr at last resolved on returning to the metropolis of Samarkand; a resolution which he carried into immediate effect, traversing on this occasion, according to De la Croix, the distance between Kandahaur and that celebrated capital,\* in the comparatively short period of fourteen days; although, with our experience of the improvements of the eighteenth century, this may not appear any very extraordinary instance of expedition.

A. H. 785.  
 A. D. 1384.  
 Rouzut-us  
 suffa.

\* By the maps it would appear about 500 miles.

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 CHAP. II.

A. H. 786.  
 A. D. 1384.  
 Rouz-ut-us-  
 sufta.

THE seven hundred and eighty sixth of the hidjerah being arrived, Teymûr, after a few months repose at Samarkand, and provoked by repeated proofs of prevarication on the part of Ameir Wully the prince of Mazanderaun, at last determined to carry into serious execution his long protracted designs against that province. Having accordingly crossed the Oxus, at the ordinary passage of Fermed, he proceeded to Balkh, which he had appointed for the general rendezvous of his armies. While he remained at Balkh awaiting the arrival of the different divisions of his troops, the ambassadors whom, in the course of the preceding year, he had dispatched to the court of Shirauz, returned to his presence, conducting the daughter of Sûltan Aweiss, the son of Shah Shujia, whom he had demanded as the bride of his grandson Mirza Peir Mahommed. One of these ambassadors, Hadjy Khaujeh, who had either betrayed his trust, or in some shape or other in the course of his mission transgressed the obligations of duty, was now punished with death.

Having quitted Balkh Teymûr was met on the banks of the Mûrghaub by the consort of Meiran Shah from Herât, bringing with her the infant Khaleil Sûltan, the son of that prince, at this period only two years old, to visit his illustrious grandsire. The lady, after having been magnificently entertained, was dismissed on her return to Herât, leaving the infant prince to accompany the queen consort Serâi Melek Khaunum, to Samarkand; for which city, together with all the females of the imperial family, the princess Touman Aga alone excepted, she shortly afterwards quitted the army. Teymûr now prosecuted his march from the Mûrghaub by the rout of Berkehtash, to Serkness; and from the latter place, leaving Abiwerd on one side, proceeded to Nissa,\* where he again halted for some time. Here intelligence being

\* It would appear more correct to have said, "leaving Nissa on one side and proceeded to Abiwerd," since no circumstance is mentioned to have occurred to require the countermarch described in the text, unless, indeed, that which follows gave occasion for it.

received that an officer employed by Ameir Wully had made himself master of the fortress of Dezenkellah, and was adequately prepared to resist, in that quarter, any attempt on the part of the imperial troops, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with Sounjek, and Mûbasher, and other distinguished commanders, was detached in advance, and fell in with and engaged this advanced division of the enemy, at a place called Gaogoush (the bullock's ear). On this occasion in charging his adversaries, the intrepid Mûbasher received an arrow directly in his mouth, which broke two of his teeth, and passed entirely through his throat. The brave chief held on his course, notwithstanding, until he had struck off the head of the author of his misfortune, which he had the satisfaction of laying at the foot of his sovereign; and the district of Gaogoush was immediately conferred upon him in perpetual fee, and in commemoration of the unconquerable fortitude displayed on the occasion. The fortress of Dezen (or Douroun) was then invested, assailed, and carried, in the course of one and the same day by the Teymûrians; by whom the governor and all that fell into their hands were immediately put to the sword.

Quitting Dezen, the Duran of the maps possibly, and traversing the territory of Dahestaun, Teymûr crossed the river of Jûrjaun and encamped at Shasemnaun; while the commanders of the subordinate divisions of the army were assiduously employed in constructing bridges across the creeks and rivers, which intersected the country in frequent succession. The army then proceeded on its march into Mazanderaun, cutting its way through the almost impervious forests, and slowly advancing at the rate of half a farsang, or three thousand paces a day; while the troops of Ameir Wully continued to harass and impede its progress at every step, without intermission. The Teymûrians were however thus gradually gaining ground on the enemy, for nineteen days successively, when on the twentieth day, they found themselves suddenly and desperately attacked by Ameir Wully in person, at the head of the collected force of Asterabad. The efforts of the invaded prince proved however unavailing against the over-ruling and imperious destiny which seems to have accompanied the troops of Teymûr. The Mazanderanians were repulsed with disgrace and loss, and pursued to a considerable distance by the victorious Moghûls. On the retreat

A. H. 796.  
A. D. 1334.  
Rouzut us-  
suffa.

A. H. 786.

A. D. 1334.

Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

of Ameir Wully, nevertheless, either prompted by his own sagacity, or inspired by a ray of that divine intelligence, with which, according to our author, as the viceregent of heaven he seems to have been in some degree endowed, Teymûr gave orders that the commander of each division in the army should, without delay, secure his position in front with a ditch and parapet of fascines, further strengthened by a palisade, or range of sharp stakes driven into the earth. Towards the evening of the same day, urged by some similar felicitous impulse, he selected from the army thirty Kûshûns, of about five hundred each, whom he placed in ambush; to be employed as the occasion might require which he appears to have had in contemplation.

When the night was sufficiently advanced, as appears to have been well foreseen, Ameir Wully and his Mazanderanians again forsook the protection of their bulwarks at Asterabad, and, in the hope of taking it by surprise, approached to attack the imperial encampment. The efforts of the assailants were first directed against that part of the right under the immediate command of Meiran Shah, which they attacked with great fury and impetuosity, endeavoring to cut away and displace the palisades and parapets, with their swords and lances; but falling in heaps one upon another in the ditch of the intrenchment, and Meiran Shah directing his archers to keep up upon them an incessant discharge of arrows, while the thirty Kûshûns in ambuscade rushed from their posts and charged them on every side, they were thrown into irretrievable disorder, and ultimately fled in all directions. To complete their misfortune, Ameir Wully, previous to the last attempt, having caused a number of pits armed with sharp stakes at the bottom, and filled with water, to be opened in the direction in which the imperial troops were marching, the fugitives prevented from discovering their danger by the obscurity of the night, miserably perished, for the most part, in the snare which had been laid for their adversaries; thus affording, according to our original, an illustration of the maxim, "commit not evil lest evil befall thee." This defeat is stated to have occurred in the month of Shavaul of the seven hundred and eighty sixth of the hidjerah.\*

Terrified to the last degree by this disastrous discomfiture, Ameir Wully with his wives and children accompanied by a very slender

\* December. A. D. 1334.



escort, fled in the course of the self-same night by the way of Lungur towards Damaghaun, and lodging his family in the fortress of Guerdah, finally continued his flight from thence to Rey. Thither he was pursued by a body of the Teymûrians, under Khodadaud the son of Hûsseyne, and Ameir Sheikh Ally, who had scarcely obtained a transient view of his encampment before he disappeared, and threw himself into the territory of Rûstumdaur, amidst the forests and inaccessible mountain ranges of which, he found a sufficient asylum against the further designs of his pursuers. In the mean time, having taken possession of Asterabad, Teymûr conferred the government of that place and its dependencies on Lukman Padshah, the son of Togha Teymûr Khaun; who had been long condemned to lead a wandering life, under the usurpation of Ameir Wully, who was originally a dignitary of his father's court.

Leaving the main body of his troops with his heavy baggage and equipments to pass the winter in Mazanderaun, in charge of Ameir Aukbouga and Ouje Kara Bahauder, Teymûr, with a selection of one in three from the whole army, proceeded towards Rey; and soon afterwards entering the dependencies of that ancient city, the intelligence of his arrival produced no small degree of dismay and indecision in the councils of Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir, at this period residing at Sûltauniah. Having, however, employed some exertion to put that place in a state of defence, the Sûltan consigned it to the care of his son Aukbouga; a minor, under the tutelage of one of his officers of the name of Mûbasher, and made the best of his way to Tebreiz. On the other hand, although it was in the very depth of winter, Ameir Omar the son of Abbas with not more than fifty horse, by order of Teymûr approaching Sûltauniah, the garrison conceiving this detachment to be the advanced guard of the imperial army, immediately abandoned the place and carried the young prince after his father to Tebreiz; and Ameir Omar was suffered to take possession of the citadel without resistance, which he despatched a messenger to announce without delay to his sovereign. A report, however, being propagated that Sûltan Ahmed was advancing to relieve Sûltauniah, the misguided and disorderly multitude immediately arose, and put to death the agents employed by Ameir Omar to levy a contribution among the inhabi-

A. H. 786.  
A. D. 1384.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 786.  
A. D. 1385.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

tants ; but the imperial commander, contriving, with some difficulty to maintain his post in the citadel, and the report proving groundless, took ample revenge for this indiscreet ebullition of popular fury, by cutting the greater part of the insurgents to pieces.

As soon as the severity of winter was at an end, and the season for active operations had returned, Teymûr in person at the head of his army appeared at Sûltauniah ; and on the arrival of Audel Aga, whom he had some time since invited from Shirauz, where he had resided under the protection of Sultan Zeyn-ul-aubbedein, the son of Shah Shujia, ever since the period at which he had been driven from Irâk by Sûltan Ahmed, he restored that chief to his government ; placing at his disposal a division of the army, under Mahommed Sûltan Shah, for the support of his authority against the attempts of the Eylkhaunian. Teymûr then turned short in his career towards Kohestaun ; the native chiefs relying upon the inaccessible retreats of that country, having declined making their appearance at court with the customary proofs of submission. The Teymûrian troops were therefore employed to pillage, and lay waste the country in every direction "right and left ;" after which, with an immense booty in possession, they were again conducted into Mazanderaun, their sovereign having it in contemplation to lay siege to Amûl and Sâry, two of the principal towns in that province, which with many others had not yet submitted to his authority. The agents of Seyud Kummaul-ud-dein and Seyud Rezy-ud-dein, in the government of those places, presenting themselves, however, shortly afterwards, before the Tartar monarch, with the necessary peishkesh, and other proofs of submission, he contented himself with laying a strict charge upon the two Seyuds to cultivate a system of cordial friendship with Lukman Padshah, recently established in the government of Asterabad. This arrangement completed, Teymûr finally quitted Mazanderaun and returned into Transoxiana ; where he passed the remainder of the summer in the usual recreations at Samarkand, and the winter at his palace of Zenjeir serâi in the neighborhood of Kesh.

It was in the course of the same winter, that of the 787th-88th of the hidjerah,\* that Touktemesh Khaun, whom about ten years pre-

vious to this period he had established on the throne of Keptchawk Tartary, forgetful of the obligations of gratitude, presumed to traverse the designs of Teymûr, and finally became involved in hostilities with him, by dispatching a force of one hundred thousand men under Peyk Pûlaud, and several other Keptchawkian chiefs of the race of Jâjy, to invade the territory of Tebreiz; in which they accordingly proceeded to exhibit the usual train of enormities, although, with our author, we conceive it would be here utterly superfluous to enter into the detail.

Having determined to extend his conquests in western Persia, and for that purpose reassembled his armies, Teymûr, in the fair season of the seven hundred and eighty eighth of the hidjerah, leaving the government of Transoxiana to the care of Ameir Sûliman Shah, the son of Ameir Dâoud, again crossed the Jeyhûn, directing his march, on this occasion, immediately towards Feyrouzkoh; the fortress so often mentioned on the north-eastern angle of Persian Irâk. At that place it is thought of importance to state that he was now joined by Gheyauthud-dein the son of Kummaul-ud-dein governor of Sâry, with a considerable detachment of his father's troops. In the mean time, complaints having been long since conveyed to Teymûr of the outrages to which the karavans of Hejaz, and the sacred cities, were perpetually exposed, from the rapacious violence of Melek Ezz-ud-dein prince of the lesser Lurrestaun, between Irâk Arab and Khûzistaun; and the same complaints being about this period repeated to him, with circumstances of accumulated aggravation, he resolved to avenge in person the injuries sustained by the defenceless Hadjies, and other unoffending travellers, from this man's unwarrantable proceedings. With this resolution in mind he accordingly directed the Touatcheis, or commissaries of array, to make a draught of two out of ten from the most active soldiers of the army, in order to accompany their sovereign on the expedition; and the arrangements being speedily completed, Teymûr, leaving the main body at Feyrouzkoh, hastened at the head of this select division of his army towards Lurrestaun, which he reached by forced marches, peradventure, before his adversary was prepared to oppose him. The troops were immediately employed to carry pillage and desolation through every part of the province; and the fortress of Khorremabad

A. H. 787-88.  
A. D. 1385-86.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.



A. H. 788.  
 A. D. 1386.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 sufla.

the principal resort of the robbers, being shortly afterwards reduced and raised to the ground, they are said to have been for the greater part exterminated. The period was, however, fatal to some of Teymur's most distinguished captains; among others to Aukitemûr Bahauder, Omar the son of Abbas, and Mahommed the son of Sultan Shah who died in the ordinary course of nature. Khaujâh Ally Mûeyud the Serbedaurian also, in the course of the service, was wounded by an arrow, the effects of which he did not long survive.

While yet engaged in Lârrestaun, on this occasion, intelligence reached Teymûr that Sûltan Ahmed had repossessed himself of Tebreiz. It became therefore expedient to detach Meiran Shah with the advanced guard of the army, immediately to that quarter, the Tartar monarch following in person with the main body, as soon afterwards as it was convenient, having left Sheikh Ally Bahauder to maintain his authority in Persian Irâk. Sûltan Ahmed withdrawing, however, on intelligence of the approach of the Teymûrians, and retiring again on the way to Baghdâd through Armenia, the pursuit of him was entrusted to Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein; but as the Sûltan had abandoned his baggage with all that could unnecessarily impede his flight, a small part only of the pursuing division, under Eleiaus Khaujâh the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, succeeded in coming up with him, at a station, from its salt-marshes, called Nimmokzaur; where, with infinite disparity of number, the young chief found himself opposed to the whole force of the enemy. A severe conflict ensued in which Eleiaus Khaujâh being dangerously wounded, the Sûltan was enabled to continue his flight without further interruption; and a tedious disorder having been brought on in consequence of his wounds, the Khaujâh lingered for a long time in considerable pain, although he finally recovered at the expence of a slight injury to his leg. During the expedition to expel Sûltan Ahmed, Nakhtchûan and its dependencies on the river Araxes became, in the mean time, the scene of horrible bloodshed and destruction; among others, according to De la Croix, Komaury Eynauk exercised his vengeance by suffocating five hundred individuals in the smoke of the burning palace of Zeiâi-ul-mûlk, while the horrors of conflagration were extended, in the same vindictive and exterminating spirit, throughout the whole province.

On the subjugation of the greater part of Azerbâijaun by his generals, Teymûr proceeded to encamp at Shûnb, or Shub-e-ghauzan, a station which appears to have lain within two or three leagues of Tebreiz. Here he received the homage of the principal inhabitants of the province in general, and a reasonable contribution having been imposed upon them, as a ransom for their lives and property, it was collected without material difficulty or delay. The imperial army continued stationary during the remainder of this summer at Tebreiz, and in its vicinity.

In the mean time Audel Aga, by his unaccommodating and arrogant demeanor, had given the utmost disgust and dissatisfaction to the officers of Teymur's court, who had been left to support him in the government of Sultauniah, and that part of Persian Irâk; and an opportunity was early seized to accuse him in the presence of his new sovereign. His neglect, at the same time, to convey to the conqueror on any occasion the ordinary expressions of respect and zeal, and his unrestrained expenditure of the revenues of the country in extravagant largesses, and ostentatious appointments bestowed upon his captains and their followers, altogether, produced at last an impression extremely unfavorable to the sincerity of his attachment. Urged by these considerations Teymûr finally resolved to seize and secure the person of this haughty and turbulent vassal; and for that purpose Ankutemûr was accordingly dispatched to Sultauniah with instructions to arrest him together with all his adherents, on a day appointed; and to take possession of the treasures which in the course of so many years, and notwithstanding some extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune, he had still contrived to amass to a considerable amount. Proceeding to Sultauniah Ankutemûr prepared to carry his orders into execution; but by some means or other receiving intelligence of the design, Audel Aga evinced a determination to defend himself: and this circumstance being further intimated to Teymur, measures were so arranged that on the evening which preceded the day appointed for his arrest, the whole of the imperial force should be stationed in such a manner around Sultauniah, as to cut off from the obnoxious chieftain every avenue for his escape. Accordingly on the morning appointed, when he arose to pursue his ordinary avocations, he too distinctly discovered that he was

A. H. 788.  
A. D. 1386.  
Rouzut-us  
suffa.

A. H. 788.  
 A. D. 1386.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

on every side environed by the Teymûrians. All his protestations of repentance and regret were now unavailing, his destruction being resolved on; and at the expiration of a few days it was, by some means or other, contrived to throw down a wall upon him, under the ruins of which he finally perished. Not long afterwards Ameir Wully, the fugitive prince of Mazanderaun, was seized by the governor of Khelkhaul and delivered over to Komaury Eynauk, who immediately struck off his head and conveyed it to the presence of Teymur.

With every disposition to adhere to the original plan, the design of which was merely to trace the outline of Teymûr's numerous expeditions, these pages have again insensibly dilated into circumstantial detail; but as it would, otherwise, have been difficult to furnish a distinct review of that celebrated conqueror's ever memorable career, the inconvenience becomes in some measure unavoidable, although it shall still continue the object of the relater to circumscribe his narrative, within the narrowest possible limits consistent with general perspicuity.

Putting his troops again in motion, towards the conclusion of the summer, Teymûr directed his march north towards the Araxes on the road to Nakhtchuaun, and appeared before Kurny, or Kornî, which was reduced without material difficulty. From thence he continued to advance in the same direction and displayed his victorious standards in sight of Sermaulû, situated on the banks of the same river Araxes, or Oras, which was taken by assault, and the governor, Toulan, a Tûrkman by nation, laid neck and heels at the foot of the conqueror. He next appears to have followed the course of the Araxes upwards, turning off towards Karss, from the garrison of which he experienced a very obstinate and pertinacious resistance; but the governor Feyrouz Bukht conceiving, after a defence of considerable duration, that it would be unavailing to contend any longer against the superior fortune of his besiegers, finally surrendered; and the place, after it had been pillaged by the soldiery, was converted into a heap of ruins.

The cold season was now set in; but neither the severe rigour of the weather, nor any other consideration was sufficient to withhold the Tartar monarch from striking across the peninsula, to the city of Teflis, which from its strength and importance, and from the misguided

zeal of the Georgian garrison, seemed prepared to make the most formidable resistance. At the same time, it is said to have been considered by Teymûr as no slight imputation, that among so many surrounding Mussulman states, and by such trifling concessions, this infidel community should have been suffered to retain its independence for so long a period; and he accordingly expressed his determination, now that he possessed the ability as well as the inclination, to remove without further delay, such a nest of pollution and impiety from the face of the land. Aware of these sentiments on the part of their sovereign, the troops exerted themselves with extraordinary zeal, in advancing their approaches against the city on every side. Their efforts were accompanied with their usual success; and they ultimately forced their way into the place sword in hand, surmounting every obstacle, and cutting to pieces the greater part of the garrison and inhabitants. Melek Bokraut, or Hippocrates, prince of Teflis, was bound neck and heels, and in that state carried before Teymûr, by whose orders he was loaded with irons; but apostatising, as it is said, from the faith of Christ at a subsequent period, he sought to ensure a milder destiny by embracing the religion of Mahommed.

On the reduction of Teflis, Teymûr indulged the national disposition of his followers by devoting a short period to the amusements of the chase. For this purpose the troops of the right and left wing, moving round to unite by their flanks, proceeded to form the Nerka, or grand circle, in its widest range; after which, contracting towards the centre, they gradually closed in on the numerous assemblage of wild animals driven from every quarter, deer, antelope, onager (gourkherr) and every other species of game, and thus secured such an abundant variety as had but seldom fallen into the toils of the hunter. Then, resuming the more serious operations of war, Teymûr proceeded through the territory on the left of the Kûrr; reducing as he advanced the many towns and fortresses which lay parallel to his march, and enriching his troops with an immense booty, in gold and silver, precious stones and pearl. While encamped at Shekky, in particular, he dispatched a division of the army under Ameir Jahaun Shah, against the Legzies, another division under Mahommed Derwaish Berlas into the mountainous ranges adjoining to Shekky, and Ameir Arghûn Shah Akhta-

A. H. 788.  
A. D. 1386.  
Rouzat-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 788. chei, one of the grand equeries, with Ramzaun Khaajah towards the  
 A. D. 1386. district of Memkenout, or Tengkout ; whilst the Ameirs Mahom-  
 Rouzut-us- med Beg and Mûssa ravaged the territory of Aukjeb. All these, at  
 suffa. a subsequent period, rejoined their sovereign at the station of Keblah,  
 or Kemblah, it is impossible to determine which, after spreading  
 slaughter, desolation, and havoc, through the several countries which  
 stood within the operation of this career of barbarity and violence.

Having further reduced and demolished the Kellasûrkh, or red  
 fortress, Teymûr encamped on the banks of the Kûrr, which he passed  
 shortly afterwards by a flying bridge, continuing his march towards  
 Berdaa ; and the inhabitants of that territory submitting without re-  
 sistance, he finally conducted his ferocious legions to Kârabaugh of  
 Aran, on the left of the Araxes. It was at this place that he undertook,  
 and succeeded in the conversion of Hippocrates prince of Teflis; whom  
 on his apostacy to the faith of Mahommed, he loaded with favors, and  
 restored to his dominions with a considerable augmentation of terri-  
 tory. At the same crisis Ameir Sheikh Ibrauhim prince of both the  
 provinces of Shirvaun, equally distinguished among the Persians of  
 this age, for his magnificent spirit, and for his ancient and illustrious  
 descent, hastened to make his submission to Teymûr, accompanying his  
 professions of amity and homage with a most splendid present of every  
 thing that was rare and costly. Among the circumstances of adula-  
 tion by which he contrived, in a peculiar degree, to attract the favor of  
 the Tartar conqueror, and to secure the possession of his hereditary  
 dominions undisturbed, the following is described as equally unprece-  
 dented and ingenious. According to an established rule it was ne-  
 cessary that all presents offered to the acceptance of the reigning mon-  
 arch, should consist of nine different assortments of nine articles res-  
 pectively, or nine times nine. Either by accident or design, part of  
 Ameir Ibrauhim's present consisting of eight purchased slaves only, he  
 very coolly took his place among them in order to make up the requis-  
 ite complement of nine; a piece of flattery so singularly conceived as to  
 be considered by Teymûr the strongest proof of zeal and attachment,  
 which he returned by evincing the kindest disposition to promote his  
 welfare, and by confirming on the spot the uncontrouled possession  
 of his native dominions, with all the territory which had at any pe-



riod been annexed to them ; so that thus substantially recognized in his title of *Shirvanshah*, under such exalted authority, Ameir Ibrauhim might proceed to exercise the functions of his power with additional confidence and splendor. The princes of Guilân also, who, relying on the inaccessible strength of their mountains and impervious forests, had hitherto but seldom submitted to become tributary to the most powerful of the Persian monarchs, availed themselves of this opportunity to dispatch their sons and representatives, with suitable and costly proofs of homage to the presence of the Tcheghatâyan ; Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who had been left in charge of the heavy equipments of the army, undertaking to conduct these agents by the route of Ardebeil, to Kâraabaugh, where Teymûr had now resolved to pass the winter of seven hundred and eighty nine.\*

In the early part of that year, as soon as the rigors of winter had given way to the genial mildness of spring, when Teymûr was on his return towards Berdaa, here celebrated for its local beauties and amenity, and elsewhere as the residence of Keydafah queen of the Amazons, † renowned for her libidinous visit to Alexander of Macedon, he received intelligence, on his march, of impending hostilities with Touktemesh Khaun, indicated by the appearance of a body of his troops on the opposite bank of the Kûrr, which river they had evinced a design of crossing. The Ameirs Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Ankûtemûr, and Othman the son of Abbas, were directed to pass the Kûrr without delay, and to ascertain the truth of this intelligence ; but, with instructions to beware of being the first to commence hostilities with the troops of the Keptchakian monarch, since, however, violated on his part, the peace had not yet in any shape been infringed on the part of Teymûr. Meiran Shah proceeded shortly afterwards in the same direction, in order to support this detachment in case of necessity. In the mean time, the advanced Ameirs crossing the Kûrr, in conformity with their instructions, very soon fell in with a detachment of the enemy, who replied to their interrogations, that they were employed by Touktemesh Khaun, to guard the entrances into that quarter gainst the approach of the armies of Teymûr. Faithful to their instructions the Tcheghatayan Ameirs, restrained themselves from

A. H. 788-89.

A. D. 1386-87.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

\* A. D. 1387.

† The Thalestris of Quintus Curtius.

A. H. 739.  
 A. D. 1387.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

indulging in their native impetuosity, and indicated a disposition to decline a conflict with their opponents; which being ascribed by the latter to motives of fear, or a sense of inferior force, and producing on their part an adequate proportion of audacity, they determined to avail themselves of these fancied advantages, and immediately opened upon the Teymûrians a galling and unceasing discharge of arrows. Thus urged by the necessity of self-defence the Teymûrians, with their usual ardour, proceeded to chastise the aggression; but imprudently holding their adversaries in too great contempt, and neglecting the ordinary precautions of discipline in their mode of attack, they had experienced a considerable check, with the loss of forty of their warriors, when the division under Meiran Shah arrived very opportunely to their support. The troops of Touktemesh were now repulsed in their turn, and betaking themselves to flight were pursued, with considerable slaughter, all the way to Derbend; a multitude of prisoners falling into the hands of Meiran Shah, by whom they were early conveyed in bonds to the presence of his father. After expostulating with them on the wickedness of an aggression so unprovoked, on the part of a prince who was bound to him by every obligation of gratitude and duty, Teymûr freely liberated the whole, charging them to admonish their master, in his name, to beware in time of awakening the sleeping mischief; and to be well advised before he finally exposed himself to the recorded execration of the divine law. The imperial armies then encamped on the Gouktchehtengueiz, or blue water lake, to the eastward of Eirvaun.

Receiving advices, while thus encamped, that Serâi Melek Khaunum, the queen consort,\* with the young princes Shah Rokh and Khaleil Sûltan, was on her way to join him from Samarkand, Teymûr, shortly afterwards hastened to Marend, to meet these cherished branches of his family. But when the feelings of conjugal and parental affection had been sufficiently indulged, he resumed with increased activity the operations of war, and conducted his troops before the fortress of Alanjek, north of the lake of Vàn; which the officers of Sûltan Ahmed were busily employed in preparing to defend against him. On the night of the third day, after his arrival, he caused

\* Baunûi auzemy.

his troops to ascend the mountain on which this celebrated fortress was situated, and the following day, the lower fesseil, or *enceinte*, was carried by assault, the garrison retiring into the citadel or upper fort. Here they continued to defend themselves with considerable firmness and intrepidity, until, reduced to the last extremity by the total failure of their supply of water, they were compelled in the most abject terms to implore for quarter; engaging themselves by oath to descend from their works and submit to mercy, if the imperial troops would cease from hostilities. The clemency of Teymûr was for once awakened at the cries of distress, possibly to be forever laid asleep by the severe disappointment which he was destined to experience on this occasion. For, when the soldiers had withdrawn by his directions from the approaches which had been advanced, with great forwardness, against the last defences of the place, the sky became suddenly overcast, and a heavy fall of rain ensuing, the cisterns and reservoirs soon overflowed; and the garrison, restored to their firmness by this unlooked for relief, proceeded, in defiance of their recent solemn engagement; and with increased audacity, to employ all their means of annoyance against the besiegers. In short, perceiving that the reduction of this place presented obstacles of a greater magnitude than had entered into his calculation, Teymûr yielded to the necessity of rejoining his heavy equipment; leaving the further prosecution of the siege to Mahommed Meirkeh the son of Sheir-e-Behraum, and Ouje Kâra Bâhauder. The fortress of Bayezzid, more to the eastward, had been previously invested by the division under Sheikh Ally Bahauder; and the Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and Eidkû Teymûr being now dispatched to join that chief, the operations against the place were carried on with vigorous activity by the united skill of these generals; and the pioneers and miners having at last succeeded in draining the wet ditch, the fortress was finally attacked and overpowered by assault, and the surviving garrison, as on some other occasions, conveyed in bonds to the presence of Teymûr.

While these occurrences were passing in one quarter, information was communicated to Teymûr of the numerous acts of robbery and violence, to which the Kauflahs, or associations of merchants and others travelling towards Arabia, were continually exposed from the barbarity of the predatory Tûrkomans; and as he conceived this a species of

A. H. 789.  
A. D. 1387.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 789.  
A. D. 1387.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

violation of the rights of society and humanity, which peculiarly demanded the interference of imperial power, he determined for the present to suspend all other designs, and to devote his attention to the punishment of these unbridled banditti. He accordingly quitted the territory of Nakhtchâun, to which he had by this time transferred his head quarters, and proceeded at the head of his troops against Kâra Mahommed, the chief of the Kârakûynlû, or black wether tribe, and father of the celebrated Kâra Yûssuf; having first directed Mahommed Meirkeh to withdraw from the blockade of Alanjek, and sent his heavy baggage to remain at Alatauk. He then hastened by forced marches, with a chosen division of the army, towards the attainment of his object. As he passed, in the mean timè, through the territory dependent on the fortress of Bayezid, occasionally denominated that of Aeidein, which had escaped hitherto unmolested by the troops employed under Sheikh Ally Bahauder and Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, the unfortunate inhabitants were exposed to the most barbarous pillage, on the part of the rapacious soldiery who immediately followed the imperial standard. From Bayezid he advanced next to Auneik, or Avaneik, [the city of Van so called, according to De la Croix, but erroneously] ravaging and bestroing the whole of the Tûrkman settlements that lay in his progress.

On the subjugation of Auneik, the imperial troops entered the territory of Arzerûm, and an agent was dispatched towards Erzenjaun to demand the submission of Taherten, the independent prince of that part of the country. Inspired by his better fortune this prince determined on receiving the agent of Teymûr with every mark of respect and kindness, and proceeded to give him, on his arrival, the most satisfactory proofs of zeal and obedience to the authority of his master. Meiran Shah with a division of the army was employed, in the meantime, to explore the retreat of Kâra Mahommed; and having carried pillage and devastation to the very innermost abodes of the obnoxious tribes, returned loaded with booty, and with a multitude of captives of both sexes, to rejoin the imperial encampment. The march of Mahommed Meirkah detached on a similar expedition, leading, however, through a mountainous district, intersected by narrow, and intricate passes and defiles, the enemy availed themselves of these advantages to intercept him at different points, during his progress;

although, after severe and repeated conflicts, and by a conspicuous exertion of superior valour, he also finally succeeded in repelling the danger, and in reconducting his division safe to the camp of his sovereign. A third division, which had been dispatched on the same design of hunting out the retreat of the Tûrkman chief, under Sheikh Ally Bahauder the son of Arghûn Berlas, and other distinguished commanders, finally reached the spot, where, on the summit, or ridge, of a lofty and inaccessible mountain, among rocks and precipices, he had taken post. All the resources of valour and skill were immediately employed to open a passage to this inaccessible retreat, without success; and all attempts to dislodge the Tûrkman from his unassailable ridges, being found in vain, the Teymûrians thought it prudent to relinquish the enterprize, and so proceeded without delay to rejoin the main body. A fourth division which hastened to enter the lands of the hostile tribe by a yet different route, came suddenly upon one of their principal cantonments, and having possessed themselves of a very considerable booty in horses and arms, made good their retreat to the imperial encampment in perfect safety; while Shah Melek the son of Gheyauth-ud-dein Berlas, who had undertaken to proceed against the enemy without the permission of his sovereign, was found a lifeless corse in the intervening solitude.

Leaving Arzerûm Teymûr turned to the southward to the plains of Moush: and having laid waste and plundered the intermediate country, conducted his troops, after several marches, to the walls of Ekhlaut, the capital of lower Armenia, on the northwestern angle of the lake of Van. The magistrates of this place, submitting without resistance, were treated with humanity and kindness; and the Tartar monarch continued his march to the plains of Adeljouz. From the governor of this territory he also experienced a prompt submission; for which he compensated by confirming him in his government, with many gracious marks of liberality and favor. Thence leaving the Guiagoul, [the great lake, or lake of Van possibly so called on occasion] and passing the Bend-e-mauhy, or fish weir, a small stream which discharges itself into the lake of Van, Teymûr, having apparently skirted, on this occasion, the northeastern shore of that lake, returned with his army to Alatauk, where his baggage and heavy equipments had formerly been dispatched to await his orders.

A. H. 789.  
A. D. 1387.  
Rouzut-us  
suffa.

A. H. 789.  
 A. D. 1387.  
 Rouzûf-us-  
 suffa.

From Alatauk, shortly after this, Teymûr led his troops towards Van and Vestaun; towns, according to De la Croix, at the distance of six leagues from each other, about northwest and southeast. Against the approaching storm, Melek Ezz-ud-dein the prince of the country, sheltered himself, for the present, in the castle of Van; described as a place of extraordinary strength, situated on the summit of a mountain, and encompassed on one side by a considerable body of water, most probably the lake of the same name. After a resistance of two days, Melek Ezz-ud-dein was induced, however, by a prudent foresight, to descend from his impregnable retreat, and to submit himself to the mercy of Teymûr, by whom he was favorably received; but, the garrison, disdainingly to follow the example of their chief, and chusing a person of the name of Nausser-ud-dein to succeed him, hastened to secure the approaches to their works, and evinced a determination to defend themselves to the last extremity against the attempts of their besiegers. The imperial engineers received orders, upon this, to advance their warlike machines, and the troops to renew their attack with unabating vigor, and perseverance; and at the expiration of twenty days, during which it had been contrived to suspend the destiny of the place, it was finally carried by assault. One half of the garrison had their throats cut for their unavailing pertinacity, while the remainder were cast headlong, bound hand and foot, from the summit of the rock on which the castle stood, and the works of which were immediately directed to be rased to the foundations.

The construction of the castle of Van, thus subjugated by the arms of Teymûr, is here ascribed, on the authority of preceding writers, to Aud, the father of Shedaud, a celebrated Arabian prince of remote antiquity; who caused it to be formed of such gigantic masonry, that each separate stone of the fabric is compared to a stupendous fragment of caucasus. The date of its reduction on the present occasion is preserved in the letters which compose the sentence "Keywaun beguer-eft;" the great king, the modern Key, has reduced Vaun; or possibly, He has made himself master of the Planet Saturn, the remotest on the solar system—exhibiting in the aggregate numerically taken, the period 789. Nausser-ud-dein, upon whom the government had been so inauspiciously obtruded, fell alive into the hands of the besiegers,

and having been ignominiously paraded through the encampment with his hair and beard half shaved, was finally put to death on the day on which the army marched from Van, and his head exposed at a narrow pass, through which the imperial troops had been ordered to defile.

About this period an embassy from Ameir Taherten, prince of Erzenjaun, reached the imperial encampment, conveying at the same time a very superb display of presents, and the most solemn assurances that during life he should devote himself, with inviolable fidelity, to the cause and glory of Teymûr. The ambassador was honorably received, and a patent formally expedited, confirming his master in the independent government of his province. On his arrival at Selmaus, on the borders of Azerbâijaun south-west of Tebreiz, Teymur acknowledged his obligations to Melek-Ezz-ud-dein, by conferring upon him the government of Kûrdestaun; and not long afterwards, availing himself of the impulse of his better fortune, Tenouk the petty prince of Ermi, or Urmia, on the lake of that name, repaired to the presence of Teymûr; and, with other marks of favor, including a female of singular beauty, obtained from the Tartar conqueror a similar confirmation in the government of his province.

On his entrance into Persian Irâk at the commencement of the expedition, Teymûr had dispatched to the court of Zeyne-ul-aubbedein the son of Shah Shujia, who had succeeded to the sovereignty of Shirauz, an agent to remind him of the terms on which he had been recommended to the imperial protection by his departed father, and urging him to avail himself of the short distance by which they were then separated, to secure a friendly interview; in order that the opportunity might not, as it was said, be suffered to escape, by which it was designed to distinguish him, in a manner to exalt him above the most illustrious of his contemporaries. At the same time, he was expressly assured that at the expiration of the conference with his imperial patron, he would be permitted to return to his capital in the full possession of every thing that could contribute to throw a lustre upon, and give stability to his power. But, the fortune of this prince being now arrived at the point at which it was destined to decline, he sought by various and frivolous pretences to elude the summons, and to protract, from time to time, the proposed visit; and he proceeded to give

A. H. 739.

A. D. 1387.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

A. H. 789.  
 A. D. 1387.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

at last the most decided proof of his hostile disposition, by putting under restraint the person of Teymûr's agent employed on this occasion.

It required only the necessary confirmation of this intelligence to produce in the mind of Teymûr the final resolution of undertaking without further delay, the subjugation of Farss, and the remainder of Irâk Ajem; and having again put his troops in motion accordingly, and dispatched his heavy baggage and equipments, under Meiran Shah, accompanied by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, towards Rey, in order to pass the winter at the station of Saurek-kemesh, he proceeded in person, during the autumn of the seven hundred and eighty ninth of the hidjerah, at the head of the main body of the army, directly towards Isfahaun. On his appearance before that city, some time afterwards, Seyud Mâzuffur Kaushy the maternal uncle of Sûltan Zeyne-ul-aubbedein, and the principal inhabitants, hastened to present themselves in the most respectful manner to the Tartar monarch; from whom they experienced, outwardly, a very favorable and encouraging reception. He was, at the same time, permitted without obstacle to enter, and take possession of, the citadel or castle of Teberrek, or Tabarek, which he immediately consigned to the care of Eykûteymûr, one of his principal generals. Then returning to his camp in the neighborhood, he issued orders that all the horses and arms in Isfahaun should be delivered up without reserve to his officers; while detachments of the imperial troops were sent to take possession of, and secure the gates of the town. The city magistrates had now repaired to the camp of Teymûr in order to adjust the terms on which their fellow citizens were to be redeemed from the horrors of plunder and massacre; and a stipulated sum was agreed upon, which they requested that the proper persons might be appointed to collect. Detaining the magistrates in his camp Teymûr sent four of his officers, Nour Melék Berlas, Ameir Mahommed Sûltan Shah, Melek Teymûr, and Ameir Aukbouga, into the town to superintend the collection; but the subordinate agents of these Ameirs, employed in the different districts to levy the several proportions of the ransom, proceeding as usual to the exercise of their power, with unfeeling rigor, and to insult the families of the distressed inhabitants, the Isfahaunians suddenly flew



to arms; and under the conduct of one of their fellow citizens of the name of Ally Kutchehpa,\* distinguished for his bold and intrepid spirit, hastened to repel, and to take vengeance on their oppressors. Of these, accordingly, many fell a sacrifice to the fury of the insurgents; while others, by the more cautious prudence of a part of the inhabitants, were protected during the paroxysm of the insurrection. The Tcheghatayan troops, and others in want of various articles of supply, having entered the city at the same time, however, in scattered parties, without suspicion of danger, the number of those who were cut off on this occasion did not amount, altogether, to less than three thousand persons; and among these was included Mahommed the son of Kha-tâi Bahauder, an officer of some distinction. Neither did the fury of the insurgents terminate until they had entirely expelled the Teymûrian detachments stationed at the gates of the town; to fortify which, against those dreadful measures of retaliation to be speedily poured upon them, every possible precaution was immediately employed.

The next day, as soon as this unexpected ebullition of tumultuary vengeance became known to Teymûr, his indignation was awakened to the utmost degree of violence; and he gave orders that the army should be put in motion without delay to attack the city, which orders were carried into immediate execution. The Isfahanians, on the other hand, with the self-devotion of men who combated in defence of life, and of all that made it valuable, exhibited the most courageous and determined resistance against the efforts of their assailants, of whom they destroyed considerable numbers; and among those of distinguished rank on the side of the Teymûrians who fell on the occasion, were the Ameirs Beyan Teymûr and Aukbouga. Abbas and Othman Bahauders were also dangerously wounded by arrows, but subsequently recovered. The city was, nevertheless, finally carried; and, an exception having been made in favor of the ministers of religion and agents of the law, and of those quarters where, through the cooler prudence of the inhabitants, the collectors had been sheltered from the rage of the insurgents, a general massacre immediately commenced by the express orders of Teymûr. By the same authority it was further enjoined, that every division of the army from the tomaun

A. H. 789:  
A. D. 1387.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

\* Crooked leg.

A. H. 789.  
 A. D. 1387.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa

to that of an hundred men, should not fail to produce its due proportion of the heads of the slain, which the imperial Tawatcheis or commissaries of muster and array, were instructed to take an account of; and it is stated, on the most authentic reports, that the number of heads collected on this occasion amounted to not less than seventy thousand, all of which were formed, as was the frequent practice, into one or more frightful pyramids in sight of the town. To complete the misfortune of the inhabitants, a considerable number, who had contrived under cover of the night to effect their escape from immediate destruction, endeavoured to find concealment among the recesses of the neighboring vallies; but the unseasonable intervention of a fall of snow, by exhibiting the course of the fugitives, betrayed to their pursuers the place of their retreat, and they were, the following day, led forth to slaughter, and drenched in their own blood.

The massacre at Isfahaun, on this occasion, is said by De la Croix to have happened on monday, the sixth of Zilkaudah, of the seven hundred and eighty ninth of the hidjerah;\* and, without expressly ascribing the calamitous event to the influence of the heavenly bodies, the author whom we principally draw upon; here remarks that nearly at the same period a conjunction of the higher planets had taken place in Gemini, followed shortly afterwards by a similar conjunction in Cancer, of the malignant planets Saturn and Mars.

When he was at leisure from this sanguinary adjustment of his concern with Isfahaun, Teymûr, after committing the government of that city to Hadjy Beg the son of Saurbouga, and Nouban Shah, two of his captains, proceeded on his march towards Shirauz; at present, as has been recently shewn, under the authority of Sûltan Zeyn ul-aubbedein of the race of Mûzuffur. But the approach of his formidable adversary became no soonér known to the Shirauzian than, in conformity with the maxim which teaches us in affliction to draw to our kindred, he retired without delay, by the route of Kâzeroun, towards Tûster the capital of Khûzistaun, then under the dominion of his cousin german Shah Munsûr, the son of Shah Mûzuffur; although there existed grounds of jealousy between the kiusmen, to render the fugitive sufficiently dubious of his reception: and the sequel furnish-

\* 16th November, 1387.

es, in truth, an additional example of the bitter regret which that man is likely to experience, who commits his personal safety to the discretion of an enemy. For when it was ascertained that Zeyn-ul-aubbedein was arrived within a short distance of his capital, Shah Munsûr proceeded by his emissaries, and by promises which he little designed to perform, to seduce from their allegiance the followers of his too-confident relative; so that being finally abandoned by the greater part of his adherents, the unfortunate prince was soon afterwards seized, and his person immured in the castle of Sellausil. Those, however, by whom he had been so basely forsaken in his distress, did not experience a milder destiny; they were also consigned to imprisonment, and their effects of every description converted to the use of their oppressor.

Teymûr, on the other hand, equally disposed to chastise his adversaries and to cherish his friends, encamped without obstacle on the first day of Zilhudge,\* in sight of Shirauz; the chief magistrates and most distinguished citizens hastening to prostrate themselves at the feet of the conqueror, and entering into a composition on the spot, by which they engaged, from a contribution levied on the property of the inhabitants, to lodge in the hands of the imperial treasurers, the sum of one thousand Kopeiky Tomauns.† This sum, whatever may have been its actual value, Othman the son of Abbas was employed to receive, and the whole was faithfully paid to the utmost dirrem; and the authority of Teymûr was soon afterwards publicly acknowledged by the annunciation of his name in the Khotbah, during the festival of sacrifice usually solemnized on the tenth of Zilhudje. In these circumstances, Ekhtiaur-ud-dein Hussun, reputed among the most discreet and sagacious of the nobles of Irân, was dispatched to the presence of Teymûr, on the part of Sûltan Emmaud-ud-dein Ahmed, the brother of Shah Shujah, while he removed in person to Seirjaun; with the view of securing himself in the citadel of that place, as soon as

\* 11th of December, 1387.

† The modern tomaun is estimated at thirty rupees, or half crowns; but as the sum of 3750 pounds sterling would appear but an incompetent ransom for such a city as Shirauz at that period, the capital of a wealthy monarchy, the amount was probably much more considerable; possibly a thousand times ten thousand dirrems, which would be equal to about £229166. 13s. 6d.

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the imperial troops should advance in the same direction. The design being, however, intimated to Teymûr, a body of ten thousand horse was immediately detached in company with the same Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, in order to form the siege of Seirjaun, together with that of the citadel or castle of Kermaun; and Emmaud-ud-dein, prudently anticipating the event, and without further hesitation abandoning his plans of offence, repaired directly to the camp of Teymûr, from whom he experienced a reception equally distinguished and indulgent. His example was speedily followed, with similar good fortune, by the chiefs of the neighbouring territory; among whom are enumerated Nûssret-ud-dein Yaheya, the nephew of Shah Shujia, also from Seirjaun; and the Atabeks of Lûrr, and Gûrguein Laury, who claimed descent from Gûrguein Meylaud, of which latter we gather nothing but the name.

Of Kummur-ud-dein Doghlaut the name has already transiently occurred in the early part these pages. It is now stated that after having long combated, with singular variety of fortune, for the sovereignty of Moghûlstaun, that chief had, about this period, been at last compelled to abandon the contest; and to withdraw for assistance to the court of Touktemesh Khaun, the monarch of Keptchawk Tartary, on whom he had finally succeeded in prevailing once more to engage in hostilities with Teymûr. To the advancement of any design concerted against his dominions in the opposite direction, the absence of that monarch on his expedition to the western provinces of the Persian empire, afforded, indeed, sufficient facility; and the plan was accordingly no sooner ripe for execution, than several of the princes of the race of Jûjy, with other distinguished commanders, were selected by Touktemesh to accompany Kummur-ud dein at the head of a powerful army, into Tûrkestaun. Proceeding to their destination these leaders, on their arrival near Soghnauk, leaving that place on one side, turned to the northward to Sabraun, a city, or fortress; about forty leagues in that direction from the former place, to which they laid siege; but meeting with a brave and resolute resistance from Temûr Khaujâh, the son of Aukbouga, who commanded on the part of Teymûr, they were unwillingly compelled, after much fruitless exertion, to abandon the siege: and to employ the force entrusted

to their management, in carrying desolation and havoc throughout the Teymûrian territory eastward of the Seyhûn.

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In order to repel this formidable incursion, Omar Sheikh, who held his court at Andegaun on the opposite side of the river, proceeded to assemble the troops of his province with all the expedition in his power; while the Ameirs Sûliman Shah and Abbas, leaving the metropolis of Samarkand to the care of Ameir Laul the brother of Toghâi Bouga Berlas, and Aukitemûr Bahauder, hastened to join the Shahzâdah, by whom they were conducted without further delay across the Seyhûn. At the station of Jouglik about five farsangs to the eastward of Otraur, the Teymûrians came to an action with Kummur-ud-dein and the troops of Touktemesh, which continued from early dawn to the setting of the sun. When the conflict had, however, been maintained to a late hour without producing any decisive result, Omar Sheikh, who was stationed as usual at the head of the centre division, in the post of the captain general, conceived that the moment was arrived when his personal exertions became immediately necessary to determine the fortune of the day; and forming a chosen squadron from the flower of his troops threw himself accordingly, with irresistible impetuosity sword in hand, upon the opposite part of the enemy's line of battle, and succeeded in cutting his way through, entirely to the rear. But, having been thus carried to a distance which precluded all immediate communication with the main body of the army, and his generals having occasion to apply for orders, and their messengers not finding the prince at his post, erroneously concluding, that, with a baseness unworthy of the acknowledged intrepidity of his character, he had abandoned his followers to their fate; such it is observed, being the nature of the report conveyed to the generals, an universal panic communicated itself to the army, which was followed by the immediate flight and dispersion of the whole, in every direction. Omar Sheikh returning shortly afterwards to his station, and discovering to his infinite regret and disappointment, that the centre division had unaccountably disappeared, endeavored for some time, to sustain an unequal conflict with the enemy; but his horse being rendered unmanageable through his wounds, he was at last prevailed upon, by the entreaties of an officer to whom he was particularly attached, to mount another, on which he made the best of his way alone

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and unattended towards Andegaun. That place he finally reached in safety, just as the inhabitants, who had concluded from report that he had fallen into the hands of the enemy, were preparing to retire into the neighboring mountains; when the unexpected arrival of the prince at once removed their apprehensions, and restored them anew to life and confidence.

While Omar Sheikh was yet engaged in re-assembling his scattered troops, and preparing afresh to oppose the designs of Kummur-udein, intelligence was conveyed to him that Ankatoura, the nephew of Hadjy Beg Arknouty, with a numerous force from Moghúlstaun, had made his appearance near Taushkent from the direction of Seiraum; and that his followers were committing the greatest enormities throughout the neighboring territory. This information being confirmed by succeeding accounts the prince, with such troops as he had been able to collect, made the best of his way to Khojend; but learning on his arrival at that place, that these new invaders were directing their march towards Andegaun by a different route, he immediately returned upon his steps, with the design of throwing himself in their way; and he discovered shortly afterwards that he had gained the start of the enemy, whom he found still on the opposite, or right hand, side of the Seyhún. For several days the two armies proceeded upwards along that river, parallel to each other, equally desirous the one of effecting, the other of preventing, the passage across. At last, by a very ordinary stratagem, that of leaving a detachment of his troops to keep up the fires in his camp, and marching one night with the remainder, to a ford which had been pointed out to him by a native of Andegaun, Ankatoura succeeded in crossing, without the slightest obstacle, to the other side, where he disposed his army in order of battle without delay.

Although he might have been, in some degree, disconcerted by the equal boldness and celerity with which this operation had been executed, the Shahzadah did not fail to present himself before the enemy, in order to dispute his further progress; but the superiority of number on the part of the invaders so far surpassed his calculation; that, after exhibiting the most conspicuous proofs of intrepidity, he found himself finally compelled to retire within the walls of Ande-

gaun. The enemy immediately followed, and encamped within the distance of about half a farsang from the town; of which it was proposed to form the siege, the moment some necessary arrangements had been completed. Disdaining, however, the humiliation of being thus long cooped up by an adversary whom he had been accustomed to despise, and hurried on by the impulse of an impetuous valour, Omar Sheikh, at the head of a small part of his followers issued from the town, and precipitating himself upon the invaders, carried alarm and slaughter to the very centre of their camp. And here he must probably have fallen a victim to his rashness, were it not for the generous selfdevotion of Towukkel Bahauder; who perceiving at once the danger to which he was exposed, and the difficulty of rescuing him, rushed sword in hand into the throng by which he was surrounded, and seizing his horse by the bridle, succeeded almost by a miracle, in conducting him to a place of safety. Neither did Ankatoura, after these repeated proofs of the resolute and intrepid character of his adversary, conceive it advisable to expose himself much longer to its operations; and he accordingly withdrew, with evident precipitation, towards the land of his impious associates; a considerable part of his army, however, falling a sacrifice in the hurry of retreat, to the vengeance of the troops dispatched in pursuit of them by Omar Sheikh.

In the mean time, the Toghmauk, or Keptchakian Tatars, who had entered Transoxiana by another quarter, proceeded to spread through the country, to their utmost, the horrors of massacre, pillage, and slavery; while the Ameirs Sùliman Shah and Abbas, who had escaped from the discomfiture at Jouglik, exerted themselves, with a resolution rather more becoming than they had shewn on that disgraceful occasion, for the defence and security of the metropolis of Samarkand. A body of the invaders equally formidable, which had passed through Kharezim under the direction of Sùltan Mahmùd, the son of Key Khosrøu Khotlauny, proceeded to attack Bokhàra; but that favorite city being also defended with competent valour and resolution by Toghâi Bouga Berkas, and Ettelmesh Koutchem, they despaired of reducing it; and their operations were then directed to over-run and lay waste that part of the country, which had escaped the fury of their fellow labourers in the work of spoliation: after which setting

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A. H. 789-90. fire to the palace of Zenjeirserâi, near Kesh, and leaving the cities of  
 A. D. 1387-88. Karshy or Nakhshéb, and Khozaur, on one side, they carried their  
 Rouzut-us- destructive ravages round, in that direction, to the station of Gÿyten  
 suffa. on the banks of the Oxus. Ameir Abbas did not long survive his  
 exertions for the defence of Samarkand; dying while these occurren-  
 ces were taking place, of the wound which he had received by an ar-  
 row in the battle of Jouglik.

The messenger employed to communicate to Teymûr the state of  
 affairs in Mawer-un-neher, having reached Shirauz in the space of  
 seventeen days, proceeded without delay to announce to that mon-  
 arch the dangers which had assailed his native province in so many  
 directions; and Ameir Othman the son of Abbas, accompanied by a  
 small troop of thirty horse, was chosen to convey to the distressed in-  
 habitants of Samarkand, with the utmost possible dispatch, the en-  
 couraging intelligence that the avenger of their wrongs would speed-  
 ily be at hand to relieve them, in the person of their sovereign. The  
 territory of Irâk was now partitioned out to such of the individuals  
 of the race of Mûzuffur as had submitted to the power of the Tartar  
 monarch; while Seyud Shereif-ud-dein Jârjauny, the respectable  
 representative of the descendants of the prophet, with Ameir Alla-  
 ud-dein Aynauk one of the ministers of the late Shah Shujia, most  
 distinguished for his talents and liberality, and all others of the inha-  
 bitants of Shirauz, who any way surpassed in arts, manufactures, or  
 sciences, received orders to remove without delay, in charge of an  
 escort which was directed to accompany them, to Samarkand, and  
 other places in Transoxiana, destined to receive improvement from  
 this importation of ingenuity and skill.

These preliminary arrangements finally disposed of, Teymûr quitted  
 Shirauz, according to De la Croix, at the close of the month Mohur-  
 rim of the seven hundred and ninetieth of the hidjerah,\* and pro-  
 ceeded to the Bund, or embankment, of Ezzed-ud-doulah; probably  
 that which confines the stream of the Bundameir, north-eastward of  
 the capital of Farss. At this station the agents of Pehlewaun Mû-  
 huzzeb Khorassauny, governor of Aberkôh, attended the presence of  
 Teymûr, with the most obsequious proposals of submission on the part

\* February, 1388.



of his principal ; and a request that one of the imperial generals might be dispatched to administer the affairs of his government, while he might be absent in person doing homage to the conqueror. Towukkel Bawertchei being accordingly sent to Aberkôh, that place was without difficulty put in his possession by Mûhuzzeb, who now proceeded to make his personal submission before the throne of Teymûr. The imperial camp removed shortly afterwards to the precincts of Aberkôh, which furnished to Pehlewaun Mûhuzzeb an opportunity of attesting, by fresh proofs of zeal, the sincerity of his attachment to his new sovereign ; and his services on the occasion were considered so essentially useful and acceptable, that the confirmation in his government, which was immediately bestowed upon him, was perhaps not more than he was authorized to expect.

From Aberkôh Teymûr appears to have turned off towards Isfahaun, and to have proceeded by that route to Rey ; where he now rejoined his heavy baggage and equipments, and from whence he dispatched Meiran Shah and Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein into Khorassaun ; in order to assemble and secure the co-operation of the troops in that province. In the mean time, he conferred the government of Koumm, Kashân, and Kazvein, on Peir Mahommed of Sawah, and that of Rey upon Moussa the son of Hûseyne Tchoukaury ; at the same period dismissing the princes of Rûstumdaur, and the Guilâns, to their respective countries. On his arrival at Feyrouzkôh, a part of the territory dependent on Rey was, however, consigned to Eskundur Sheikhy, who remained on the spot to secure obedience to his authority. He also bestowed the government of Damaghaun, in the same vicinity, upon Ameir Jemsheid Kârin, a native of Kohestaun ; and lastly to Peir Padshah, the grandson of Togha Teymûr Khaun, he gave in name at least, the government of Asterabad ; leaving his final injunctions with all these chiefs, respectively, to conduct themselves with a conscientious regard to the peace and welfare of the people entrusted to their care, and to the principles of impartial justice. Teymûr then prosecuted his march towards the Oxus, and finally reached the metropolis of Samarkand, without the intervention of any thing further material to relate :

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suffa.

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 suffa.

Some time previous to his arrival, the enemy had withdrawn from the country with considerable precipitation; although their retreat was not conducted with so much celerity, as to prevent their being overtaken by the troops immediately dispatched in pursuit of them, under the orders of Khodadaud the son of HÛsseyne, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and Omar Taban; by whom they were cut to pieces in great numbers; before they could yet convey themselves to a place of safety. In the mean time, Teymûr proceeded without delay to investigate into the charge of misconduct during the battle of Joughlik, which had excited in his mind equal grief and indignation; some of his most distinguished captains being seriously implicated in that charge. Among these, Sûliman Shah experienced his severest reprobation; while Be-raut Khaujeh Koukeltaush, who had behaved with singular remissness, if not with direct cowardice, on that occasion, was ignominiously exposed through the streets of Samarkand, with his beard shorn, his headattired like a woman's, and his face preposterously disfigured with red and white paint. KoutchahMelek, on the other hand, who with thirteen followers only had ventured, under cover of the night, to attack three hundred of the troops of Ankatoura, and succeeded in liberating from their fangs, no small number of the inhabitants of Khojend and the adjoining districts, was rewarded by an augmentation of Seyûrghaul;\* by a patent investing him with the distinguished order of Terkhan, and by marks of imperial favor in other respects equally bountiful and conspicuous. Omar Sheikh, on his part, experienced from his father the most affectionate reception, was loaded with praises for his meritorious exertions, and his exploits remunerated by the highest honors of the state.

Although the troops of Touktemesh had disappeared at the approach of Teymûr, like gnats before the fury of the storm, there still remained in the newly subjugated kingdom of Kharezmi, and under some of the numerous stock of Jûjy, a considerable force of the enemy; who encouraged by the aid of the turbulent and disaffected natives, evinced a design to tempt their fate, and maintain their ground in the country. The attention of the Tcheghatayan monarch was therefore early directed to repel the daring encroachment before it

\* An assignment of lands, on Jaguîr in perpetuity.

should have acquired strength from impunity. The seven hundred and ninetieth of the hidjerah was accordingly not far advanced when he again approached the Kharezian frontier at the head of his armies. Having proceeded to the station of Egriaur he dispatched a body of troops in advance, under the orders of Kounje Oghlan and Teymûr Kâtlûg Oghlan, who had both recently forsaken the standard of Touktemesh, and sought the protection of his adversary. On crossing the Baghdâdek, a stream which is said to enter the Jeyhûn below, or to the northward of Beykund, an inferior chief of the name of Abed Khaujâh was further detached by these commanders, at the head of the scouting parties, to explore the country, and collect information of the enemy; and a shepherd in the service of Eylegmesh Oghlan, one of the princes who commanded in Kharezim on the part of Touktemesh, falling into the hands of this officer, he was sent without delay, by the Teymûrian captains to the presence of their sovereign. Intelligence of considerable importance, with respect to the situation and designs of the enemy, was obtained on examination of the captive, and Teymûr immediately prosecuted his march to the Jedreis; a river which then formed, according to De la Croix, the boundary between the Tcheghatayan dominions and the territory of Kharezim. On crossing the river he was met by further intelligence, which announced that both Eylegmesh, who appears to have accepted of the title of king of Kharezim, and Sûliman Sûfy whose sister he had espoused, had conceived it prudent to abandon the province; and that they were already making the best of their way towards the frontiers of Keptchâuk. Kharezim with all its dependencies was restored to its obedience without further difficulty; and Meiran Shah, with that singularly intrepid soldier Ouje Kâra Bahauder\* and some other distinguished commanders, being dispatched in pursuit of the enemy, by the route of Komkent to the north-eastward, finally succeeded in cutting off a considerable part of the fugitives, and having satiated his followers with plunder and slaughter, returned in due time to rejoin his father.

After a residence of some days in the metropolis of Kharezim, Teymûr gave orders that the whole of the inhabitants of the town and neighborhood should be removed to Samarkand; after which it was again

\*We have not yet been able to decide whether this is not the *Axallu* of Knolles.

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suffa.

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raised to the foundations and the site sown with barley; so that of this great and populous city there remained, in the language of the original; not so much as an individual to blow the fire, not a foot of masonry to shelter from the rays of the sun or from the chilling winds of evening. In short, having watched these events to their conclusion, Teymûr withdrew to his own capital, and Kharezm continued in a state of melancholy desolation for the space of three years afterwards; until, indeed, the period at which the Tartar monarch returned from his great expedition into Keptchak, when Mouseikah the son of Jengui Koutchein,\* was employed, by his directions, once more to restore cultivation to the neglected soil, again to re-enliven this howling wilderness with the cheerful abodes of man.

In the mean time, during the absence of Teymûr on this occasion, in repelling the insolence of foreign aggression in Kharezm, he was assailed at home by the more pernicious attempts of ingratitude and domestic treason. This he was destined to experience from Mahommed Meirkah the son of Sheir-e-Behraum, on whom, with the government of Khotlan and its dependencies, he had bestowed the hand of his daughter Sûltan Bukht Begum; but who was not to be restrained by a sense of the most sacred obligations of duty, from availing himself of the opportunity, to revolt against his benefactor. He commenced his career of insurrection with the plunder of the palaces of Dâoud Melek Berlas, and Aukitemûr Bahauder, at Shaudeman, occasionally denominated Hessaurek, a place of some importance to the northwest of Termed; and with the seizure of the arsenal at the same place, the contents of which he immediately distributed among the disorderly multitude who had joined his standard. His success was, however, of short duration: for hastening on the earliest intimation of his rebellious designs, from Bokhâra to Samarkand, Omar Sheikh, with such of the troops of the province as he could assemble, advanced with his usual activity towards Shaudeman, and the rebel was forsaken by his adherents the moment it became known that the shahzâdah was approaching. He then endeavored to save himself from impending vengeance by flight; but being accidentally fallen in with by Othman, one of the Teymûrian

\* *Koutchein*, according to De la Croix, is the appellation of one of the most renowned of the Moghûl tribes.

chiefs on his way to Samarkand, he was seized with his four remaining followers, and finally put to death, through the directions of Omar Sheikh as he was proceeding, in charge of his captor, to the presence of that prince, now in possession of Khotlan the seat of his government.

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The defection of the tribe of Boureldâi, as they were proceeding to join the army in Kharezm, about the same period, may be easily omitted in the narration for the sake of brevity. It will be sufficient to remark that, after having been driven into the province of Kabûl through the persevering gallantry of Ameir Jahaun Shah, they were finally compelled to throw themselves for protection into the territory beyond the Indus; although not before they had drawn in Abû Sâeid the Beysourian, the governor of Kabûl, one of the number elevated from the dust by the bounty of Teymûr, to associate himself in their revolt, and in its pernicious consequences. In the mean time it is not improbable that the protection which the fugitives experienced from the court of Dehly, on this occasion, may have had a remote tendency to produce the memorable expedition, in which at a subsequent period Teymûr was engaged in that quarter.

It remains to notice that while Teymûr was on his march towards Kharezm, on the above occasion, we are to record the death at Bokhâra, of Seyûrghetmesh the titular Khaun of Tcheghatâi, and the accession of his son Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, immediately proclaimed in his stead by the instructions of Teymûr; who might still find it convenient to suspend the trappings of loyalty about the person of some individual of the ancient imperial branch of his family. On his return to Samarkand, at the conclusion of the expedition, he devoted himself for some time to the celebration of the nuptials of his son Shah Rokh, and of his grandsons Mahommed Sûltan, and Peir Mahommed, the children of Jahangueir, with the illustrious princesses whom he had destined for their brides; the garden of Baugh-e-behisht having been decorated, with extraordinary magnificence, for the occasion. These solemnities dispatched, Shah Rokh returned into Khorassaun, and Omar Sheikh to his government of Andegaun; Teymûr remaining, for some time longer, to repose from his triumphs amidst the enjoyments of Samarkand. We shall finally observe that the accession of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, and the marriage solemnities of the Shazâdahs, are here

A. H. 790-91. expressly included among the events of the seven hundred and nine-  
 A. D. 1388-89. tieth of the hidjerah.

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 suffa.

Long since forgetful of the services which had placed him on the throne of Keptchauk, and determined to persist more inveterately in his career of ingratitude, Touktemesh Khaun, towards the commencement of the winter of seven hundred and ninety one, appeared on the frontiers of the Tcheghatâian territory; followed by an immense host drawn from the several nations of Bulghaur, Circassia, Alan, and Azauk, and from the other regions subject to the authority of the successors of Jûjy. His illustrious benefactor apprized, on the other hand, of the danger by which he was menaced, hastened with the troops which he could immediately collect together from Kesh and Samarkand, to form an encampment at the station of Saughredje, about six leagues from the latter city; having previously dispatched the Touatcheis to summons, to his assistance, the troops at present distributed in the remoter provinces of the empire. Intelligence being, however, received, that the advanced guard of the army of Touktemesh had crossed the Seyhûn near Khojend, under Eyleg, or Eylghetmesh Oghlan, the late tributary king of Kharezmi, and had taken post in great force at Zernouk, Teymûr, notwithstanding the rigor of the season, at this crisis described to have been unusually severe, and contrary to the remonstrances of his generals, who strenuously urged the necessity of delay until he should be joined by the reinforcements hastening to his support, proceeded directly in quest of the enemy, his horses laboring, at the same time, breast deep through the snow.

In these circumstances, being happily joined by Omar Sheikh with his division from Andegaun, he adventured to detach a chosen body of horse under Kounje Oghlan, and Teymûr Kûtlûg Oghlan, this latter the son of Orous Khaun formerly monarch of Keptchauk, accompanied by Sheikh Ally Bahauder, to cut off the retreat of the enemy; and, on the day following at sunrise, with a rapidity which deprived them of the means of resistance by coming upon them before they could be arranged in order of battle, he in person attacked the troops of Eylghetmesh, and totally defeated them. Such as were not cut to pieces on the spot took to the Seyhûn, and endeavoring to escape by swimming across, miserably perished in that river; and the

remainder, although they eluded present destruction, being yet intercepted in their retreat by those detached for the purpose, and closely pursued at the same time by the main body of the army, for the greater part, found themselves devoted to a variety of deaths in the midst of surrounding dangers. On this occasion Eidy Berdy Bukhshy, an officer of the first distinction in the court of Touktemesh, having saved himself from the sword uplifted to destroy him by declaring his name and quality, was conducted to the presence of Teymûr; and having satisfactorily replied to the interrogatories put to him, on the state of affairs with the enemy, was kindly treated, and finally enrolled among the personal attendants of the conqueror. Teymûr now returned towards his capital; and in the course of the month of Sufur,\* again encamped his troops at the station of Akaur, or Aukiaur, said to lie in the neighborhood of, or probably equidistant from, the cities of Samarkand and Kesh.

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A. D. 1389.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

As soon, however, as the rigors of winter had subsided before the influence of spring, Teymûr, whose armies had been by this time completed by the junction of the troops from Khorassaun under Meiran Shah, and of other reinforcements from different parts of the empire, dispatched Omar Sheikh, accompanied by the Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein and Eykû Teymûr, with instructions to lay bridges across the Seyhûn at different points, in the neighborhood of Khojend; and the service having been performed with the necessary expedition, the monarch, in the former month of Rebbeia of the seven hundred and ninety first of the hidjerah,† moved from his camp at Akaur to the same river, which, with the Shahzâdahs and the whole of his army, he immediately passed to the opposite bank. From thence a division was detached in advance, under the already mentioned Teymûr Kûtlûgh Oghlan, with the Ameirs Sounjek and Othman Bahauders, to procure intelligence; and the scouts of this division having at some distance discovered the advanced parties of the enemy, returned unobserved, and reported the circumstance to their generals. The Teymûrians immediately placed their troops in ambuscade; and their adversaries ignorant of the snare which had been laid for them, it being now towards evening, proceeded to encamp on the spot, and

\* February.

† March.

A. H. 791.  
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betook themselves to their repose without the slightest suspicion of danger. In this unguarded situation they were, about midnight, attacked by the Teymûrians, and for the greater part cut to pieces. Some of them contrived, however, to effect their escape across the Aritch,\* a considerable river which empties itself into the Seyhûn from the north-east, below Soghnauk, and hastened to apprise their sovereign of the approach of the Tcheghatâian armies. Touktemesh, having failed in an attempt to reduce Sabraun, and avenged himself for the disappointment by the plunder of Yassy, a small town about six leagues from that place, in a southern direction, was encamped at this period on some of the plains adjoining to the abovementioned subordinate streams; but receiving, from these fugitives, intelligence at the same time of the advance and irresistible prowess of the Teymûrians, the multitude of his troops and the immensity of his equipments were immediately forgotten in the contemplation of the danger, and he hastened without delay to regain the trackless regions of Keptchauk.

Teymûr on the other hand, when he became acquainted with the flight of his adversaries, entered with all diligence on the pursuit; having first directed Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein to proceed, in charge of the heavy baggage of the army, to Samarkand. In the mean time, four of his captains whom he had detached in advance with forty chosen warriors, each furnished with a spare horse, to procure intelligence of the enemy's motions, came up with the rear of the fugitives, at the station of Saurek buzen above Sabraun, towards the source of the Aritch, and immediately attacked and dispersed them with considerable slaughter; after which, returning through the intermediate solitudes, they accidentally fell in with the chief of a Tartar horde, of the name of Ketbah Terkhan, encamped in the desert with one hundred families of his tribe: all of whom they surprised and captured, and, with the whole of their property, safely conveyed to the imperial encampment, now advanced to the station of Auksouma on the frontier of the Tcheghatâian possessions towards Keptchauk, and nearly east of Yassy, or Yessy, recently mentioned. From Auksouma Teymûr continued his march, for about one hundred and twenty leagues, in a northwestern direction, to Aulkoushûn; on the eastern branch of the river Tik as laid down by De la Croix.

\* Apparently the Karasou, or black water of the modern maps.



About the period of his arrival at the latter station receiving intelligence of dangerous commotions in Khorassaun, but more particularly of the revolt of Hadjy Beg, the brother of Ally Beg Jouny Kerbauny formerly disposed of, with that of Melouk the Serbedaurian chief of Subbuzwaur, and the garrisons of Kolaut and Tüss, of which latter the Kerbaunian was governor, it became expedient to provide without delay against the progress of this alarming defection; which is ascribed, at the same time, to certain unfavorable reports in circulation regarding the war with Touktemesh. But, as it would be superfluous to accompany the author in his detail of the operations employed to reduce the insurgents, it will be sufficient briefly to observe that, after defeating the men of Subbuzwaur with great slaughter, and with a very inferior force, on his march to prosecute the siege of Tüss, which had been already invested for some months by Ameir Aukbonga, Meiran Shah, who had been finally dispatched by his father to quell the insurrection, arrived before that city, some time in the latter Jummaudy\* of the seven hundred and ninety first of the hidjerah.

Until convinced to the contrary by his actual appearance on the spot, the garrison of Tüss, or Touss, had it seems denied their belief to the report that this prince had entered Khorassaun, or had yet even crossed the Oxus; but when they could no longer retain any doubts on the subject, they abandoned themselves, without further effort, to the most violent despair. In these circumstances the operations of the siege being prosecuted, on the other hand, with increasing vigor and activity on the arrival of Meiran Shah, the first to abandon the cause of disloyalty was Yüssuf, the brother of Hadjy Beg, the reputed source of these hostile proceedings; who availed himself of the first opportunity to elude the dangers which were closing round him, by quitting the town and going directly over to the camp of the Shahzadah, to whom he betrayed the design of his brother also to make his escape the moment he found it practicable. In consequence of this information Meiran Shah, by guarding with redoubled vigilance every avenue to the town, endeavored as far as he could devise to cut off from the besieged all the ordinary means of retreat; while Hadjy Beg, on discovering the desertion of his brother, finding himself constrained to provide at the same time against

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internal mischief by securing the principal adherents of the fugitive, to the number of three hundred persons, and to defend himself against the progress of his besiegers from without, perceived that the period of his departure was to be no longer delayed, and he proceeded to deliberate with his followers on the best plan of carrying his design into immediate execution. One of these indicated to him a part of the wall of the town, which could be easily broken through from within, and the approaches to which appeared to have entirely escaped the vigilance of the besiegers; and his resolution having been finally taken, Hadjy Beg, on the pretext of conducting them in a sally against the enemy's works, one night led his troops out of the gates of the town; but, perceiving the lights in the tents of the besiegers, he observed to his followers, that as their adversaries appeared to be on the alert in this quarter, it became necessary before they proceeded in the enterprise to examine whether they were not more assailable in some other point; and for this purpose he directed them to remain on the spot, while he further explored, as he pretended, the positions of the enemy. Then hastening without delay to that part in the interior of the wall which had been pointed out to him, and easily opening a passage through, he finally succeeded in conveying himself clear off; thus, for the sordid consideration of mere personal safety, abandoning without remorse, not only the whole of his property but all that could in any shape make it valuable, his women and children, and the dearest relations of domestic and social life.

Becoming some time afterwards apprized of the flight of the obnoxious chief, Meïfan Shah did not omit to dispatch in pursuit of him, although without success; but his troops, on the other hand, having made themselves masters of Tûss, that city, from being as it recently stood, in the language of the original, on a parallel in splendor with the gorgeous metropolis of Key Kawus, was now changed by the vengeance of its exasperated assailants, into the awful desolation which covers the devoted land of Lot: at the same time, every soldier in the army being enjoined to produce the head of a male inhabitant, and in case the complement could not otherwise be made up, to strike off the heads of the women, the whole together being previously shayed were destined to be then erected into pyramids, to commemorate in

the usual ghastly form, the punishment of rebellion. The women and children of Hadjy Beg were, however, exempted from slaughter, and consigned to the custody of such as would not fail to guard them with the requisite degree of security and vigilance. But, when about ten thousand persons had been thus immolated to his vengeance, the Shahzâdah relented, and the soldiery were directed to cease from slaughter. Bayezid the Tûssite, who had been cast into prison by the insurgents, was now liberated, loaded with favors, and, as a compensation for his sufferings, was appointed to preside among the ruins of his native city.

Having thus signalled his vengeance, Méiran Shah returned by the same route as that by which he had advanced on this occasion, that of Raudegan. In the mean time, finding that Yûssuf the Kerbaunian had presumed, without his permission, to convey his family towards Mûsh-hed, and that he was preparing in person to follow in the same direction, the Shahzâdah's displeasure, which it possibly required but a slight provocation to awaken, was immediately pointed towards the suspected chief, who was summoned to account for his proceedings; and giving such an explanation as was judged equally frivolous and unsatisfactory, with respect to the nature of his views, he was without further deliberation condemned to suffer death. On his advance to the siege of Tûss, the garrison of Hellaumed, a fortress between that place and Neyshapûr, had stood resolutely on their defence; and had killed one of the Shahzâdah's principal officers, who had been sent to treat with them, at the very foot of their walls. To atone for this, the greater part of the treasure and effects of Hadjy Beg, which had been lodged in their charge, was now delivered over without difficulty, by the same garrison, to Hussun Mazanderauny, employed to demand it on the part of Meiran Shah. Soon afterwards, on his arrival at Raudegan, the Shahzâdah was visited by Khiaujah Mûssâoud the Serbedaurian, from Neyshapûr; whose unshaken attachment during the recent commotions, appears to have ensured in a peculiar degree, the applause and acknowledgment of the Teymûrian prince. Having then dismissed to their respective governments the feudatory chiefs of Khorassaun, who had placed themselves under his orders for the service,

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Meiran Shah proceeded, on the fifteenth of Shabaun,\* on his return towards Herât; the Baugh-e-zaughan, or raven gardens, in the neighborhood of which, he reached on the twenty eighth of the same month.

Towards the close of the succeeding month of Ramzaun, he received by a dispatch from Transoxiana, intelligence of his father's victories in Moghûlstaun; and a few days afterwards, in the beginning of Shavaul, Beyan Temûr Khaujâh the son of Aukbougâ, directly from the camp of the Tartar monarch arrived at Herât with a present in specie of three tomauns,† for the prince, followed on the last day of the same month,‡ by a summons to attend the presence of his father; whom he finally joined at Samarkand, in the middle of Zilkaudah of the seven hundred and ninety first of the hidjerah.§ The insurgent Hadjy Beg, on the other hand, after wandering about the Persian territory for five or six months, was at last seized in the district of Hazaurjereib, not far from Semnaun, by Seyud Emnaud-ud-dein, the superintendent of the district; by whom he was dispatched in competent security to the presence of Teymûr. After some bitter reproaches, for his ungrateful return to the multiplied favors bestowed upon him, and a formal investigation into the circumstances of his guilt, he was condemned to die at the foot of the great standard of the benefactor, against whose authority he had had the presumption to rebel.

Recurring to the period at which Teymûr was left at the head of his armies, at Aulkoushûn, the narrative proceeds to describe that, after the departure of Meiran Shah to quell the insurrection in Khorassaun, it was in contemplation, without delay, to continue the pursuit of Touktemesh into the interior of his dominions; but yielding to the remonstrances of his generals, who urged the indispensable expediency of employing his resources, in the first instance, to check the dangerous projects of Khuzzer Khaujâh Oghlan, the son of Toghlûk Teymûr Khaun, and of the aspiring Ankatoura, Teymûr was ultimately prevailed upon to deviate from his original design; and to postpone, for the present, his plans of vengeance against Touktemesh and the fer-

\* 8th of August.

† Possibly three times ten thousand dinaurs, or £13750 0 0. Ninety half crowns, the modern computation, would perhaps be too paltry a sum.

‡ 20th of October.

§ 2nd to 5th of November, 1389.

ocious Toghmauk. In conformity with this latter resolution he accordingly drew off his troops, some time in the spring of the seven hundred and ninety first of the hidjerah, towards the north east, in the direction of Bouribâshy ; but when, after successive marches, he proceeded to ascend the ridges of Ouznan, probably the *Ournac* of De la Croix, and part of the Tartarian Kohkauf, he found himself constrained, by the worn out condition of their horses, to order back to Samarkand three out of ten of the whole of his cavalry, for the purpose of remounting the remaining seven tenths; an expedient by which he contrived, however, at the same time, to furnish the latter with a spare horse each, for the approaching arduous service. On his arrival at Aykensoury, the station of a Tartar horde at the foot of the same range of mountains, his troops and cattle laboured under the greatest distress from the scarcity of water ; of which, for several days' march, they had only been able to secure a scanty supply for the preservation of existence, by digging wells in the soil. From this alarming difficulty, on reaching some extensive plains to the south east, he was, however, providentially relieved by discovering, under the luxuriant pasturage, although it was at this period in the very middle of summer, immense quantities of ice and snow; which effectually served to allay the raging thirst, and to revive the sinking spirits of the army.

Proceeding on his march, Teymûr in crossing the great plains of Eyghûryauny, the Aigheryali of De la Croix, engaged with his troops in the amusement of the chase; particularly in that of the Gourkherr, or wild ass, among the orientals the noblest species of game, of which great numbers were taken on this occasion. Having traversed these plains, still tending to the south east, the army encamped in the desert of Tcherigh, or Tcheper Eygher. Here Meirek Eiltchy and Peir Ally Tauz, who commanded the advanced guard of the imperial right wing, unexpectedly falling in with a body of one thousand horse of the troops of Ankatoura, said to be in quest of the Tartar tribe of Behreyne ; and having immediately attacked and dispersed these troops, succeeded in taking one prisoner, whom they conveyed to the presence of Teymûr. From the relation of the captive, it appeared that Ankatoura, with his army, lay at that moment, at Ourung, or Ouronc; a town of Jettah situated, according to De la Croix, in 54 north, and in

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longitude 114, east of Ferro.\* On this intelligence Teymûr sent forward a chosen detachment, under Sheikh Ally Bahauder and Eykûtemûr, to endeavor to surprise the enemy ; for which purpose they were strictly forbidden to make any fires during their march. That same evening he followed in person, with the main body of the army ; but after continuing his march for the whole of the night, he discovered at daybreak in the morning that his guides had mistaken the road, and led him considerably out of his way ; and it was not until the third day's march, when the army encamped at Ayogûz, or okuz, that he was able to resume his proper course. At that station he held a council of war, during which, after stating to the shahzâdahs, his ministers, and generals, that since, in all probability, his approach was by this time sufficiently known, in consequence of the untoward delay occasioned by the ignorance of the guides, he informed them that their object must now be directed to cut off the retreat of the enemy, by proceeding against him in two separate columns, from opposite points. In conformity with this arrangement, Omar Sheikh with part of the army, and Ameir Jullaul Hameid for his guide, took one direction ; while Teymûr, in another, proceeded to Karaghoutchûr, south of Ourunk, said to be a temple, or place held sacred by the Moghûls, where he continued for three days

In the mean time, Omar Sheikh, at the station of Kûbauk north east of Ourunk, in latitude, 55, and longitude 115 east of Ferro, by a rapid march succeeded in intercepting the retreat of Ankatoura ; whom, in a conflict of some obtinacy, he defeated with great loss, and finally expelled from that part of the country. A considerable booty, including a number of beautiful female captives, with horses, camels, and mules, an immense train, fell into the hands of the Shahzâdah, with which he shortly afterwards rejoined his father ; who had now advanced in the same direction, and was encamped at the station of Akhtarektû, or Akhtadektour, at no great distance from the field of battle.

To this period, no intelligence had been received with regard to the proceedings of Sheikh Ally Bahauder and Eykû Teymûr, formerly detached in the expectation of surprising Ankatoura ; and Omar Sheikh, at the head of his division, was again employed on a separate

\* About 95 east of Greenwich, but this is extremely uncertain.

service, to ascertain the destiny of the two chiefs; who rejoined the imperial encampment, however, in perfect safety, from an opposite quarter, a few days after the departure of the Shahzâdah. The latter, on the other hand, proceeding to the north east, conducted his division to the plains of Alahgoul, adjoining to the river Irtish, where there is said to be, as the name implies, a considerable lake of salt water. In these circumstances, as he was one day exploring the country, accompanied by fifty of the most distinguished of his officers, and at the distance of about a farsang from the main body of his division, Omar Sheikh found himself unexpectedly in presence of a detachment of the enemy to the number of seven hundred horse, under Kara Beyan Teymûr; whom, notwithstanding the disparity of his force, and with equal intrepidity of mind and confidence of success, he immediately determined to attack. In the conflict which ensued, Peir Hadjy the son of Teilantchei or Yetlantchei, of the tribe of Erlat, most illustrious among the Moghûls, one of the companions of the Shahzadah was killed by an arrow, after exhibiting some very conspicuous proofs of courage and activity; but this accident apart, the Shahzâdah and his band of warriors finally succeeded in defeating the enemy without loss, and soon afterwards again rejoined the main body of the army in the imperial encampment, loaded with the spoil which was the reward of their successful exertions.

It would now appear that Teymûr had, by this time, returned to the station of Karaghoutchûr, where he remained for some days to recruit the strength of his cattle; and to distribute among his captains and their followers, the booty hitherto accumulated during the expedition. In the mean time, Ameir Jahaun Shah with other distinguished captains, and a body of thirty thousand horse was directed to return towards the Irtish in quest of the enemy; and that chief, having with the requisite celerity conducted his division to the place of its destination, there proceeded to extend on all sides the horrors of blood and desolation; and pursuing the enemy into the islands and intricacies formed by the channels of the river, omitted no circumstance of rapine and slaughter to complete the extirpation of the unhappy fugitives. After this he reconducted his followers loaded with an immense booty to the imperial encampment. The interval devoted to

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These necessary arrangements finally disposed, of Teymûr again put his troops in motion; proceeding eastward to Aymelghoutchûr, on the frontiers of Moghûlstaun, said to be the capital of Jettah, in latitude 53, and longitude 115.\* Here taking up his abode in the Serâi Ourdem or palace of Ourdem, that of the monarchs of Jettah, he again deliberated with his generals on the means to be further adopted, in order to complete the extermination of the hostile tribes who had led them to a distance so remote from their homes; and it was resolved henceforward to continue the pursuit of the enemy, to the utmost bounds of Tartary, in separate columns and by different routes. In conformity with this resolution, the officers of the imperial household were directed to furnish each of the Shahzadahs, and principal generals, with a written memorandum of the roads which they were to follow, and with guides procured in the country, to lead them to their destination; and the commanders of columns were lastly instructed, when the service of extermination on which they were about to be employed should be at an end, to repair to the plains of Yeldûz, in the south eastern quarter of Moghûlstaun, appointed for the general rendezvous of the army.

In prosecution of the plan thus determined upon, Omar Sheikh with the division of Andegaun, proceeded by the route delineated in his instructions, in a direction nearly south by east, plundering and destroying the country on either hand of him all the way to the city of Karakhaujâh, south-east of Yeldûz, towards the borders of Tanjût;

\* It is to be remembered that the longitude mentioned throughout is that from the meridian of Ferro, adopted by the french geographers, and 18 or 19 degrees more to the westward than that of Greenwich. But after all it will be found extremely difficult to reconcile the different situations of places, with what is represented in modern maps. There must perhaps be an allowance made of 8 or 10 degrees of latitude too far north, and probably as much too far to the eastward of Greenwich, or 28 or 30 to the eastward of Ferro.



and here described to be at the distance of three months journey by Karavaun, or seven hundred and twenty leagues, from Samarkand. Ameir Jahaun Shah and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with another division of thirty thousand men, took a direction more easterly, by Kâra-aret, and Shouroghlûk, the latter described, by De la Croix, to be a valley of Moghûlstaun celebrated for the fertility of its soil; putting to the sword without mercy such of the objects of their vengeance, the people of Jettah, as fell into their hands; and possessing themselves of an abundant booty, with which, at the close of their expedition, they arrived in safety at the place of rendezvous. Ameir Othman the son of Abbas, with a third division composed of twenty thousand horse, took a direction apparently intermediate to the former two columns, and prosecuted his career of slaughter and desolation, through Saghir or Saghizgan,\* Soughûlgan,\* Leigh, and Gougayur, or Ghevejar. And lastly, Khodadaud the son of Hûseyne and Mûbasher Bahauder, with a fourth division of equal force, taking a direction east-northerly by Ouritchkou, or Ouritchou, towards Beykout, in latitude 52, longitude 133, on their march came in contact with the tribes of Boulghajy and Yelker, whom in a desperate and protracted conflict, they finally overthrew and put to flight; after which they rejoined the imperial camp loaded with the spoils of the vanquished. Teymûr in person, with the main body of the army consisting of the flower of his troops, appears to have directed his course more immediately to the north; in order to ascend the mountains of Setchkandeban, between the heads of the Irtish and Oby, intercepting and destroying in his march the fugitives of the Boulghajy and Yelker tribes, who had escaped from the battle with Ameir. Khodadaud.

At the period during which he was employed in repelling the invasion of the Tartars of Keptchawk, Teymûr had stationed the Ameirs Yadgaur Berlas, Sûliman Shah, and Shums-ud-dein Gheyauth Terkhan in western Tûrkestaun, between Keptchawk and the territory of Jettah, with instructions to provide for the tranquillity of the frontiers in that quarter; but when he finally relinquished the pursuit of Touktemesh, and resolved to proceed eastward into Moghûlstaun, he transmitted

\* These are said by De la Croix, to be both places in Moghûlstaun, where the royal revenues are collected.

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orders to those Ameirs to co-operate immediately with him, in the extermination of the hordes of Jettah, in which he was about to engage. In pursuance of these instructions, leaving Tûey or Tûly Bougha Sheikh, to protect and encourage the inhabitants in their peaceful labors in Târkestaun, the Ameirs in question entered the country of Jettah across the higher branch, or head of the Seyhûn; and proceeding in a direction which intersected, almost at right angles, the course of the other imperial divisions, were suffered to continue their career of slaughter and desolation, apparently without obstacle, until they had penetrated beyond the station of Moulzûd, or Moulzedû, described by De la Croix to be in latitude 50 and longitude 132. Here their progress was, however, suspended by the presence of Khuzzer Khaujah, or Khoja, Oghlan, the sovereign of the Moghûls, at the head of a very superior force, to whom they found themselves constrained to give battle under circumstances of manifest disadvantage; conceiving it, for some reason or other, expedient to dismount from their horses, and to combat on foot, with their bridles fastened to their waists. In these circumstances, after having sustained an unequal conflict of two days and as many nights, it was, in the absence of a more friendly discretion, thought advisable to enter into convention with the enemy; which concluded, they appear in general to have withdrawn without further effort, towards the place of rendezvous appointed for the imperial troops, at Yeldûz. In the mean time, receiving intelligence of this proceeding from the relation of Shah Melek Terkhan, who joined him at Keitou near the head of the Irtish, Teymûr hastened by forced marches immediately to the southward through Moghûlstaun; and he contrived to reach Yeldûz, some time before the Ameirs who had compromised the glory of his arms, although they arrived shortly afterwards without further accident.

Without, however, a moment's unnecessary delay, having chosen from among his troops the bravest and most experienced soldiers, and disencumbering himself of all his heavy equipments, Teymûr marched with his utmost celerity in pursuit of Khuzzer Khaujah; directing his course along the eastern boundary of Moghûlstaun, as then considered, for the distance of about two hundred and sixty or eighty leagues, to Koushûnkâi, a station laid down by Dela Croix about eighty leagues

north-north-west of Kârakorum, bordering on Kalmuk. At that station his advanced parties brought him intelligence that they had at last discovered the smoke of the enemy's fires, and he encamped for the night, proposing to attack them on the succeeding morning; but apprised of his arrival his adversaries gave way to their fears, and immediately fled in all directions and in great consternation. Part of the fugitives were thus thrown into the track of Omar Sheikh and his division; from whom, in the language of the original, *they saw what they saw*,—the termination of their misfortunes. Another body of them taking a different route, unexpectedly fell in with the division under Ameir Jahaun Shah and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who exercised upon them, with competent zeal and effect, their ferocious propensities for pillage and slaughter. Teymûr on his part pursued the enemy in a northern direction, through the mountains of Koutel Nayrin, and apparently across the river Sagalien, to the mountains of Kârataush in the north-eastern extremity of Moghûlstaun; and towards the head of one of the branches of the Lena, as laid down by De la Croix.

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Thus harrassed on every side, and discarding all further hope of empire, Khuzzer Khaujah Oghlan, finally betook himself to the uninhabited solitudes of the Tartarian deserts; while the Teymûrian troops continued to extend their ravages through every tribe and nation, as far to the southward as the mountains of Koulan Koutel, on the eastern frontier of the country of the Moghûls; after which, with an immense booty, in captives of both sexes, and in horses, sheep, and oxen, they returned to join their sovereign. With all these Teymûr now proceeded to Jeleis, or Jalish, in latitude 53, longitude 133, towards the head of one of the branches of the Yenisei, in northern Moghûlstaun. Here he caused the numerous captives acquired during this extensive sweep of desolation, to be impartially distributed among the different classes of his followers, without distinction. Then quitting Jalish, and directing his march through the mountains west of Kârakorum he re-entered his former track, and conducted his victorious standards to Koutchek Yeldûz; where he remained for some time to await the re-union of the detached divisions of the army.

From thence however, on further consideration, he transmitted instructions to Omar Sheikh to proceed homewards to his government

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along the southern frontiers of Moghúlstaun, and through the strong pass of Kohelghah, or Koluga, employing his usual diligence in completing the extermination of the refractory hordes that should fall in his way. Regulating his march by these instructions, the Shahzâdah was proceeding on his way towards Ferghaunah, and had penetrated through the pass above described, by some denominated the irongate, when he found his progress arrested by a considerable force under Koublek, one of the most distinguished captains of the Jettah nation; whom after a severe conflict, however, he totally defeated and killed. He then prosecuted his march without further obstacle, in a line south of Khoten, by the metropolis of Kashghar, to the seat of his government at Andegaun, at this period the capital of Ferghaunah.

Having brought his affairs with the nations of Jettah and central Tartary, thus far, to a successful termination, Teymûr conducted his troops from Koutchek Yeldûz to Olûgh Yeldûz; from the lesser to the greater Yeldûz, about five and forty leagues in a south-western direction. This place, according to De la Croix, is at the distance of two months' journey by Karavan from Samarkand, or about four hundred and eighty leagues at eight leagues the day—in the route of the Muscovite merchants to China, and equally celebrated for its delightful scenery, the amenity of the climate, and its nutritious and luxuriant pastures \* Here he encamped for several days, which he devoted to general festivity, recreation, and every species of enjoyment; and during which he bountifully distributed to the princes of his blood, to the generals and principal officers, and to all the warriors of his army according to their several classes, honors, distinctions and rewards, not less gratifying to their hopes, than worthy of his own inexhaustible munificence. He then, on the fifteenth of Shabaun† of the seven hundred and ninety first of the hidjerah, set off on his return to Samarkand, which celebrated metropolis he reached on the seventh of the succeeding month of Ramzaun;‡ thus, in two and twenty days, performing a journey which, at the ordinary rate of travelling by Karavan, is described to employ the full period of two months, and having marched since the

\* In Arrowsmith's valuable map of Asia, it is laid down in about 42-15 north lat. and in longitude 85 east of Greenwich.

† 8th of August, 1389.

‡ 29th of August.

middle, or latter end of April, if the scale of De la Croix's maps is not entirely visionary, the distance of at least two thousand leagues, of twenty to the degree.\*

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At the approach of winter, Teymûr proceeded to Bokhâra; where he bestowed upon Ameir Jahaun Shah, the last and most distinguished mark of his favor, in conferring upon him the hand of his daughter, Sûltan Bukht Begum the widow of Mahommed Meirkah, whose fate has been recently recorded. During the same winter, Mirza Abû Bukker, the son of Meiran Shah, was also, by his directions, united to the daughter of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein; the marriage feast being conducted with suitable splendor under the management of the Khaunzadah, the imperial consort. In the mean time, as if to bring to his recollection, that no elevation of sublunary grandeur is exempt from the common lot of humanity, the monarch was called upon in the midst of these scenes of mirth and festivity, to perform the last solemn duties to the remains of Kedauk Khautûn, the relict of his father, who died in the course of the winter, and was buried at Kesh; in the neighborhood of which city, at Aukyaur, Teymûr formed an encampment of his troops, at the commencement of the spring of the seven hundred and ninety second of the hidjerali.

\* We must here, however, beg to remark that the distance of 6000 miles appears too extravagant to be compassed in the short period of about four months and fifteen days.

## CHAP. III.

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**D**URING the spring, in which he continued on this occasion encamped at Aukyaour, Teymûr availed himself of the opportunity to assemble a Kûreltâi, or general diet of the empire; to which the whole of the princes and other chiefs subject to his authority, were invited, as well to receive his commands on sundry important matters of government, as to partake of the gorgeous repast prepared for their entertainment, in the usual style of barbarous magnificence. Before he dissolved the diet he conceived it, at the same time, expedient to promulgate an ordinance for the general augmentation of his armies; and for that purpose the imperial Touatcheis, including on this occasion the Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-ud dein, Jahaun Shah Tchaukû, and Shumsud-dein Abbas, proceeded to exact, from the several feudatory chiefs, a written engagement to produce, at the place appointed, the contingent of troops determined by the mandate of the sovereign. For this measure, on the authority of the Zuffernâmah of the Yezdian, De la Croix allèges as a reason the design of Teymûr, by augmenting the contingents which they were thus called upon to furnish to the state, to diminish the wealth of the great commanders, accumulated during so many expeditions; and to abridge them of the means of indulging their mischievous propensity to disaffection and revolt.

About the same crisis, a second scene of splendid festivity occurred in the celebration of the nuptials of Omar Sheikh with his cousin-german Sounje Kûtlûg Agha, the daughter of Shirin Beg Agha one of the sisters of Teymûr; immediately after which he was directed to proceed to his government of Andegaun, Meiran Shah being ordered at the same time into his province of Khorassaun. Teymûr on his part returned towards Samarkand, in sight of which, at Eylghernauje or Eylgazigage, he again encamped for some time; the Ameirs of the frontiers and other principal commanders, being also permitted to avail themselves of the opportunity, to retire to their respective places of residence.

In the early part of the year, the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Khodadaud the son of Hûseyne, Shums-ud-dein Abbas, and his brother Othman, with other commanders of Koushûns, and a body of twenty thousand horse, had been detached towards the borders of Jettah. On their arrival at Ausygoul, or Issigheul, a lake described to lie in longitude 100 from Ferro, and in latitude 43, they were joined by a reinforcement of five thousand men from the division of Omar Sheikh in Ferghaunah; with which they proceeded to Gougtopa, [the blue mountain] described by De la Croix, to be a hill in the territory of Jettah, situated in longitude 101-20 east of Ferro and in north latitude, 43-25. After remaining for some time at this station, to procure intelligence of the enemy, they prosecuted their march upwards, by Almaulegh, to Kârataul; the residence of Ankatoura, in longitude 106, latitude 45-40, cutting to pieces, or making captives of all who fell in their way. At Karataul they received information that Ouljâi Bougha Koutchein, who had been dispatched with four hundred horse, at a former period, to explore the desert for intelligence, had unexpectedly fallen in with Kummur-ud-dein, one of the competitors for the throne of Jettah, on a hunting party, and that an unequal and most desperate conflict had been the result. In consequence of this report, Hussun Jandaur, accompanied by the son of Ouljâi Bougha, was sent off with instructions to ascertain the fact, and to return without delay, with the particulars of what they should have been able to discover. After marching day and night with little intermission, the two chiefs came at last to the spot which had been signalized by the recent conflict, and which they found covered with the bodies of the slain. Continuing their search they picked up, at no great distance from the scene of slaughter, one of their wounded countrymen; who still exhibited sufficient remains of life after having subsisted for forty days, on the roots and herbage of the surrounding desert. This person they conveyed, with all necessary care and tenderness, to the presence of the commanding Ameirs, and from his relation they collected that the detachment, of which he appears to have been the only survivor, had given battle to Kummur-ud-dein, as had been already reported to them; that after considerable slaughter on either side, Kummur-ud-dein had finally triumphed; and that he had then retired towards the plains of Elchniboutchni, or Itchnaboutchna,

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northeast of Karataul, and towards the source of the Abeife, or higher branch of the Seyhûn.

On such intelligence the Teymûrian Ameirs hastened in pursuit of the enemy; and disencumbering themselves by the way of their heavy baggage, for the greater expedition, they continued their march night and day until they reached the banks of the Irtish. They here understood that Kummur-ud-dein had already passed that river, and proceeded to Touless, Toyles, or Taoulas, the region which produces the sable and ermine; and which we should not hesitate to identify with the modern Russian province of Tobolsk, were it not expressly laid down by De la Croix, as a Tartar town between the Irtish and the eastern branch of the Oby, seven or eight degrees south-east of the city of that name. The Ameirs were therefore contented with sending across the Irtish, each, some of their followers to engrave, perhaps burn, on the lofty pines which grew on the opposite bank, their particular marks and devices, [daugh and Tumghau]; and as the period of the expedition had now extended to six months, and the strength and subsistence of both men and cattle had by this time become nearly exhausted, it was resolved to make the best of their way homewards, without further delay. This resolution they carried into immediate effect; and after traversing the almost interminable solitudes which lie between, they succeeded in due time, without further accident, in regaining the presence of their sovereign, at Samarkand.

The attention of Teymûr had, in the mean time, been employed in preparing for his grand expedition into Keptchawk Tartary; but, as it would perhaps be unnecessary to enter at large into the detail of that arduous undertaking, it will be sufficient for every purpose of utility if we are able to trace, in outline, the proceedings of the Tcheghatayan conqueror with competent precision, from the narrative of the author, illustrated by the better defined survey drawn from the history of the younger De la Croix; to whose laborious researches geography, in particular, must ever be considered as most extensively indebted.

It would then appear that having, with more than his ordinary care and circumspection, provided for the equipment of his armies,\* Teymûr

\* The proper officers were, in particular, instructed to supply themselves with twelve months' subsistence for the whole army. Every individual was to be furnished with one



in the autumn, or towards the conclusion of the seven hundred and ninety second of the hidjerah, marched from Samarkand; and crossing the Seyhûn by a temporary bridge at Khojend, proceeded downwards by the right bank of that river to Taushkent, where he took up his quarters for the winter. During that season he laboured for the space of forty days under a very painful and severe disorder; from which, however, to the infinite joy of his troops and followers of every description, he finally recovered. In the mean time, he was there joined by Meïran Shah with the troops from Khorassaun; and on the twelfth of Suffur of the year seven hundred and ninety three, the sun being then in the eighth degree of Aquarius\*, he finally quitted Taushkent at the head of the army, and proceeded to Kârasumaun. On this occasion Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, and Shahzâdah Shah Rokh, were left, under the tuition of the Ameirs Laul and Melek, to superintend the affairs of the empire during his absence; all the princesses and ladies of his family, being sent back to Samarkand, Tehelpân Melek Aga alone excepted, whom like the star of his brighter destiny he permitted to accompany him. At the station of Karasumaun, where he was detained for some time by the winter snows and alternate torrents of rain, he gave audience to the ambassadors of Touktemesh; who presented him with a toghouz of nine horses, and a shongaur, or white falcon, on the part of their master, delivering at the same time a very submissive message, to which they received from Teymûr a reply to the following effect.

“It is notorious to the world in what circumstances of destitution and distress your master presented himself before the threshold of my court, on his flight from the vengeance of his enemies; and with what cheerful zeal I stepped forward to restore his shattered fortunes, not withholding ought in my power to furnish, whether in treasure or in armies. Neither is it necessary, on this occasion, to expatiate on the ardor with which, after having once determined on bow, a quiver with thirty arrows, and a leathern canteen, or water bag. For every ten soldiers were to be provided as ~~an~~er mentioned: one tent; two mattocks; one spade, or shovel [kullank]; one sickle; one handsaw; one hatchet; 100 needles; one awl; half a mann perhaps 14lbs of rope; one leathern knapsack, and one brass or copper pot. Every two soldiers were to be provided moreover with one sumpter or baggage horse,

\* 18th January, 1391.

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hostilities with Orús Khaun, in the very depth of winter I marched against that prince, to my infinite loss in horses and cattle, and property of every description most liberally sacrificed in the course of the undertaking; to say nothing of the hazards of my own person, which I did not hesitate to expose in the vindication of his claims, whose interests I had determined to promote. With that effect, in short, did I exert myself in the gratification of his aspiring views, that, the supreme arbiter of good and evil according with my endeavours, he became, in the very bosom of the posterity of Juju Khaun, securely established on the throne of their illustrious ancestor. Thus, by my sole exertions, the whole of Keptchawk to its utmost verge being subjugated to his authority, what more could be required to establish between us, in the strictest sense, the relation of father and son? Yet notwithstanding, elated by the accumulation of immoderate wealth, and by the controul of an army beyond the estimate of numbers, has he suffered the vapour of an absurd presumption to invade his brain; and setting at nought the claims of gratitude for countless benefits unrequited, while I was distantly employed in extending my victories through Farss and Irák, proceeded to unmask his disloyal and hostile designs, by dispatching his troops to lay waste and destroy the borders of my country.

“Nevertheless, willing to ascribe the unprovoked aggression to the practices of corrupt and wicked counsellors, I continued still to regard him with indulgence, and to contemplate the rash proceeding as a circumstance that had in reality never happened; in the expectation that, repenting of such an act of misguided audacity, he might on due reflection be led to apologize, and seek forgiveness for his folly. But so miserably was he intoxicated by the fumes of an insensate ambition, that losing at once all power of discrimination between good and evil, right and wrong, he dared in person to approach against me; previously dispatching an advanced guard of ferocious infidels to invade, and to renew, in the interior of my dominions, their atrocious barbarities. On the disclosure to me of this fresh instance of aggression and violence, I hastened in the majesty of vengeance, from the remote quarter in which I was engaged, to repel the injury; but before he could well have perceived the cloud of dust which overhung the march of my squadrons,

he fled in dismay, and thus completed the load of disgrace and guilt already accumulated upon his head."

"Now, in good sooth, that I have, from different and distant quarters of the globe, assembled my armies, and that I am advancing *under authority of the Khaun*, to avenge on the country of mine adversary, the wrongs which he has inflicted on my own, he has suddenly discovered, on intelligence of my design, his inability to contend against the warriors of the true faith; and in that conviction he finds it convenient to recur to the milder means of humble and submissive intreaty, thinking by such absurd and idle practices to avert the torrent of vengeance about to be let loose upon him. But, as I have long since ceased to repose the slightest reliance on his words and actions, I am not by such contemptible artifices to be diverted from the prosecution of my object. On the contrary, in spite of every obstacle, and under the providence of that ineffable being, whose will surpasses all question and controul, I shall proceed to carry into effectual execution, and with perfect confidence of success, all that a just vengeance has instructed me to hold in contemplation. Nevertheless, should your master be sincere in his professions—should his views and sentiments be in strict and honest coincidence with mine—let him without delay depute to my presence Ally Beg; [his principal minister] in order by a conciliatory and dispassionate discussion, to bring our differences to an adjustment corresponding with the circumstances of the time."

In this communication what appears, perhaps, more particularly deserving of remark, is the subordination still ostensibly acknowledged, on the part of Teymûr, to the paramount authority of the Khaun, the feeble successor of Tcheghatâi; in conformity with the practice, so prevalent in oriental policy, of masking the designs of upstart and adventurous ambition, under the specious supremacy of an empty shadow. At the expiration of two or three days, however, having liberally entertained the ambassadors, and presented them with costly Khelauts, or pelisses, Teymûr, with the advice of the princes of his blood, directed them to be detained under a sort of restraint at large, and proceeded on his march towards Keptchauk. Passing the station of Karajouk, between Yenguikent and Sabraun, on the river Sara, or

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perhaps Karasou, his course lay, for a period of three weeks, through the arid and uninhabited waste; his cattle perishing successively, in alarming numbers, until his arrival at Saurek Ouzen, north of Sabraun, on the same river, where the army was seasonably and abundantly relieved. The river being at this period rendered impassable by the floods, he was detained for some days at Saurek Ouzen; but the waters having at length sufficiently subsided, a practicable ford was discovered, at which the army effected a passage across by swimming. In the mean time, two of the followers of Eydekou, one of the Ouzbek chiefs in the train of Teymûr, deserted under cover of the night; and, although immediately pursued, succeeded in going over to join the enemy.

The army, now proceeding in a western direction, continued its march without intermission to Koutchek Tauk, and from thence, an interval of two nights intervening, to Olûgh Tauk; the one the lesser and the other the greater Tauk, or range of hills. To the summit of this latter hillock, for such it must be esteemed since its elevation is limited to fifty cubits above the surrounding levels, Teymûr immediately ascended; and from thence surveyed the vast plains of Keptch-auk Tartary, which lay extended before him to an illimitable distance; covered by immense forests, intersected by many considerable rivers, and watered in various parts by the most delightful springs and streamlets. The Tcheghatâian monarch remained on the summit of this hill for one whole day, having directed his army to collect and raise upon it, a vast pile of stones in the shape of a minaur, or pyramid; on which, as a memorial to other times, some of the most skilful stone-cutters were employed to engrave the date of his arrival on the spot.\*

Leaving Olûgh Tauk, Teymûr, partaking as he advanced in the amusements of the chase, continued his march almost due north to the banks of the river Beilanjouk, or Yelanjouk, which he crossed shortly afterwards; and from thence, in eight days and as many nights, conducted his troops to the station of Anakarghûi, or Anakariou, said by De la Croix to be situated in latitude 54, and in longitude 100, east of Ferro. A considerable period was now expired since the com-

\* About the 11th of April, A. D. 1391.

mencement of the expedition; and as that part of the Tartarian solitude through which the passage of the army lay stood at the distance of many months' journey, the author alleges five or six, from the haunts of men, and from all vestige of cultivation in any shape, a most alarming scarcity now made its appearance in the Teymûrian camp; so that the price of a sheep had arisen to more than one hundred Kopeiky dinaurs,\* and a great munn of corn, equal to sixteen munns statute measure, was not to be procured even for that sum. Hence the greater part of his troops were driven to subsist on birds eggs, on the different kinds of animals which accident brought to their relief, and on such herbage as could by any contrivance be converted to the support of life.

In these circumstances, with the requisite regard to the ultimate preservation of his followers, Teymûr gave directions that those who possessed already but a limited store of subsistence should abridge their meals to one scanty repast in the day; and that every individual in the army should be restricted to a single bowl, or dish, of Bulmauk† in the four and twenty hours; the use of bread, pastry, or baked provisions in any shape, being prohibited under severe penalties. The great Ameirs and most distinguished generals, instructed at the same time by prudence and experience, contrived with a maunn of corn of the measure recently stated, and a small proportion of vegetables, to prepare sixty dishes of Bulmauk, the allowance of sixty men; and the proudest chiefs whose appetites were with difficulty, on other occasions, to be accommodated by the choicest luxuries, now cheerfully submitted to partake of the coarsest fare, a dish of the above-named Bulmauk; with the meanest soldier in the camp.

At the same time, in order to amuse himself and alleviate the general distress, Teymûr had recourse to the expedient of a grand hunting party; in which, by bringing the wings to meet, the army as usual encircled a vast space of the desert, and drove in, towards the centre, such a multitudinous variety of animals of the chase, as to furnish a supply so abundant, that forgetting at once the extreme scarcity under

\* According to De-la Croix the Dinaur of this species was a ducat of gold, equivalent to seven livres ten sols French currency; the Munn or Maunn was about four and twenty pounds weight.

† The Boulmaja of De la Croix; who describes it as meat fricaseed and minced with white sauce, like a fricassee of chickens.

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which they labored in other respects, the soldiers rejected with fastidious disdain the lean, and carried off such only of their prey as were in the highest condition. Among the deer kind, which fell into their hands on this occasion, one species is mentioned that in magnitude surpassed the buffalo; to which the Moghûls assigned the name of Kandeghâi, but known to the natives of Keptchawk, by that of Boken or Bukken. In short, the flesh of these several animals furnished to the army abundant subsistence for a considerable period. And to close his detail on this subject, the author proceeds to state, as a circumstance worthy of remark, that he found it recorded, in a narrative written expressly for the use of Meiran Shah, that in its passage through these immeasurable plains, the army was not a little delighted at night with hearing the rats and mice, on quitting their holes in the earth, singing in all the melodious strains of the nightingale.

The business of the chase at an end, Teymûr, before he continued his march, employed a further interval of two days in reviewing the different divisions of his army; and while he was yet deliberating whom he should prefer to lead the van, about to precede the main body at some distance, his grandson, Mahommed Sultan the son of Jahangueir, on his knees besought to be invested with that distinguished command; a proof of ardor, on the part of the prince, which was extremely acceptable to his grandsire, and his request was with great cheerfulness accordingly acceded to. On the seventh day of the latter Jummaudy,\* the period fixed upon by Moulana Abdullah the chief of the astrologers, the young prince, accompanied by the several Ameirs appointed to assist him, proceeded forward at the head of the advance; having received, from his grandsire, the strictest charge to be most punctual in transmitting to the main body, a report of every circumstance that might occur in the course of his march. When he had accordingly continued to proceed onwards, for the space of two days, some yet unextinguished fires in five or six different places, discovered that they were at last in the track of the enemy; and the circumstance was communicated with the utmost dispatch to Teymûr. In reply to this communication, the prince was further enjoined to exert his utmost diligence to procure guides, in order to trace the direction in

\* About the 10th of May.

which the parties who had left these fires might have withdrawn; and in general to omit no precaution to guard against the attempts, and to discover the designs of the enemy.

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The Shahzâdah upon this resumed his march, exploring every spot as he advanced with the most careful circumspection; and having crossed the Toupel, one of the streams which unites with the river Teik before it disembogues into the Caspian, his scouts reported to him that they had fallen upon the embers of not less than seventy different fires; but although they had traversed the neighboring desert in every direction, that they had not yet discovered the face of a single human being. This circumstance being also communicated to Teymûr with the requisite dispatch, he proceeded across the Toupel, with his whole force, and hastened to join the advanced division.

All endeavors to procure information of the enemy, or indeed, further than what has been related, to discover the slightest vestige of the abode of man, having hitherto failed, although the desert had been explored by the Teymûrian cavalry in every possible direction, the Tartar monarch, inspired by that auspicious destiny which appears to have been the inseparable companion of his undertakings, at last chose from among his followers a Tûrkman chief of the name of Sheikh Dâoud, brought up amidst the sands and solitude of the immeasurable waste, and experienced in every vicissitude of life, as well as in the hazards and difficulties which usually attend the prosecution of every great design, to renew the search for intelligence at the head of a small party of his bravest horse. On the evening of the third day of his departure, after riding each day with all the dispatch of which he was capable, this chief and his associates, to their no small satisfaction, discovered some Tartar cottages; and it was immediately resolved to conceal themselves for the night under cover of a neighboring eminence. At daydawn the next morning, a single horseman was seen to take his departure from these cottages, whom they suffered to pass the place of their concealment without alarm; but whom, when he had ridden to a sufficient distance from support, they pursued, and having succeeded in securing, they conducted without delay to the presence of Teymûr.

To the inquiries of the Tcheghatâian monarch, who immediately

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proceeded to interrogate him with regard to what he knew of the affairs of Touktemesh, the man replied, that a full month had now elapsed since he had separated from his tribe and family, and taken up his abode on the spot where he became a prisoner, and that he possessed no information whatever to communicate with respect to the Khaun, or his affairs; but, that on the very day of his seizure, ten horsemen clad in armour, had arrived and taken post in the forest adjoining, although he had not yet been able to discover to what nation they belonged. Upon this, having directed that the remaining inhabitants of the Tartar hamlet might be brought without delay to the imperial encampment, Teymûr, at the same time, dispatched Khomaury Yessawul, one of the exempts, distinguished for his undaunted spirit and activity, to seize the horsemen described to have taken post in the forest. In pursuance of his instructions the Yessawul, at the head of the party under his orders, entered the forest, fearless of all danger, and after some resistance, in which several were put to the sword, succeeded in making prisoners of such as survived of the ten cavaliers, whom he immediately conveyed to the imperial encampment; and the information obtained from these captives, regarding the situation of the enemy, appears to have been so conclusive that Teymûr prosecuted his march without further delay.

Having measured over still further an extensive tract of country, and passed several rivers and ranges of hills,\* in his progress westward, Teymûr at last arrived on the banks of the main branch of the Teik; or possibly the river properly so called, where he is described to have encamped on the twenty fourth of the latter Jummaudy.† Here, on the representation of his guides that there were three ordinary fords, or passages, by which it was usual to cross the river, and to which they severally gave the names of Aygheryauly, Bourguetchit, and Tchepmaguetchit, Teymûr expressed his determination to explore a passage higher up; wisely calculating on the probability that the enemy were prepared to attack him, should he attempt to cross at the known and

\* The manuscript exhibits *Koucheâci*, hills, but Mr. De la Croix mentions *lakes* probably from *Goulahâci*; but as lakes in any extent or number would present obstacles almost insuperable to an army, for the most part composed of cavalry, we have, with some hesitation, adhered to our original.

† 27th May.



ordinary places of transit. In consequence of this resolution the army was, in the same hour again put in motion; and having gained a convenient spot, the whole, both horse and foot, immediately proceeded to ford or swim the river, and, in the space of two days, the passage was completed without the slightest opposition. From thence, in a march of six days, he came to the river Semour; a branch, and probably the western branch, of the Teik. The scouts, who had been employed in advance of the army, now brought intelligence that they had heard the cries of the enemy; and, almost at the same hour, the Ameirzâdah Mahommed Sûltan brought before his grandsire one of their soldiers whom he had recently taken prisoner; and who confessed, on his examination, that a great body of men had not long before been on that ground, but that they had suddenly decamped, on discovering indications of the approach of a hostile force.

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The vicinity of the enemy being thus pretty clearly ascertained, Teymûr immediately issued orders that no one should on any pretence presume to stray from his hazaurah and koushûn, and that no fires should be kindled during the night in any part of the army; which, from henceforward, continued to advance in regular and successive order, armed at all points and in constant preparation for battle. And with these precautions he led his troops to the Aeik, or Jaick, the next great river to the eastward of the Volga. On Saturday morning, the first of Rudjub,\* having resolved to cross the Jaick without delay, Teymûr took his station, on horseback, at the head of the bridge which had been thrown over the river; and having caused the advanced division, and the centre of the army, to file over before him, immediately followed in person, while the right and left wings effected their passage at a short distance above and below.

Not long after the passage of the river had been completed, the advanced parties seized three of the enemy, and brought them before Teymûr; and from them it was now ascertained that, until apprized of the circumstance by the two deserters from the division of Evdekou, formerly noticed, Touktemesh Khaun was totally uninformed of the approach of the Tcheghatâian armies. That, however manifestly alarmed at the intelligence, he affected to treat it with unconcern, and to boast

\* 2nd of June.

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that he should, in a short time, be able to assemble a force of double the strength of his invaders; forgetting in his presumptuous calculations, according to our author, how little the strength of armies avails towards the attainment of victory, in competition with the superintending care, the eternal fiat of Omnipotence. That he had, nevertheless, proceeded to assemble the greater part of his troops, and that he was at this period encamped on the lake of Ferrek, or perhaps Kerregoul,\* between the Volga and the Jaick, or Ural, where he awaited the junction of the remainder. The prisoner further stated that had the Tcheghatâians attempted the passage of the Teik at the customary fords, a plan had been laid by Touktemesh to attack them during the operation; which was eluded, as we have already seen, by the sagacity and admirable address, of the Tcheghatâian monarch.

Nothing further appearing requisite to put him in possession of all he desired to know, with regard to the situation of his adversary, Teymûr determined to remain on the spot, until he should be joined by the different divisions of the army, still on their march in his rear. In the mean time, the troops were directed to provide themselves with hurdles and palisades;† to cover the several positions with intrenchments; and in other respects to omit no precautions of circumspection and vigilance, to guard against the designs of the enemy. And in this state they passed the night. On the day following, however, at sunrise, Teymûr put the army in march, in the direction in which he was taught to look for the troops of Touktemesh; the same vigilance, and the same precautions against surprise and attack, being observed without relaxation at every successive encampment during his progress. Neither did he omit, on this occasion, to animate and support the zeal of the principal commanders, from the leader of a tomaun to that of a koushûn, by distributing fresh proofs of his bounty, in costly khelauts and in money; as well as by furnishing them with pieces of armour suitable to their respective classes and denominations. His march at this period lay, for a considerable distance, through deep sloughs, or swamps, rendered still more difficult by the passage of so

\* There appears a lake of nearly this name, *Karacoul*, in latitude 48, longitude 54, in some of the maps.

† *Touraha* and *Teheperka*. The interpretation which I have ventured to give to these words seems more consistent than the great and little bucklers stated by De la Croix,

many myriads through mud and clay; so that by the time they reached their encampment at night, the troops appeared, in general, greatly fatigued by their exertions.

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When matters had for a short time continued in this train, the advanced parties reported that three Koushûns, or squadrons, of the enemy had shewn themselves; and immediately afterwards that the main body was in sight, in prodigious force. Teymûr, accompanied by some of his guards and attendants, now now rode forward, directing that the army might follow in order of battle. In the mean time a prisoner was secured and brought to the presence of the Tcheghâtâian monarch; to whom, on examination, he alleged that it was the design of Touktemesh to lead his adversaries as far as possible into the country, having received intelligence of the great scarcity which prevailed among the invaders. Although this piece of information appears to have been strictly conformable to the truth, the unfortunate man was immediately put to death; and the Ameirs Sounjek Bahauder and Arghûn Shah were sent on, in order to procure more certain intelligence. They returned, however, after proceeding for many farsangs into the desert, without having discovered the slightest appearance of the enemy; and this circumstance was considered by the army at large, as an undoubted proof of the veracity of the prisoners' statement.

The necessity of tracing the enemy's movements and designs was however still urgent, and the next appointed, by Teymûr, for the performance of that service, was Mûbasher Bahauder; whom he strictly charged to beware of rejoining the army, before he had effectually attained the object on which he was employed. In conformity with his orders Mûbasher marched, accordingly, at the head of some chosen cavalry; and, in several stages, reaching the outskirts of a large forest, he observed a column of smoke at some distance within. This he approached until several voices were overheard; on which one of the party was dispatched to discover whence they proceeded, and soon after returned with information, that they were within a short distance of an inferior party of the enemy, whom, on this consideration, it was immediately determined to attack. Although taken by surprise the enemy were not overpowered without making a gallant defence; but

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 suffa.

they were ultimately defeated, and forty of them fell alive into the hands of their assailants. With these Mûbasher conceived himself authorized to return immediately to the presence of his sovereign; by whom he was loaded with caresses, and his associates adequately rewarded. The captives, on their examination, could however only state that having repaired to the place of general rendezvous appointed for the armies of Keptchouk, on the lake of Kerekgoul, according to their instructions from Touktemesh Khaun, their expectations had been strangely, and unaccountably frustrated, at not finding him on the spot; and that having, in consequence, wandered ever since without an object, through these pathless regions, their misfortunes had finally terminated in their capture by the Teymûrians, as recently described. With no assignable motive for such an act of barbarity, unless it was to obviate every chance of their escape to give intelligence to the enemy, these men, after communicating all they had to disclose, were also put to death without the smallest remorse.

The information derived from the son of the prince of Memauk\* who was brought wounded to the presence of Teymûr, about the same crisis, was neither more satisfactory nor decisive; for he could only relate that having repaired, like the other prisoners, according to orders, to the place of general rendezvous, without discovering any vestige of the Khaun's presence, he possessed no knowledge whatever of his proceedings further than what he had thus stated. In these circumstances, the necessity of procuring intelligence continuing as imperious as ever, Teymûr next employed a chosen detachment, under Nedeila Terkhan, and Jullaul the son of Hameid, together with Mowly and Sâein Temûr, [the Sainte Maure of De la Croix] in advance, with orders, when they discovered the black cloud of dust which indicated the presence of the enemy, and as soon as they should have ascertained that he was in superior force, to retire with apparent precipitation before him, the instant they should have shewn themselves, and thus artfully endeavor to draw him on towards the main body; observing, at the same time, to be strictly punctual in communicating to the imperial head quarters, without delay, whatever might

\* The manuscript says "the son of Hemauk," but according to De la Croix, Memauk was a territory westward of that of Serâi on the Volga.

otherwise occur during their march. In pursuance of their instructions these chiefs accordingly hastened in the direction leading towards the enemy; and after making their way across several streams, and through some heavy sloughs, swamps, and morasses, at last cast their eyes upon the scouts, or advanced cavalry, of the troops of Touktemesh; of whom fifteen horsemen immediately separated from their associates, and rode forwards to meet the Teymûrians. Sâein Temûr advanced on the part of the latter, and having held a short conference with the strangers, rejoined his companions; of whom the Mowly just mentioned was immediately sent off to convey to Teymûr, with all possible dispatch, the result of their observations.

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On receiving the intelligence which this chief was employed to communicate, Eykû Teymûr, with a considerable body of horse, was directed by the Tcheghatâian monarch to approach the enemy; in order the more exactly to ascertain their force, and to attain an accurate survey of the position and arrangements of their camp. This distinguished commander departing then from the presence of his sovereign, and crossing the same waters and morasses, soon afterwards joined the party formerly advanced; with whom he proceeded to the further execution of his orders. He had, however, not continued his march to any great distance, when he discovered, on an eminence directly in his front, a squadron of the troops of Touktemesh, who stood with apparent unconcern surveying the country around. A division of the force under Eykû Teymûr immediately moved forward to dislodge the enemy, who retired on their approach; but, as soon as the Teymûrians gained the summit which they had quitted, they beheld, on the plain on the opposite side, not less than thirty koushûns, drawn out in formidable array, and prepared to give them battle. Taking post on the spot, the Teymûrians dispatched a person, without loss of time, to describe to their general the splendid spectacle, of a body of twelve or fifteen thousand horse in order of battle, which lay before them. Without a moments delay, Eykû Teymûr rode forward to the top of the hill, and, having from thence obtained a full view of the superior force of the enemy, immediately perceived the necessity of retreating; for which purpose he instantly gave orders, directing his people to recross the streams and morasses in his rear, without precipitation and

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without hurry; and remaining himself, with a small body of his followers, on the summit of the hill which interposed betwixt them and the enemy, to cover their retreat.

As soon, however, as the enemy discovered that the principal part of his force had left him, and aware of the nature of the country over which they were to make their retreat, in many parts obstructed by rivers and morasses, they proceeded to commence their attack upon the Teymûrian general; who continued to maintain his ground, with immoveable firmness, until he could perceive that the main body of his division had securely passed the bogs and morasses immediately in his rear. He then drew off his small party; but being closely pursued, and both himself and his horse soon after wounded by the arrows which showered upon him from behind, he passed the first river with some difficulty; his horse dropping down dead, as soon as he had safely conveyed his master across. He was, however, supplied by his attendants with a fresh horse; but that also being mortally wounded almost as soon as he was well fixed in his stirrups, the gallant chief was driven to his last resource. He turned upon his pursuers, and having as long as was practicable continued to ply them with his bow, finally betook himself to his sword; and with this he bravely defended himself, until overpowered by numbers, he found, what he now alone sought for, the crown of martyrdom amidst the weapons of the enemy. Herry Mêlek the son of Yadgaur Berlas, Ramzaun Khaujah, and Mahommed Erlaut, threemore of Teyinûr's most distinguished captains nobly shared the fate of their leader on this occasion.

Although too late for the rescue of these his faithful and devoted followers, Teymûr, with a small body of his guards, now reached the banks of the stream which had been polluted by the recent conflict. He immediately directed the troops by whom he was accompanied to dismount from their horses; and to cross the river on foot, repelling the enemy before them with their arrows. The Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-udein and Jahaun Shah, who were in the train of their sovereign at this critical conjuncture, exerted themselves with conspicuous intrepidity. The same is recorded of Ameir Hadjy the son of Hameid; who, with no more than thirty men, precipitated himself on as many squadrons of the enemy, whom he compelled to give way. Nedeilah Terkhan

also, with Shah Melek the son of Toghâi Mirken, and *six fingered* Bayazid, exhibited the most distinguished proofs of undaunted courage, and indefatigable perseverance; and, in fine, the enemy having been effectually repelled by the united exertions of these invincible warriors, Teymûr was at last enabled to withdraw from the spot, and to return to his camp without further loss; but, with no other trophy of his victory, than three unfortunate prisoners who had fallen alive into the hands of the troops who attended him.

Teymûr proceeded, on his return to camp, to acknowledge, by the most distinguished marks of his favor, the merits of those brave men who, regardless of the overwhelming superiority of the enemy, had so eminently signalized themselves on this occasion. On the whole, of the principal officers peradventure, he appears to have conferred the order of Terkhan; expressly enjoining, among other circumstances, that the Yessawuls, Tchoubdaurs, or state messengers, should not in any case interfere to prevent their access to the imperial presence, whenever they required it; and confirming, to themselves and their issue, the ordinary privilege first established by Jengueiz, on an occasion something similar, that no criminal offence committed on their part, should be obnoxious to punishment, until nine times repeated. The surviving relatives of the gallant and devoted Eykû Teymûr, were at the same time caressed, and consoled, in every way that could most conspicuously evince the paternal solicitude of their sovereign to render them the peculiar objects of his bounty and benevolence; and the great seal, together with that of the *purwaunah*\*, or butterfly, and all the exclusive privileges, distinctions, and immunities, enjoyed by the departed chief, were bestowed upon his adopted son† Shah Melek, who was immediately advanced to the most distinguished honors of the empire.

In this place the author is compelled to acknowledge that according to some historians, the Tcheghatâian army was thrown into the utmost consternation by the death of Eykû Teymûr, and the

\* Said to be, by De la Croix, a little seal in the shape of a butterfly, which the king of Persia made use of in his time.

† Pesser-e-kolghai. It may perhaps be either the adopted son, or nephew, the translator can not determine which.

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suffa.

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 A. D. 1391.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 sufia.

destruction of the greater part of his division, with which it was probably accompanied; and that the succeeding night was passed under the most anxious and alarming apprehensions. It being, however, almost six months since Teymûr had been continually moving in a northern direction, the troops found themselves under a parallel, in which, immediately after the sun was set, and before the twilight had yet ceased to render things visible, they clearly perceived the dawn of day, in the opposite horizon; the period of terror must, therefore, have been comparatively short. In the month of June, and in the latitude of 53, that of Serâi, or Saratof, on the Volga, in the neighborhood of which the army of Teymûr was now arrived, it is possible that the day should have appeared of a very surprising length, to the natives of a southern climate. At all events, the interval between sunset and sunrise, was of so short a duration, as to supersede the fifth course of prayer—that before sleep; which the law has directed to be discontinued, whenever the sun pursues his course among the northern constellations \*

Finding, from the manner in which it had hitherto perpetually shifted its ground at his approach, that the main body of the armies of Touktemesh was determined to avoid a general action, and that his own troops were at last almost worn out by their long and harrassing marches in quest of the enemy, Teymûr proceeded to hold a council of war with his imperial relatives, and the principal generals of the army; in order to deliberate on the measures to be adopted in such an emergency. And the result was, that a division of twenty thousand horse under Omar Sheikh, with the Ameirs Sounjek, Sûltan Sunjur, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and Othman the son of Abbas, should be detached for the immediate object of arresting the movements of the Keptchaukian monarch, and of compelling him to make a final stand. The Shahzâdah and his associates set forward accordingly; and the very day after his departure, intelligence was received in the imperial en-

\* The translator is not immediately aware of this regulation. The 5th course of prayer which should take place two hours after sunset, or when it is completely dark, would scarcely occur where the sun is never two hours below the horizon; it would merge into that prescribed for the dawn of day. At the same time it will be obvious to the reader, that the interval here described between sunset and sunrise, is calculated for a latitude much further north than 53.



campment, that his advanced parties, and those of the enemy, were in actual contact. On this, with more than ordinary circumspection, Teymûr addressed himself to arrange his troops for the battle, which he conceived to be immediately at hand. But, at the very crisis at which the hostile armies were thus about to close, the sky became suddenly overcast, and the long looked for conflict was again, for a period of six days, unavoidably postponed by a heavy fall of snow, accompanied by a severity of weather not often experienced at such a season of the year.

At the expiration of that period, however, the weather cleared up; and on Monday, the fifteenth of Rudjub, of the seven hundred and ninety third of the hidjerah,\* at a station called Kunderjah or Kandercheh, Teymûr finally proceeded to dispose of his troops for battle, in seven Koushûns, or massy divisions, in the following order. The first division, destined to act as the vanguard of the centre, was placed under the command of Sûltân Mahmûd Khaun, the titular sovereign of the Tcheghatâian possessions; the movements of this division were, however, conducted by the skill of Ameir Sûliman Shah, as lieutenant general. The second division, which appears to have constituted the centre, or main body, subject to the immediate controul of Teymûr, was consigned to the direction of the Shahzadah Sûltan Mahommed, aided by some of the bravest and most skilful of the imperial commanders. The third division, which composed the right wing of the main body, was placed under the orders of Meiran Shah, with Mahommed Sûltan Shah, as lieutenant; and the fourth division, under Omar Sheikh, formed the left wing. The fifth division was consigned to the direction of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and took post, as subsequently appears, in advance of the right wing; and the sixth division, under the orders of Beirdy Beg the son of Saur Bouga, aided by Khodadaud the son of Hûsseyne, and other gallant leaders, occupied a similar position in front of the left wing. Lastly, twenty Koushûns, or great squadrons, selected from the bravest soldiers in the army, composed a seventh division, in the rear of the centre, of the main body, destined as a body of reserve, to act as emergency might require; and this, according to De la Croix, was

\* 16th of June.

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suffa.

A. H. 703.  
A. D. 1391.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

immediately under the orders of Teymûr himself, who is, by the same author, described to have taken post directly in the rear of, although at some distance from, the centre division. Hence it would appear in effect, that the whole army was arranged into two lines of six massive divisions, with a seventh in reserve; but the strength of these divisions can be only matter of conjecture; they probably contained none of them less than twenty thousand horse.

In this disposition, the Teymûrians awaited the approach of Touktemesh; whose army soon appeared in view, disposed, according to De la Croix, into a centre, and two wings, and exhibiting the form of an enormous crescent. At such a crisis, nevertheless, in order to evince the utmost possible contempt of the enemy, Teymûr directed his troops to dismount and pitch their tents; and, with every appearance of unconcern, to light their fires, and proceed to prepare their customary meal. When this circumstance was reported to him, Touktemesh is said to have expressed some surprise at the confidence, the audacity, which could employ a conjuncture so full of danger in matters of such comparative indifference; and it was, therefore, with considerable anxiety for the result that he proceeded to issue his final instructions for the approaching conflict; his army being at the same time represented, to have surpassed in number by several Koushûns that of his renowned adversary. Teymûr, on the other hand, who on his part, never appears to have forgotten that victory depends alone on the favor and support of omnipotence, not on the strength of armies, at the moment the action was about to commence, dismounted from his charger, and, prostrate on the earth in devout and humble terms, implored the supreme being to crown his exertions with success. At the same time, the venerable Seyud Berrekah, with the Khanjahs Zeya-ud-dein Yûssuf, and Sheikh Ismâeil, bare-headed and with uplifted hands, addressed their prayers to heaven for the abasement and subjugation of the power of Touktemesh, and for the further advancement of the glory of Teymûr. After which, turning to his imperial patron, the Seyud, in the words of the Korân as on a former occasion, assured him that wherever he directed his footsteps, success and victory would be his inseparable companions.

The armies now joined battle, the action commencing with an

attack, led on by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, at the head of the vanguard of the right of the Teymûrians, against the left wing of the enemy, which was at first thrown into considerable confusion; but the Teymûrians being greatly outflanked by their adversaries, and several squadrons approaching to cut into the rear of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein's division, Ameir Jahaun Shah, with part of the reserve under his orders, hastened to repel, and effectually foiled the attempt. Soon afterwards, the right wing of the main body, under Méiran Shah, also fell upon the left of Touktemesh, threw it into disorder, and drove it completely from its position. At the same time, Othman the son of Abbas, with a small party of horse immediately attached to his person, in assailing three Koushûns of the enemy infinitely superior in number, was thrown from his horse in the heat of the conflict; but plied his bow with such rapidity and skill that he was soon enabled to remount, and to disperse the light cavalry of the enemy, after they had begun to press most seriously upon him. Sheikh Ally Bahauder also, than whom on all occasions none more ardently courted the dangers of the field, was now equally forward in spreading confusion, and dismay, among the thickest of the adverse squadrons. Neither, at this period of the battle, was Omar Sheikh, at the head of the left wing, less successful on his part in bearing down the right of the enemy opposed to him; in which he was conspicuously aided by the previous exertions of Beirdy Beg, and Khodadaud the son of Hûseyne, who had pre-eminently distinguished themselves with the sixth division, or advanced guard of the left.

So far, the Teymûrians appear to have been triumphant in every part of the battle; when, apprehensive that he should be unable to resist the shock of the centre of his adversaries, led against him by Teymûr in person, Touktemesh, determined on a lateral movement to his right; in order to attack the division under Omar Sheikh, at this time successfully engaged in that quarter. But in the execution of his design, meeting from that prince with a resistance, equally firm and intrepid, he found it convenient to transfer the fury of his attack upon Sheikh Temûr, and the hazaurals, or chiliads, of the tribe of Seldûz; whom, although he suffered at first considerable annoyance

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suffa.

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 A. D. 1391.  
 Rouzat us-  
 suffa.

from their arrows, he finally broke with great slaughter; and having succeeded in penetrating entirely through, between them and the left wing, he took up a position exactly in the rear of the centre of the main body. Here he deliberately drew up his troops, and stood prepared to repel the storm which was collecting around him; and in this position he was shortly afterwards attacked by the division of Omar Sheikh, advancing, however, against him, with a precaution which bespoke their sense of his power, under cover of their bucklers.\*

In the mean time, having been led to a considerable distance, in pursuit of the troops whom he had driven before him from the centre, the danger which menaced his rear, from the bold and unexpected manœuvre put in practice by Touktemesh, was announced to Teymûr, by one of the Touatcheis, and the intelligence was presently confirmed by a message from Omar Sheikh. On this the victorious monarch immediately stopped short in his career, and returned without a moment's delay, to dissipate by his presence the growing mischief; for it seems that Touktemesh no sooner beheld the approach of the imperial umbrella, than his steadiness entirely forsook him; his arm became palsied in its exertions, and the punishment of ingratitude descended upon him in all its horrors. With feelings of regret and sorrow, a thousand fold accumulated *by the sense of guilt*, continues the author, he abandoned his hopes of empire, and its glittering appendages of wealth and power, and committed himself without alternative, to the complicated evils of a perilous and ignominious flight; and the whole race of Jûjy Khaun, partaking in his discomfiture to its fullest extent, were driven in disastrous plight, to consult their safety at a distance far remote from the abodes of their predecessors, and the scenes of domestic enjoyment.

Encamping on the field of battle, Teymûr was at leisure to receive the congratulations of the princes of his blood, and of his other generals of every class; whose exertions on this dreadful day, he did not fail to reward with royal munificence. After which selecting seven out of ten from among the soldiers of the whole of the army, he dispatched them in pursuit of the enemy. Accordingly

\* The larger and smaller buckler, is the interpretation invariably given by De la Croix to the words Tour and Tchepper.

with hearts indurated against every sentiment of mercy and humanity, these ministers of vengeance proceeded, with the celerity of lightning, to carry into execution the orders of their sovereign; and hence, in the words of our author, with the sword of vengeance impelled by the hand of inevitable destiny in their rear, and the impassable volume of the Attel, or Volga, in their front, it will not be difficult to conceive how small a proportion of the blood-boltered remnant of the recent carnage could escape this two-fold danger. The spoil which fell into the hands of the victorious Teymûrians, on the field of battle, and during a pursuit of forty leagues according to De la Croix, in captives, in cattle, and in property of every description, exceeded all calculation; and abundantly remunerated the conquerors for all their fatigues and exertions.

It has formerly appeared, that Kounjah, or Kounje Oghlan, and Temer Kûtlûg Oghlan, of the imperial race of Jûjy Khaun, together with Eydekû, one of the most distinguished chieftains attached to that dynasty, had withdrawn, some years since, from the standard of Touktemesh, and enrolled themselves under that of Teymûr; from whom they experienced a very liberal and honorable reception, and a rapid advancement to the most exalted dignities in his power to bestow. But an opportunity thus offering, now that Touktemesh had so narrowly escaped from the scene of blood and discomfiture, they could not forbear to solicit the permission of their august benefactor to seek, and reassemble, their native tribes, at present dispersed abroad by the events of a calamitous period, and to unite them under the influence of his more powerful destiny.

To a proposal so apparently reasonable Teymûr acceded without difficulty; and the two Shahzâdahs,\* as well as the other Ouzbek chief, were respectively put in possession of the imperial letters patent, by which the Tcheghatâian officers were strictly forbidden, in any shape, to interrupt or molest their proceedings, or those of their followers; and their respective tribes were generally exempted from the payment of the Khaun, or perhaps Ghaun, a particular impost, or branch of the revenue, the nature of which is not explained. With these patents they all three departed, highly rejoiced, in order to carry into

\* They were the sons of the former sovereign of Keptchaik.

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A. D. 1391.  
Rouzat-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 793.  
A. D. 1391.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

execution, those plans which they had severally in view; but which, however, in two of the three, terminated very differently from what had been so speciously professed. For, after joining and collecting together the individuals of their tribes in formidable strength, Temur Kùtlug Oghlan and Eydekù, instead of leading them as they had engaged to do, to join the Teymûrian armies, proceeded, the former, plunging into the boundless regions of Keptchawk, to prosecute his own hereditary claims on the throne of Jûjy, and the latter, giving scope to the possibly long cherished designs of independence, drew off his retainers in a different direction; each, at the same time, equally forgetful of the ties of gratitude which, if example had not so frequently proved how frail in the career of ambition, seem to have claimed a more generous return for the numerous bounties of Teymûr. Kounjah Oghlan alone, who had, indeed, been admitted to a more intimate share in the confidence of the Tcheghatâian monarch, honorably fulfilled the expectations of his benefactor, by returning with the few adherents whom he had fallen in with, in exploring his native solitudes, to the imperial camp; where he experienced that reception to which, by his scrupulous adherence to his engagements, he appears to have been justly entitled.

Teymûr proceeded, in the mean time, to follow the troops whom he had dispatched in pursuit of the enemy, and finally reaching the banks of the Volga, he there encamped; on the plains of Aourtoupa, celebrated as well for their verdure and fertility, as for having been the favorite abode of Jûjy Khaun, and of the princes his successors.\* On this chosen spot he determined to await the return of his generals, who successively rejoined him with an immense booty; from which five thousand male and female captives, distinguished for their beauty, and symmetry, were in particular selected for the service of the imperial household. Delighted with the amenity of the surrounding rural scenery, with the richly enameled meadows, and chrystal streams, which brought to mind, and seemed to give reality to, the enchanting descriptions of paradise, and its fountain of everdurling life and bliss, Tey-

\* According to the sketch prefixed to De la Croix's work, these plains are situated about ten leagues above Serâi, and on the opposite or left bank of the Volga; hitherto we have generally understood that *toupa* signifies a hill, and not a plain.

mûr continued on the plains of Aourtoupa for a period of six and twenty days; participating with his victorious warriors in those enjoyments and recreations, which might appear, perhaps, equally necessary to obliterate the recollection of past fatigues, and to reconcile them to the contemplation of future dangers and exertions.

Having thus brought his enterprise to a consummation which, to his panegyrist might, perhaps, in glory, appear to surpass the brightest achievements of the most puissant monarchs of preceding times, and few of the adverse hordes of Keptchak, whether on the adjoining plains, or in the islands of the Volga, having escaped the vengeance of his troops, Teymûr commenced his march back again,\* for the metropolis of his dominions. On this occasion, the boundless plains over which he passed are said to have been covered, to an astonishing distance, by the army, and by the immensity of the train by which it was accompanied; consisting of a vast multitude of captives of both sexes, of sheep and cattle of every description, and of the Khergah-e-kouthermah; or portable pavilions set upon wheels,† which the triumphant Teymûrians brought away with them in great numbers. Here again the author is compelled to notice that while the Tcheghatâian armies were encamped on their return, on the banks of the Teik, Kounjah Oghlan, averse also to the idea of quitting his native abodes in these free and extensive regions, and receiving information that his countrymen had raised the Shahzadah Temer Kûtlûg; to the throne of the Khauns of Keptchak, was suddenly seized with the desire of visiting the camp of, and of tendering his services to the new sovereign; and thus suffering himself to be seduced from his engagements, he embraced the earliest opportunity of withdrawing from the presence of Teymûr, and of repairing to join his countrymen. Teymûr now recrossed the Teik, with the whole of his army; but having continued his march at the head of his troops for a few leagues, he determined to leave the main body with the baggage and heavy equipments, in charge of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and to make the

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suffa.

\* Possibly about the 15th of July.

† The ruts of these wheels are described by Rubruquis an European traveller of the 13th century, to have been twenty feet asunder, and the axle trees of the size of an ordinary vessel's mast; they were drawn by two and twenty oxen, eleven a breast.

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 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa,

best of his way, without impediment, to the Seyhûn. Accordingly, having braved the dangers of the intervening deserts, and passed by Sabraun, he arrived in safety at Otraur, in the month of Zilkadah of the seven hundred and ninety third of the hidjerah.\* From Otraur he prosecuted his journey, with little intermission, to Samarkand; where he arrived shortly afterwards, to the infinite joy, and amidst the united congratulations of his family, and of every class of the inhabitants.

The cares of empire did not, however, permit him to remain long in his capital, on this occasion; for after giving directions for a magnificent entertainment for the people, and partaking for some days in the consequent festivities, he found it expedient to determine on fixing his winter quarters in the territory of Taushkent, eastward of the Seyhun; to which he accordingly removed, before the conclusion of the year, Meiran Shah having previously taken his departure for Khorassaun. During the month of Mohurrim, of the seven hundred and ninety fourth of the hidjerah,† Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, who had been left to conduct the main body of the army from the neighborhood of the Teik, successfully reunited the whole in the camp of his sovereign; and, with the Shahzadahs, and other generals, by whom he was accompanied, received from Teymûr the most distinguished testimonies of approbation, for his exertions during this memorable expedition; which, calculating from the eighteenth of January, the day of their departure from Taushkent at its commencement, may, therefore, be stated to have occupied a period of about eleven months.

\* October, 1391.

† December, 1391.



## CHAP. IV.

**H**AVING passed the winter in repose, on the plains of Parsein, or Barsein, in the neighborhood of Taushkent, Teymûr, about the commencement of spring, in the seven hundred and ninety fourth of the hidjerah,\* recrossed the Seyhûn near Khojend; and, hunting as he went along, proceeded to Aukaur, or Aukyaur, formerly mentioned as nearly equidistant between Samarkand and Kesh, where he now again encamped. In order to confer upon his grandson Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, the most distinguished proof of his regard and confidence, he embraced this opportunity to invest him with the government of the provinces of Kabûl and Gheznein, and of the territories in that quarter to the banks of the Indus and the borders of Hindûstaun, comprising the early possessions of Mahmûd Sebekteggin; and some of the most illustrious individuals of his grandfather's court and army were selected to form the retinue of the young prince, whenever it was determined that he should finally proceed to take charge of his government. Among these are mentioned Hûseyne Souffy the son of Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and Kâthud-dein, the cousin german of Ameir Sûliman Shah; with Hûseyne Khaujah the son of Ameir Abbas, and Shums-ud-dein Ouje Kara Bahauder. Shortly after this, Teymûr repaired to Samarkand; from whence, after a few days' residence, he proceeded to take up his abode in the delicious gardens of Kaun-e-gûll, in the vicinity of that metropolis. Here, he caused the most splendid preparations to be made for the nuptials of Peir Mahommed, and his brother Mirza Rûstum, the sons of Jahangueir, with the two daughters of Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and of Mirza Aba Bukker the son of Meiran Shah, with the daughter of Ameir Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein; all of which were presently celebrated with extraordinary magnificence, a separate encampment, or suite of tents, being allotted for the accommodation of each of the illustrious pairs respectively.

A. H. 794.  
A. D. 1392.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 794.  
 A. D. 1392.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

These splendid arrangements finally dispatched, the attention of Teymûr was directed to mature his plans for the more effectual subjugation of the western provinces of the Persian empire; which terminated in the expedition, by historians, called the expedition of five years. During the absence of the imperial armies in Keptchawk, on the recent occasion, many of the provincial rulers, and governors of towns had, as it is alleged, availed themselves of the opportunity to depart from their obedience, and to usurp an authority which set at defiance the regulations prescribed for their conduct, by the policy of Teymûr. In vindication of his power, it became, therefore, a measure of necessity, with the latter, to lead his armies once more through the country, in order to chastise these refractory chieftains, and to deter others, by the example, from the commission of similar acts of disloyalty and usurpation. With these objects in view, the Tcheghatâian monarch again quitted the territory of Samarkand, at the head of his troops, on the seventh of the month of Rudjub, of the year seven hundred and ninety four;\* and on the first of the succeeding month of Shabaun,† he encamped at Bokhâra.

Here he experienced some alarming symptoms of approaching indisposition, which did not, however, prevent him from prosecuting his march without delay to Jûizez, or Jûidez,‡ a dependency on the same city of Bokhâra. But his disorder having, by this time, fastened upon him with a considerable degree of violence, it was thought expedient to dispatch to Samarkand, in order to require the attendance of the two consorts, Serâi Melek Khaunum, and Touman Agha, with his daughter, Sûltan Bukht Begum, and such of the princes of the blood as were at the moment absent from the imperial camp. Orders were at the same time transmitted to recal the Ameirzâdah Mahommed Sûltan the son of Jahangueir, who had already crossed the Jeyhûn at the head of the vanquard of the army; but which he was now directed to leave encamped, at whatever station these orders might be delivered to him.

The disorder of his grandfather having taken, however, a favorable turn, about the fifteenth of Shabaun,§ Mahommed Sûltan was directed

\* 27th of May, 1392.

† 20th of June.

‡ Jûizerr, would be Chrysoroas.

§ 4th of July.

to resume his station with the advanced division; and on the sixth of Ramzaun\*, Teymûr was himself sufficiently recovered to proceed on the expedition. On his arrival at the station of Omayah, perhaps Amou, or Amûyah, on the Oxus, he dismissed the princesses of the imperial family on their return to Samarkand, and, shortly afterwards, his younger son Shahrokh for the same place. Teymûr then crossed the Jeyhûn, and prosecuting his march by Makaun and Abiwerd, after successive stages finally came up with the advanced division under Mahommed Sûltan at Khabûshaun, on the road to Asterabad; the prince Peir Mahommed, and Ameir Jahaun Shah, having already joined previous to his arrival.

A. H. 794.  
A. D. 1392.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

Briefly noticing that having received, at Khabûshaun, a visit, and most sumptuous entertainment from his daughter-in-law, Khaunzâdah the widow of Jahangueir, who had made a journey from Herât for the purpose, the narrative proceeds to state that Teymûr continued his march to the banks of the river of Jârjaun, and there encamped. The venerable Seyud Berrekah, who had been formerly dispatched on a mission into Mazanderaun, here returned to the presence of Teymûr, accompanied by Seyud Gheyauth the son of Kunmaul-ud-dein, with a splendid selection of the rarities of Tebristaun, and assurances of submission, and of his readiness to become tributary, on the part of his father. Teymûr received him with his usual liberality, and accepted of the proposals of which he was the bearer; and proceeding soon afterwards to Asterabad, he there experienced the most zealous and essential services from Peir Padshah the son of Lokman Padshah; and grandson of Togha Teymûr Khaun, whom, on the death of his father, he had invested with the government of that place and the adjoining territory.

Leaving Asterabad and having continued his progress westward for three marches, Teymûr found his course impeded by the thick, and almost impermeable forests with which the country was overgrown. Through these he therefore caused the troops to cut for themselves three great roads, or avenues, each a bowshot wide, for the passage of as many columns, into which he threw the centre and wings of his army; and in this disposition he pressed gradually forwards until

\* 24th July.

A. H. 794.  
A. D. 1392.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

he penetrated to Yaurirah, most probably Saury. Here it was ascertained that Seyud Kummaul-ud-dein, notwithstanding his recent professions, had fled the country, and retired for protection to Seyud Rezzy-ud-dein, at Mahaunehser; which is described as a Kerrejah, or obscure town, on the Caspian shore, about four farsangs, or Persian leagues from Amûl. Adjoining to this town, or at a very short distance from it, they had bestowed considerable pains in fortifying a lofty hill, possibly projecting into the sea, by which it was defended on one side, and on the other by a tremendous chasm nearly a mile broad, which at high water, or in tempestuous weather admitted the tide. They had, moreover, added considerably to the strength of their position, by an enormous abbatis, composed of large trees laid side by side, with the branches outwards strongly interlaced, and exhibiting all the advantages of an exterior line of defence. To this place, at all events, at the period under consideration, the governors and principal inhabitants of Saury and the neighboring towns, had together with themselves conveyed their treasure and most valuable effects of every description; and it is accordingly said to have contained, in gold and silver alone, property to an amount beyond ordinary calculation.

These considerations appear to have rendered the place an object altogether worthy of the exertions of Teymûr; and he accordingly continued his march, the troops still cutting their way through the forests, and making their passage with indefatigable perseverance, over the sloughs and morasses, to the city of Amûl. From thence the Gheyauth-ud-dein recently mentioned was dispatched to Mahaunehser, in order to dissuade his father from his rash plans of resistance; and if possible to prevail upon him to commit his person to the discretion of the Tcheghatâian monarch. In the mean time, the imperial army did not cease to advance, in spite of a thousand obstacles from the nature of the country, forming for their numerous cavalry a passage over the stagnant waters, marshes, and sloughs, by overlaying them with hurdles, branches of trees, thorns, and dry underwood, or other light materials. With the utmost possible exertion their progress did not however, in many places, exceed half a Persian league in the course of the day. Nevertheless, the woods and forests at length seemed to disappear before the unwearied labours of the soldier; and the whole

country expanded into one boundless view, like the clear and unincumbered levels of the desert.

A. H. 794.  
A. D. 1392.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

On the twenty sixth of Zilkadah\* the advanced parties came in contact with the scouts of the enemy; and a sharp skirmish ensued, in which Hússeyne Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder was killed. Two days afterwards Seyud Kummaul-ud-dein, accompanied, as it would appear, by his brother Moulana Emmaud-ud-dein, came from Mahaunehser, and was admitted to an audience with Teymûr; whom with the usual professions of amity and zeal, he humbly solicited to be received to pardon. The monarch frankly announced to him that he was very ready to accede to his intreaties; but it was on the express condition that, together with the arrears of tribute of which the payment had been suspended, both he and all the chiefs in insurrection should immediately send to the Tcheghatâian camp, each one of his sons respectively, to remain in constant attendance about the person of the sovereign; in order that by their experience of those proofs of kindness and indulgence uniformly bestowed upon their children, the parents might be induced, with the greater confidence, to place themselves under his protection. This stipulation, made known to the garrison and inhabitants of Mahaunehser, produced, however, on their part, only fresh and more determined indications of hostility; and the most active and vigorous measures became therefore expedient for their speedy subjugation. For that purpose, Peir Padshah the prince of Asterabad, Arghûn Shah Bourdaleighy, Nadir Shah Karakouly, and other commanders, with the slingers of wild fire, and a division of boatmen brought from the Oxus, were dispatched by Teymûr to the shore of the Caspian; with instructions to seize all the vessels they could find, in which they were to assail the place by water, at the same time that the imperial armies were carrying on their attacks from the land side.

Having been successful in the seizure of a great number of vessels of different descriptions, these commanders, accordingly, embarked their troops without delay; and exhibited to the astonishment of their adversaries, the sea covered to a considerable distance by the glittering armour, and swords and lances of their besiegers, while their ears were

\* 11th of October.

A. H. 794.  
 A. D. 1392.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 s uffa.

assailed by the appalling sounds of the Tartar horns and kettle drums. The fortress of Mahaunehser was now invested, and attacked by the whole force of the Teymûrian armies by sea and land; and the exterior works of the place, after a tremendous conflict, being carried on the first day by assault, the garrison was driven for shelter to the interior. On the first of Zilhudje,\* the attack was renewed, and prosecuted with unabating fierceness, and irresistible intrepidity, until the eighth day of the same month; when, struck with an appalling sense of their inferiority, the besieged in successive throngs issued from their works, to implore the mercy of Teymûr; Kummaul-ud-dein, and Seyud Rezzy-ud-dein, with their children and relatives, being among the first to present themselves before the throne of the conqueror. It having been, however, by some means or other intimated that these men, and the sect to which they belonged, were impious schismatics in doctrine; that they were in particular unpardonably remiss in the article of congregational devotion performed on friday by the orthodox; and that their conduct and opinions, in other respects, corresponded but little with the genuine principles of Islâm, Teymûr addressed them on their approach in terms of severe and bitter reprehension, although, in consideration of their affinity with the illustrious family of the prophet, he finally relaxed from that severity, and treated them with equal kindness and liberality. He admonished them, at the same time, on their dismissal from his presence, to abandon their absurd and fallacious doctrines, to discard from their observance the odious practices of their ancestor Kowaum-ud-dein, and lastly he enjoined them to cherish and promote, in their youth, the study of the sacred precepts of the law, as contained in the pages of the Koran, and to respect and reverence the learned and the pious, as one of the strictest obligations of duty. After this wholesome lecture he caused them to be conveyed to the castle of Saury, with orders that their persons should be guarded with the closest vigilance.

Having thus made himself master of Mahaunehser, Teymûr remained there for several days, in order to regulate the distribution, among his generals and their followers, of the prodigious booty accumulated in the place. The fortifications were then levelled with the ground;

\* 16th of October.

but, as it had reached the ears of the conqueror, from general report, that the natives of the country were, for the major part, Fedâeis, or zealots devoted to the detestable principles of Hussun Sabah—that they persecuted with inveterate malignity all on whom they could detect the slightest vestige of an attachment to the studies of religion—that even a page of manuscript found on the person of the most innocent stranger was, with these savage enthusiasts, sufficient to his condemnation—their extermination was resolved on, and a decree which devoted them to indiscriminate massacre was issued on the spot; every individual who bore the name of Seyud being, however, expressly exempted from its operation. The execution of this sanguinary mandate was committed, in consideration of the recent death of his son Hûseyne Khaujâh, to Sheikh Ally Bâhâuder, united with Ameir Eskunder Sheikh, whose father Afrausiab Jellâeir had been formerly cut off by the disciples of Seyud Kowaum-ud-dein; and a horrible and disgusting slaughter was the immediate result. Shortly after this, Seyud Kummaul-ud-dein, with the whole of his family, was conveyed across the Caspian to Khaurezm; his sons, Seyud Mûrtezza and Seyud Abdullah, being ultimately transported through Samarkand, to Taushkent on the other side of the Seyhûn.

The conquest of Mazanderaun being now considered as complete, messengers were dispatched to every quarter of the imperial dominions, to announce the event; those who proceeded to Samarkand conveying, at the same time, to the several branches of the Teymûrian family, the choicest specimens of the booty at Mahaunehser, Amûl, and Saury, and a summons to repair to the presence. Accordingly, as soon as intelligence of the triumphant issue of the expedition was thus communicated at the metropolis, Shah Rokh, and his nephew Khaleil, the son of Meiran Shah, with the queen consort Serâi Melék Khaunum, the mirzas Rûstum and Sûltan Hûseyne, the latter being the son of Ameir Moussa by one of the daughters of Teymûr, as also Beggy Sûltan the daughter of Meiran Shah, Touman Agha, and other illustrious females, prepared without delay, to comply with the invitation of their common parent and sovereign.

In the mean time, during the month of Mohurrim of the seven hundred and ninety fifth of the hidjerah,\* Teymûr had given orders

A. H. 794.  
A. D. 1392.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

\* November 1392.

A. H. 795.  
 A. D. 1392-93.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

for the construction of a winter palace at Shasemnaun, in the territory of Jûrjaun, where he arrived on the twentieth of the same month,\* having conferred the government of Saury on Jemsheid Kaurin a native of Farss, and that of Amûl on Eskunder Sheikhy the son of Afrausiab, recently mentioned. Here he fixed his abode either in or near the new palace, of which his architects and artificers were still employed in the construction; and hence the Towatcheis proceeded to different quarters, in order to hasten to his presence reinforcements of fresh troops from all parts of the empire. The members of the imperial family who had, in the mean time, been summoned to join him, quitted Samarkand on the fourth, or more probably on the twenty fourth of the preceding month of Zilhudge;† and proceeding with all convenient dispatch across the Jeyhûn, came to Makhan, and from thence to Hendôaun; where leaving their heavy baggage, they pursued their journey day and night without intermission, for thirteen days and nights successively, until they reached the station of Tchelwaun, in the neighborhood of Jûrjaun, to the north east. Thither Teymûr had already hastened to meet his relatives; with whom, exhibiting every proof of delight and satisfaction, he now proceeded to the new palace at Shasemnaun.

The active habits of Teymûr did not, however, permit him to remain long in indolent repose. On the twenty fourth of Suffur,‡ he again put his troops in motion westward; leaving in the proportion of three tenths of the whole [the manuscript affirms seven tenths] to protect his baggage and heavy equipments, in charge of the Ameirs Yadgaur Berlas, Jahaun Shah, Shums ud-dein Abbas, Hadjy Mahmûd Shah, and Ouje Kâra Bahâuder, who had instructions to follow the main body, by easy stages. The princesses Tchelpan Mêlek, Sûltan Agha, and Nigaur Agha were selected, from among the ladies of his family, to accompany him on this occasion. Mahommed Sûltan and his brother Peir Mahommed, the sons of Jahangueir, had been already sent forward with an advanced division of the army; Shah Rokh now followed with another division; after which Teymûr in person, at the head of the main body, moved in the same direction, taking the road which led, by a summer retreat belonging to Ameir Wully prince of Mazanderaun, in the intervening hills, to Damaghaun, Semnaun, and

\* 5th of December.

† 10th of November.

‡ 8th of January, 1393.



Rey, at all which places the troops were regularly furnished with the necessary supplies of subsistence.

A. H. 795.  
A. D. 1393.  
Ronzut-us-suffa.

The princes Peir Mahommed and Mahommed 'Sûltan advanced, in the mean time, to Kazvein, the frontier town of Irâk Ajem, towards Guilân; of which the governor 'Khaujâh Shehsowaur, had by some accident or other fallen into their hands, and was now conveyed by their orders to the presence of Teymûr. They directed their march next for Sûltauniah, just at the crisis when, on the death of its legitimate governor, one of the officers of the deceased, of the name of Arteg Shah, had assumed the command; but who absconded on the approach of the shahzâdahs. They remained at Sûltauniah for seven days, at the conclusion of which they were again in motion, apparently directing their course for Arabian Irâk and Baghdâd, at this period still in the possession of Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir; but, when they had already entered Kûrdestaun, a messenger from Teymûr overtook them with instructions to proceed by the way of Jeijmaul, or Jeitchmaul. They returned accordingly from that part of Kûrdestaun, taking the direction which leads towards the fortress of Sunker, or Sankar, described to have stood on the summit of a mountain, on the frontier between Kûrdestaun and Azerbâijoun; the troops being employed to plunder, and lay waste the country, on all sides as they prosecuted their march. A second message from Teymûr now arrived with orders to re-enter Kûrdestaun, in pursuance of the former plan of operations. On this they appear to have resumed the route to Jeijmaul, or Jeitchmaul; and having penetrated to the mountain of Beissetoun, they thence detached a part of their force, under Sounjek Bahauder, Temour Khaujâh the son of Aukbouga, and Mûbasher, in order to over-run the country as far as it was practicable. In the mean time, they shaped their own course for Derbend-e-Taushy; a defile, or strong pass of that name, in the mountainous region not far from Ekhlaut, where they finally encamped.

At this station, animated by his hopes to be put in possession of the government of the country, and professing to be perfectly acquainted with every road that led through it, one of the native chiefs presented himself to the shahzâdahs, and undertook to be their guide through this part of Kûrdestaun. He was favorably received by

A. H. 795.  
 A. D. 1393.  
 Ro uzut-us-  
 suffa.

Mahommed Sûltan, who accepted of his offer; and having presented him with a girdle and baldric, a sum of money and a dress of honor, or Khelaut, determined to give him an immediate opportunity of proving his zeal, by employing him as Tcherkhtchei or master of the guides to Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who was proceeding in advance with a detachment of the imperial troops: and Sheikh Ally, accompanied by this Kûrd, marched shortly afterwards on the service for which he had been selected. He had not, however, been long absent, when he experienced some very seasonable and acceptable pieces of service from Ibrauhim Shah, the legitimate, or reigning prince of Kûrdestaun; who dispatched his son Sûltan Shah, at the same time, with a valuable present, consisting of Arabian horses and other costly and suitable accompaniments, to the camp of the Shahzâdahs. Having acceded to the overtures conveyed to him on the part of Ibrauhim Shah, Mahommed Sûltan dispatched a messenger to recal Sheikh Ally Bahauder; and the latter was accordingly on his return, and unsuspectingly seated at one of his repasts, when the Kûrd, whose hopes had been frustrated by the recent accommodation, availed himself of the opportunity to plunge his knife in the bosom of this brave and experienced commander, distinguished by so many illustrious actions, and killed him on the spot.

Having made a further selection from among his troops, at Rey, and leaving the remainder under the orders of Meiran Shah to await the arrival of the main body and heavy baggage, Teymûr proceeded, across the territory of Irâk Ajem in a south west direction, towards Roujerd, perhaps Ouroujerd, about fifty leagues south east of Hamadaun. Omar Sheikh, with his division, pursued a course more directly to the west, passing by Koushek Tchobaun,\* and the town of Awah, or Avah, to the fortress of Keyou, on a mountain northwest of the latter place about eighteen leagues. Of this he immediately commenced the attack, and finally made himself master. Possessing himself of the person of Mahommed Koummy the governor of Keyou, the Shahzâdah hastened the following day to Meroun, or Mervan, about five and twenty leagues east-south-east of Hamadaun; the town being quietly surrendered at his approach, by Mûzuffur Bûrhauny, the

\* Possibly Kiosh, N. W. of Rey.

agent of the captive governor of Keyou. Omar Sheikh upon this continued his march, turning his course southward, about ten leagues, to Kerrahroud, before which he encamped. Esfendiaur the governor of this place, submitting without resistance, was dispatched together with Mahommed Koumy, to the presence of Teymâr, by this time at Roujerd; according to one of the surveys annexed to De la Croix' work, about twenty leagues south of Kerrahroud. Omar Sheikh proceeded shortly afterwards to join his father at the same station.

A. H. 795.  
A. D 1393.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

The government of Roujerd was now conferred upon Seyf-ud-dein Keldaush, and that of Nehawend\* about fourteen leagues to the westward, upon Sheikh Meykâeil; after which Teymûr prosecuted his march towards Khorremabad, about thirty leagues south-south-east of Nehawend, which he reached on the second day. Melek Ezz-ud-dein prince of Lûrr, had fled at the approach of the imperial armies, and Omar Sheikh was immediately dispatched in pursuit of him. A competent force was employed to invest the fortress of Khorremabad, which is laid down about eleven leagues south-east of Lûrr; another division of the Tcheghatâian troops proceeded to over-run and lay waste the country in every direction; while Teymûr in person bent his course for Tuster, or Susa, the metropolis of Khûzistaun, esteemed by the orientals the most ancient city upon earth. In the mean time, in order by every expedient which he could devise to punish the obnoxious natives of Lûrristaun, who had incurred his utmost displeasure by their unlicensed depredations, Teymûr contrived, by leaving detachments of his best troops in ambuscade behind him on his daily removal from one encampment to another, to cut off great numbers of these banditti; who, descending from their inaccessable retreats in the mountains on hearing the signal of march, were thus repeatedly and with infinite loss, foiled in their attempts to assail the rear and flanks of the imperial army. In eleven marches, however, from Khorremabad, Teymûr reached the bridge on the Aub-e-zaul, constructed by Shapâr

\* According to one of De la Croix maps this place is set down about forty leagues south east of Hamadaun, is said to be situated on a mountain, and to have been built by Noah; whence it is sometimes called Nohawend. It is celebrated for the dreadful battle between the troops of Omar, and those of Yezdejird, which finally decided the fate of the Persian Empire.

A. H. 795.  
 A. D. 1393.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 sufa.

Zûlektauf, said by De la Croix on the authority of the zuffur nâmah, to consist of twenty eight larger and as many smaller arches, possibly one above another, and described as the most curious and admirable monument of ancient architecture then in existence.

After having continued the pursuit of Melek Ezz-ud-dein as far as the fortress of Menkerah, on the road to Wausset on the Tigris, Omar Sheikh here rejoined his father; to whom he reported the total failure of his attempt to overtake the fugitive prince. Meiran Shah, who had been directed, in the mean time, to conduct the heavy equipments of the army along the opposite side of the mountains of Irâk Ajem, appeared at the head of his cavalry before Kashaun; about three days journey north of Isfahaun, and celebrated for its manufactory of porcelane, with which the houses in Persia are said to have been then covered. Melouk the Serbedaurian, who had fled from Khorasau from the vengeance of the Shalîzadah, as mentioned on a former occasion, was at this period governor of the town, on the part of Shah Munsûr monarch of Shirauz. On the present occasion, he was no sooner apprized of the appearance of Meiran Shah than he determined on submission, and on imploring forgiveness for his past offences. The Shahzadah yielded without much difficulty to his intreaties, and he soon afterwards quitted Kashaun, and enrolled himself in the train of that prince. Meiran Shah then returned to resume his station with the incumbrances, of the army, committed to his care. On the other hand, Omar Sheikh who had been again detached to the westward, appeared in the neighborhood of Haweizah, or Ahûauz, which was abandoned on his approach, by the person who commanded under the authority of Shah Munsûr.

To return to Teymûr, that monarch appears to have passed the celebrated bridge of Shapûr, and to have encamped on the opposite side of the Aubzaul, at the town of Dezhfûll, on the sixteenth day of his departure from Khorremabad. The dehdaur, or village prefect, whose name was Shums ud-dein, might possibly, as stated by the author, have considered it as an instance of particular good fortune to have been admitted to the presence of the conqueror, although at the expence of twenty ass loads of silver, which he lodged by way of peishkesh, in the hands of the imperial treasurers.

Without further delay, Teymûr proceeded to the ancient metropolis of Tûster; in the neighborhood of which he was presently joined by the princes Mahommed Sûltan, and Peir Mahommed, from Kûrdestaun. In the mean time, Ally Kotewaul, and Esfendiaur, the two chiefs who commanded at Tûster in behalf of Shah Munsûr, having abandoned the place and retreated to Shirauz, the government was conferred on a citizen of Subbuzwaur, of the name of Khaujâh Mahmûd; which with other arrangements dispatched, Teymûr directed his views towards the Kellaseffid, or white fortress, northwest of Shirauz, which he had determined to reduce before he should finally approach that capital. But as the author has in this place omitted to recapitulate the operations which ensued, to the defeat and death of Shah Munsûr, as already described in his fourth volume, we have conceived it of sufficient importance to supply the omission, from the English translation of De la Croix' work, the history of *Timur-Bec*.

A.H. 795.  
A.D. 1393.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

“After the Mirzas Mahommed Sûltan, and Peir Mahommed were returned in triumph from Derbend-e-Taushy Khautûn, to the imperial camp without Tûster, Teymûr sent Sounjek Bahauder to Haweiza to summons the Mirza Omar Sheikh to court; after which having made himself master of Tûster, he consigned the government of that place to Khaujâh Mûssâoud Subbuzwaur, to maintain there the troops of Subbuzwaur which he commanded. At length on the twenty fifth of the latter Rebbeia,\* of the seven hundred and ninety fifth of the hidjrah, which answers to the Moghûl year of the hen, Teymûr at the head of a division of the army marched with diligence towards Shirauz, and on the road dispatched a second express to Omar Sheikh, who had taken possession of Haweiza, to inform him that the emperor's orders were that he should follow him to Shirauz, with the baggage and main body of the army. On the twenty seventh of the same month † he crossed the river Dodaunkeh, and two days afterwards encamped on the bank of that of Shouroukan Kendah. On the first of the former Jummaudy, ‡ he went to encamp at Ram Hormûz, where the Atabek Peir Mahommed, prince of upper Lûrrestaun, came to kiss the foot of his throne, and offer him presents; to which honor he was

De la Croix' history.

\* 8th of March 1393.

† 10th of March.

‡ 13th March.

A. H. 795.  
A. D. 1393.  
De la Croix.

admitted through the mediation of the great Ameirs, and being well received by the emperor, he attached himself to the court. Teymâr took horse about noon of the same day, passed the river of Ram Hormûz, and encamped on the other side.”

“On the second of the month he encamped on the river Fey, and on the third, after having marched all the preceding night, he went to encamp on the plains of Zohra. On the fourth he passed by Kerdestaun,\* crossed the Aubarghûn, and went to encamp at Behbehan. On the fifth he passed the Aubsheirin, and encamped on the plains of Lashter. On the sixth he marched to Kedje Hawaus, and encamped at the spring of the river Kaubidak. On the seventh he encamped at the village of Joulaha; and on the eighth he went to Bacht (perhaps Basht), crossed the Aubchob (Aubshoub peradventure), and encamped at Malemir Châl, or Shaul. On the ninth he passed the Cavedan,† where he procured intelligence concerning the fortress of Kellaseffid. From Cavedan he proceeded to Noubendejaun, about eighteen miles to the southward of the Kellaseffid. On the tenth‡ he disposed his troops in order of battle, and marched to encamp at the foot of the Kellaseffid, one of the strongest places in Asia. The governor on the part of Shah Munsûr, was named Saudet, which signifies good fortune, though he was in truth. *an unfortunate wicked fellow.*”

“The Persians confided in the strength of this place because it was situated on the top of a very rugged mountain where there was but one slippery road to ascend. On the top of this mountain there was a beautiful level plain, a league long and as much wide, containing rivers and fountains, fruit trees, and cultivated lands, with all sorts of birds and beasts. In the belief that they were here secure against the dangers of fire and flood, and much more so against mines, and assaults by battering rams, and other warlike machines, the princes of the country had covered it with numerous pleasure houses; and it was indeed considered of a nature so inaccessible and impregnable, as well because of its height, and the impracticability of conveying battering machines to the foot of the walls, as of the hardness of the rock on

||The frontier town of Khûzistaun, towards Fars.

† A river which is said to pass by Kazerûn, and to fall into the Persian Gulf.

‡ 22nd of March.

which it was situated, which was not to be wrought by either bar or pickaxe. The road which led to the top of the mountain was so made that in any strait three men might oppose a hundred thousand, and prevent their ascending. Not contented with its natural strength, the natives had fortified and walled all the turnings with great stones joined with mortar; and as the cultivated grounds were sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants, and the cattle and fowl had abundance to feed on, no one had dreamt of starving them out, seeing that nothing but death itself had any power over the garrison."

"Coming to the foot of this mountain, Teymûr attended by his most faithful captains, approached the principal gate of the fortress, and caused the great cry, *Souroun*, to be made by the troops who followed. The two wings now encamped on the top of another mountain which communicated with that on which the fortress stood. There also Teymûr caused his tent to be pitched, and orders to be given for a general assault. The cavalry and infantry, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ascent, marched up the mountain to the walls of the fort; Mirza Mahommed Sûltan attacking it on the right, and Mirza Peir Mahommed on the left, while Shah Rokh, who had separated from the left wing, ran to the foot of the wall with his men, whom he had caused to dismount for the occasion. All the army followed the example and commenced a most furious assault. After having laboured with indefatigable perseverance during the whole of the day, these men persisted in their endeavors to ascend to the highest parts of the mountain, and in giving a general attack to the body of the place; but night coming on every man stood on the ground to which he had attained."

"Next morning the princes, Ameirs, and soldiers, renewed the assault, to the sound of their great drums kettle drums and horns, the enemy discharging from their works vast showers of stones and arrows. Our brave captains devoted their lives to the service of Teymûr; every one pickaxe in hand, like the *Ferhaud* of antiquity\*, proceeded to break the rock. Aukbouga, an officer among the retainers of Sheikh Mahommed Eykûtemûr, by chance mounted to a spot, unseen, and

\* A celebrated sculptor in the reign of Khossrou King of Persia, the lover of Sheirin, or Irene.

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praising God and the prophet, cried out aloud, Teymûr is victorious and his enemies are confounded. On this steep rock with the intrepidity of a gallant soldier he covered himself with his buckler, and fell upon the besieged, who were so completely surprised at being attacked from a place to which they conceived that no one would venture to ascend, that they immediately left off fighting. The troops of Mahommed Sûltan ascending by the road which led directly to the gate of the fortress, there displayed their ensigns, and fixed their horsetails, uttering the cry of Victory ! Others mounted the rock, made conspicuous by the gallantry of Aukbouga, and some found their way up by different paths; so that the place was finally taken possession of, and the garrison precipitated headlong from the summit of the mountain."

"Saudet, the unfortunate governor was seized on alive by Mahommed Azaud, and brought to the presence of Teymûr, who directed that he should expiate with his blood the slaughter of those who had fallen in this assault. The sword is the instrument of vengeance upon those who forget themselves; and when God hath selected any one to exercise the functions of command, it is our duty to submit without resistance. [Good honest soul !] Sûltan Zeyne ul-aubedein, whom Shah Munsûr had deprived of sight, and kept a prisoner in this place, was now presented to Teymûr, who received him kindly, gave him a khelaut, and consoled him with the promise of revenge on his cruel relative, whom he pledged himself to punish for his ferocity and injustice. In the mean time he ordered that all the women who had been seized by the soldiers, should be released, and leaving Melek Mahommed Aoubehy to command in the place, he returned to his camp.

"On the eleventh of the month Teymûr encamped again at Noubendejaun. He bestowed upon Aukbouga, whose gallantry had so conspicuously led to the capture of the Kellaseffeid, so much silver money, such costly stuffs, so many tents, women slaves, horses, camels, mules, and other marks of his bounty, that this officer, who the day before was master but of one horse was so dazzled with his good fortune that he could not decide whether what he saw was a dream, or reality. Next day Teymûr passed the defile of Bouan, and



encamped at Teirmerdan. From thence he proceeded on the thirteenth, and encamped at Jarajaun, and on the fourteenth\* of the month he arrived at Jouyem, about six leagues to the westward of Shirauz. During his march he had endeavored to gain all possible information with respect to Shah Munsûr, and every report concurred to persuade him that that monarch had fled his capital."

"As Teymûr did not labour under any great uneasiness as to the real circumstances of his adversary, he the same day divided his army into two separate bodies, the one led by himself in person, and the other by Mahommed Sûltan; the vanguard<sup>d</sup> of his own division he consigned to Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, and the rear to Khaujah Aukbougâ. The division under Mahommed Sûltan took the direction to the right hand, the vanguard being under the command of Sheikh Temûr Bahauder. Shah Rokh had no distinct command, for he always attended on the person of his father; Ameir Othman the son of Abbas, was dispatched in advance at the head of the scouts, and Teymûr himself at the head of his division, took the road which led immediately towards Shirauz. Ameir Othman had not proceeded far before he discovered a body of the advanced troops, or scouts of Shah Munsûr, who were at the extremity of the gardens without the town, marching forward into the country. He hid himself in a hollow ground until they passed him; then sallying out of his ambuscade, accompanied by *Sainte Maure*, [Sâeintemûr,] Mowelly, Kara Mahommed, Behraum Yessoury, and other gallant soldiers, resolutely attacked the enemy. The brave Behraum first overtook them sword in hand, and cutting the reins of one of the horses bridles, the rider fell, but not being able to make his escape, Behraum threw him over his own horse bound, and brought him before Teymûr, who questioned him with respect to Shah Munsûr, and the number of his troops, and then continued his march."

"When he had proceeded about a league, he perceived in the fields without the town, a body of horse, to the number of three or four thousand, armed with coats of mail, helmets, and breastplates of leather, lined with iron, their horses covered with a kind of cuirasses made of thick, or perhaps quilted silk, and their ensigns gaily dis-

\* 26th of March.

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played. At the head of these men, equally inured to war and fatigue, and skilful with their bows, Shah Munsûr himself, advanced like a furious lion; and, with a total disregard to the dictates of his reason, which should have preserved in his mind a suitable idea of the person with whom he was about to contend, whose arm had hitherto cast down all opposition, ventured, at a place called Patila,\* and on a friday, at the hour of prayer, to attack the main body of the army, composed of thirty thousand Turks or Tartars, the most dextrous soldiers of their time. Of these he overthrew the firmest squadrons, broke through the very centre, and gained behind the army some posts of the utmost consequence. He then returned furious as a dragon to renew the conflict in the centre, in search, probably, of the person of Teymûr, apparently determined to lose his life. Teymûr, with some of his favorite courtiers, stopped short, or paused to contemplate the extreme hardihood, or rather blind temerity, of this prince, who thus dared to attack him in person. Seeing him, however, urging his career directly against him, the Tartar monarch called for his lance, to oppose the danger; but the weapon was not to be found, because Pâlaud Tehoura, who was the bearer of it, had fled, and carried it away with him. Not more than fourteen or fifteen of his guards and followers now remained near the person of Teymûr, who did not, however, stir from his post, until Shah Munsûr came up to him. The rash and enraged prince struck the emperor twice on the helmet with his scimeter, but without injury, as the strokes glanced along his armour. Teymûr still kept his ground, firm as a rock without changing his posture. Audel Akhtatchei, however, held a buckler over his head, and Komaury, the Yessawul, advanced before him, while he continued to exert himself with singular intrepidity, and he was finally wounded in the hand by a sword."

"In these perilous circumstances, the centre of the enemy's troops was seasonably attacked, and with equal resolution and vigour, by the Ameirs Mahmûd Shah, Towukkel Bawertchei, Aman Shah, and Mahommed Azaud; and while Shah Munsûr, who had been finally repulsed in his attempt against the person of Teymûr, again fell upon

\* A little south of Shirauz, towards which Teymûr appears to have moved circuitously from Jouyem, the place of his last encampment.

the infantry of the main body, Mirza Mahommed Sultán so briskly attacked the right wing of the Shirauzian, that it was compelled to give way in disorder. Mirza Peir Mahommed was equally successful against the left wing, killing considerable numbers, and obliging the remainder to quit the field. Shah Rokh also, who combated with lionlike valour by the side of his father, rallied a whole division of soldiers, who had fled their posts; while Jullaul Hameid, and Behraum Souffy, the sons of Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, with Khaujah Rastin, exerted themselves with conspicuous courage under the eye of their sovereign, and by a well directed discharge of their arrows forced the enemy to give way. They were supported in their exertions by Abdel Klaujah Peirau, and by Sheikh Mahommed Eykátémúr. The regiment [hazaurah perhaps] of Ameir Allahdaud, called the faithful, that of Sheikh Nour-ud-dein son of Saurbouga, named Eymúlk, and that of Búi, which was the imperial regiment called Koutchein, all stationed with the main body, having been completely put to the rout by Munsúr, now rallied, and unfurling their colours, formed themselves into a compact and solid squadron. The three corps of Sheikh Ally, Lalam Koutchein, and Behraumdaud, were not to be moved from their posts, where they fought to the last with invincible courage."

"At length Shah Rokh although at this period but seventeen years of age, exerted himself with such consummate prudence and valour, that having enclosed Shah Munsúr on all sides beyond the possibility of escape, he finally struck off his head, and laid it at his father's feet with this exclamation; "may the heads of all your enemies be thus laid at your feet, like that of the haughty Munsúr." The Persian soldiers, who had hitherto fought with distinguished bravery, were deplorably discouraged by the fall of their sovereign. The leopards were turned into deer, for they all fled, who were not killed by the conquerors. Pleased with his important victory, Teymúr embraced the princes his children, and the principal Náyans, and with them, fell on his knees to give God thanks, for their success. The other Ameirs soon afterwards came before him, and having offered their congratulations also fell on their knees; but while they were presenting him with the golden goblet, according to the custom of the Moghuls, on similar occasions of triumph, they perceived coming behind them

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on a sudden, a body of the enemy well equipped, and ranged in order of battle, and advancing to attack them. Teymûr, with Shah Rokh and his other generals immediately proceeded to repel this unforeseen attack; and making the great national war cry, the Souroun, received the enemy with such fierceness and vigour that they were in a moment thrown into confusion and put to the rout. The fugitives took the direction of the Kellaut-e-sûrkh, or the red fortress, but being closely pursued by some of the Teymûrian Ameirs, they were many of them cut to pieces in their flight."

"Having passed the night at the village of Deinou Khaun, Teymûr, on the following day, like Menûtcheher, when he made his triumphant entry into Istakhaur, the ancient metropolis of the Persian empire, began his march, in the pride of victory and in all the pomp of war, to enter the renowned city of Shirauz, the present capital of the monarchy. He directed the imperial standard to be displayed on the gate of Selem,\* where he fixed his abode, while the army remained in the out-parts, or suburbs of the town. Eight of the gates were shut up, while that of Selem was alone kept open. Many of the principal lords of the court were then directed to enter the city, in order to take down the names of the magistrates and heads of the different wards, or quarters, according to which they proceeded to collect the treasures, riches, furniture, costly stuffs, horses and mules, belonging to Shah Munsûr, his courtiers, and relatives; all which they conveyed out of the town and laid before Teymûr, by whom they were distributed with his usual liberality among his Ameirs. A contribution was imposed on the inhabitants as a ransom for their lives, and the contribution was regularly paid."

"Mirza Mahommed Sûltan was now dispatched to Isfahaun, with instructions to place a garrison in that city, and to receive also from the inhabitants a contribution for the safety of their lives. Omar Sheikh on his part, having remained with the baggage, according to orders, did not neglect to pillage all the rebel parties who fell in his way, as well the remains of Shah Munsûr's army, as the robbers of Lôrrestaun, the Kûrds, and Shoulis, the natives of the mountains of Malemir Shoul, and Kazerûn, so called. Having passed by Noubun-

\* So called from one of the sons of Feridoun.

dejaun, and arrived at Kazerûn, Omar Sheikh received instructions to remain there, until he should have placed garrisons in all the different districts, and established regulations in conformity to the laws of the Moghûls, all which he accordingly executed in a manner which entitled him to universal applause. Shortly after this he received orders to repair to court, and he had accordingly the happiness to salute his father in the capital of Shirauz."

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"The princes of the race of Mûzuffur having no longer a place to retire to, where they could be secure against the power of Teymûr, resolved in good earnest to submit. Shah Yaheya quitted Yezd with his sons, and Sûltan Ahmed of Kermaun, to present themselves at court. They offered to the conqueror the most splendid display of precious stones, horses, mules, pavilions, tents, and every article that could be considered either rare or curious. Sûltan Mehedy the son of Shah Shujia, and Sûltan Ghuzzenferr the son of Shah Munsûr, were already both in Shirauz. A month was spent here by Teymûr, the princes his sons, and grandsons, the great Ameirs and Nûyans, in feasts and diversions; in which the musicians delighted them by their performances on the harp and organ, and the red wine of Shirauz was circulated in cups of gold by the most beautiful maids in the city. Sûltan Abû Ishauck the son of Shah Shujia, also repaired to court from Seirjaun, and made the suitable presents to the Tcheghatâian, who was now employed in regulating the affairs of the Persian monarchy, and of the oppressed people; that under the protection of his laws they might enjoy that peace, of which continual wars and a tyrannical government had so long deprived them. As it behoved a prince of moderation and equable spirit to do, he relieved the inhabitants from their extraordinary taxes. He conferred the government of the kingdom of Fars, which is the heart of the empire, the most abounding in cities, towns and villages, of any country in Asia, on his own son Omar Sheikh; who gave to his father in acknowledgement on the occasion, a most splendid entertainment, offering him presents on his knees, and assuring him with a solemn oath, of his inviolable fidelity, and punctuality in the execution of all his commands."

Having consummated his conquest of Fars by the almost entire

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extinction of the race of Múzuffur, Teymûr, on the twenty seventh of the latter Jummaudy,\* quitted Shirauz on his march towards Isfahaun; which city he appears to have entered on the sixth day of the succeeding month of Rudjub.† After remaining for some days at this celebrated place, to refresh and recreate himself, he directed his march for the small town of Ankûaun, about forty leagues north-north-west of Isfahaun, and fifteen southwest of Kashaun; the inhabitants of which were at that period, and continued to the days of the author, the most obstinate and determined zealots of the detested Issmâeilian heresy. These unfortunate men had sought security by secreting themselves in the caverns, and subterraneous recesses of the neighboring territory; and Teymûr had therefore recourse to the device of drowning them in their dens, by dispatching his soldiers to cut the banks of some of the mountain streams, and to conduct their waters so as to overflow the lower grounds. Having passed one night at Ankûaun, he marched the next day, and encamped on the plains of Berahaun, or Perahaun, westward of Kashaun. Here he devoted some days to the favorite amusement of the chase; which terminated in the destruction of a prodigious number of wild asses, and antelopes, by the troops in general. While thus employed, the princesses Serâi Melek Khaunum and Tomaun Aga, and Khaunzâdah the consort of Meiran Shah, with other ladies of the imperial family repaired to join him; having availed themselves of the opportunity to quit that division of the army which protected the heavy equipments, and to offer their congratulations with showers of jewels on the head of their sovereign. Shortly afterwards Teymûr proceeded on his march to the northward, and on the eighth of Shabaun,‡ he conducted his troops to the vicinity of Hamadaun; the atmosphere of which is here said, in the metaphorical strain of the original, to have acquired a grateful fragrance from the dust set in motion by the trampling of his numerous squadrons.

Not long afterwards, Meiran Shah, and the commanders who had been left, under his orders, in charge of the heavy baggage and equipments, also hastened from Súltauniah, to offer on this occasion their congratulations to Teymûr. Mahommed Sûltan likewise, after re-

\* 8th of May.

† 16th of May.

‡ 17th June.

maining at Isfahaun just long enough to collect the stipulated tribute, rejoined the imperial encampment at Hamadaun; where a most sumptuous entertainment was now provided, for their august husband, by the imperial consorts Serâi Melek Khaunum and Tomaun Aga. Desirous, in the mean time, of bestowing upon Meiran Shah, some distinguished mark of his paternal regard, Teymûr embraced this opportunity to invest that prince with the government of Azerbâijaun and Shirvaun, extending eastward to Derbend and Baukû, (perhaps Derbend of Baukû), and westward to the frontiers of Rûm, then in possession of the house of Othman. A fresh course of festivities ensued; in which, by a variety of the most rare and costly presents drawn from Tebreiz, and the countries dependent upon it, the Shah-zâdah sought to attest his gratitude for the munificence, which had thus bestowed upon him the splendid patrimony transmitted to his descendants, by the formidable Hûlaukû.

On the thirteenth of the month of Shabaun,\* Teymûr again put his troops in motion from Hamadaun; having already detached Meiran Shah, with the vanguard of the army, towards Kârabaugh, on the Araxes. The country continuing favorable to the amusement of the chase, he did not omit the opportunity of indulging in that salubrious recreation, during the march to Gorbedek, westward of Hamadaun; but, receiving advices from Meiran Shah, which stated that the Tûrkman chief, Kâra Mahommed, had taken post among the mountains of Kûrdestaun, with the determination of opposing his invaders, after having secured his family and numerous flocks in the loftiest and most inaccessible parts, Teymûr conceived it expedient to alter the direction of his march to the northward, by the castle of Seghasoun; and, in the space of a day and one night, reaching the station of Kûlaughy, measures were instantly adopted, by a skilful distribution of the imperial troops, to shut up against the enemy every outlet of retreat. There was, in particular, at this period in the possession of the Tûrkman, a fortress of great strength called Habshy, or Habbeshy; where, and among the different passes with which the country abounded, they opposed a stubborn resistance to the progress of the Teymûrians. But, pressing forwards with their usual audacity, the latter

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finally succeeded in gaining the highest part of the mountain; from whence they conveyed to their camp below, a very considerable booty in horses, sheep, and camels, the most valuable property of the Tùrkman. In the ascent of the mountain they experienced, however, some loss in the death of Beraut Khaujeh Koukeltaush, who fell after the most conspicuous exertions of personal bravery. Sheikh Hady, another distinguished soldier, the son of Komaury the Yessawul, was also mortally wounded on this occasion. Yet observing that the resolution of their assailants was not in any shape diminished by the fall of their leaders, the Tùrkman at last submitted to abandon their property; and crossing the mountains of Ayraun, or Aourman, endeavoured in that direction to effect their escape. Their flight was, however, intercepted, being closely pursued by Sheikh Temùr Bahauder; by whom they were overtaken and cut to pieces, in considerable numbers. And such as contrived to escape the slaughter of their companions, could accomplish that object in no other way than by dispersing to different quarters, in the most deplorable state of want and wretchedness.

Another fortress of great reputed strength, that still continued unsubdued in this part of Kùrdestaun, is stated to have been held by the Gubbers, the remnant of the ancient stock of the Magians contemptuously so designated by the Mahommedans, and now destined to witness, in their turn, the indefatigable perseverance and intrepidity of the Teymùrians. This place was also reduced after a short siege, the garrison exterminated, and not a vestige of the works left standing to indicate that it had ever been in existence. Teymùr then returned to the plains of Kùlaughy; from whence decamping shortly afterwards, he rejoined, on the banks of the Auksâi, or white river, that part of the army which had been left in charge of the heavy equipments. Meiran Shah had been employed, in the mean time, in the reduction of Saurek koughun, while Ouje Kâra Bahauder, undertook that of Karoutou, both castles in Kùrdestaun, south of the lake of Van; which, with the success that invariably attended the arms of Teymùr they finally subjugated, and, after exterminating the inhabitants, with a prodigious accumulation of booty returned to the imperial encampment.

While these operations were carrying on in different quarters round



him a magnificent entertainment had been prepared for her imperial father-in-law, by K̄haunzâdah, the daughter of Shukker Beg Khaunum, and the consort of Meiran Shah. Of this her husband was, however, not permitted to be a partaker; being, with his nephew Mahommed Sûltan, again detached to prosecute in different directions the plan of hostilities established for the subjugation of the Kûrds. Mahommed Sûltan was employed for his part, to repress and punish the enormities committed, for a long time with impunity, by the bands of robbers who infested the roads in the neighborhood of the Derbend of Kûrdestaun; a strong pass in the mountains of that country, leading towards the lake of Ermi, or Ermia. In the mean time, having graced by his presence the festivities prepared by his daughter-in-law, Teymûr removed from the plains of Kûlaughy, to Bûlauk, perhaps Aukbûlauk; where he passed the sacred month of Ramzaun,\* in the exercises of devotion prescribed for that season of abstinence. On the third day of the succeeding month of Shavaul,† Sheikh Abdurrahman the Esfrâeinian, a celebrated doctor of that age distinguished for his prudence and piety, presented himself to Teymûr, as the ambassador of Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir from Baghdâd; and being received with all those demonstrations of benevolence and respect, which the Tcheghatâian monarch usually displayed in his intercourse with the discreet and learned, *particularly of his own sect*, proceeded, in the discharge of his mission, to communicate from the Sûltan, that he was sincerely disposed to give, in words and actions, the most substantial proofs of homage and submission: but that finding himself, at this moment, irresistibly withheld, by his apprehensions, from appearing in person before Teymûr, he nevertheless trusted the period was not very distant, when he should avail himself of an opportunity to attest his allegiance at the feet of his imperial adversary, and to enrol himself among the most devoted of his vassals.

It is here asserted to have been the design of Teymûr, if Sûltan Ahmed had only consented to introduce the imperial name and titles into the Khotbali and coinage of his country, to have confirmed him, in every other respect, in the sovereignty of Irâk Arab; and to have withdrawn his troops without giving him any further cause of

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\* From the 9th of July, to the 8th of August, 1393.

† 10th of August.

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suffa.

apprehension. But, as nothing of that kind was intimated in the communications of his ambassador, all the professions of zeal and cordiality, in the absence of this essential article, on the part of the Sûltan, failed to pass current with the haughty Tcheghatâian. He, therefore, disdainfully withheld his acceptance of the presents, of which the Sheikh was the bearer; at the same time dismissing him with all the ordinary circumstances of liberality, a dress of honor, a horse, and a sum of money, together with other attestations of personal respect for the character of the envoy.

Having in this manner dispatched the agent of Sûltan Ahmed on his return to Baghdâd, Teymûr finally resolved on proceeding without delay against that capital. Preparatory to this design the Ameir zâdah Peir Mahommed was directed to take charge of the heavy equipments; and to return with the royal consorts, Serâi Melek Khaunum, Tomaun Agha, and the other princesses, to Sûltauniah, where he was to remain. Then giving orders that every soldier in the army should provide himself with two pieces or slips of Sauje, or sabin wood, to be used in the passage of rivers,\* Teymûr, on the thirteenth of Shavaul,† put his troops again in motion, and encamped at Yaumbûlauk, a station said to lie not far from Arbela. From thence marching day and night, and having crossed many a hill and valley in his course, to the south-east, he, on the third day's march, quitted the main body of the army and hastened in advance, accompanied by no more than one hundred horse. With these, after marching the whole of that night, and making his way over and through some of the most difficult ridges and straits, he, at day break of the ensuing morning, came to Koura kurghan; where he completely surprised the camp of Kâra Mahommed the Tûrkman, who abandoned his family and effects to be plundered by the Teymûrians, while he saved his own person by a precipitate flight. Without, however, slackening his course, Teymûr continued his march with the utmost celerity to the mausoleum of Sheikh Ibrauhim Yaheya, better known by the name of Kubbeh-Ibrauhimlik, the *shrine* of Ibrauhim; described to be about twenty seven leagues N E, of the metropolis of Baghdâd. Here, after tendering his vows at the shrine of the Sheikh, Teymûr demanded of those who resided

\* De la Croix however says two bottles of water.

† 20th of August.

on the spot, whether they had not sent off to Baghdád a dispatch pigeon with intelligence of his approach; and finding by their reply that, according to instructions, this had been done the instant they discovered the column of dust occasioned by the march of his cavalry, he directed them immediately to prepare another note, in the same hand writing with that already dispatched, stating that the dust which they had supposed to arise from the approach of the Teymûrian armies, proved, in the issue, to have been occasioned by some of the Tûrkman tribes, who were retiring in that direction, in order to avoid the apprehended incursions of their enemies. Then attaching the note to the wing of another pigeon, it was, like its precursor, set loose on its flight for Baghdád.

In the mean time, alarmed at the intelligence conveyed by the former dispatch, Sûltan Ahmed had already begun to transport his more cumbrous baggage, and effects, to the right, or opposite bank of the Tigris; when the arrival of the second pigeon gave to his apprehensions a temporary, but most deceitful calm. For, having previously sent on Ameir Othman with a division of light cavalry, to scour the country, Teymûrin person, at the head of the main body, hastened in the same direction, and after a march of twenty three statute farsangs, of six thousand paces each, without halting, on tuesday the twenty ninth of the same month of Shavaul in the morning,\* presented himself in dreadful array before Baghdád. The Sûltan had, however, by this time completed the conveyance of his equipage and principal effects, to the western side of the Tigris, whither he had followed in person; after which he caused the bridge to be destroyed behind him, and all the boats to be scuttled and sunk in the river. He now awaited on horseback, with his eyes fixed on the distant horizon, the arrival of his dreadful invader; when his ears being suddenly assailed by the mingled din of the Tartar horns, kettle drums, and trumpets, he soon afterwards beheld the Teymûrian squadrons like the rolling surges of the ocean, impelling each other with fearful impetuosity towards the channel of the Tigris; into which both above and below the city they instantly plunged, and made good their passage to the opposite side. Here the yacht of Sûltan Ahmed, which bore

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A. D. 1393.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

\* 5th of September.

A. H. 795.  
 A. D. 1393.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

the name of the sun, and which by some neglect or other had been left uninjured, was seized by Mahommed Azaud, and being immediately sent over to the Persian side, served very opportunely for the conveyance of Teymûr, who hastened without delay to join his troops; while Meiran Shah with his division swam the river some distance lower down, at the Kerreiat-ul-aukaub, or village of eagles.

On this subject we are informed, on the authority of Nizam-ud-dein Shumbghazauny, an eye witness, who composed a performance particularly designed to record the actions of Teymûr, that he was at this period an inhabitant of Baghdâd, and the first among the citizens admitted to the presence of the Tcheghatâian monarch; from whom he experienced the most gracious and encouraging reception. This writer describes that when he came out of Baghdâd, on his way to humble himself before the throne of Teymûr, the Tigris was so completely enveloped by the cloud of Teymûrian troops which swarmed from one side to the other, that he could not distinguish the dry land from water; and that he could not forbear exclaiming, with terror and astonishment, what description of men these were to whom land and water made no distinction! While the equally terrified inhabitants bit their fingers ends in silent wonder at the astonishing spectacle, convinced that this irresistible conqueror was but too evidently impelled under the influence of divine aid. On the authority of another contemporary writer, Haufiz Nûr-ud-dein Abdullah, better known by the designation of Haufiz Abrû, it is further stated that he heard Teymûr himself acknowledge his error, in not having plunged into the Tigris at the very moment of his arrival; since to this circumstance alone he ascribed the escape of Sûltan Ahmed, who must otherwise inevitably have fallen into his hands.

Having, at all events, withdrawn from the danger the Sûltan directed his flight towards Hellah on the Euphrates; and Teymûr, with the whole of the princes of his family, and his principal generals, hastened with the eagerness of blood hounds in pursuit of him. However, when they reached the station of Kerbatou, about ten leagues to the westward of Baghdâd, Saunje, or Asaunje Oghlan, and the other great commanders, on their bended knees besought the monarch to return to that city, to repose himself from his recent extraordinary fatigues; declaring that they would themselves be responsible for the pursuit

and capture of the fugitive Sûltan. Teymûr on this occasion thought fit to give way to the intreaties of his nobles, and accordingly measured back his steps to Baghdâd, where he took up his abode in the palace of the Sûltan; all the treasure and valuable property, which the fugitive prince had been prevented from carrying away with him, now falling into the hands of the officers of the imperial retinue.

On the other hand, the Ameirs who had undertaken to continue the pursuit of Sûltan Ahmed, prosecuted their march the whole of that day and the ensuing night, and, on the following morning, found themselves on the banks of the Euphrates. Here they learnt that the object of whom they were in search, had already crossed the river, and, after destroying the bridge, and sinking all the boats, had taken the road to Kerbêla, on his way to Damascus. Othman Bahauder immediately proposed to swim the Euphrates, as they had recently adventured to do with such success in the passage of the Tigris; but his colleagues, less ardent in their zeal, conceived it more advisable to follow the course of the river, in expectation of discovering some spot where it might be fordable without danger. This latter design they proceeded without delay to carry into execution; but before they had made any considerable progress, they fortunately obtained possession of four boats used in the navigation of the river, on which they immediately embarked; and taking their horses by the bridle along side, safely crossed to the opposite bank, the rest of the army effecting their passage, without loss or difficulty, in the same manner.

They now, with redoubled eagerness, resumed the pursuit of the enemy, their zeal being in no small degree stimulated by the valuable booty which, in vast quantity, and under every description, lay scattered on the road, abandoned by the fugitives, in the terror and precipitation of their flight. By this time, however, the horses of the majority, exhausted by long continued fatigue and exertion, totally failed them, and the number of the pursuers was at last reduced to forty-five of the most distinguished, and probably best mounted individuals; including the recently mentioned Asaunje Oghlan, possibly one of the shahzâdahs of the race of Jûjy, with the Ameirs Jullaul the son of Hameid, Othman the son of Abbas, and Seyud Khaujah the son of

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A. D. 1393.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 795. Sheikh Ally Bahauder. On the plain of Kerbêla, that scene of ever  
 A. D. 1393. memorable massacre and atrocity, this band of distinguished warriors  
 Rouzut-us- came up with Sûltan Ahmed, accompanied by a body of two thousand  
 suffa. and of his best cavalry; of whom a squadron of two hundred immediately drew out to attack their pursuers. Dismounting from their horses, the Teymûrians awaited the charge of their assailants on foot; and finally compelled them to retire, by their unerring skill in the use of their bows. They then remounted their horses, and continued the pursuit. Again the enemy rallied to repel them, and again the Teymûrians received their attack, in the same manner, and with similar success. But returning a third time to the charge, with a suddenness and impetuosity which prevented the Teymûrians from dismounting, they were now compelled to combat with their adversaries hand to hand, with their swords and daggers; and again the soil of Kerbêla was moistened with the blood of the slain. Of the Teymûrians, Othman the son of Abbas, received a wound in the arm from one of the enemy's swords, and was disabled from further exertion, after exhibiting the most signal proofs of courage in this arduous conflict; but as Sûltan Ahmed, by the efforts of his faithful followers, had been placed, by this time, at a sufficient distance from the danger of being overtaken, the enemy at last withdrew from the contest; and the Teymûrian Ameirs, conceiving that it would be useless to continue the pursuit any longer, resolved to return, with the booty which they had accumulated in considerable abundance, through the sands of Kerbêla.

Such, however, on that day had been the fatigue brought on by unceasing exertion, and such, at the same time, was the intolerable heat of the atmosphere and the alarming scarcity of water, that the Ameirs and their followers were, the whole of them, on the point of perishing under the agonies of the most raging thirst; which seemed to have dried not only the moisture in their mouths, but the very marrow in their bones. In this extremity Asaunge Oghlan, and Julaul the son of Hameid were dispatched with some others in search of water; and when, after a painful and anxious survey, as much had been found as might serve for a draught each, to the two Ameirs, Asaunje eagerly swallowed his, without however allaying his thirst in the slightest degree. He therefore addressed himself to his com-

panion, and telling him that, in consequence of the thirst by which he was consumed, he found life fast ebbing away, intreated, as the last proof of surpassing benevolence and magnanimity, that he would resign to him his portion of the precious element. His gallant associate replied, that he recollected to have heard the invincible Teymûr relate the circumstance of two travellers, an Arab and a Persian, who in passing through the desert were reduced to an extremity exactly similar to that under which they themselves were now languishing. The Arab, possibly inured to such privations among the arid sands of his country, had contrived to keep in reserve a small quantity of his supply of water, while the Persian, less provident, had swallowed his to the last drop. With burning lips and his eyes streaming with tears, continues the narrative, the Persian addressed his fellow traveller, and having brought to his recollection the unrivalled fame of his countrymen, for generosity and endurance under hardship, proceeded to intimate what an illustrious proof of those heroic qualities he would then furnish if, to save his companion from perishing in that frightful solitude, he would but make a sacrifice of what, peradventure, it might cost him no great effort to resign. The Arab told him in answer, that, on the contrary, he was perfectly aware that the moment he relinquished his hardly cherished store, he should experience all the agonies of a fish torn from its natural element; nevertheless, that his wish to uphold the renown of his country, and that this the concluding act of his life might remain forever engraved on the record of history, was paramount to every other consideration. Thus saying he resigned his precious draught to the Persian, and expired; while the latter, escaping from the jaws of destruction, lived to spread the renown of his benevolent fellow traveller, whose memory was thus consigned to the perpetual benediction of every language, age, and nation.

Having repeated, to his associate, this story of the exalted self denial of an Arab, Ameir Jullaul expressed his resolution to emulate the example; it being, as he alleged, the summit of his ambition by an obligation, thus sacred and solemn, to establish in the Tchegatâians, an everlasting claim to the gratitude of the race of Jâjy; on the express stipulation, however, that his companion would pledge himself should be ever return to the presence of his sovereign, to make a

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faithful report of the circumstance; in order that he might not be defrauded of the just praise to which he aspired, in the record of future historians. Asaunje readily engaged for the performance of all that he could require; and, having drank off the refreshing draught, finally escaped to relate the story of his sufferings. Neither was the gallant Ameir Jullaul suffered to perish from the exertion of so noble a spirit of benevolence. He survived to enjoy the reward of it in the united praise of his contemporaries; and in the most distinguished favors that could be bestowed upon him, by the bounty of his sovereign.

The whole of the Ameirs now hastened together, to perform their devotions at the shrine of Imaum Abû Abdullah the son of Hûseyne, situated on the well known plains of Kerbêla; after which they returned to Baghdâd, having, it is necessary to observe, captured in the course of their pursuit, Alla-ud-dowlah the son of Sûltan Ahmed, together with some of the wives, and others of the children and family, of that unfortunate prince. Ameir Jullaul, on his return to Baghdâd, experienced in particular the warmest approbation of Teymûr; who retraced in the noble qualities displayed by the son, on this occasion, what he already owed to the long tried friendship, prudence, and sagacity of the father; and he accordingly advanced him, on the spot, to the most distinguished honors of his court. And here it cannot fail to occur to the most ordinary perception, that if the passion for glory exemplified in the conduct of this gallant soldier prevailed, even to a moderate extent, among the officers of the Teymûrian armies, and their sovereign could thus worthily appreciate its value, it must cease to be surprising that they proved irresistible and invincible.

Having devoted a short period to the pleasures and amusements of the voluptuous capital of Irak Arab, Teymûr again dispatched the princes of his family to carry on, in different quarters, his plans of conquest and spoliation. In the mean time, either to take from his troops the means of excessive indulgence, or to exhibit a conspicuous contrast between his own temperance and the debauched habits of Sûltan Ahmed, he caused the contents of the wine vaults of that prince, in the palace of Baghdâd, consisting of the choicest produce of the vineyards of Mossûl, and a variety of other liquors, to be



emptied at once into the Tigris; in such copious abundance that the very fish in the river floated breast-upwards from the intoxicating effect, and were so taken in repeated instances by the soldiery. On the other hand, in order to evince his regard for the memory of pious men, he embraced the opportunity of rebuilding the mezaur, or mausoleum, of Imaum Ahmed Eben Hambal, which had been driven to ruin by the impetuosity and inundations of the Tigris.

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Mahommed Sûltan, who had been recently employed in Kûrdestaan, about this period rejoined his grandfather; after having cleared that province of the licentious banditti by whom it had been long infested. Among other acts of exemplary vengeance, by which he distinguished himself on this occasion, a body of seven hundred of the most desperate of these robbers who, as in many other instances, had fortified themselves on the summit of one of their loftiest mountains, were thrown headlong, by his orders, from the rocks among which they had taken post. The same Shahzadah was again, shortly afterwards, detached to take possession of Waussit, and to establish the authority of Teymûr in the territory annexed to that place; and instructions were, at the same time, transmitted to Meiran Shah to proceed down the Tigris to Bassorah.

Amidst these transactions, it was not forgotten to remove the son of Sûltan Ahmed, together with the women and family of that prince, taken in the pursuit to Kerbela, and a number of the most skilful mechanics and other citizens of Baghdâd, to Samarkand. Among others transported into Mawur-un-neher, on this occasion, is mentioned in particular Khaujah Abdul-Kauder, esteemed the most skilful musician of that age. In return for the security which they otherwise enjoyed in person and property, from the violence of a rapacious soldiery, the inhabitants of Baghdâd were, at the same time, required to contribute to the payment of a ransom of some magnitude; which they deposited, with prudent punctuality, in the hands of the imperial treasurers.

In order to explore his way to future conquest, Teymûr availed himself also of this interval of repose at Baghdâd, to despatch an embassy to Mêlek Barkouk, the Mamlouk Sûltan of Egypt and Syria; at the head of which he employed Sheikh Sâwah, a person of distin-

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guished talents and ability, furnished with several presents of suitable magnificence. This personage was instructed to expatiate with the Egyptian prince, in substance, on the dreadful injuries which his dominions had formerly sustained in consequence of the hostilities, in which his predecessors had suffered themselves to be engaged with the monarchs of the race of Jengueiz, until suspended by the accommodation which at length brought repose to their harassed and afflicted subjects. He was next to draw the attention of the Egyptian to the disorderly, and turbulent scenes, which succeeded to the death of Abû Sâeid; and finally to intimate, now that the whole of the territory from the metropolis of Samarkand to the western extremities of Irâk Arab, had been brought into subjection by the agents of Teymûr's authority, how material to the welfare and prosperity of the people consigned to his care, to maintain unbroken the obligations of good neighborhood, and by throwing open the facilities of correspondence, to give strength to the bonds of friendship; thus enabling the numerous individuals engaged in the pursuits of trade and commercial enterprise, so essential to the general prosperity of mankind, to prosecute, from place to place, their plans of adventure, without molestation and without alarm.

The metropolis of Baghdâd, together with all its dependencies, being by this time completely reduced under the authority of Teymûr, certain merchants, and others who passed through the country on their different avocations, complained to the Tcheghatâian monarch, that they were exposed to the most cruel outrages from the garrison of Tekreit, then reputed a fortress of impregnable strength on the Tigris, about ninety or a hundred miles above Baghdâd; which rendered the intercourse with Syria and Egypt, through the unbridled enormities of these plunderers, a matter of extreme difficulty and danger. It was, therefore, submitted to the consideration of Teymûr, whether, under every circumstance, the reduction of this place was not an object worthy of his arms. The scope of their suggestions corresponding, however, with his ultimate designs, it was not attended with much difficulty to obtain his concurrence; and a force was immediately dispatched, under Bûrhaun Oghlan, Neik, or Yeik Souffy, and Jullaul the son of Hameid, to invest the place; and on the

twenty fourth of the month of Zilhudje,\* Shah Rokh having already preceded with the advanced guard, Teymûr left Baghdâd at the head of the main body, in order to conduct in person the siege of Tekreit.

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Having crossed the Tigris into Mesopotamia the day after he quitted Baghdâd, on his march towards Tekreit, it is thought worth the attention of the author to notice, that while Teymûr was encamped on this occasion on the outskirts of a guzestaun, or forest of canes, perhaps bamboos, one of his people reported to him, that he had just seen a lion; on which, accompanied by some of his guards and attendants, the monarch immediately approached to dare this formidable quadruped from his haunts. He had not proceeded far on his way when not less than five, of these majestic lords of the forest, foaming with rage and hunger, suddenly issued from the jungul, but were at the same instant laid in the dust by a well directed discharge of arrows from the imperial attendants. Shortly after this, namely on the fourth of Mohurrim of the seven-hundred and ninety sixth of the hidjerah,† having obliquely traversed the Peninsula to the Euphrates and back again, Teymûr encamped in sight of Tekreit.

Terrified at the approach of the imperial standard Ameir Hussun, the prince of Tekreit, who had hitherto carried on his system of rapine and outrage with impunity, and who had to this moment disdained to stoop to the authority of the most powerful sovereigns, now condescended to dispatch a brother to the camp of Teymûr, with humble assurances of submission. The agent was civilly dismissed with the ordinary present of a horse and dress of honor, and with a message to Ameir Hussun inviting him to repair without apprehension to the presence of Teymûr, where he might expect the most liberal treatment from the bounty and magnanimity of that monarch; without however producing any effect, the infatuated chief being too far subdued by his fears to hazard an interview with his too powerful adversary. He determined therefore to place his only reliance on the strength of his works; and he accordingly stood prepared to resist with all his energies, the mighty means of subjugation, and destruction, about to be employed against him. The besiegers, on the other hand, proceeded without further delay to plant their military machines, and

\* 29th of October.

† 9th of November 1398.

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brought them to bear, with destructive effect, upon the fortifications and the buildings within, the latter of which were soon laid in ruins by the stones impelled from the larger battering engines of the enemy.

On the third day of the siege, another attempt to disarm the resentment of Teymûr was made on the part of Ameir Hussun, who now sent out even his own mother furnished with the most costly presents in arabian horses, and in an assortment of all that was valuable and rare, to represent in behalf of her son that he was perfectly aware of his inability to contend, with the smallest prospect of success, against the might of the Teymûrian armies; but, at the same time, that the majesty of the imperial umbrella had produced so awful an impression on his mind, that he found himself utterly unequal to the hazard of committing his person beyond the circumference of his walls. Nevertheless, if the invincible and far-famed Teymûr would agree to his first sending to his presence his brother and son, that he would pledge himself, when his apprehensions should in some degree have subsided, to offer his personal homage at the foot of the throne. Having received the princess, with kindness and humanity, Teymûr told her that he freely granted to her intercession a pardon for her son's multiplied offences; but that she was to return immediately, and admonish him to appear without a moments further delay in his presence, for if he evinced the slightest disposition to prevaricate any longer, that the blood of all included within the fortifications of Tekreit would be upon his head. Much disquieted at this last declaration of Teymûr, the mother of Ameir Hussun accordingly rejoined her son, to whom she communicated the result of the conference. In the mean time, the besiegers had conducted their galleries of approach to the very foot of the exterior wall; and in the course of the ensuing night, Seyud Khaujeh, or Khojah, the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with his division, having completely undermined one of the towers, it came to the ground; at which the garrison were so panic-struck, that they instantly abandoned that part of their defences, and fled in the utmost dismay into the interior fortifications, while their besiegers obtained possession of the former without further opposition. This event did not contribute to diminish the apprehensions of Ameir Hussun. Nevertheless,

he continued, in a state of despair, to oppose his utmost exertions to the progress of his assailants.

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Directions were now issued, from the imperial head quarters, that the Ameirs of Tomauns, and Koushûns, should severally conduct a gallery of approach against a particular part of the works distinctly allotted to him and the fortress was accordingly attacked, throughout the whole circumference, in forty different points at the same moment; each of the commanders, who directed the several attacks, being named in the original, although it would be here unnecessary to preserve the record. In a very short time, however, these several Ameirs had succeeded in excavating a mine each, beneath the foundations of the tower respectively allotted to him; and Ameir Hussun, aware that he was thus reduced to a situation of the utmost peril, again wavered in his resolution, and dispatched a person once more to the presence of Teymûr, to acknowledge his offences, and to demand a capitulation. The answer, which he received, announced that there was no alternative but unconditional surrender; that he must either quit the protection of his works, or abide the consequences of a general assault.

As a last resource, he employed an agent to implore the mediation of Shah Rokh, supported by the personal application of his brother, formerly alluded to; who protested in his behalf, that he considered himself in every respect, as one of the lowest among the vassals of Teymûr, although dismayed from appearing in his presence by an impression of terror, which he had not yet been able to subdue. The Shahzâdah undertook to introduce the brother of Hussun, once more, to the presence of the Tcheghataian monarch, and to urge the subject of his mission. Again Teymûr repeated that unless Hussun, in person, came out of Tekreit, and exhibited unequivocal proof of compunction for his misdeeds, all application in his behalf would be in vain: but, that if he could be persuaded to avail himself of the intimation thus repeatedly conveyed to him, he might expect, without fear of disappointment, to find in the clemency of Teymûr a disposition to look upon his offences with indulgence, and to cover them with the robe of pardon and oblivion. For himself, the agent was apprized, that if this last admonition was unavailing, he must on a

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his departure from the imperial presence, remain in Tekreit to share the fate of his brother.

Every attempt to procure favorable terms from their inexorable besieger, proving thus abortive, and reflecting that since they had, for so long a period, maintained themselves in possession of their impregnable asylum, without bending to the authority of any human being—since they had hitherto followed the dictates of their own minds, without much regard to the interests or resentments of other men—that if they now consented to abandon the protection of their works, there could be but little doubt, the moment they were in the hands of their enemies, that the accumulated numbers, of those whom in the long exercise of their power they had unjustly stripped of their property, would hasten in crowds to urge their claims against them, the brothers then finally resolved, as their only alternative, to defend themselves, as long as they retained an atom of the living principle to animate their exertions. In this resolution the banditti of which, according to our author, the garrison was for the greater part composed, cordially concurring, they openly resumed their original plans of hostility; not very unjustly concluding that, if they pusillanimously relinquished their means of resistance, they would be exposed to suffer, without a struggle, the most ignominious and dreadful punishments.

Enraged by what he chose to consider, such pertinacious obstinacy, Teymûr caused the attack to recommence with redoubled fury; and this being accompanied by the horrible din of the horns and kettle-drums, and the tremendous Souren, or war-cry of the Tartars, the rampart, which had, in the whole, been by this time under-propped with wood by the miners, suddenly gave way to a considerable distance, before the galleries had been set fire to; but the garrison, exhibiting equal constancy and self devotion in repelling the efforts of their adversaries, succeeded for the present in repairing the breach. The Teymûrian troops in formidable strength were, however, now in readiness to give the final attack; and orders having been circulated to charge the several mines with fire-wood and naphtha, the whole were set fire to during the night, and the greater part of the walls laid prostrate with the earth. The tower which Yeik Souffy, in particular, was employed to undermine, and in approaching the

foundations of which he appears to have perforated the solid rock, was so completely subverted, that twenty of the garrison entrusted with its defence, were overwhelmed in the ruins. Still a part of the fortifications remained standing, and the soldiers were employed afresh to carry on the work of mining; and the excavations below being as usual filled with combustibles, these were, at the proper period, set on fire, and the whole of the works were thus finally levelled to the ground.

Astonished, in no small degree, by this final catastrophe of the bulwarks by which they were surrounded, Ameir Hussun and his troops withdrew, without further opposition, to the summit of the rock included within the fortifications of Tekreit, and to which it appears to have served as the citadel. On the other hand, the imperial generals on their knees intreated the permission of their sovereign to follow up the attack without a moment's delay; but were admonished to suspend their ardor until such time as a passage should be fairly opened to the last retreat of the enemy. In the mean time, perceiving, in their most appalling forms, the dangers to which they were now openly exposed, the inhabitants of Tekreit with tears and lamentations called aloud for mercy, but without effect; although their supplications were humanely seconded by the intercession of the imperial generals. When therefore the circumstance of their sovereign's yet unappeased resentment became known to the soldiery, they proceeded, without awaiting the result of further operations, to scale the rock; and having finally gained the highest part, they there made prisoners of the unfortunate Ameir Hussun, and the remainder of his garrison, whom they immediately conducted, bound neck and heels, to the presence of Teymûr. At this moment orders were issued that the defenceless inhabitants should be set apart, and protected from injury; but all who bore arms were distributed to the several Tomauns and Koushûns of the army, to be put to the sword. The mandates of inexorable vengeance were carried into execution, with fearful dispatch. The whole of the devoted garrison was massacred without mercy, and several pyramids constructed with the heads of the slain. The dwellings of the obnoxious inhabitants were entirely demolished; but a part of the walls was left standing,

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A. H. 796. as a present example to the turbulent and refractory, and as a memorial to future ages, of the singular and extraordinary strength of this celebrated fortress. We further learn from the translation of De la Croix's work, that the castle of Tekreit was erected during the power of the race of Sassan, on the summit of a rock near the Tigris, so inaccessible, that it had hitherto successfully resisted all attempts at reduction by open force.

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By the first of the month of Suffur,\* Teymûr was enabled to take his departure from the ruins of Tekreit, on his return towards Arreby, or Harbi, westward, in the direction of Annah, on the Euphrates; exercising his troops during the march in the amusements of the chase. Previous to this juncture, as formerly intimated, the Ameir-zâdah Mahommed Sûltan, had been dispatched along the Tigris towards Waussit, while other commanders proceeded across that river to the opposite side. Meiran Shah, with his division, had also descended the Euphrates, from Hellah towards Bassorah, while Sheikh Temûr, and Ouje Kara Bahauders, and the Ameirs Yadgaur Berlas, and Jahaun Shah Jaukû, were employed in different directions to extend the Teymûrian authority. In due time, these princes with the several Ameirs, having successfully executed all that they had been detached to accomplish, rejoined the imperial head quarters in perfect safety.

Ikâk Arâb, with its dependencies, being now considered as entirely subjugated, Teymûr dispatched Khaujah Mûssâoud the Subbuzwaurian, to superintend the government of Baghdâd; with instructions, however tardily conceived, to bestow the most watchful attention in promoting the welfare and prosperity of every class of the inhabitants. After this, he put the main body of the army again in motion, with the design, as subsequently appeared, of attacking the city of Diarbeckir. In the mean time, while Mëiran Shah, with an advanced division; ascended along the Tigris upwards, in order to take possession of the adjoining territory, a bridge was constructed across the same river, and the imperial army actually removed to the left, or eastern side; a report being designedly circulated, to deceive the enemy and throw them off their guard, that the Tcheghatâian monarch was on

\* 6th of December.



his return homewards. The moment, however, the crisis was arrived at which he conceived circumstances were ripe for the prosecution of his plan, Teymûr, having with particular care selected two out every ten soldiers, or one fifth of the army, suddenly drew off to the left bank, and also took the direction along the Tigris upwards; leaving the main body to follow more at leisure, with the heavy baggage and equipments, in charge of Mahommed Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Othman Bahauder, Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and Ouje Kara Bahauder. Appearing before the castle of Kerkouk, the place was immediately surrendered by the garrison without resistance, and bestowed by Teymûr, in Seyûrghaul or perpetual fee, upon Yaur Ally, prince of Mossûl. About the same period many of the neighboring chiefs, including the governor of Altûn Kouprek, or the golden bridge, repaired to the presence of Teymûr, from whom they experienced a gracious reception.

A. H. 796.  
A. D 1393.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

Quitting Kerkouk, Teymûr encamped next at Erbeil, or Arbela; Sheikh Ally, the chief of which place treating him with a most sumptuous entertainment, and otherwise exhibiting the requisite proofs of zeal and allegiance. From thence he proceeded to the banks of the Aub-e-tchûnaur, or river of poplars; and shortly afterwards, having crossed the waters, (of the Tigris) he made his appearance before Mossûl, where he devoutly visited the tombs of Jonas, and Jerjeis or St. George, who bears the character of a prophet among the Moslems. To be employed in the repair or re-embellishment of those hallowed structures, he disbursed the sum of ten thousand dirrems\* each, and he made, at the same time, a liberal distribution in alms to the poor in the vicinity. Soon after his arrival, he was joined by Meiran Shah; who had successfully carried his orders into execution, against the wandering hordes that occupied in many parts the uncultivated plains in the neighborhood of the Tigris. Yaur Ally, prince of Mossûle, exerted himself, in the mean time, with becoming zeal, in providing for the entertainment of his august visitant, who did not omit to avail himself of the good offices, and friendly disposition of the chief, to be his guide on the way to Rouha, or Edessa; for which place, not long afterwards, he again put his troops in motion,

\* About £229. 2s. 4d.

A. H. 796.  
A. D. 1394.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

While thus employed, a messenger was dispatched to Teymûr from Sûltan Aeissy, or Eissa, prince of Mardein, with assurances of homage and submission; which induced the conqueror to decline from his proposed route, and alter the direction of his march to the right, towards the territory of that prince. But when he had approached within a certain distance of Mardein, he transmitted to the Sûltan, by one of his officers, a request that he would immediately follow the imperial standard, with a body of troops well equipped; as he had just formed the design of invading Syria, and ultimately of proceeding into Egypt. After this, he resumed the direct route for Raussul-Eyne, the head of the fountains, where he encamped.

From thence the imperial troops were dispatched, in various directions, to plunder the tribes of the Kârakûynlû, or black wether Tûrkmen, and other wandering communities hitherto unsubdued. Teymûr again resumed his march, as soon as these detachments had rejoined him with a prodigious booty, principally in sheep and cattle, of which they had robbed the Tûrkmen. He now came to Rouha, which had been abandoned at his approach; the governor whose name was Guzzul (the red) having fled under the influence of his fears, and accompanied by a great part of the inhabitants, to a lofty mountain, or range of mountains, in the neighborhood. This furnished sufficient ground of displeasure with Teymûr, and he caused them to be immediately pursued to their retreat, with fire and sword. In the mean time, attended by the Shazâdahs of his family, and by all his principal generals, Teymûr entered Rouha. This city, the same as that which is called by the western nations Edessa, and possibly, from what follows, the Ur of the Chaldees mentioned in the book of Genesis, is here said to have been originally built by Nemroud, or Nimrod; and when visited by Teymûr at the period under consideration, to have been constructed in the whole, or for the greater part, of hewn stone. In the vicinity is supposed, among the orientals, to have occurred the miracle of Abraham's preservation when cast by the tyrant into the burning pile, and when through the intervention of omnipotence a fountain sprung up in the very midst of the fire, which continues running to this day; the edges of the same fountain retaining the marks of the smoke to the period at which the

author of the Rouzut-us-suffa was employed in writing his history. Teymûr, however, with the princes his children, and all the Ameirs of his court, both bathed in the spring, and drank of the water; continuing at Rouha for the space of nearly twenty days, which he devoted to every species of enjoyment and recreation, and during which he caressed and rewarded with the most liberal bounty, all those who had signalized their gallantry and zeal during the recent expeditions.

A. H. 796.  
A. D. 1394.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

While Teymûr continued at Rouha, the governor of Hussun Keyfa on the Tigris, about thirty miles north of Mardein, availed himself of the opportunity to repair to the presence; and experienced, with several other chiefs of the surrounding territory, the most distinguished marks of favor. The Sûltan of Mardein continued, nevertheless, to temporize in his engagements, and to disappoint the expectations which had been formed of his sincerity and punctuality. Reflecting therefore on the impolicy of undertaking more distant objects, while such an adversary remained unsubdued within what he might consider the circuit of his own dominions, Teymûr finally determined on attacking him without further delay; and accordingly put his troops in motion towards Mardein, on the twenty sixth of the former Rebbeia, of the seven hundred and seventy sixth of the hidjerah.\* While proceeding in that direction he received the submission of Sûltan Ally prince of Erzein, or Erzeina, to the eastward of the Tigris, in Kûrdestaun, as also of the governor of Bautmen, or Yautmen, in the same territory. He was further joined, while on the march towards Mardein, by his wives, the princesses Tchelpan Aga, and Dilshaud Aga, who had been left with the heavy equipments of the army, on the other side the Tigris. Having encamped at the station of Humlik, or Tchumlik, at the distance of seven farsangs† from Mardein, Teymûr acquired another vassal in Melek Ezz-ud-dein prince of Jezzaireh, who hastened to convince himself by personal experience, of the extent of the imperial bounty.

In the mean time, receiving positive intelligence of the approach of the Teymûrian army, Sûltan Eissa conceived it at last expedient to yield to his destiny; and accordingly, followed by a train of his

\* 29th January 1394.

† Something less than 24 miles.

A. H. 796.  
 A. D. 1394.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

finest camels, bearing a profusion of all that was rare and costly, he directed his steps towards the imperial encampment. Here through the intervention of some of the principal ministers, he was admitted to the presence of Teymûr, and on his bended knees to make an offering of the splendid display of valuables which he had prepared to mollify the angry spirit of the conqueror. At first the haughty Tcheghataïan demanded, in a tone of severity, the reasons that had retarded his appearance; but being in the end appeased by his humble protestations for mercy, the milder sentiment of compassion was permitted to supersede the sense of injury, and the monarch freely bestowed his forgiveness upon the suppliant chief; finally dismissing him to his impregnable castle, with the usual compliment of a dress of honor and embroidered girdle. Teymûr then removed his encampment to the precincts of Mardein; where, about the beginning of February, of the year one thousand three hundred and ninety four, the narrative may for the present be permitted to leave him.

## CHAP. V.

THE intellectual endowments, and the personal valour and intrepidity of Omar Sheikh, are spoken of with distinguished respect by oriental writers, and we have recently noticed his appointment to the government of Fars; to which appears to have been subsequently added that of Irák Ajem, by the well merited confidence of his august sire. When he had, however, been employed for nearly the space of a twelve-month in the exercise of his authority; when he had succeeded in re-assembling the tribes and families dispersed during the late turbulent and sanguinary periods of misrule, and had brought the best part of the country into a wholesome state of taxation and subjection, his attention was yet further required to reduce several of the dependents of Shah Munsúr, who had taken refuge in some of the castles and inaccessible posts scattered through the provinces of Fars and Kermaun, where they continued in hostility against the Teymúrian government. Having, nevertheless, in a great measure secured the tranquillity of the provinces entrusted to his charge, and with consummate prudence and address prevailed, either by force of arms or means of conciliation, in bringing the adherents of the race of Múzuffur to submit to his authority, the Shahzâdah ventured to dispatch some of his officers to Ouzkund, in the extremity of Ferghaunah, in order to bring away to join him the whole of his family, the Ameirzâdah Bazferaun, or Banferaun, alone excepted; who was possibly left to continue the government in the name of his father. But while he was yet engaged in the siege of the fortress of Seirjaun in Kermaun, which still held out against him, and at the period at which his father was proceeding towards Diaurbekir, with the design of entering on the conquest of Syria and Egypt, a messenger arrived to announce to him, that he was to march immediately by the route of Kouh Keylûyah with the force of his province, to join the imperial army.

A. H. 796.

A. D. 1394.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

A. H. 796.  
A. D. 1394.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

These orders the Shahzâdah put himself in motion to execute without a moments delay; and leaving Eidekou Berlas, with Shah-shâhan, the tributary prince of Seiestaun, and Peir Ally Seldûz, to prosecute the siege of Seirjaun, he repaired himself to Shirauz, in order to complete his equipments for the expedition. Having dispatched that preliminary object, he consigned the government of Fars to the care of Ameir Sounjek, who was employed, in conformity with the directions of Teymûr, in rebuilding the fortress of Kohendezz, formerly demolished by Shah Shujia; and leaving his son Eskunder to reside at Shirauz, under the tutelage of Ameir Sounjek, he finally departed for Diarbekir accompanied by another son, Peir Mahommed, proceeding through the Shoulestaun, or rocky territory, north-west of Shirauz.

After passing through the greater part of Kârdestaun without accident, the Shahzâdah arrived before an obscure fortress called Khermautû, of which the situation is not precisely defined. It contained, however, with a very insignificant garrison, a considerable magazine of grain; from which the Shahzâdah dispatched some of his attendants to demand a supply for his troops, which was insolently denied him. Being apprized by his people of the failure of the application, the prince immediately mounted his horse, and ascended a neighboring eminence within speaking distance of the place, when one of the garrison let fly an arrow, at random, among the cavalry by whom he was accompanied. On this not a little enraged, the Shahzâdah, covering himself with his buckler, hastily advanced towards the works; when another arrow from an unknown hand, more fatally directed, transfixèd him through the principal artery, and produced his instant death. This fatal incident is related by other authors with some trifling variation; all, however, agreeing that the prince expired on the spot, and that his followers on witnessing the premature fall of their master, immediately attacked the fort, and having carried it by storm, cut to pieces every living being that they found within it, even to the infant at its mother's breast.

The remains of Omar Sheikh were not long afterwards conveyed by Peir Mahommed, and his afflicted associates, to Shirauz; where they were for some time deposited within a vault, or shrine, con-

structed for the purpose. The body was, however, at a subsequent period removed, in conformity with the instructions of Teymûr, to the city of Kesh; and there laid in the mausoleum erected by that monarch, for his family, on the south side of the graves of Sheikh Shums-ud-dein Kelaur, and Ameir Toraghâi; his brother Jahangueir already reposing under an adjoining Dome. The death of this prince appears to have taken place some time in the month of January, of the Christian era 1394, when he had attained to the forty first year of his age. "Alas," observes the historian on this subject, "where is the plant that flourishes by the side of even the happiest stream, that will not ultimately be laid prostrate by the storm, or where, in the firmament of greatness did that sun ever display its radiance, which was not finally destined to experience an eclipse."

A. H. 796.  
A. D. 1394.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

While Teymûr was with some degree of anxiety looking for the arrival of his son, of whose prudent counsels and experience he was willing to avail himself, before he should finally enter on his Syro-Egyptian expedition, Towukkel Bahauder unexpectedly appeared in camp, and communicated to the imperial generals, to their great surprise and embarrassment, the particulars of the late afflicting event; being equally at a loss in what manner to disclose, or whether to conceal the mournful fact from their sovereign. Conceiving it, however, the safest alternative they proceeded in a body to make it known to him. Teymûr received their intelligence with becoming fortitude, and without betraying any of those marks of perturbation which they seem to have apprehended. In the words of the Korân, he devoutly expressed himself, "We belong to God, and to him we must return"; and bestowing the vacant government upon Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of the departed Shahzâdah, shortly afterwards dispatched Ouje Kara Bahauder, with the patent of investiture to the young prince, who had not yet left Khermautû with the remains of his father; but which he now proceeded to convey to Shirauz without further delay.

The narrative here resumes its course to observe, that when Sûltan Eissa finally submitted to place his person at the mercy of Teymûr, and consented to become tributary to his authority, the imperial troops, some for the purpose of collecting the stipulated contribution,

A. H. 796.  
 A. D. 1394.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

and others on their private avocations, proceeded without suspicion to enter the fortress of Mardein, where, to their great surprise, they found themselves immediately assailed by the clamours and insults of the disorderly multitude; and the circumstance being instantly reported to Teymûr, the Sûltan was ordered to his presence, and on his knees to account for this unlooked for insolence. From his own acknowledgment it was now understood that when he quitted the place for the last time, he expressly charged his brothers and confidential ministers under no circumstance whatever to surrender either town or citadel, not even though they were to receive the most positive commands from himself; for he declared that his resolution was unalterably taken to devote himself for their sake, and for his country. The confession coming from his own lips, the process to his condemnation was not very tedious; his person was immediately secured and committed to safe-custody. But as the winter was far advanced, and the vicinity produced no forage for his numerous cavalry, and for the prodigious multitude of cattle which necessarily accompanied the army, it was found expedient on the part of Teymûr to decamp for the present from that neighborhood, and to postpone, to a future and more convenient opportunity, the siege and reduction of Mardein.

It was about the eighth of the latter Rebbeia\* that Teymûr quitted his position before Mardein on this occasion, directing his march for the Kouhestaun—the mountainous region, probably, so called to the eastward of the Tigris. When he had, however, proceeded for two or three stages on his march, the weather suddenly broke up, and the rain fell in such torrents that, according to the inflated language of the orientals, the deluge which covered the earth in the time of Noah was but a period of drought in the comparison. The country through which the course of the Teymûrian armies lay, being at the same time composed of an extremely soft and loamy soil, they were for several days completely bemired in the frequent sloughs, and their mules and camels perished in entire strings; and the rain continuing to fall occasionally with increasing violence, most of the tents were at length abandoned, the exertions of the troops, both

\* 10th of February.



horse and foot, being now directed to make their way through with as little incumbrance as possible. The Shahzâdahs and principal commanders, among other expedients devised to carry them through their difficulties, caused the sloughs, in several places, to be overlaid with pieces of felt and coarse blankets, and were thus enabled to effect their passage with tolerable facility. The heavy rains, on this occasion, are stated to have set in on the eleventh of the latter Rebbeia, and the troops not to have surmounted the obstacles of which they were the cause until the tenth of the succeeding month of Jummaudy-ul-awul; that is, reckoning from the thirteenth of february to the twelfth of march, for a period of one entire month.

Some time previous to the present conjuncture, Teymûr had dispatched for Sûltauniah, a very valuable convoy, comprizing some of the most rare and precious articles, the trophies of his recent successes, intended for the imperial family. This had been intercepted on the road by a certain Sheikh, who had been introduced to the presence of Teymûr, and had at the same time largely tasted of his bounty, in the train of Melek Ezz-ud-dein prince of Jezzeirah. To the territory of that prince the plunderer immediately retired with his booty; and, in direct violation of recent engagements, received a promise of the most effectual protection. Repeated messages were conveyed on the part of Teymûr to the prince of Jezzeirah, as he hoped for pardon for his own accumulated offences to demand that he would deliver up the robber; threatening to destroy his whole country—to make it, with all its boasted strongholds, to disappear under the hoofs of his cavalry, if he neglected to comply with this demand. Confiding in the reputed strength of his capital, defended on all sides by the waters of the Tigris, Melek Ezz-ud-dein, however, continued deaf to every application; and Teymûr, therefore, resolved on carrying his threats into immediate execution. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of the former Jummaudy,\* leaving his heavy equipments behind him, he hastened by forced marches to the Tigris; and having crossed that river by means of rafts in the course of one day, he prosecuted his march, without halting, the whole of the night following, and next morning at dawn of day, he came upon

A. H. 796  
A. D. 1394.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

\* 15th of March 1394.

A. H. 796.  
 A D. 1394.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

the troops of Ezz-ud-dein entirely unprepared for the dreadful visit. In the confusion of the attack, and carnage which ensued, Melek Ezz-ud-dein fell into the hands of one of the Teymûrian soldiers; by whom, after having endured some degree of violence for the discovery of his effects, he was finally liberated, and he thus providentially escaped the vortex of revenge which raged round him. His unhappy country, *with all that it inhabited*, was, however, consigned to universal rapine and depredation, and the greater part of his castles being reduced by the different divisions of the army, such an immense booty in treasure and cattle was the result, that every soldier found himself, for some time at least, raised to a state of independence and opulence. His predominant passion for vengeance thus signally gratified, Teymûr withdrew from the province of Jezzeirah, and again recrossed the Tigris to the left bank; and having given orders that the spoil accumulated during this last expedition, might be transported down the river to Mossûle, the whole was embarked on forty vessels provided for the purpose, and in the space of ten or eleven days securely lodged in the imperial encampment.

The winter being now at an end, Teymûr prepared to carry into execution the designs, which he had been recently constrained to postpone, against Mardein; and having mounted a considerable part, if not the whole of his infantry on horseback, he proceeded on the first day of the latter Jummaudy,\* towards that place, in sight of which, having of course again crossed the Tigris to the westward, he encamped on the twelfth of the same month. Meiran Shah, at the head of the advanced guard, had preceded at an earlier period. The day subsequent to that of his arrival, Teymûr caused the town to be attacked, at different points, by the whole force of his army, right, left, and centre, and succeeded in carrying it by escalade; the garrison and inhabitants retiring with great loss, and considerable difficulty, into the interior fort or citadel. This latter called the Kella Shahaba, or white, or ash coloured fort, is described to be situated on the summit of a lofty mountain, deriving an inexhaustible supply of water from a fountain which rises within, and flows down the rock in a stream sufficient to turn a water mill, and in effect to

† 2nd of April.

have been equally celebrated by poets and historians for its impregnable strength. The Teymûrians, notwithstanding, carried their attack to the foot of the walls on the very first day, although they withdrew, at night fall, to the lower town. On the ensuing day, the attack was resumed, and the garrison, completely appalled by the singular perseverance and intrepidity of their assailants, found themselves, however reluctantly, constrained to call for quarter. This from a fortunate concurrence of circumstances they obtained with unexpected facility, Teymûr, the moment their prayers were made known to him, drawing off his troops to their encampment; the vengeance of the conqueror, otherwise awakened to an extraordinary degree, being so completely disarmed, at the very crisis at which the besieged were imploring for mercy, by intelligence just received from Sultauniah of the birth, at that place, of the celebrated Oulûgh, or Ulûgh Beg, the son of Shah Rokh, on the nineteenth of the former Jummaudy,† that they were not only received to pardon, but the ransom stipulated for the preservation of their lives and property was entirely remitted to them, and the sole punishment inflicted on the occasion was a transfer of the government from Sûltan Eissa to his brother Sûltan Sâlah.

A. H. 796.  
A. D. 1394.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

Meiran Shah was now detached to reduce the territory along the Tigris upwards; shortly after which Teymûr again recrossed that river to the left bank, where among some of the beautiful adjoining meadows in that quarter he encamped, intending, after a short interval of repose, to direct his march towards Allahtauk, or Allahtaug.

Before, however, he had yet put his troops in motion from the agreeable scenes of their present encampment, advices reached him from Meiran Shah and Mahommed Sûltan, announcing the hostile and refractory spirit discovered on the part of the people of Karatchah Hamid, Amida, or Diaurbekir, the capital of the province of that name, presuming as it is alleged on the extraordinary strength of their walls. On receipt of this intelligence, Ameir Jahaun Shah was immediately dispatched with a reinforcement to join the Shahzâdabs, and, shortly afterwards, Teymûr in person at the head of the main body proceeded in the same direction; and having forded the

\* 21st March 1394.

A. H. 796.  
 A. D. 1394.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

Tigris, where at this season it was found a very narrow stream, he hastened without further delay to form the siege of Hamid. At the period under consideration, according to our author, this city was defended by a rampart which for loftiness and massive solidity might claim a comparison with the most renowned bulwarks of antiquity, the celebrated one [at Derbend] ascribed to Alexander of Macedon not excepted. It was constructed of hewn stone strongly cemented with mortar, and of such a width above as to admit of two horsemen riding abreast. It was moreover crowned at top by what might be denominated a double parapet, from five to six feet high, also of hewn stone, looking one way towards the country, and the other inward to the town, and roofed in for the accommodation of the garrison. Exclusive of this, it was further strengthened without by a second wall, or *fausse bray*, embracing the whole of the interior rampart, with towers at appropriate distances, these latter protected against the heat and the inclemencies of the weather, by stone projections, or perhaps, sheds tiled over—and lastly there were, within the town, two springs of the purest water, with several spacious and magnificent gardens and inclosures, for the recreation of the inhabitants; and it is asserted that from its foundation to the time at which it was now invested by Teymûr, a period of four thousand three hundred years,\* it had never submitted to force, excepting in one single instance; and that was in the infancy of Islâm, when captured by the celebrated Khaled the son of Ul Walid, who found means, after a protracted siege, to introduce a detachment through the sewer, or channel in the walls left open to drain off the water in the town.

On the day after his arrival, Teymûr appeared on horseback at the head of his troops, encouraging them to commence, with their usual spirit, the operations of the siege; and they proceeded accordingly to advance, under cover of hurdles and baskets of earth, and in spite of the stones and missiles showered upon them from above, towards the foot of the works. In the mean time, the Ameirs Othman Bahauder, Seyud Khaujâh, and Arghûn Shah, had received instructions each to carry a mine under three particular towers, in order to open a fair passage into the town. Of these commanders Arghûn Shah being

\* It must then have withstood the tremendous catastrophe of the flood!

the first who wrought his way through to the top of the rampart, the troops from all sides immediately rushed to the assault; and thus a fortress which, in a single instance only, during a period of more than four thousand years had, as we have just observed, been compelled to submit to external force, was openly carried after a short siege of not more than two or three days. The garrison, however, found means to effect its escape through some secret subterraneous passages; while the unfortunate inhabitants remained to be pillaged of their all to the very minutest article of their property. A body of pioneers was then ordered with mattocks and pickaxes to demolish the towers of the place; but, when they came to carry their orders into execution, the extraordinary strength and solidity of the masonry was found to be such, that the entire demolition would require a sacrifice of time and labour, so much greater than could be spared from more important objects, that they were content with simply dismantling, or throwing down the battlements at the top of the works.\* From Hamid Teymûr then finally directed his march for Allahtau.

A. H. 796  
A. D. 1394.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

As relating to a personage more than once mentioned in these pages, it is here thought worthy of notice that, about the crisis under consideration it was discovered to Teymûr, by one of the Ouzbeks in his service, that Neik, or Yeik Souffy, on whom he had bestowed the highest favours, and whom he had more than once pardoned for repeated acts of disloyalty of a similar tendency, had again some treasonable design in meditation, and that he was about to desert the standard of his benefactor. He was probably a relative of the Souffies formerly driven from the throne of Khaurezm, by the Teymûrian victories; and if so the sense of obligation was, peradventure, not yet sufficiently strong to obliterate the remembrance of such an injury. He had, however we are told, been recently promoted to the command of a Toman, or division of ten thousand; neither was there among all the generals of the right wing of the army, the princes of the blood of Jengueiz alone excepted, any who possessed a more exalted rank or higher confidence. His offence might therefore, whatever the nature of it, be considered the less remissible, and he was together

\* This it is to be remembered was previous to the invention of Gunpowder or rather to its introduction into the operations of war.

A. H. 796.  
 A. D. 1394.  
 Rouzut us-  
 suffa.

with his son committed to close confinement; while the unfortunate associates of his design were condemned to suffer by the hands of the executioner.

On his way from Diaurbekir towards Meiafaurekein, and in the district of Meherwaun, Teymûr received the submission of many chiefs of the surrounding territory, and thus added very considerably to the contents of an already overflowing treasury. After passing the station of Meiafaurekein,\* he conceived it expedient to make a division of his force, directing the left wing of the army to proceed under the orders of Mahommed Sûltan, by the way of Jiajour, or Tchepatchour, probably the Jebakhshour of the maps on the higher Euphrates; while he conducted the centre, or main body, accompanied by his son Shah Rokh, towards the plains of Moush. The neighborhood of that place he reached by the eleventh of the month of Rudjub;† but not without suffering a very heavy loss in camels, mules, and horses, in consequence of the extreme rigour of the weather although in the very height of spring, of the depth of the snow, and of the almost impassable state of the roads across the mountainous ridges, which intersected the course of his march. The Shahzâdahs Meiran Shah, and Mahommed Sûltan, with their respective divisions, the right and left of the army, rejoined him shortly afterwards. In his encampment on the plains of Moush on this occasion, Teymûr was visited by Hadjy Shurf, or Shûrruf, the prince of Betleis, or Betlis, not far from the lake of Van, distinguished above all the chiefs of Kûrdestaun, for his benevolent disposition and polished manners. Among the presents produced on his introduction is described to have been a bay, or chesnut horse of extraordinary beauty and value, which surpassed on trial the fleetest coursers in the imperial stud. This independent chief experienced from Teymûr a very kind and gracious reception, and, among other proofs of esteem, received a confirmation in the sovereignty of his country, with a very considerable accession of territory; and, what was considered as a singular favor, he was presented on his dismissal with a vest, or robe, embroidered with gold, together with a scarf, or baldric, and a golden hilted scimitar. At the same time,

\* About five and thirty or forty miles E. N. E. of Diaurbekir, by the maps.

† 11th of May.

the unfortunate Yeik Squffy was delivered into his hands, to be confined as a state prisoner in the citadel of Betleis.

A. H. 796.  
A. D. 1394.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

While he continued encamped on the plains of Moush, several of the shahzâdahs and principal commanders were employed to prosecute the war against the Tûrkman tribes; and in particular to urge on the pursuit of Kâra Yûssui who had taken to flight on the approach of the imperial standard. Among others, Mahommed Derweish Berlas was dispatched to invest the fortress of Alanjek, in some surveys laid down north of the lake of Van between Ekhlaut and Allahtauk; Meiran Shah being directed to proceed to his assistance as soon as he should have accomplished the object of expelling the hostile tribes from the surrounding territory. The attention of Teymûr was finally directed to supply the casualties of the recent campaign; and for this purpose the imperial Towatcheis were sent off in all directions, in order to hasten the necessary reinforcements from every part of his dominions; after which indispensable preliminary he continued his march for Allahtauk. Passing by Ekhlaut, which he bestowed in Seyûrghaul, or perpetual fee, on the prince of Aeidejous in the same neighborhood, [between Ekhlaut and Arjish], Teymûr availing himself of the opportunity presented by the intervening extensive plains, gratified in its utmost latitude his own, and the national predilection for the amusements of the chase; after which, as he proceeded on his march, he was met by Sûltan Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, with the princesses and the younger brothers of the imperial family, from whom he had been now separated for a period of eleven months.

Having detached Teymûr Khaujah the son of Aukbouga, with a division to reinforce the troops before Alanjek, Teymûr, soon after this, presented himself under the walls of Aeidein, [probably the Diadin of the maps,] the garrison and inhabitants of which appear to have capitulated without resistance; having been admitted to terms on sending out the whole, or the greater part of their property, in order to purchase the forbearance of their formidable invader. From Aeidein Teymûr seems to have made a retrograde march to the station of Ouje Keleissa, or the three churches, [Tresecclisæ], where, after one intervening night, he now encamped: and here his zealous vassal

A. H. 796. Taherten, prince of Arzenjaun, hastened to an interview with the  
 A. D. 1934. Tcheghatâian conqueror; and experienced the reception which was  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa. due to his services and attachment.

Although the chiefs of the country had, by this time, for the greater part submitted to the authority of Teymûr, the fortress of Aoneik, or Avneik, alledged in a preceding page to be the same with Van, on the lake of that name, still continued to resist, under Mezzar, or Messer, the son of Kâra Mahommed the Tûrkman; and the reduction of this place became the object towards which the conqueror next directed his attention. But, without entering at large with the author into a detail of the operations which followed, to the attainment of that object, it will be sufficient to observe that when the lower town had been carried, and after a siege of forty days which the garrison sustained in the citadel on the mountain, Messer, having failed in repeated attempts to procure terms from his besiegers, on the second of the month of Shavaul\* submitted to descend from his works; and bearing at the same time his sword and winding sheet proceeded to throw himself on the mercy of Teymûr, by whom, at the intercession of Mahommed Sûltan the son of Jahangueir, he was admitted to pardon. Nevertheless, he was for greater security immediately conveyed to Samarkand.

The fortress of Aouneik, having been first discharged of the greater part of its warlike stores and implements of offence, was then consigned to the care of Ameir Ettelmesh; and Teymûr, after allowing to his troops an interval of five days to repose from their labours, took his departure thence about the eighth of Shavaul;† being the same day met on his march by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, from whom he received a faithful report of the state of affairs in Transoxiana. The spot, on which he now encamped, presented so many attractions, that it was determined to remain there for some days; and on the eighteenth of the month, which was set apart for a very magnificent entertainment given to his court and army, Teymûr publicly attested his approbation of the services of Ameir Taherten, by bestowing upon him, afresh, a patent for the country of Arzenjaun, and the ad-

\* 30th of July.

† 5th of August.



joining districts, accompanied with a superb tiara, and girdle enriched with precious stones.

Ameir Zeirek Tchaukû had it appears, in the mean time, been employed to besiege Ameir Bayezzid in the fortress of Aeidein, [peradventure some place different from that mentioned on a former occasion], and had exerted himself with such vigor and spirit, that his adversary was soon convinced of the inevitable destruction to which he should expose himself and followers, unless he adopted some early expedient to avert the danger. He, therefore, dispatched a messenger to propose to his besieger, to withdraw his troops to a short distance from the town, and to pledge himself in that case to come to a personal conference with him. Ameir Zeirek very readily complied with this proposal, and accordingly removed his camp to the distance required; while Bayezzid, availing himself of his credulity, quitted the place one morning early, without giving him the slightest intimation of his design, and repaired to the imperial head quarters, where experienced a favorable reception from Teymûr. He succeeded, moreover, in obtaining from that monarch an Altumghâ, or golden patent under the sign manual, reinstating him in the government of Aeidein; and he was finally dismissed with a Khelaut, and girdle of gold, and other marks of imperial favor. Ameir Zeirek, in the mean time, in consequence of the accommodation thus artfully brought about by the address of his opponent, was recalled to join the main body of the army.

While these transactions were in progress in one quarter, a powerful division was dispatched, by the route of Aukseka, into Georgia, under the direction of Bûrhaun Oghlan, accompanied by the Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, Jahaun Shah, and Othmaun; Teymûr in person, having it in contemplation to move in the same direction through the forests of Allahtauk. These orders were carried into execution, with the ordinary circumstances of plunder and slaughter; the troops putting to the sword all of an adverse profession of faith who unhappily came in their way. Shortly afterwards, Teymûr appeared at Kars; on the plains in sight of which, described to exhibit the most delightful and beautiful scenery, he encamped for some time. In addition to the circumstances of a tendency auspicious to his

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fortune, which marked the period under consideration, we record the birth, on tuesday the 26th of Shavaul, † of another son to Shah Rokh, who received the name of Ibrauhim Sûltan; and the event was celebrated with every demonstration of joy for the space of one and twenty days; at the termination of which, Teymûr removed from the shady groves, and enamelled meadows in the neighborhood of Karss, and again pitched his tents on the plain of Meinekgoul, described, by De la Croix, as a village at the foot of Mount Joudi, or Ararat. Here he was rejoined by the Ameirs who had been recently employed in Georgia, and who now presented themselves to their sovereign, loaded with the booty which they had acquired in the several towns and castles captured during the expedition. This gave occasion to a fresh course of festivities; after which Teymûr proceeded to encamp on the broad summit of an eminence, or table land, some where in the same neighborhood of mount Ararat.

On the twenty first of the month of Zilkauâh,\* Mirza Shah Rokh received his father's instructions to proceed to Samarkand, in order to assume the government of that capital, and of the rich and fertile province dependent upon it. The princesses Serâi Melek Khaunum, and Tomaun Aga, with the other ladies of the imperial family, were directed, at the same time, to accompany the Shahzâdah to Sultauniah, there to reside until the course of events might otherwise require. On the removal of these favorite branches of his family, Teymûr resolved to gratify the ambition, long rankling in his bosom, to engage in person in the war already begun against the unbelieving Christians of Georgia, generally known by the appellation of the Kârakalkanlik, or black buckler tribe. ‡ This design he carried into execution without further delay; but as the persecuted inhabitants took refuge among the hills and other inaccessible posts of a mountainous region, they for some time eluded the effects of his fury. They were, however, pursued by the Teymûrians, with plunder, and slaughter, and desolation in their train, into their most inaccessible retreats; while Teymûr himself, hunting as he advanced, penetrated without difficulty to Teflis, the seat of government, and the largest of the cities of Georgia. From thence he is said to have returned by the way of Shekky, the

\* 23rd of August.

† 16th of December.

‡ De la Croix.

Ameirs Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and Jahaun Shah, with other great commanders being employed to over-run the country on either hand, with instructions, however, to treat with humanity and indulgence such of the natives as evinced a disposition to submit without resistance, while they were to exterminate without mercy all who presumed to oppose the authority of their master.

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In conformity with their instructions these distinguished chieftains proceeded to carry plunder and havoc through the country, both hill and vale, and having made captives of the unfortunate inhabitants of every tribe and family, conducted them in crowds to the imperial encampment. \*Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, the son of Saurbouga was dispatched, at the same time, with a strong division into the neighboring Kouhestaun, or mountainous region, where he extended without resistance the ravages of fire and sword; the native sovereign, Siddi Ally Shukker, probably Shekky, having abandoned the country in dismay at the approach of these fierce invaders. The Teymûrian general then rejoined his sovereign with the spoil accumulated during this incursion.

While engaged in these operations, intelligence was conveyed to Teymûr, that a body of the troops of Touktemesh under Ally Oghlan, Eleyaus Oghlan, and other shahzâdahs of the race of Jûjy, had passed the straits of Derbend, and already over-run great part of the territory of Ibrauhim Shirvaun Shah the liege vassal of the Tcheghatâian monarch. The latter, on this information, put his armies in motion without a moment's delay in that direction; but the instant they became apprized of the approach of the imperial standard, the Tartars resolved on a timely retreat, and accordingly withdrew from the danger. Teymûr then displayed his gilded pavilions among the rich pastures of Mahmûdabad, where he now determined to fix his winter quarters; and messengers were accordingly dispatched to Sûltauniah, to recal the princesses with the younger branches of the imperial family; who crossed the Kûrr some time afterwards, and hastened to the presence of their august benefactor, in the territory east-ward of that river. Meiran Shah having, in the mean time, quitted the vicinity of Alanjek, was also directing his march for the head quarters of his father; and on his arrival at Baubi, in the territory of the Kârakal-

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kanlik, was there blessed with the birth of another son, to whom, on intelligence of the event, his grandfather assigned the name of Ayjel, or more probably Anjeil. About the same crisis Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, received the commands of Teymûr to repair to court, leaving the Ameirs Sounjek, Hûsseyne Joghdawul, and Ally Beg the son of Eissa, with a competent force to maintain his authority at Shirauz.

The narrative now recurs, for a moment, in order to bring up the affairs of Sûltan Ahmed the Eylekhaunian, to the period at which that prince was flying before the fury of the Teymûrians through the desert westward of the Euphrates, on his way into Syria. Having, as formerly mentioned, succeeded in escaping the pursuit of his enemies, who at one time pressed hard upon him, his inclination led him to proceed first to Aleppo; where, in consequence of instructions from Sûltan Barkouk, at this conjuncture the sovereign of Egypt and Syria, the principal inhabitants received him with the most generous hospitality; at the same time liberally supplying him with all he wanted. While he remained at Aleppo, to repose from the fatigues of a disastrous retreat, and amidst the blandishments of Arabian beauty to dissipate the recollection of past misfortunes, a message was conveyed from Melek Barkouk, tendering the whole force of his government and its resources to aid him in the recovery of his dominions. Having received the bearer of this magnanimous proposal with the distinguished regard to which it was entitled, Sûltan Ahmed proceeded to Damascus; and there also experienced from the inhabitants the most friendly and hospitable reception, being lodged with a distinction every way worthy of his exalted rank, in the palace of the government. From thence, after devoting some days to the festivities prepared by the citizens for his entertainment, he continued his journey into Egypt; where on his arrival, at some distance from Kaherah, he was met by Melek Barkouk, and by him conducted with the honors due to his rank and misfortunes, to a village on the banks of the Nile, called Nezza, where preparations had been made for his reception. The Egyptian monarch presented him, at the same time, with one hundred and thirty beautiful Arabian coursers, and thirty three suits of dress embroidered with gold; neither did the bounty

of the Maumlûk prince terminate here, since not a day was suffered to pass in which his royal guest was not furnished from the same source, with some costly and delicate article for his wardrobe, and with the choicest viands for his table.

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When the festivities incident to his arrival drew at length to a conclusion, the two monarchs proceeded to deliberate on matters of more serious importance, those which related to the restoration of the exiled prince to his throne and dominions; and it was finally resolved that he should be conducted to Aleppo, at the head of a powerful army; which was immediately equipped at the expence of the Egyptian, the gates of whose treasury were unreservedly and liberally thrown open on the occasion. Sûltan Ahmed was accordingly dismissed, shortly afterwards, accompanied by the troops destined to co-operate in his restoration. Receiving, however on his arrival at Aleppo, intelligence that Teymûr at the close of his expedition against the Georgians, was preparing to march into Kephchauh, the Sûltan, having framed some apology for declining their services, suddenly dismissed his Egyptian auxiliaries, and hastened towards Baghdâd at the head of his own followers; and Khaujah Mahmûd the Subbuzwaurian, having abandoned thé capital on his approach, the Eylekhaunian, some time in the course of the seven hundred and ninety seventh of the hidjerah, succeeded, without further difficulty, in repossessing himself once more of the throne of Arabian Irâk.



At the approach of the vernal equinox of the same year, Teymûr, who had meditated for some months past on the design of inflicting fresh and signal vengeance on his detested adversary Touktemesh, prepared, without further delay, to carry that design into execution. With his usual solicitude to provide for the security of persons so dear to him, having again sent off the princesses of his family towards Sôltauniah, with instructions that the royal consorts Serâi Melek Khaunum, and Tomaun Aga, and the younger branches of the imperial stock should proceed straight to Samarkand, he accordingly, on the seventh of the former Jummaudy, of the seven hundred and ninety seventh of the hidjerah,\* *with the whole of spring and:*

\* 27th February 1395.

A. H. 797. *summer before him*, put his troops in motion for the wide extended  
 A. D. 1395. countries on the Volga. In the mean time, Shums-ud-dein a native  
 Rouzut-us- of Almaulegh, distinguished for his consummate talents and address  
 suffa. as well as for extraordinary powers of elocution, had, at an earlier  
 period, been dispatched from Mahmûdabad, with letters to the Khaun  
 of Keptchauk, proposing to him with equal indifference the alterna-  
 tive of peace or war.

Having obtained access to the court of Touktemesh, the agent of Teymûr presented to that monarch the letters of his sovereign, which are described to have made considerable impression; and, together with the diplomatic skill and address of the negotiator, to have produced in the mind of the successor of Jûjy, a sentiment decidedly favorable to an accommodation of his differences with the Tcheghâtâian. This was, however, speedily over-ruled by the uninformed and hostile spirit of the leading chiefs of his tribe and nation; by whom he was finally prevailed upon to dismiss the envoy with an equally insolent and acrimonious reply; which was punctually delivered by Shums-ud-dein to Teymûr, now encamped on the river Semour or Samour, which disembogues into the Caspian about six or seven and twenty miles to the southward of Derbend.

Teymûr, whose angry passions were not a little agitated by the tenor of this communication, proceeded to review his troops; which appear to have formed on this occasion one vast line, on the left of the river just mentioned, from the spot where it washes the foot of Alburz, or Caucasus, to that in which it enters the Caspian, a distance of five farsangs;\* the Kumbul, or advanced guard, of the left wing of the army resting at the foot of Alburz, and that of the right on the sea shore. But whatever its numbers or extent, and it is affirmed that either in numerical strength or equipment for war, the pen of history does not furnish an example of such a force assembled in one point since the time of Afrausiab, Teymûr contrived in person to inspect the whole, right, left and centre, from flank to flank, between sunrise in the morning and the hour of dusk in the evening. On this also, as on former occasions as he passed their divisions, he received the homage of the different Ameirs, who on their

\* About 17 miles and 80 yards.

knees made him an offering of the choicest horses in their possession. The whole army was then put in motion, and, shortly afterwards passing the straits of Derbend, fell upon the horde of Ketaugh, in alliance with Touktemesh; which was surrounded in such a manner that not one in a thousand escaped the sword of the Teymûrians.

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In the mean time, an envoy from Touktemesh appeared on the outskirts of the Teymûrian encampment; but, although sufficiently familiarized to scenes of this description among the throngs which surrounded the standard of his own sovereign, he was so completely terror stricken with the contemplation of that prodigious assemblage of armed men that swarmed in every quarter, that he instantly returned upon his steps without proceeding further, and hastened on the wings of speed to communicate to his master that his puissant antagonist, at the head of a tremendous army, was at hand, and would very shortly be upon him. On receipt of this intelligence Touktemesh himself is alleged to have participated in the alarm of his ambassador; but, at all events, he conceived it expedient without a moments delay, to detach one of his generals of the name of Karantchey, immediately in advance, with a body of his best troops. On the other hand, Teymûr, who had by this time conducted his armies to the station of Turki, Tarky, or Tarkû, no sooner learnt of the encampment of this division on the Aubjûy, or Khûi, or Koisou, a river ten or twelve miles in his front, than he resolved on an attempt to surprise it; and for this purpose marching at the head of a chosen body of cavalry under cover of the night, and crossing the river at dawn of day, he fell sword in hand upon the enemy, whom he thus either completely destroyed, or dispersed in every direction. After which he proceeded without further obstacle to the river Sounje, or Sounja, the southern branch of the Terek, where he next encamped.

Touktemesh with the main body of his army had, in the mean time, taken post on the left bank of the principal branch of the Terek; the passage of which he seemed, by his preparations, determined to dispute. But when he became apprized of the defeat of his advanced division, and of the subsequent movements of Teymûr, his firmness forsook him; and he withdrew in considerable dismay to the Koury, or Koura, a river the course of which appears suddenly

A. H. 797. lost in its way to the Caspian, about seven and twenty or thirty  
 A. D. 1935. miles north of the Terek ; while Teymûr, with his victorious troops,  
 Rouzut-us- having discovered a part where it was fordable, crossed over with-  
 suffa. out opposition, to the northern bank of the latter river, which, in  
 the expectation of obtaining that subsistence for the army which  
 had become extremely short and precarious, he coasted to the left  
 upwards, in the direction of the country of Khoulaut. In these  
 circumstances intelligence was unexpectedly conveyed to him, by  
 his scouts, that Touktemesh with the whole of his army had taken  
 the same direction, and was following close upon his rear. Prompt  
 and decisive in all his measures, Teymûr immediately countermarch-  
 ed, and, having arranged his troops for battle, proceeded to meet the  
 enemy.

Approached within a convenient distance these formidable rivals  
 then, once more, encamped in the presence of each other; Teymûr on  
 his part immediately giving directions to fortify his position with a  
 double ditch and breastwork of fascines and hurdles, and possibly  
 further strengthened with palisades. At the same time, orders were  
 circulated that no person should stir from his post during the night ;  
 that the strictest silence should be observed throughout the encamp-  
 ment ; and every other precaution enforced to guard against the pos-  
 sibility of surprise. In the course of the same night, however, not-  
 withstanding the obligations which should have bound him to his  
 benefactor, and availing himself of the proximity of his former asso-  
 ciates, Aybaunje, or Aybauje Oghlan, one of the Jûjian Shahzadahs,  
 suddenly forsook the standard of Teymûr, and fled to the camp of  
 the enemy.

When day\* succeeded to this night of awful suspense, the hostile  
 armies, like the billows of the ocean rolling in sullen agitation before  
 the impending storm, might be seen preparing for the tremendous con-  
 flict in which they were about to close. Teymûr, on his part, disposed  
 of his troops in seven massive Kouls, divisions, or columnus, the largest  
 of which he consigned to the management of his grandson Mahom-  
 med Sûltan ; taking post in person, in the rear of the whole of

\* According to De la Croix it was the 23rd of the latter Jummaudy, corresponding  
 with the 13th of April.



seven and twenty Koushûns, stationed as a body of reserve to act as circumstances might require. His right wing, most probably, rested on the left bank of the Terek, the left of the enemy touching the same river directly opposite to the Teymûrians.

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In the mean time, while the troops on each side, with tumultuous clamour and mutual defiance, and amidst clouds of dust which obscured the light of day, were entering on the work of destruction, a messenger from his left wing, announced to Teymûr that a body of the enemy, from the right of Touktemesh, led on by Kounjah Oghlan, and Beguiaurek Oghlan, two of the Shahzadahs of the race of Jújy, together with Dâoud Souffy the Khaurezmian, son-in-law of Touktemesh, and other distinguished Nûyans, had either already attacked, or were approaching in superior force to assail him, on that flank. On which, without a moments hesitation, and with the foresight matured by so many victories, the Tcheghataïan moharch hastened, at the head of the Koushûns of the reserve, to oppose the designs of the enemy, and to wrest from him the advantage of which he might for a moment have possessed himself, in that part of the field. Unable to sustain the charge of the imperial squadrons, now led against them under the eye of their sovereign, the troops of Touktemesh were compelled to give way in considerable disorder; but some of the victorious squadrons pursuing with too great eagerness, the enemy recovering the support of their main battle, suddenly wheeled about upon their pursuers, and repulsed them with some loss to the very person of Teymûr, the Koushûns who had remained for his protection dispersing in the utmost consternation at this unexpected recoil of their adversaries.

In this situation Teymûr continued for a considerable time exposed to the most imminent personal danger; the enemy pressing towards him on all sides with little opposition, and with all the confidence of recent success. He was, however, finally rescued by his usual good fortune, and by the singular gallantry of some of his captains; and first by the heroic self-devotion of Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, the son of Saurbougâ, who, dismounting from his horse, hastened at the hazard of his own to protect the life of his sovereign, and being immediately joined by fifty other warriors equally brave and loyal, all to-

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gether, by their united and unerring skill in the application of their bows, succeeded in keeping in check the advance of their assailants; while Mahommed Azaud, his brother Ally Shah, and Towukkel Bawertchey, each seizing a waggon, or cart, belonging to the enemy, drew them up, and fastened them together as a tcheper, or breastwork, to defend the person of the veteran monarch. Soon afterwards Allah-daud, with his faithful Koushûn, the *cohors fidelis* perhaps, arrived to his support, and, also dismounting, threw himself on his knees by the side of the gallant Nûr-ud-dein, with whom he brought his arrows to bear with deadly effect on the assailants. He was followed by Hûsseyne Melek Koutchein, with the mace bearers, and by Ameir Zeirek Tchaukû, with his Koushûn, who arranged themselves successively on foot to second the efforts of their brave associates in arms; until the intrepid phalanx was completed by the arrival of Oustoua, another chief, with his Koushûn, and by a considerable part of the centre division. Thus by degrees the battle became more equal; and although the troops of Touktemesh continued to pour down in formidable numbers, to the support of their countrymen, and renewed their onsets against the Teymûrians; with persevering fury and audacity, their adversaries on foot took such unerring aim, and plied their bows with such unceasing activity, that every attempt to bear them from their post proved unavailing. The conflict, however, still continued to rage with unabated fury and animosity, and mutual slaughter, when Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops of his division, came up, and finally enabled the Teymûrians to advance with united impetus against the right wing of the main body of the enemy; which was shortly afterwards thrown into confusion and driven from the field of battle.

In the mean time, the veteran Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein had been engaged in a conflict equally arduous and critical on the right of the Teymûrians; having been at once assailed, and surrounded by the advanced guard of the opposite army of the enemy, under Eissa Beg, and Bukhshy Beg Khaujâh. Thus circumstanced the brave chief, like his compeers on the left, was compelled with his tomaun to combat on foot; and like them also, though hard pressed by the accumulating force of the enemy, he succeeded in keeping his as-

sailants in check, until finally relieved by Amelr Jahaun Shâh, who with a division of the imperial troops burst with irresistible fury through the surrounding hostile throng, and with him united threw himself upon the enemy, whom in their turn they now drove before them, with such severe execution, that they no more attempted to renew the conflict. With equal gallantry Temûr Khaujâh, the son of Aukbouga, succeeded in bearing from their stations the divisions of the enemy opposed to him; and Amelr zâdah Rûstum, the son of the departed Omar Sheikh, in particular, headed such destructive charges against the adverse ranks, as to have revived, at an age when not yet emerged from childhood, the lustre of his father's renown.

But it would contribute little to the reader's information to dwell further on the circumstances of this eventful battle; in which, as we have already seen, the person of Teymûr appears to have been exposed to more imminent danger, than at any period since his accession to sovereign power. It may be sufficient to add that finding affairs assume an aspect the very reverse of his hopes, and that providence but too manifestly declared in favor of his adversary, Touktemesh, accompanied by the whole of the Shahzâdahs of the race of Juzy attached to his cause, at last reluctantly submitted to quit the field to the victorious Teymûrians; who pursued to a considerable distance with all the eagerness and animosity of the most bloodthirsty vengeance. The Shahzâdahs of the family of Teymûr hastened on the other hand, together with his principal generals to the presence of their august and triumphant leader, whom on their knees they proceeded to congratulate on the achievement of this important victory; while he embraced them in his turn, with paternal affection, and bestowed upon them the most gratifying applause for their exertions during the tremendous conflict. The imperial standard was shortly afterwards advanced to the banks of the Kourâi; that river north of the Terek, on which the armies of Touktemesh had been assembled previous to the battle, and on which the victors now encamped. With that solicitude to distinguish and reward the meritorious, which cannot fail to produce the noblest emulation on the day of trial, Teymûr there hastened, for his devoted and intrepid zeal in the

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recent conflict, to load the brave and loyal Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, with honors and distinctions far beyond his associates; in particular after presenting him with one of the most valuable horses in the imperial stables, a dress embroidered with gold, and a belt enriched with costly jewels, to complete the catalogue of his bounties, bestowed upon him the magnificent and princely donation of one hundred thousand *Kopek* dinaurs, which, if of the denomination usually referred to in these pages, would amount to little less than forty-six thousand pounds sterling, or perhaps to ten times the value at the present day.\*

Leaving the booty acquired by his victory, together with all the heavy baggage and impediments of the army in charge of Meiran Shah, who was lame, in consequence of a fall from his horse some time previous to the battle; and placing the Ameirs Yadgaur Berlas, and hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, under the orders of that prince, Teymûr, with the remainder of his troops, hastened to continue the pursuit of Touktemesh to the banks of the Attel, the great river Volga so called by the Orientals. Arrived on the western bank of that river, he no longer hesitated to disclose his designs in favor of Kûirytkhauk Oghlan, the son of Orous Khaun the former monarch of Keptchauk, who had for some time been an obsequious attendant on his person, and whom he now-dispatched to the opposite side of the river accompanied by a body of his countrymen, who had hitherto served under the imperial standard, to take possession of the dominions of his ancestors. Having been invested by the hands of his benefactor with the usual insignia of royalty, a diadem of gold, a gold embroidered robe, and a belt, baldric, or scarf, enriched with jewels, the Tartar prince proceeded accordingly across the Volga to the eastward, where he exerted himself with becoming energy to establish his claims to the throne of his father. Touktemesh had indeed by this time totally abandoned the country, and with the affrighted remnant of his followers plunged into the boundless wilds and forests of Boular, or Asiatic Bulgaria, the country between the Volga, Siberia, and the icy sea; the greater part of his nobles and principal officers dispersing at the same time in different directions, for the preservation of life. The Teymûrians, on the other hand, hastened to act over again the scenes of slaughter

and rapine already once exhibited on their part throughout the wide extended plains of Keptchauk; carrying the work of desolation and havoc eastward of the Volga, almost as far north as on their former expedition, to the verge of perennial darkness—the Zâlmaut, Cimmerian shades, or long night of the polar regions. Teymûr remained, in the mean time, encamped at the station of Youlez kolûk, or Auzûkaluk, on the plains to the westward of Astrakhan; where he was shortly afterwards rejoined by Meiran Shah, with some of those commanders who had been left behind with the heavy baggage.

The absence of Teymûr from his native dominions had been protracted, by this time, to a period some thing beyond what might be exactly prescribed by the maxims of sound policy, the greater part of the princes of his blood, and his ablest generals having accompanied him in the expedition; and yet this latter circumstance, under the notorious flexibility of oriental morals, might, for sundry weighty considerations, have contributed to diminish, rather than augment the inconvenience here adverted to, as incidental to the personal absence of the sovereign. At all events, Teymûr conceived it at this conjuncture expedient to dispatch his grandson Peir Mahommed, the son of Omar Sheikh, to provide for the security of Shirauz, and the provinces in that quarter; while several of his most distinguished Ameirs should proceed at the same time by his orders, for the same purpose to Samarkand. Peir Mahommed departed accordingly for Shirauz, at the head of six thousand horse, to be accompanied part of the way by Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and Ameir Shums-ud-dein Abbas, with an inferior detachment of three thousand ultimately destined for Transoxiana. Having proceeded, however, together as far as Ardebeil, they received intelligence that Kâra Yûssuf, at the head of a body of Tûrkman of superior force, was encamped in the neighborhood of Alahtauk, with the design of making an attempt on Khoi. On which, as had been originally prescribed to them, Shums-ud-dein Abbas, and his colleague, prosecuted their march for Samarkand, while Peir Mahommed made the best of his way to Tebreiz, in order to assemble the troops of the province; and he was shortly afterwards joined at that place by several of the chiefs subordinate

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A. H. 797. to the authority of Meiran Shah, with the military force destined for  
 A. D. 1395. the protection Azerbâijaun.

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On the other hand, when he had drawn together a force adequate to his purpose, Peir Mahommed advanced without further delay to oppose the designs of Kâra Yûssuf; and reaching a particular spot without obstacle became there apprized that a detachment of the enemy, sent forward by the Tûrkman chief to explore and scour the country, had taken post in the Kâraderrah, or black pass, a strong defile in the mountains, which at a subsequent period formed the boundary between the Turkish and Persian dominions. With equal promptitude and decision the young prince resolved on an attempt to cut off this detachment; and accordingly coming upon them with a suddenness which precluded resistance, all those who could escape fled with the utmost consternation to the Bend-e-mauhy, the river which flows into the lake of Van, so called from its fish-wear; to which Kâra Yûssuf had at this period removed his head quarters, but from whence he instantly withdrew in dismay, on intelligence that the Teymûrians were approaching. In effect the Shahzâdah came upon the heels of the fugitives to Bend-e-mauhy, a station it would appear of the same name with the river, and from thence dispatched a part of his force in pursuit of the Tûrkman, as far as Aouneik, or Avenic. Here, the enemy having disappeared without leaving a vestige to indicate the course of his flight, it was thought advisable to terminate the pursuit; and Peir Mahommed, being at liberty to resume his march for Shirauz, now proceeded to Sâltauniah, where he was hospitably entertained in his progress by Khaunzâdah, the consort of his uncle Meiran Shah.

Having resolved, soon after the defeat of Touktemesh, to extend the career of his arms through the possessions of the race of Jûjy to the north-west of the Volga, Teymûr was now on his march towards the Ouzy, Dnieper, or Borysthenes; Ameir Othman the son of Abbâs, having been already dispatched in that direction, at the head of the advanced guard. At Mankermen on that river, some distance above its disembogement into the Euxine, and possibly some where opposite to the modern city of Kherson, this commander came upon Begyaurek Oghlan with part of an Ouzbek tribe; whom he plundered

and entirely dispersed, the chief only escaping, and that with the utmost difficulty. Alarmed by the terrifying reports which preceded the approach of the Teymûrians, Taush Temûr Oghlan and Auktao, two other chieftains of the same race, fled in dismay to the opposite bank of the Borysthenes; and although a nation with whom they were in perpetual hostility, indiscreetly threw themselves for protection on the tribes of Hermedâi, then inhabiting the territory above Kherson, by whom they were attacked without remorse, and immediately plundered of all their property. The Tomatun of Auktao contrived, however, to escape and to secure an asylum in the peninsula of Anatolia, at Isra Yaca, according to De la Croix.

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Returning from the Ouzy, or Borysthenes, which appears to have terminated his career westward, Teymûr now proceeded in a northern direction, towards old Russia; and on the banks of the Tûn, Tanais, or Don, the Ouzbek prince Begyaurek Oghlan, was again overtaken, and this time completely surrounded by the imperial troops. In this desperate situation the Tartar chief found himself reduced to the dire necessity of abandoning his women and children, one son alone excepted, with whom he finally contrived to effect his escape through the dangers with which he was on every side enclosed. The family fell immediately into the hands of the Teymûrians, by whom they were conducted without delay to the presence of their sovereign. From the conqueror they experienced, however, a degree of kindness and liberality, very different from what they might have been led, by their apprehensions, to expect. They found a suite of tents set apart for their accommodation; and they were finally dismissed to rejoin the fugitive prince, highly pleased with their treatment, and furnished with money and every requisite to enable them to attain their object.

At this juncture Meiran Shah, with several of the subordinate Ameirs, appears to have been again detached to over-run the territory to the westward, subject to the authority of the princes of the race of Jôjy; where he completed what had been left unfinished of the plunder and desolation of the country, extending the career of vengeance throughout the whole of Orous and Orousjek, great and little Russia, and carrying off an incredible number of the most beau-

A. H. 797. tiful captives both male and female, together with an immense booty  
 A. D. 1395. in sheep and *camels*, and other cattle of every description. With  
 Rouzbeh-  
 suffa. equal fury and inveteracy Mahommed Sûltan, the son of Jahaungueir,  
 laid waste the possessions of Kabûnjy Karawul, perhaps Kraal,\* and  
 of several other tribes who had abandoned their habitations, and wan-  
 dered over the hills and plains to escape the destroying sword of the  
 Teymûrians; but who were compelled to share in the dreadful calami-  
 ties, which seemed to overspread the country with a fatality which  
 nothing could elude.

On the other hand, Teymûr now conducted his victorious Kou-  
 shûns to the gates of Moscow, the metropolis of the Czars, which  
 he appears to have entered without resistance; the whole of the sur-  
 rounding territory being consigned to indiscriminate rapine, and  
 suffering every species of enormity from the unbridled excesses of a  
 barbarous soldiery. The Tcheghatâian monarch, in a series of march-  
 es not explained, returned shortly afterwards south to the city of  
 Azâk, on the Don near its entrance into the sea of Azof; and possibly  
 the city of the latter name on the same spot, the Kauf having been  
 substituted for the Fe, through the lapse of time and the inadvertency  
 of transcribers. Some time after his arrival, Teymûr was here joined  
 by Meiran Shah, with the division under his orders from his western  
 incursion.

The annals of the Russian empire will doubtless furnish ample and  
 interesting details of the horrors of this dreadful period; but the  
 object of these pages is to exhibit the testimony of oriental history,  
 and the above is all that we derive from the Persian original now  
 before us. The Russian Government was, probably, at this time  
 tributary to the sovereigns of Keptchawk Tartary, and became thus  
 obnoxious to the fury of Teymûr; who made no distinction between  
 willing subjection, and compulsory obedience. At the conclusion of  
 four centuries afterwards, in the ever memorable autumn of 1812, the  
 unfortunate inhabitants of Moscow had an opportunity of comparing  
 the horrors of Tartar ferocity, with the tender mercies of the discipli-  
 ned legions of the west, under all the advantages and improvements  
 of civilized life; and they consecrated their history by an example of

This we believe is the designation given by the Turks to the king of Poland.



heroic self-devotion worthy the emulation, and entitled to the eternal applause and gratitude of all mankind. It should be engraved on the hearts of Englishmen, of Spaniards, Germans, Italians. The French nation, as some atonement for the long catalogue of its enormities, should be compelled to rebuild the ancient Russian capital; and a magnificent and lasting monument should be erected in the midst of it, to consecrate the bright example to the admiration of all futurity, and to commemorate to generations yet unborn the eternal gratitude of independent Europe.

While at Azâk on this occasion, Teymûr in the excess of his zeal for the faith, after causing the Mahommedan inhabitants of the town and neighborhood to be set apart from those infected with the errors and vices of schism and infidelity, condemned the latter to be dispatched, without distinction, to that abode\* where neither their crimes nor their errors could again occasion either jealousy or offence. Having furnished this further proof of his sanguinary character, that indeed of his age and nation, Teymûr quitted Azâk on his way towards the Kûbaun; but as the Circassians had taken care to set fire to the forage, and the march was effected with the utmost difficulty through the perpetual sloughs and extensive inundations by which it was impeded, the cattle of the army perished in prodigious numbers, before he could reach the station of that name. The Shahzâdahs Meiran Shah, and Mahommed Sûltan, with Ameir Jahaun Shah, and other commanders were then dispatched to over-run the province of Tchirkess in different directions; and this was succeeded by the ordinary scenes of robbery and blood, the Tchegatâians putting to the sword all who fell in their way, and seizing with their usual rapacity on every species of property which they set eyes on; returning withal to rejoin the head quarters of their sovereign, without having experienced, as yet, the slightest circumstance to discourage the career of desolation and murder, with which they had afrighted the nations on every side.

Conceiving that the Russian, and Circassian territories, no longer afforded employment for his insatiable spirit of conquest, Teymûr now directed his views towards the lofty and hitherto inaccessible

\* Beyss-ul-Mehaud; the manuscript is probably defective, the mansion of rest perhaps.

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regions of Mount Alburz, or Caucasus. In the mean time, on some charge, either real or fabricated, but unexplained, he put to death Ameir Othman, the son of Abbas, one of his ablest and most distinguished captains. Then leaving the heavy baggage and impediments in charge of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, he proceeded to ascend the ridges of Caucasus; where his thirst of blood was further aggravated, not allayed, by the extermination of vast numbers of the unfortunate inhabitants, who had endeavored to protect themselves against his fury, in the castles, and supposed inaccessible passes of their mountains. He returned, shortly afterwards, to his principal encampment loaded with booty, and was there most sumptuously entertained by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein.

For seven or eight days he continued immersed in a course of festivities with his generals; but when a further period of moderate duration had been devoted to the repose of his troops, and to restore the strength of his horses, and other cattle, greatly reduced by extraordinary fatigue and exertion, Teymûr again quitted his impediments, and hastened in advance, lightly equipped, to resume his operations among the ranges Alburz, at this time directed in particular against two chiefs whose names were Kowla and Tawus; or perhaps the possessors of two strong holds so called, eminently distinguished among the Caucasian tribes, for their power and respectability. It would, however, be extremely tedious, and by no means instructive in proportion to the labour of translation, to accompany the author in his detail of the successful attacks carried on by Teymûr against these mountain chiefs of the Iberian nation. It will suffice briefly to relate, that against the fortress of Tawus\* in particular, erected on the loftiest of the ranges of Alburz, the Teymûrians had recourse to a method of attack, which, in boldness and activity, has seldom found a parallel. After successively scaling their several mountains or steep, each towering above the other, by the aid of ladders, they let themselves down, by ropes fixed to the summit of the last mountain and fastened round their waists, to a level with the works; and although their companions were seen to be destroyed by the darts and

\* This is to be sought somewhere in the neighborhood of the modern Catharingrad about 35 or 40 leagues west of the Caspian.

missiles of the garrison, in numbers to discourage the most undaunted, others successively took their places, and so terrified their opponents by these repeated proofs of the contempt of death and danger, that they stood appalled on their defences; and, finding themselves assailed at the same moment from earth and skies, threw down their arms and submitted. The two chiefs already mentioned were both taken, and put to death by the conqueror.

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Having penetrated to the very innermost ranges of Alburz, to the station of Abbasah, or Ayausah, north-west of Tawus, in pursuit of Outerkou, one of the principal adherents of Touktemesh who had sought the protection of Afoulaud, the governor of the fortress of Pâlaud, the fugitive lord was there delivered up to Teymûr; by whom, as a punishment more painful than death which would have relieved him from every evil, he was condemned to drag after him a heavy weight fastened to his heels. Teymûr descending once more from the heights of Caucasus, now rejoined his camp at a place called Bashtau, where, and in that neighborhood he continued for some time; until again led into the recesses of Caucasus under the guidance of Mahommed Oghlan, and Ledaina Terkhan, in order to attack the fortress and territory of Semseem; the former named Mahommed Oghlan being the son of Gheyûr Khaun, the lord of the country. This circumstance considered it is not to be wondered at that he should, with his usual good fortune, soon have made himself master of the whole; many of the miserable natives who had sought refuge among the rocks, and defiles, being inhumanly cast headlong from the precipitous heights, and otherwise condemned to experience the dire effects of this fierce conqueror's inextinguishable zeal in the work of desolation. As a service peculiarly acceptable to his creator he is said, indeed, on this occasion, to have demolished or destroyed without distinction the church of the christian with its images, and the temple of the heathen with its idols; thus devoting to one indiscriminate destruction the slaves of impiety, and the votaries of all religions at variance with his own intolerant creed. Returning thence after this signal display of Mussulman zeal, Teymûr directed his course towards Beishkent, on the verge of the Caucasian mountains towards Mingrelia, the inhabitants of which had formerly sub-

A. H. 797. mitted to his authority, and, being already appeased in their apprehensions, were now treated with singular favor and indulgence.  
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The arms of Teymûr were next employed against the tribes of Jourtourkara [Cossaks of Jutour according to De la Croix] inhabiting the territory north of Mingrelia; after the subjugation or extermination of whom, he went into winter quarters at Boughazkom, described, by the author just mentioned, as a defile of mountains in Georgia, possibly in the eastern range of Caucasus. Here, some time afterwards, he received the submission of several Moghûl tribes hitherto hostile, and, among others, of those of Memkautû and Kauzikomûk. During the same winter, he appears to have been occupied in the reduction of the Bauliktcheian, or Fishermen; a numerous body of people who had sought an asylum in the neighboring islands, [of the Caspian] conceiving that the waters of the deep would be their protection against the calamities of invasion. In this they were deplorably mistaken. The imperial division destined to attack them, availing itself of a hard frost, immediately crossed over on the ice, and the whole became an easy conquest to these most fortunate depredators.\*

While these occurrences were, however, passing, advices were received from Omar Taban, who had been left to superintend the government of Astrakhan, to announce that Mahmedy the Kalaunter, or civil governor of the town, had evinced a disposition hostile to the authority of Teymûr; and to signify that, unless measures were early adopted to defeat his designs, some very serious disturbances were likely to be the result. In consequence of this information, notwithstanding the severity of the season, and the winter snow which covered the earth, Teymûr, leaving Meiran Shah and Mahomed Sûltan in charge of the grand encampment, proceeded with his utmost expedition towards the Volga; and, appearing rather unexpectedly in the neighborhood of Astrakhan, the suspected governor made a virtue of necessity, and hastened to meet the offended monarch. He was immediately dispatched towards Serâi, in the custody of Prince Peir Mahommed and Ameir Jahaun Shah, who

\* In one of De la Croix's maps illustrative of his history, there appears an island in the Caspian, north of the mouth of the Terek, distinguished as having been pillaged by Teymûr.

had now received instructions to see that place laid in ruins. Teymûr in person then entered Astrakhan;\* and, having first exacted a competent ransom from the inhabitants, finally consigned the whole to the merciless rapacity of his soldiers, by whom they were entirely stripped of all that was left. On the other hand, Peir Mahommed and his associates, having crossed the Volga on the ice, through a fracture in which they forced the unfortunate Kalaunter Mahmedy to become food for fish, and obtaining possession of Serâi the capital of Kerpchawk, without resistance, it was in conformity with their instructions immediately reduced to an heap of cinders—in order to retaliate, as it is said, upon Touktemesh, the conduct of his troops in setting fire to the palace of Zenjeir Serai, about two leagues from Kesh, during their incursion into Transoxiana, and while Teymûr was at a distance, employed in the reduction of Fars and Irâk Ajem. Their usual places of resort being, at the same time, now completely annihilated by the Teynûrians, the hordes and wandering communities who frequented the surrounding plains, were, for a period of long duration afterwards, at a loss where to seek relief for their necessities, or a temporary repose amidst the vicissitudes of an erratic and wearisome life.

While the progress of desolation was advancing higher up the Volga, the city of Hadjiterkhan, or Astrakhan, the inhabitants having been previously driven from their abodes, was also consigned to the devouring flames, and consumed to ashes; after which signal denunciation of his vengeance, Teymûr returned, without further delay, to his winter quarters at Boughazkom. In the mean time, the cattle belonging to his army, not only through the severity of the season and the scarcity of forage and grain, but from the distance at which they were removed from their native country, as well as from every other abode of culture and civilization, had, for the greater part, perished without the possibility of supplying the loss by their private resources; and matters were arrived at a crisis which threat-

\* De la Croix describes that, as the town is surrounded by the Volga and the river is frozen in winter, the inhabitants usually build a wall of ice, as strong as one of brick, on which they fling water in the night, that the whole may congeal and become one mass. He does not however say that any thing of the kind was resorted to on this occasion.

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ened the most alarming extremity. Of this some judgment may perhaps be formed from the author's statement, that a maunn of millet was not to be purchased for seventy kopek dinaurs, the head of an ox for one hundred, nor a sheep for two hundred and fifty of the same currency.\* The characteristic munificence of Teymûr, however, again interposed to remove the difficulty; the imperial commissaries, or Towatcheis, received instructions to distribute to the troops the whole of the booty accumulated during the recent expedition; which consisting, for the most part, of horses, sheep and oxen, the relief was so compleat, and the supply so abundant, that many a soldier who had hitherto served on foot, was now enabled to combat on horseback for his master's glory.

The whole of the territory of the Khuzzez, the region between the Caspian and the Euxine sometimes so denominated, and many of the countries situated to the North East of Europe, having become thus subjugated for a period at least, to the authority of Teymûr, that monarch, in the spring of the seven hundred and ninety eighth of the hidjerah, left his winter quarters at Boughazkom, on his way back to the Persian territory. Recrossing the Terek, on the ice, he encamped his troops for some time at the station of Terki; but, after a short interval of repose disengaging himself, as on former occasions, from his heavy baggage and impediments, he proceeded on a fresh expedition of zeal against Aushkoujah, Oushkunjah, or Ushenje, a country of Georgia, according to De la Croix, to the north-east of Teflis. Here, while his numerous squadrons were investing Oushkunjah, the principal fortress of the country, intelligence being conveyed to Teymûr that a division of the troops of Kauzikomûk, although that people were in preceding times at perpetual war with the natives of the country, was now advancing to their assistance under a chief of the name of Shoukel, the Tcheghatayan monarch resolved to intercept him; and marching accordingly, with his usual celerity, at the head of a chosen detachment of five hundred horse, he found the enemy encamped in perfect security, in the rear of a deep defile in one of the passes, having turned their horses loose to graze among the herbage. Ascending one of the neighboring hills

\* About £114. 11. 8. at 9 & 2 pence to the dinaur—a prodigious sum in those days.

alone, in order to examine the position of the enemy, it was easy to discover that these unfortunates were totally unapprized of the danger; and Teymûr giving the signal immediately to fall upon them, they were, for the greater part, destroyed. Their captain, however, contrived, for a few moments, to elude his destiny by escaping to the top of an adjoining rock; but, from thence, he was soon brought headlong, by an arrow from the unerring bow of Mûbasher, who immediately struck off his head, and laid it before his master. Some of the prisoners who fell alive into the hands of the assailants, were conducted, at the same time, to the presence of Teymûr; by whom, after expostulating at some length on the folly and absurdity of their proceedings, in thus attempting the relief of those with whom, in consequence of religious animosity, they were on all former occasions at war, they were finally dismissed, with Khelauts and other marks of his bounty, in order to report to their countrymen all that they had witnessed of the conqueror's power and magnanimity.

Teymûr now returned to the siege of Oushkunjah, which was shortly afterwards taken by assault, and the garrison put to the sword; while the adjoining territory was condemned, as usual, to the horrors of slaughter and desolation. From thence, he appears to have entirely crossed the ranges of Alburz to the southern extremity of Mingrelia, where he proceeded to invest the fortress of Nerguess, or Nerkes; of which, also, he was soon put in possession by the superior prowess of his troops. The enemies of the faith, the obnoxious Christian inhabitants no doubt, had, in the mean time, in great numbers sought for refuge in the caverns formed along the inaccessible acclivities of the neighboring mountains; and it was immediately determined to hunt them from their dens, by recurring to the mode of attack recently put in practice, in another part of the country, on an improved plan and larger scale. For this purpose several caissons, or wooden coffers, having been previously prepared, and then filled with soldiers, were suspended by ropes to the over-hanging summits immediately above, and from thence lowered down to a level with the entrance of the caverns, in which the unfortunate inhabitants had endeavored to shelter themselves from the fury of their invaders. Little provided against a system of attack so novel and unexpected, they were for the

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greater part unresistingly shot to death by the Teymûrian archers ; to whom, and to the spears and javelins of their pursuers, they became thus perfectly and easily assailable.\*

Thus, in some measure, Teymûr may now be said to have traversed and explored the ranges and recesses of Mount Alburz, in every direction ; and to have made himself successively master of every post in the Caucasian region, that seemed capable of defence or resistance, his soldiers acquiring, at the same time, a prodigious booty in property and effects of every description ; while, to grace the triumphs and administer to the pleasures of the ruthless depredators, there moved in their waggons a countless train of the most blooming and beautiful captives. Prosecuting his march to the southward, the route of the conqueror lay by the boundaries of a district, the inhabitants of which, from their employment, the fabrication of coats of mail, were called the Zerrahgurs ; who, through an extraordinary supply of corselets, and other pieces of defensive armour, which they conveyed to the camp of Teymûr, fortunately succeeded in securing both his friendship and protection. The people of Mount Keitaug also, by a prompt and voluntary submission, entitled themselves to a share in the monarch's indulgence.

Passing through Derbend, orders were issued to place the fortifications of that important barrier in a state of effectual repair and defence. In the mean time, Sheikh Ibrauhim, the prince of Shirvaun and Shamaukhi, who like the genius of victory had hitherto inseparably accompanied the imperial standard, during this expedition to the regions of the north, had, with the permission of Teymûr, preceded the march of the imperial army to Shabraun, there provided, in the most sumptuous manner, for the reception of the Tcheghatayan monarch, on his arrival shortly afterwards. Again, when he planted the imperial standard on the banks of the Kûrr, several stages from thence, he was entertained with equal splendor and hospitality, by the same liberal and politic prince ; whom he now confirmed afresh in

\* On reference to Vol. 4. page 156 of Dr. Prideaux, connection of the old and new testament, octavo edition, the reader will find a similar expedient recurred to with equal success, by Herod the great, against certain bands of robbers who in his time infested Galilee.



the sovereignty of Shirvaun and its dependencies ; leaving with him, at the same time, the charge of guarding the approaches from Derbend, with a strict caution to be, on all occasions, minutely apprized of the course of events in that quarter. When he had devoted some days to further recreation and repose on the banks of the Kârr, Teymûr proceeded to recross that river, apparently below its confluence with the Araxes ; since he is described to have encamped immediately afterwards at Akataum, or Actam, a station to the eastward of Moghaun.

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Meiran Shah, who had been formerly appointed to the government of Azerbâijaun, said, on this occasion, to include the whole of the territory extending from Baghdâd to the Derbend of Baukû, east and west, and from Hamadaun to the frontiers of Roum, at the head of the Euphrates, north and south, was now directed to enter on the administration of that important government. He received, at the same time instructions, when he should have placed the affairs of his province under sufficient regulation, to press the siege of Alanjek, which still continued to defy the power of Teymûr, with fresh vigour and activity. Shortly afterwards, when all things had been properly arranged for his departure, Teymûr took leave of his son, having embraced him for the last time with real cordiality ; the Shahzâdah Rûstum, with Ameir Jahaun Shah, being directed to accompany him, at the head of the troops destined to serve under his authority, and to second his zeal and exertions, in the reduction of the important and, hitherto, impregnable fortress of Alanjek. Meiran Shah then proceeded, without further delay, into Azerbâijaun ; where the families of his officers, and of the troops who composed the army of his province, having been already summoned from Khorassaun, soon afterwards repaired to join him. As soon as he reached his destination, the Shahzâdah disposed of the divisions of the right wing, or perhaps first line of his army, in quarters at Kârabaugh, Nekhtchuaun, and Aouneik adjoining to the lake of Van ; those of the left wing occupying the stations of Sougboulâk, and Der-guzzein, between Tebreiz and Sûltauniah, and forming, with the troops of the other line, an acute angle, nearly, pointing to the north-west. He proceeded, however, in person to superintend the siege.

A. H. 798. of Alanjek, which was now attacked with redoubled ardor, and  
 A. D. 1396. which, according to one of the sketches in De la Croix's history,  
 Rouzut-us- appears to have stood on the left of the Araxes, about one third of  
 suffa. the distance from Nekhtchûaun to Irvaun.

The remainder of the year 798 was occupied, among other undertakings, in the reduction of Yezd, and Nihawund; the former in the north-eastern angle of the province of Fars, and the latter among the western ranges of the mountains of Irâk Ajem. During the period in which the imperial armies were absent on the expedition to the north, the former had been seized and fortified by Sûltan Mahommed the son of Abû Sâeid, the Tebbesite, supported by a body of Khorassaunian mercenaries, lately in the service of the extinguished family of Mûzuffur; while an officer of the name of Behloul, in the train of Ameir Bayezid Berlas, the governor on the part of Teymûr, availed himself of the same period to seize upon Nihawund, and to declare against the authority of his paramount sovereign, after having put his immediate superior to death. In the mean time having determined, on his arrival at Sûltauniah, on the enlargement of Sûltan Eissa the prince of Mardein, the Tcheghatâian monarch, as a further proof of his magnanimity, embraced the occasion to restore to him the whole of the territory of which he had been deprived, on his captivity; and now dismissed him to his country, loaded with caresses, and with every mark of distinction that could contribute to secure his future attachment, and to alleviate the sense of recent injury. Mirzâ Sûltan Hûseyne, and Khodadaud ul Hûseyny, with a division of the imperial troops, were dispatched, about the same time, to quell the insurrection at Nihawund, and to punish the audacious promoter of it; while Teymûr with the main body of the army proceeded, shortly afterwards, also in the direction of Hama-daun. Nihawund was soon closely invested by Sûltan Hûseyne, and, after a considerable exertion of vigor, and perseverance, finally reduced by that prince; the insurgents being generally cut to pieces, and the traitor Behloul, in particular, burnt alive. Sûltan Hûseyne then received instructions to proceed towards Tâstur, for the purpose, as it is pretended, of relieving the province of Lûrrestaun from the outrages of those hordes of banditti, by whom it had been

long infested; after the accomplishment of which primary object he was further enjoined to proceed along the shore of the Persian gulf to the neighborhood of Hormûz, or Ormûz, reducing the whole of the country in that direction to the imperial authority.

A. H. 798.  
A. D 1396.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

The whole of the month of Ramzaun\* was devoted by Teymûr, now encamped in the neighborhood of Hamadâun, to the discharge of the sacred duties prescribed by his religion; at the conclusion of which, on the appearance of the new moon of Shavaul, he dispatched Mahommed Sûltan the son of Jahaungueir, accompanied by the Ameirs Jullaul Hameid, Shah Mêlek, and Arghûn Shah Akhtatchei (one of the equeries) for Shiraûz; the latter Ameirs being furnished with instructions to extend the Teymûrian conquests through the provinces along the sea of Omman, including the Gurrumseirs, or sandy, or arid districts of that name, as far as the city of Hormûz, from the eastward.

At this juncture information was received of the reduction of Yezd, which appears to have been accomplished under the following circumstances. When the siege had been protracted for a period of unusual duration, and nearly thirty thousand of the inhabitants had perished under all the horrors of famine, after having been reduced, for some time, to subsist on cats and dogs, Sûltan Mahommed, the leader of the insurrection, finding his means of subsistence in every shape at last entirely exhausted, determined for the present, with his followers, to withdraw from the danger, by excavating a passage under the ditch; but his escape having been early discovered, he was immediately pursued by the Teymûrians, and finally overtaken and put to death at Mehrijerd, better known by the name of Esfrâein, in the southwest angle of Khorassaun. Fortunately for the defenceless inhabitants of Yezd, Teymûr had been prevailed upon to believe that, in the recent commotions they had been actuated much more by the influence of force than of choice; and he had, with a clemency rather unusual, accordingly given orders, when the city should have been taken, to save it from pillage, and to exempt it from exaction or contribution in any shape whatever. Hence, on the reduction of the town, Temoukah Koutchein, who permanently presided in this quarter,

\* June 1396.

A. H. 798.  
 A. D. 1396.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

immediately entered with his guards and domestics, and took such effectual means of prevention, that not a single soldier of the besieging army was permitted to set foot in the place. The result of this humane and considerate forbearance, was as it should have been: the whole surrounding country though recently in a state of desolation, from the ravages of the contending armies, was restored, in a period comparatively short, to one of the highest prosperity and abundance.\*

These undertakings having thus successfully terminated in annihilating the plans of insurrection, the Shazâdahs employed against Yezd were directed to rejoin the imperial standard; in consequence of which, Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir proceeded through Khorassaun to Konduz, and Baklaun, in Tokharestaun, his cousin Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, repairing immediately, according to the letter of his instructions, to the presence of his grandsire.

Although, according to some authorities, Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh is thus said, on the reduction of Yezd, to have proceeded immediately to the imperial head quarters, and moreover, after having accompanied his grandfather on his return to Samarkand, to have hastened thence, with the royal permission, back again to Shirauz; there are, nevertheless, other historians who state that on the termination of the service against the insurgents at Yezd, this same prince proceeded straight to Shirauz, instead of repairing to the presence of his august grandsire. Not long subsequent to his arrival at Shirauz, on this occasion, Ameir Sounjek, one of the chiefs deputed to aid him in superintending the affairs of the province, conceiving himself injured by some of the Ameirs in the train of the Shahzâdah, undertook, without further consideration, to dispatch to his imperial master an accusation, wherein he charged the officers of the government with having grossly embezzled the revenues of the state. This was followed by the execution of Heyder, one of the prince's oldest and most faithful followers, in consequence of his

\* It will be here recollected that Sheref-ud-dein Ally, the author of the Zuffurnâmâh, or chronicle of the exploits of Teymûr, so often referred to, was a native of this town. He is said to have died in Hidjera 850, having finished his work in 828, or about 30 years after the period under consideration.

attachment to Ameir Sounjek, and by the retirement from employment of both the Ameirs Towukkel, and Kâra, who on some offence from the Shahzâdah, embraced the opportunity to devote themselves to a life of seclusion among the disciples of Sheikh Jenneid Kazrouny, a noted Peir or doctor of the country. The administration of his superior having been, at the same time, impeached by Dowlut Khaujâh, or Khojah, the prince's immediate lieutenant, Teymûr determined without delay, to recal both the Shahzâdah and his accusers; and to dispatch Mahommed Sûltan, the son of Jahangueir, to supersede him in the government of the province.

On his arrival at Samarkand, Mirza Peir Mahommed was received with expressions of the most severe censure on his conduct; and he continued for some time under serious displeasure, although finally restored to favour. The conduct of Ameir Sounjek was, however, found not less obnoxious to condemnation for the part which he had taken in the accusation of his superior; and it was adjudged as a punishment that he should serve with his tomaun for a period of three years, in a war against the territory on the river Indus. While Dowlut Khaujâh, much more unfortunate, after the excision of his nose and ears, would have suffered the punishment of death, were it not for the intercession of Shahzâdah Eskunder, who mediated for his pardon, and took him in his retinue to Andegaun in Ferghaunah.

Without, however, dilating further on matters of little comparative interest, we may be permitted to state that, having provided for the security of Fars and Khûzistaun, Mahommed Sûltan, anxious to carry into execution the design of extending his grandfather's authority to the sea coast in the direction of Hormûz, on a particular consultation with the Ameirs in his court, hastened to distribute, to each, the line of operations, on which it was determined to proceed according to the following arrangement. Accompanied by Ameir Jahaun Shah, and some other distinguished chieftains with the left division of his troops, he marched in person by the route of Darabjerd, celebrated, according to De la Croix, for its mines of rock salt of various colours; the veteran Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein having remained, through indisposition, in charge of the heavy equipments at Kerbaul, between Isfahaun and Yezd. Shahzâdah Rûstum the son of Omar Sheikh,

A. H. 798.  
A. D. 1396.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 798.  
 A. D. 1396.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

at the head of the right wing, attended by Ameir Shah Mèlek, proceeded by way of Kazerein, or Kazerûn ; and Ameir Jullaul Hameid, with Arghûn Shah, Beyan Temûr, and Begtchek, at the head of another division, took the intermediate direction of Jehrom and Lâr. At the same time, Eidekou Berlas received orders to pass through Kermaun, on a plundering expedition to Kidje, in the province of Mekraun.

According to the plan of operations thus agreed on, Mahommed Sûltan, and the Ameirs above enumerated, hastened to their destination ; and, either by kind treatment, or coercion, as the behavior of the inhabitants appeared to render it expedient, finally succeeded in subjugating the whole of the country between Shirauz and the gulf of Persia. On their arrival in the neighborhood of old Hormûz, on this occasion, they are said to have obtained possession of the several fortresses of Tungzendaun, Goushkul, Shameil, *Meina*, Tezrek, Menûjaun, and Taziaun, names few of which are to be, at present, recognized on the maps of the country, the whole having been totally destroyed by the Teymûrians during their expedition. Mahommed Shah, the prince of Hormûz, however, escaped to the island of Jeroun, in the neighboring sea of Omman ; from whence, he dispatched to mitigate the fury, and to purchase the forbearance of the invaders, by a most liberal present of all that was rare and costly in the produce of the adjacent maritime districts. He offered, moreover, at the same time, to make good to the imperial treasury, an undischarged arrear of four years' revenue of the country under his authority, amounting altogether to the sum of four millions and two hundred dinaurs ;\* the greater part of which, in specie or effects, as far as he was possessed of the means, he accordingly liquidated on the spot, pledging his faith for the punctual remittance of the remainder, at some future opportunity. All which being finally acceded to, and every other matter adjusted to his entire satisfaction, Mahommed Sâltan quitted the province, shortly afterwards, with a splendid reputation, and returned towards the territory on the Oxus.

Having thus, in some degree, anticipated the course of events the narrative necessarily recedes to the period at which, about the eleventh of the month of Shavaul, of the seven hundred and ninety

\* At the lowest computation, about, £1,833,379. 3. 4.

eighth of the hidjerah,\* Teymûr took his departure from Hamadaun, on his way to Samarkand; at which metropolis, by the route of Veraumin, Bostaum, Amou, Khuzaur, or Cuzar, and Kesh, he appears to have arrived about the conclusion of the year. Some short time afterwards, as a mark of his paternal indulgence, he bestowed upon his subjects in Transoxiana a general exemption from taxes for three years; and in the latter Jummaudy, of the seven hundred and ninety ninth of the hidjerah,† he laid the foundations of his magnificent palace in the Baugh-e-shamaul, or northern gardens, so called from their situation on that side of the metropolis; which, through the extraordinary exertions and skill of his workmen, the best indeed to be found in Khorassaun, either Irâk, and Azerbâijaun, who had been brought to Samarkand on this and other occasions, he is said to have completed in the incredibly short space of five and forty days. It was, in all probability, nothing more than one of those fairy built, painted pavilions, so frequent in the east, that glitter for a few seasons and are then forgotten. According to De la Croix's history, the walls of this were, however, painted in fresco, with such exquisite precision and skill, as to surpass the performances of the celebrated Mâni himself, several of which Teymûr is said to have possessed, in his cabinet of curiosities. The courts were paved with marble, and the walls, moreover, to a considerable height from the foot, both within and without were cased in porcelain; exhibiting altogether such an assemblage of all that was beautiful and rare as, in the opinion of many travellers who surveyed it, to leave the negaurkhaunah, the gallery of paintings perhaps, of the Chinese emperors, far behind in the comparison.

While yet amused in superintending this display of architectural skill in the Baugh-e-shamaul, Teymûr proceeded to invest his youngest son Shah Rokh, with the sovereign government of the three provinces of Khorassaun, Seiestaun, and Mazanderaun, extending westward to the boundaries of Rey. A selection from the different tomauns of the imperial army, to a considerable extent, was made at the same time for the service of his government; and some of the most distinguished Ameirs of the empire, including the respectable names of Sûliman

A. H. 798-99.  
A. D. 1396-97.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

\* 18th of July.

† February 1397.

A. H. 799.  
 A. D. 1397.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suifa.

Shah, Mezraub the son of Ameir Tchaukú, or Jaukú, Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Abdus-summed, the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and his son Jahaun Melek, Peir Mahommed Fúlaud one of the sons of Ghayauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and Hussun Souffy Terkhan, together with many others whom it would be unnecessary further to particularize, who were ordered to form his court, and to attend him to Herât. Thus splendidly accompanied, Shah Rokh crossed the Oxus, in the month of Shabaun, of the year seven hundred and ninety nine;\* and, by the following month of Ramzaun,† he had pitched his tents among the groves and meadows of Kehdestaun, one farsang, or about three miles and a half, from Herât, it being determined that he should discharge the duties of the impending fast amidst the luxuriant scenery of that delightful abode. Hence then we may venture to date the commencement of that government, which during the remainder of his father's life and subsequent to it, in full sovereignty, he conducted, with singular felicity, for a period not far short of sixty years. On the night of the twenty first of Zilhudje, he experienced, in another shape, the influence of his benignant star, in the birth of a son, who received from his august grandsire the name of Baysungur.

Shortly after the departure of Shah Rokh, Teymûr quitted the delights of his new palace, and proceeded towards Kesh; where, after recreating himself for some days among the delicious meads in the neighborhood, he took up his abode in the Aukserâi, or white palace, one of the imperial mansions in that his native city. Here he devoted the month of Ramzaun to the austerities prescribed by his religion; after which he again removed to the summer quarters of Sûltan-artouje. And here about this period he was joined by his grandson Mahommed Sûltan, on his return from the expedition to Hormûz, formerly noticed. In the course of his journey from Shirauz, this prince had recently experienced a very providential escape from assasination, by the hand of a certain Jummaul-ud-dein Fyrouzkouhy, the ancestor, according to some, of Ameir Shauhy, one of the Persian poets. However that may be, the same Jummaul-ud-dein one day, while running on foot with officious zeal

\* May A. D. 1397.

† July.



close by the stirrup of the Shahzâdah, either embracing an opportunity for which he was prepared, or carried away by some impulse of his destiny as inferred by the author, suddenly drew his knife, and made a stab at him. Having fortunately eluded the violence of the stroke, the Shahzâdah was but slightly wounded; and the assassin, flying for life to a narrow pass among the adjacent mountains, was there found, by those who immediately pursued him, lying dead, in a manner that they were not able to account for. For this, at all events, Teymûr, who was never backward in the display of his benevolence, hastened to evince his gratitude to the supreme being by a most liberal distribution of alms to the poor.

Determined to the last to extend his connubial engagements, and, peradventure, at the same time to obtain security for the forbearance of his more powerful neighbors, Teymûr about this period dispatched Shumma Jahaun, the son of Khezzer Khaujah Oghlan Khaun of midland Tartary, accompanied by Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, and a sumptuous display of presents, to demand in marriage for himself, the daughter of that prince. Soon afterwards he returned to encamp among the delicious glades of Kaun-e-gûll, in sight of Samarkand; where on the arrival of his daughter in law, Melket Aga, the consort of Shah Rokh, he continued for full three months, in the unrestrained indulgence of the grosser appetites for eating and drinking, to which his nation appears to have been not less addicted, than some others far more refined. During autumn, when the festivities in which he had been thus engaged were brought to a close, he proceeded, on the verge of the same enchanting scenery, to form the spacious garden of Dilgûshai;\* the enclosure of which exhibited a magnificent square of fifteen hundred cubits, in the centre of each side, between the pavilions at the angles, presenting a superb and lofty portal which exalted its gilded pinnacles to the skies. The interior was furnished, moreover, with every species of fruit tree, and plant, flower and flowering shrub, that could contribute either to regale the senses or delight the eye; the whole being exclusively designed for the recreation of his destined bride, the princess

\* Heart expanding. According to De la Croix, Dilenshá, or Dilnishá, rejoicing the heart, amounting to the same thing.

A. H. 799.  
A. D. 1397.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 799. Towukkel Khaunum, the daughter of Khezzer Khaujah, whose hand  
 A. D. 1397. he had dispatched to require, as already mentioned.

Rouzet us-  
 suffa.

Crossing the river Seyhûn, some time afterwards, Teymûr proceeded to the village of Tchinaus; in the neighborhood of which, at the entrance of the Derrah-ahunggeran, or pass of the blacksmiths, he took up his winter quarters; the troops erecting for themselves barracks of mats and reeds, under which they prepared to sustain the rigors of the approaching winter. Their sovereign, in the mean time, embraced the opportunity to visit the sepulchre of Sheikh Ahmed Yeissiv, the son of Imaumzâdah Mahommed Haneifah, at the town of Yeissy, in the same neighborhood; where he at once gratified his veneration for the memory of the saints of this illustrious family, and his taste for building, by ordering the consecrated spot to be further adorned by a noble mausoleum of great extent and beauty. In the first place he is described, as far as our original is to be understood, to have laid the foundations of a Tauk, or portico, of extraordinary height, composed of a dome with four sides, each of thirty cubits, or about seventy feet, and two lofty minars, or minarets. On two sides of the same dome are stated to have been erected two pavilions of four stories each, and twelve cubits, or eight and twenty feet square, at two feet four inches to the cubit: but whether these were attached to, or separate from the main building, is not clear. The tomb of the Sheikh was itself surmounted by a superstructure of four stories; and two additional pavilions, of similar height and dimensions with those formerly described, containing chambers, or dormitories, and other conveniences, for strangers who repaired thither through devotion, and for those who officiated about the sacred shrine, completed the detail of the plan. The grave of the saint was finally enclosed in a sarcophagus of marble of the purest white, of the most elaborate sculpture, and exquisite workmanship. The edifice\* was, however, not entirely finished until two years afterwards; the execu-

\* From the description in the text it will perhaps not be very easy to form any precise idea of the plan of the structure altogether. But if we may be permitted to supply one from conjecture, it consisted of a quadrangle, with the grand portal in one face, that looking towards Mekkah; the four pavilions at the angles connected, although it is not so expressed, by a colonnade, and the tomb of the Sheikh, in the centre of the interior of the quadrangle.

tion being entrusted to the superintendance of Moulana Abdallah, the Suddre, or Almoner, who remained on the spot for this purpose.

A. H. 800.  
A. D 1397.  
Rouzat-us-  
suffa.

In the mean time, on returning to the cantonments in which he had left the main body of the army, messengers arrived to announce to Teymûr the approach of his expected bride, the princess Tekkel; or Towukkel Khaunum; and the whole of the ladies of the imperial family, the queen consort Serâi Mêlek Khaunum alone excepted, accompanied by most of the Ameirs of the court, were now dispatched to the distance of fifteen days' journey, to meet the illustrious stranger. In short, on thursday the first of the former Rebbeia,\* having been sumptuously entertained at every previous stage, the Tartar princess brought her journey to an auspicious termination in the camp of Teymûr; and the ceremony which united her to her imperial spouse was solemnized, shortly afterwards, with all the pomp and splendor of Mahommedan usage.

About the same period, or not long afterwards, ambassadors reached the court of Teymûr, from Yessoun, or according to De la Croix, Tangouz Khaun, sovereign of Khatâi, or northern China, with magnificent presents from that monarch; and having discharged the object of their mission, which is not explained, were allowed to depart, after a short residence, highly gratified with the politeness and liberality of their reception. About the commencement of the spring, however, when the sun had entered Pisces, Ameirzadah Mahommed Sûltan, with forty thousand horse, was dispatched into Moghûlstaun, in order to protect the frontiers of the empire, in that direction. He was, at the same time, accompanied by the Ameirs Beirdy Beg the son of Saurbougâ, Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, Khodadaud the son of Hûseyne, and Shums-ud-dein Abbas; and he was in particular instructed to fortify, with a rampart and ditch, the station of Asheirah, under the parallel of Pekin, and some distance north-west of the great wall of China. Crossing the mountains of Koulân, south-east of the country of the Moghûls, the Shahzâdah proceeded accordingly to Asheirah; where he hastened, with becoming activity, to carry into execution the commands of his grandfather, not less to render that post an important military station, than to promote and encourage

\* 21st November 1397.

A. H. 800.  
A. D. 1398.

Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

the general cultivation, and improvement, of the territory depending upon it.

At the approach of the vernal equinox,\* of the year eight hundred, Teymûr broke up from his winter quarters at Tcheinaus, and returned across the Seyhûn to Samarkand; but after devoting a few days only to the recreations of that celebrated metropolis, he proceeded further towards Kesh. On his way to that place, and at the entrance of a mountain, the issue of a very beautiful stream, about seven farsangs, or five and twenty miles from Samarkand, being struck with the amenity and romantic scenery of the spot, Teymûr gave directions for the construction of an elegant palace, and gardens; on which, when finished, he bestowed the name of the Tukht-e-karatchah, or black palace. From thence, continuing his journey, and skirting the hills by the road of Rebbaut-e-yaum, he was met by his son Shah Rokh; who had recently left his winter quarters at Asterabad, and was coming, from the direction of Makhan, to visit the court of his father. Teymûr then proceeded without further delay to Kesh; but leaving that city on one side, he encamped on the adjoining plains, at Eiltchibâlegh, the abode of his youth, where he had determined to pass a few days.

\* March 1398.

## CHAP. VI.

**I**N the preceding pages it was observed that Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir had been invested with the government of the several districts of Kondez, or Kondúz, and Baklaun, in Tokharestaun, to which are now added the provinces of Kandahaur, Gheznein, and Kabûl, to the frontiers of Hindûstaun. Not satisfied, however, with the possession of this spacious domain, which might appear too limited for the restless spirit of ambition, or, what is still more probable, urged by the tenor of his instructions, that prince, after reducing the affairs of his government to the necessary degree of order, proceeded at the head of a numerous army, to extend the circle of Teymûrian conquest to the south-east; commencing his operations with an attack upon the Avghans, or Afghans, of Sûliman Kouh, or mountains of Solomon, south of Kandahaur. But, without entering into the detail, it will be sufficient for our purpose to observe that, after carrying plunder and desolation through the abodes of these obnoxious tribes, he finally conducted his army to the banks of the Indus; which immediately crossing, he obtained possession without resistance of the city of Outchah, or Ouch, the *Oxydracorum oppidum* of Alexander's expedition.

From this place Peir Mahommed hastened, without delay, to invest the city of Mûltaun; where he became engaged, perhaps contrary to his expectations, in the difficulties of an arduous and protracted siege; the city being resolutely defended by Saurung Khaun, the elder brother of Mullou Khaun prime minister of the court of Dehly. It is in this place necessary to observe that, on the death of the emperor Feyrouz Shah, some time previous to the period under consideration, the two brothers had advanced his grandson Mahmûd Shah, to the throne of Hindûstaun; and rendering themselves finally paramount in the administration of affairs, the one remained at the metropolis, to preside in the councils of the empire,

A. H. 800.

A. D. 1398.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

A. H. 800. while the other undertook the superintendance of the important  
 A. D. 1398. frontier province of Mûltaun.

Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

It was at all events, as it would now appear, the intelligence which he received of the opposition experienced on this occasion by his grandson, before the walls of Mûltaun, that brought Teymûr, contrary to the design already ripe for execution, of invading the more distant provinces of the Chinese empire, to the final determination of leading his armies to the Indus. His present resolution was further strengthened by accounts long since conveyed to him, of the gross idolatry still suffered to extend its pollutions, throughout the countries dependent both on Dehly and Mûltaun; and as the views of this apostle of desolation had been for some time bent on a war of religion, it seemed of little importance whether the current of zeal impelled him south or east. His nobles and the individuals in his confidence, moreover, unanimously concurring in favor of the Indian expedition, nothing remained to obstruct the design; and, accordingly, in the month of Rudjub, of the year eight hundred,\* with an army, in the metaphorical language of the author, more numerous than the leaves of the forest,† or the drops in rain, he proceeded across the Oxus, leaving his grandson Omar the son of Meiran Shah in charge of the metropolis and territory of Samarkand.

When he reached the town of Enderaub, on his way to the passes of Hindû Koh, a representation of the inhabitants was laid before Teymûr, of the outrages which they experienced, being zealous Mosslems, from the Siapoush, and other infidel tribes of Mount Ketour; who on the slightest demur, as they stated, to their demands of tribute, put their men to the sword, and forced their women and children into captivity. He therefore determined, before he proceeded further, to avenge the wrongs of this harassed people, on the heads of their oppressors. For this purpose, having made a selection of three in ten from the aggregate of his army, and leaving the main body and heavy equipments in charge of Shah Rokh, at the summer station of Gheznan, or Ghounandeiktour, in the mountains of Enderaub, Teymûr hastened by forced marches to Peryân, a town in Badakhshaun,

\* March 1398.

† Nevertheless, his force is limited, in the institutes of Teymûr, to 62,000 horse.

two days journey from Enderaub. From thence he detached Mirza Râstum, and Bûrhaun Oghlan, with a body of ten thousand horse, on the road to the territory of the Siahpoush; proceeding in person with the remainder of his force towards Khawuk, on the north-western skirts of the Ketour mountains. This place, which he found in ruins, he caused to be immediately repaired, directing his cavalry to dismount and leave their horses there, it being his design to ascend the ridges of Ketour, on foot. On these mountains, it is here observed that, although the sun had now entered Gemini, or even Cancer according to some authorities,\* the snow still lay on the ground in such quantity, that the horses which yet accompanied the army sunk knee deep at every step, and at last failed altogether in making any kind of progress. In these circumstances, the soldiers availed themselves of the night, when the surface of the snow became hardened by the frost, to lead their horses along, permitting them to rest during the day, under cover of their cloaks and blankets: and by such expedients they contrived to proceed in their march, until they finally gained the summit of one of the mountains among the loftiest of the whole range. From thence the principal Ameirs, who had been induced to retain their horses when those of the cavalry in general had been directed to leave them behind, now sent them all back towards Khawuk.

A. H. 800.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

The mountaineers had retired, in the mean time, far within the deep and numerous vallies formed by the different ranges of Ketour; and the descent into these vallies presented such serious obstacles as, augmented by the heavy drifts of snow, appeared most difficult to overcome. Nothing, however, was sufficient effectually to impede the progress of Teymûr's hardy veterans, animated by the indefatigable zeal of their sovereign. The chiefs and their followers, some by ropes, and others by fairly sliding down the declivities, finally conveyed themselves to the bottom; but for the particular accommodation of Teymûr, a sort of stage, or litter, of planks was formed with iron rings attached, to which were fastened several ropes, each of the length of one hundred and fifty cubits. A number of attendants were then let down to the extent of the ropes, by which the stage

\* In May or June.

A. H. 800.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

was suspended, in order to prepare with their pickaxes, a ledge, or landing place, for the vehicle in its descent ; and on this, securely seated, the monarch was gradually lowered from place to place, until the operation five times repeated brought him safe to the bottom of the mountain. Teymûr then proceeded staff in hand, on foot, for the distance of nearly a farsang ; until by carefully securing their heads and legs, two of his horses had been also lowered without injury, to the bottom of the valley, all the others having perished in the experiment, when he mounted once more, and continued his march, accompanied by the whole of his troops on foot.

The infidel natives are described, either from reality, or for the sake of the metaphor, to have been of enormous stature and bodily strength, going for the most part entirely naked. Their chief bore the designation of Ghadashou, and their language bore no affinity with either Persian, Turkish, or Hindy ; neither did they possess the slightest acquaintance with any other language than their own, the only means of communication with them being through those of the neighboring countries, who, by residing for some time among them, acquired a knowledge of their barbarous idiom, and became thus qualified to interpret for them. Their principal and perhaps only fortress was defended on one side by a very deep river ; on the opposite side of which arose a lofty mountain, which seemed with its summit to touch the skies, and presented an apparently inaccessible front, to the most adventurous assailants. To this mountain, on receiving intelligence of Teymûr's approach, four and twenty hours previous to his arrival, they therefore conveyed themselves, their families, and the whole of their effects, as to a place of the utmost security ; and accordingly, when the Teymûrians entered the fortress, nothing remained to assuage the avidity for plunder ; but a few sheep, which having seized, the invaders immediately set fire to the houses and consumed the place to ashes.

They were now directed to scale the mountain on the opposite side of the river ; and having with considerable difficulty, and some loss, succeeded in gaining one of the summits which overlooked the last retreat of the enemy, the Teymûrian chiefs and their followers, assailed them on all sides, for three days successively, with such



invincible perseverance and vigour, that they finally sued for mercy. They were informed on the part of Teymûr, through an agent whom he dispatched to confer with them, that on repairing to the imperial presence, and professing the eternal unity of the supreme being, not only their lives and properties should be secured to them, but they should be reinstated in the entire possession of their country. All this having been explained with due precision to the mountain tribes through their interpreters, these barbarians, after a further delay of three days, proceeded to the camp of Teymûr, accompanied by the imperial agent, and to all outward appearance made profession of the doctrines of the Korân ; and otherwise humbly acknowledging their unreserved and willing submission to the imperial authority, were dismissed by Teymûr, with many expressions of kindness, and with robes and dresses suitable to their several stations.

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That very night, however, as soon as nature had arrayed herself in the garb of the afflicted, these perfidious miscreants, in the expectation of taking them by surprise, rushed upon the division of Ameir Shah Melek ; but having been frustrated in this expectation, and one hundred and fifty being immediately seized and put to the sword by the Teymûrians, the residue, sore wounded and dispirited, withdrew to their retreat on the mountain. Thither they were closely pursued by their enraged adversaries, the whole of the male population put to death in strict conformity with the dictates of the law, and the women and children condemned to slavery. The heads of the slaughtered were erected into pyramids, on the loftiest parts of the mountain, and the record and date of the event engraven on stone was left to commemorate to succeeding ages, on the spot, the facility with which that had been now accomplished; which had foiled the exertions of some of the most puissant monarchs of former times.

A considerable period having, in the mean time, elapsed, since the separation of the division under Mirza Rûstum and Bârhaun Ogblan, without any intelligence of their proceedings, Teymûr conceived it expedient, without further delay, to dispatch Mahommed Azaud, and some others of those who had been brought up in the imperial household, at the head of four hundred chosen warriors, Persians as well as Turks, in order to ascertain what had befallen

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them. Hastening to the execution of the service assigned them, Mahommed Azaud and his associates proceeded by roads equally obscure and intricate, and along mountains covered with snow, until they gained the summit of a lofty ridge forming the boundary of one of the vallies of the Siahpoush. Hence, firmly bracing their bucklers to their backs, and lying upon them, they boldly launched themselves to the bottom\*. Shortly afterwards, they found themselves under the walls of a castle belonging to the natives, which had been entirely abandoned by its inhabitants, and without a vestige of either friend or foe; excepting, however, the track of a great multitude of people, which seemed to have taken a direction opposite to that from which they were just arrived. These happened to be the footmarks of a body of the Siahpoush; who advised of the approach of the Teymûrians under Mirza Rûstum, and Bûrhaun Oghlan, had recently marched to place themselves, in ambuscade, in one of the narrow defiles, in order to fall upon the strangers by surprise. In this they were completely successful; for when part of the troops had already passed the defile, and were carelessly encamping after turning their horses to graze, they were suddenly attacked by the Siahpoush at once rushing on all sides from their ambuscade. With a baseness which covered him with indelible infamy Bûrhaun Oghlan was among the very first to fly, throwing away his bow and quiver; and the enemy, perceiving the consternation with which the Teymûrians thus fled in all directions, now pursued with equal activity and confidence, putting them to the sword in great numbers.

Mahommed Azaud, on the other hand, when he discovered the track of the Siahpoush, determined without hesitation on pursuing them, whatever might be the result; and accordingly reaching the defile which had been the scene of the recent discomfiture, he fell in his turn upon the enemy, in the blind security of their victory, and defeating them with considerable slaughter, easily succeeded in recovering the whole of the arms and horses so shamefully lost on the part of Bûrhaun Oghlan, and his unfortunate associates. These

\* Some of these circumstances will, perhaps, scarcely bear the scrutiny of sober criticism. They are, however, given in strict conformity with the original; and the reader is at full liberty to reject or believe them, at his discretion.

he shortly afterwards joined, without further accident, restoring their arms and horses to all such as were alive to reclaim them ; but when he represented to Bûrhaun Oghlan the expediency of encamping for the present on the spot, and that they should be able to pursue their march with circumstances of greater advantage on the succeeding day, that commander, under the influence of the same pusillanimous spirit which had betrayed him to his recent discomfiture, persisted in proceeding to encamp on the summit of a neighboring ridge, whither he was immediately followed by the troops of his division. How just, exclaims the author in this place, the maxim which teaches us to cut off at once the miscreant who turns his back in the conflict of the field of battle, even though he escape a more honorable death by the hand of the enemy. At the same time it is, moreover, observed that from the age of the immortal Jengueiz to the present period, this is the first instance of cowardice on record against the race of the Keyaut. And yet it is acknowledged that, in the war of Keptchawk, the same Bûrhaun Oghlan had been already detected once before, in a similar instance of disgraceful misconduct, which had been overlooked by the indulgence of Teymûr; and the wretched man had been expressly employed on the present occasion, in order to give him an opportunity of expunging from his character the odious imputation. He seems, however, continues our author, to have chosen for his imitation the example of that Arab, who flying in the same disgraceful manner from the field of battle, in reply to the expostulations of his braver companions, when they called upon him to reflect on the obloquy which he was about to entail upon himself from the perpetual reproach of mankind, very coolly observed that he preferred life with malediction, rather than death with the useless regret and benediction, to which he must be equally insensible and indifferent.

In the mean time, when the object of his expedition had been completed, in the gratification of his vengeance against the natives of Mount Ketour, two officers of the names of Jullaul-ul-enaum, and Ally Seiestauny, were employed by Teymûr to explore the country ; in order to secure a more practicable passage from, than that by which he had effected his entrance into, these almost inaccessible

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vallies. This object being also attained, and a road opened in many places through the snow, he was enabled, without further difficulty, to withdraw from the country and return to Khawuk. Here he of course remounted his cavalry, which had on this occasion, with equal zeal and perseverance, continued to serve on foot for a period of eighteen days, during which he appears to have been engaged on the expedition. He shortly afterwards rejoined the main body of the army and heavy equipments under Mirza Shah Rokh. On the arrival of Búrhaun Oghlan and Mahommed Azaud, he did not however omit to signalize his displeasure at the disgraceful conduct of the former, who with ten thousand men at his disposal had ingloriously fled before an inferior force of the barbarians, and his exalted sense of the gallantry and intrepidity of the latter, in so effectually redeeming the reputation of his arms, with numbers so inadequate. In short, the one was banished his presence, and entirely cast off from his favor, while the other was loaded with honors and applause; and the most liberal rewards were bestowed upon the warriors who had so gallantly fought under his orders. From a sense of delicacy towards the imperial family perhaps, the author has totally abstained from adverting, in any shape, to the conduct of Mirza Rústum, on this unfortunate occasion.

On the reunion of his force, Teymúr conceived it advisable that Shah Rokh should return to Herat, in order to provide for the security of the important government of Khorassaun; immediately after which he put his troops in motion towards Kabûl. Crossing the mountains of Hindú Koh, he proceeded in several marches by the route of Penjshêher,\* to the Tchelgab, or pasture grounds of Baran, at the distance of five farsangs, or about eighteen miles from the metropolis of Kabûl. Here to leave a proof that, at least on some occasions, he was influenced by a disposition to emulate the bounteous designs of eternal beneficence, he determined to open a canal from the river which flows in the neighborhood, in order to convey its waters all the way to the capital of the province. And as the undertaking was allotted, in regular proportions, to be carried into execution under the superintendance of his principal generals, it was

\* Pentapolis.

completed in a very short space of time, being subsequently distinguished by the appellation of the *Jûi Mauhygueir*, or fishing stream. Its advantages and utility being, at the same time, very early understood, its banks were soon embellished by a number of respectable and flourishing villages; *Teymûr*, shortly after the accomplishment of the benevolent design, continuing his march to the already mentioned city of *Kabûl*.

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Previous to his removal from the plains of *Dourein*, in the neighborhood of the river of *Baran*, on this occasion, ambassadors had presented themselves to *Teymûr*, from *Eydekou* the *Ouzbek*, from *Temûr Kutlûgh Oghlan*, and from his father-in-law *Khuzzer Khaujah Oghlan* the *Khaun* of *Jettah*; all expressing assurances of regret for former misunderstanding, and of sincere attachment for the future. At the same place also, the protection of *Teymûr* was claimed by *Tâeizy Oghlan*, the descendant, in another branch, of the illustrious stock of *Jengueiz*,\* who had been compelled to fly from the ancient and venerable residence of the *Khauns* [*Oolûgh-yourut*], near *Kâ-rakorum*, after an unsuccessful contest with the *Khaun* of *Kalmuk*. From *Teymur* he experienced a very friendly and hospitable reception; being immediately furnished with camels, horses and mules, and in short with an equipage every way suitable to his illustrious and royal descent. Another visitor, perhaps not the least welcome, who repaired to the camp of *Teymûr* at the period under consideration, was his agent *Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein*, who had been employed during the expedition of five years to superintend the collections in *Fars*; and who now joined the imperial army, with a supply of treasure and valuable effects, to an almost incalculable amount. These consisted in the detail, of gold, and jewels of every denomination, of girdles enriched with precious stones, of dresses embroidered with gold, of piece goods of the most rare and costly fabric, of arms offensive and defensive, and of the most curious and elaborate workmanship, of Arabian horses with saddles of gold, of camels and mules for the saddle, with stirrups of gold, and with caparisons of gold brocade; and, lastly, of tents, pavilions and canopies of state, composed of broad cloth,† together with numerous other articles of

\* This prince is adverted to, at the conclusion of Chap. 11th of Vol. II.

† *Skarlaut*, literally scarlet.

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such singular beauty and variety as to fill the minds of the beholders with surprise and admiration. In short, so great was the magnitude of the supply of every thing rare and useful conveyed to the imperial repositories, on this occasion, that the officers and clerks of the exchequer were employed for three days and three nights without intermission, in comparing and registering the schedules; and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein was himself engaged on his knees for one whole day, from morning to night, in specifying aloud the number and description of the various articles, in the presence of his sovereign. Neither did it contribute to diminish the surprise and admiration of Tâerizy Oghlan, in particular, and of the ambassadors of the Ouzbek chiefs in general, at the grandeur of the monarch, one single vassal of whom was thus capable of conveying to him a peishkesh, or present of homage, of such enormous extent and magnificence.

The agents of the Ouzbek chiefs were then dismissed highly gratified with the liberality of the reception which they had experienced, and furnished with appropriate letters to their respective principals. Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, at the same time, embraced an opportunity to solicit the imperial clemency in behalf of Bûrhaun Oghlan, and his associates in misconduct; and they were, in compliance with his request, absolved from all further consequence of their guilt. It was about the same period that Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular sovereign of Transoxiana, with the Mirzas Mahommed Sûltan and Rûstum, and the troops of the left wing, was detached in advance towards the Indian territory.

Soon after he had encamped near Kabûl, an Avghan, or Afghan, chief of the name of Melek Mahommed, repaired to the presence of Teymûr, to complain of Moussa, another chief of the same nation, of the Kerkes tribe, whom he represented as an odious, vile, and unprincipled robber—as having put to death his, the complainant's brother, an acknowledged, or affianced vassal of the imperial authority—destroyed the fortress of Irjaub, about three days journey from Kabûl, on the southern road to the Indus—and laid waste the possessions of the family, in that district, and usurped the whole to himself. In short, as having, by the atrocious violence of his conduct, rendered the intercourse through the districts adjoining to his place of residence

extremely dangerous, if not totally impracticable, to travellers of every nation and description. The Afghan concluded his statement by observing that having himself fled for life to Gheznein, he had there taken up his abode; until recently apprized of the approach of the Teymûrian standard, which had hastened him to lay his grievances at the foot of the throne. The indignation of Teymûr was it seems sufficiently roused by this recital of oppressions, for it is possible that the tyrant might have been extremely tenacious of his monopoly of violence; and he accordingly determined to confine his immediate exertions to the chastisement of this petty usurper on his prerogative.

For this purpose he directed that Melek Mahommed should, for the present, remain concealed in the imperial encampment; until such time as some method should have been devised to obtain effectual redress for his wrongs. An agent was then dispatched to announce to the obnoxious Afghan, that it would be attended with the utmost inconvenience if a station of such importance to the security of the intercourse with India, as the fortress of Irjaub, was any longer suffered to remain in ruins. He was therefore invited to repair without delay to the presence of Teymûr, in order that he might be confirmed in the government of the country; with due observance to the claims of substantial justice, and with a view to the immediate rebuilding, on his part, of a fortress of such consequence to the public tranquillity.

Having prepared such presents as were suitable to the dignity of the powerful monarch, whom he was about to visit, the Afghan chief, without the smallest suspicion of evil, proceeded in company with the imperial agent to the camp of Teymûr; from whom he appears to have experienced a reception calculated to encourage his hopes. When he clad him with his dress of honor, the monarch informed him, however at the same time, that a division of the imperial troops would accompany him on his return, for the purpose of putting the dismantled fortress of Irjaub in a state of repair; that it was expected he would also appear at the head of his people, in order to assist in the prosecution of that most necessary design; and that no exertion would be omitted, on his part, to bring it to a conclusion before the arrival of the imperial standard on the spot. At the same time,

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either to lay his apprehensions entirely asleep, or to alleviate the sense of the burden thus imposed upon him, he was told that if, after all, any part of the work should remain unfinished at the period alluded to, assistance would not be wanting to hasten it to a completion. A detachment of three thousand men, under Moussa Rekmaul, was accordingly directed to proceed without delay towards Irjaub; where, soon after his arrival, that officer was joined, in conformity to agreement, by the Afghan chief with a body of his people, and altogether hastened in conjunction to the rebuilding of the town.

The imperial consort Serâi Melek Khaunum, with Mirza Olûgh Beg, who had hitherto accompanied the army, was now dismissed for Samarkand; after which Teymûr decamped from his position near Kabûl, and on wednesday the eighth of Zilhudje, of the year eight hundred,\* displayed his victorious standard before Irjaub. The rebuilding of the place was advancing with considerable activity, under the superintendance of Moussa Rekmaul, and his auxiliaries the Afghan chief; between two and three hundred men, we should have expected as many thousands, being daily employed in the work, which was carried on to the sound of their warlike music, horns and kettle-drums. Teymûr's orders were issued afresh to prosecute the undertaking with all possible dispatch, and the imperial commissaries were charged to furnish all the means at their disposal, towards the speedy accomplishment of this object. The construction of the principal mosque and other public buildings within the place, was entrusted at the same time to the superintendance of Amêir Shah Melek and Jullaul-ul-Islam; and such, in short, was the zeal and expedition employed in prosecuting the whole to a completion, that the walls and towers, which embraced a circumference of considerable extent, together with several mosques and public structures, of no small magnitude, were all entirely finished in the short space of fourteen days.

In the mean time, in his instructions to the Tawatcheis, exempt, staff officers of the army perhaps, Teymûr had intimated his pleasure, when the rebuilding of Irjaub should have been completed, that the followers of Moussa the Afghan should not be permitted to return

\* 21st August 1398.



to their homes; and this circumstance by some means or other became indistinctly known to the people whom it so materially concerned. When, however, the whole of the works had been thus brought to a thorough completion, Teymûr mounted his horse one day, and, attended by his principal generals, proceeded to view the ditch and rampart, which had been thrown up for the defence of the place. Just as he was passing opposite to the principal gate, one of seven Afghans, who had taken post in a balcony, behind, or possibly above the gate, suddenly discharged an arrow at the person of the monarch. Fortunately the shaft flew wide of its object; and Teymûr escaped with no other inconvenience than what was produced by the starting of his horse, at the sound of the winged mischief. Enraged at such an act of daring treachery, Teymûr immediately entered the town by another gate, and gave directions for the instant seizure of all the Afghans. The seven, of whom one had been guilty of this unavailing attempt at assassination, aware that their lives were forfeited, resolved to defend themselves to the last; and many of the Teymûrians, by whom they were early assailed, were severely wounded in the endeavor to dislodge and destroy them. At last, a native of Seiestaun in the service of Teymûr, by applying a ladder to the building, succeeded in ascending with his followers, and finally cut them all to pieces. On the same day, Moussa the Afghan, with two hundred of his people, was seized and delivered up to Melek Mahommed; who, with the aid of three of his attendants, more than amply acquitted himself of the debt of vengeance for a brother's blood, by putting the whole to death, and making an obelisk of their heads to commemorate the deed. The tents and habitations of the Afghans were then pillaged, and their property, women and children, consigned to the inhabitants of Irjaub and the neighboring districts, so long exposed to their licentious outrages. The government of the place and of the adjoining territory, was finally conferred by his august avenger, upon Melek Mahommed, as a lasting proof of his bounty.

His visit to Irjaub thus terminated to his satisfaction, Teymûr, on the eighteenth of Zilhudje,\* put his troops again in motion, and

\* 31st of August.

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suffa.

A. H. 800.  
 • A. D. 1398.  
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 suffa.

having traversed the intervening mountainous and forest districts, proceeded to encamp at Shenûzaun; from whence the heavy baggage was dispatched, under the care of Khaleil Sûltan, towards Banou, by the route of Keptcheghâi. Shortly afterwards, Teymûr at the head of several thousands\* of his cavalry, hastened by a forced march towards the fortress, or fortified town of Nughez, or Nagaz; where, according to De la Croix's work, he is said to have arrived early in the morning of the twenty first of the month,\* Ameir Sûliman Shah having been previously detached with the division of Khorassaun, in order to put this place in a state of repair.

On his arrival at Naghaz, information was communicated to Teymûr, that the Perniaulies, or Pervians as they are denominated in De la Croix, a cast of Afghans whose territory appears to have lain to the right, or westward, of Teymûr's route to the Indus, and who had formerly been required to join the imperial standard, had given proofs of disobedience and hostility. In fact they had the audacity to intercept a convoy which had been dispatched towards Kabûl, by Mirza Peir Mahommed, with the plunder acquired during his expeditions on the Indus, and to wrest from them apart of the booty. On the very day of his arrival, Teymûr therefore resolved on proceeding immediately in pursuit of them, to the mountains and forests into which they had withdrawn, and from whence they continued their depredations, on the adjoining districts. At the end of three days he had accordingly conducted his troops to the verge of the abodes of this proscribed banditti; when he directed his cavalry to dismount and to penetrate on foot in all directions, into the woods and mountain ranges in their view, which they were, at the point of the sword, to purify from the abominations of the polluted race of whom they were in quest. In conformity with their instructions, the Teymûrians were immediately in motion on every side, in pursuit of the objects of their master's wrath; and a vast number of the male population became the victims of their sanguinary fury, the habitations

\* The manuscript exhibits sudd, or one hundred thousand, but as tchund, may be so easily converted into sudd, through the customary negligence of a mercenary transcriber, the interpretation which we have given in the text is the most probable, and most consistent with previous statements.

3rd of September.

of whatever description were pillaged and burnt, and the women and children wherever captured, driven into slavery.

A. II. 800.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A considerable remnant having contrived, nevertheless, through a thousand difficulties to escape the sword of the exterminator, Teymûr indicated the design of continuing on the spot, until the whole of this Afghan tribe should have been entirely destroyed, and the neighborhood completely secured against future outrage on their part. But while he was yet deliberating on the subject, the leader of the obnoxious tribe, whose name appears to have been Aweil, or Aabel, impressed with a sincere desire of effecting his reconciliation, hastened to the presence of the conqueror, and in humble and abject terms implored his mercy. Teymûr, on his part also, conceiving a favorable impression of the sincerity of his protestations and of his regret for what was past, was easily prevailed upon to listen to his intreaties, freely pronounced his pardon and restored him to his authority, with higher power and advantages than he had ever before enjoyed.

In the mean time, when he had completed his object of placing the fortifications of Naghaz in a state of repair, a report was conveyed to Ameer Sûliman Shah, that the Kulauties, another more numerous and powerful tribe of Afghans, had also received the orders of Teymûr with contempt, and had neglected to furnish their contingent of troops to the imperial army. Two days, therefore, previous to the return of his sovereign, Ameer Sûliman had hastened to attack this contumacious and refractory tribe; and, although remarkable for their great stature and bodily strength, had completely succeeded in either destroying, or expelling them from their retreats. So that on the day on which the imperial standard returned to Naghaz, Ameer Sûliman had the gratification of presenting himself to his sovereign, with a considerable booty, the fruits of his victory, together with the women and children of the vanquished tribe; and he was received with every testimony of approbation, and loaded with favor and regard, in acknowledgment of this zealous and acceptable piece of service.

Teymûr appears to have quitted his position in the neighborhood of the Perniaulies, on the first of Mohurrem of the eight hundred and first of the hidjerah;\* and immediately on his arrival at Naghaz,

\* 12th September.

A. H. 801.  
 A. D. 1398.  
 Rouzut us-  
 suffa.

or very shortly afterwards, we find him dispatching the same Sûliman Shah, to join Peir Mahommed at Mûltaun. The command at Nughz, or Naghaz, was entrusted to an officer of the name of Shah Ally, a native of Ferah, with a garrison of five hundred men for its protection; and shortly after this, although the date is not expressly stated, Teymûr also decamped from Nughz, and, taking the route of Banou, or Bunnou, which is situated, according to the best modern maps, on the Koumull river about forty miles above its confluence with the Indus, at Deinkote, on the eighth day of Mohurrem,\* reached the banks of the latter river; on the exact spot where, about one hundred and seventy seven years before, it had been crossed by Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein the Khaurezmian, in his disastrous flight from the vengeance of Jengueiz, as described on a former occasion.

Orders were immediately issued for the construction of a bridge, for the passage of the Indus; and in the course of two days a very respectable one was laid across the river by means of sehpayah, or grapnels of three prongs, and rafts of reeds and bamboos. In the mean time, among his other occupations, Teymûr was employed in giving audience of leave to Seyud Mahommed of Medeinah, who had arrived at court as the agent of that city and of Mekkah; in order to express an anxious expectation that the Tcheghatâian monarch would at some future period conduct his victorious standard to that quarter, and receive the sacred territory of the prophet under his protection; also to the envoy of Eskunder Shah prince of Kashmeir, who had been the bearer of assurances of submission and allegiance on the part of his master, to whom instructions were now conveyed, through his agent, to join the imperial army with his contingent of troops, at the town of Dibalpour on the north bank of the Setlege, between Feyrouzpour and Jalindehr.

On monday the twelfth of Mohurrem,† Teymûr proceeded across the Indus, followed by the whole of his army to the verge of the Tchoul Jerou; a desert of great extent to the eastward of the river, which from having afforded to Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein, on the occasion recently adverted to, an asylum against the pursuit of his enemies, has received from historians the appellation of Tchoul Jullauly.

\* 19th of September.

† 23rd September.

About this period the Rayas, or native chiefs, of Kouhjoud, a range of mountains to the northwest of the Punjaub, between Kashmeir and the Indus, repaired to the camp of Teymûr, with suitable presents, and assurances of submission to his person and authority: and as these chiefs had long before, as well as on the present occasion, given substantial proofs of the sincerity of their attachment, in their hospitable and friendly entertainment of Rûstum Toghâi Bougha, when on his march with a division of the imperial troops towards Mûltaun he entered their country, they experienced from the Tcheghatâian monarch, on their arrival, every mark of confidence and regard, and departed extremely gratified with the liberality of their reception.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

At the period when Mirza Peir Mahommed entered the province of Mûltaun, as mentioned in the former part of this chapter, none had been more forward to join his army than Shahaub-ud-dein Mûbaurek Shah; the chief, or zemindaur, of an island, or peninsula,\* formed by the stream of the Jammed, or Behaut, pre-eminent among the neighboring Rayas, in the multitude of his followers, and in the abundance of his wealth and resources. However, after voluntarily enrolling himself among the vassals of the empire, and tasting liberally of the bounty of Peir Mahommed, this personage, when he had served a short time with the army, took it into his head to return home; and, either seduced by the demon of presumption, by a delusive reliance on the natural strength of his place of residence protected by surrounding waters, or having, peradventure, discovered on closer inspection, that the reputed renown of the Tcheghatâians surpassed the reality, audaciously threw off his allegiance, and put himself at once in a posture of hostility and defiance.

Hence, when the position of the grand imperial army was advanced to the banks of the Jammed, and Teymûr became apprized of the defection, his earliest exertions were directed to the chastisement of this audacious apostate from his allegiance; and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein was accordingly dispatched at the head of his own tomaun, or division, of ten thousand, to make an immediate attack on the post of the hostile zemindaur. Proceeding in conformity with his instructions

\* I cannot conjecture where to fix the territory of this personage, unless it were about Saumbisseb, or Sambaste, below Rotass.

A. H. 801.  
 A. D 1398.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

towards the island, or peninsula, occupied by the enemy, Nûr-ud-dein discovered on his arrival, that in addition to its natural strength, Shahaub-ud-dein had covered his position by a deep ditch and lofty rampart, the approach to which was rendered still more difficult by an extensive lake, or inundation. With their accustomed celerity, however, the imperial troops surmounted the difficulties of the approach, and they proceeded to assail their adversaries in their works; but on these they failed to make any impression, since they are stated at the close of the day to have withdrawn to their encampment. That same night, in the expectation that they might be taken by surprise, they were attacked in their quarters by Shahaub-ud-dein, at the head of ten thousand of his best men, and a most desperate conflict immediately ensued; in which however, after repeated efforts, Nûr-ud-dein and his followers finally succeeded in repulsing the enemy, many of whom perished in the river, in the consternation of their flight.

In the mean time, the main body of the army, under the immediate command of Teymûr, encamped before this island, or peninsular position. But, in contemplation of such a crisis, having providently collected a flotilla of two hundred of the river craft, Shahaub-ud-dein, on his return from his unsuccessful attempt against the camp of the Teymûrians, immediately embarked with his family and the bulk of his followers, and proceeded down the Jammed, with the design of escaping along that river to Outchah, although this place was stated long since to have been in possession of the imperial troops. As soon as it was discovered that he had taken flight, Nûr-ud-dein hastened along the bank of the river, by instruction of Teymûr, to harass and impede the retreat of the fugitive. However, when he had continued to hang on the flank of the flying enemy to a considerable distance, and occasioned no small havoc among the boats, on the Jammed, Nûr-ud-dein thought it expedient to relinquish the pursuit, and to rejoin the main body; where those who had distinguished themselves by their steadiness and intrepidity during the recent night attack, were now most liberally rewarded on the part of Teymûr.

On its arrival in the neighborhood of Mûltaun, on the other hand,

the flotilla of Shahaub-ud-dein was again attacked and, its retreat finally cut off by the troops under Mirza Peir Mahommed and Sûliman Shah; by whom a great part of those on board were destroyed and thrown into the river. Shahaub-ud-dein, however, swam ashore, and succeeded in effecting his escape into the adjoining woods, many of his followers taking the same direction. These latter were pursued and cut to pieces in great numbers, by Ameir Shah Melek, with a detachment of the Teymûrians; who made themselves masters on this occasion altogether of an immense booty, the captured vessels being loaded, moreover, with cattle and provisions of every description to an incalculable amount. Shortly afterwards, Teymûr also descended in person, for *five or six days*, along the side of the Jammed,\* which we may venture to identify with the Behaut, or Tchailum, the Hydaspes of Alexander's expedition, until he reached the spot where it unites with the Tchunâvah, or Tchunaub, opposite to the fortress of Yelmeny; where he now encamped, giving orders for the immediate construction of a bridge, to convey his army to the other side, which was completed in the space of three days.

Having crossed the united stream of the Behaut and Tchailum, a little below the confluence, by the temporary bridge constructed on this occasion, Teymûr pitched his tents under the walls of Yelmeny, on the bank of the river here bearing the same name. The governor of the town and other magistrates, with the Seyuds and ûlema, or men of letters, hastened to the presence of the conqueror, whose hands they were graciously permitted to kiss. On the same day, which appears to have been the first of the month of Suffur,\* Teymûr is stated to have again passed a river and to have encamped on the plains of Yelîneny, so called in the manuscript, but we believe more correctly, Tolûmbah, laid down in the best maps to the left of the Rauvy about fifty miles above Móltaun. The clerks of the imperial exchequer were immediately directed to impose upon the inhabitants of Tolûmbah, a contribution of two laks, which, if of rupees, might amount to about twenty five thousand pounds sterling;

\* In its course from Kashmeir to it's junction with the Indus, this river is distinguished by no less than four different names, viz the Tcheilem, Behaut, Jammed, or Jamad, and Dindana.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa,

A. H. 801.  
 A. D. 1398.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

from the operation of which the Seyuds, or race of the prophet, and úlema, were however exempted. The officers employed in the collection had levied the whole of this contribution, to a mere trifle which remained unpaid, when the multitudinous soldiery of the army arrived; and being in the utmost want of grain and provisions, received orders to supply themselves wherever they were to be found. In the obscurity of the night, under the pretext of searching for these indispensable articles of supply, the troops poured in throngs into the town, which was thus immediately exposed to all the horrors and excesses incidental to a place entered by assault. The dwelling houses were set on fire, and the property of the inhabitants devoted to indiscriminate plunder. Yet in this instance an exemption was again observed, with respect to the Seyuds and other classes of the faithful; whose houses were entirely excepted from those circumstances of plunder and conflagration, which involved their more unfortunate fellow citizens in one common scene of ruin.

While these enormities were in progress in the town of Tolúmbah, information was laid before Teymûr, that several of the petty princes in the neighborhood, after professing their allegiance to Mirza Peir Mahommed, were now in a state of contumacious hostility to the imperial authority. It was therefore thought expedient, without a moments delay, to dispatch the Ameirs Shah Melek and Sheikh Mahommed Eykou Teymûr, with the divisions under their orders, to punish the apostacy of these insolent and refractory rebels; whose conduct did not fail to produce an adequate degree of resentment in the royal mind. The Ameirs in question proceeded accordingly to enter the junguls, or forests, in which these obnoxious chiefs had taken post; and having put to the sword about two thousand of their Hindû adherents, returned in due time to the imperial encampment, with a booty amply sufficient to reward their exertions.

After this further vindication of his power, Teymûr, on saturday the seventh of Suffur,\* again put his troops in motion; and on the following day encamped in the neighborhood of a Jaul, or lake, contiguous to the banks of the Beiah, or Setleje. Here he received information that Nussrut the Gougre, at the head of two thousand

\* 19th of October.



horse, awaited his approach, on the side of the lake just mentioned, relying for the defence of his position, on the broad and deep channel of the river which ran by; if, indeed, as the manuscript expressly indicates, this Jaul was not the name of a village protected nearly all around by the course of the Beiah. Be this, however, as it may, Teymûr prepared to attack the position with his whole army; his right wing being led on by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Allaudaud, and the left by the Ameirs Shah Melek, and Sheikh Mahommed Eykou Teymûr; while Ally Sûltan Tawatchei was posted with a body of Khorassaunian foot in front of the centre, where the sovereign probably, as usual, commanded in person. The Gougre, on the other hand, with not more than one thousand of his followers, had the audacity to present himself for battle, in the very front of this tremendous force; and being attacked among the bogs, and sloughs on the margin of the lake, by Ally Sûltan, and his infantry, he appears to have opposed a vigorous resistance, since that chief and many of his division are said to have been wounded in the onset. But Nûr-ud-dein, and Allahdaud, with the troops of the right wing, hastening to take their share in the conflict, the enemy were for the greater part cut to pieces; it never having been properly, ascertained whether their general effected his escape from the scene of death, or accompanied his slaughtered associates to the abodes of eternal misery. In the mean time, the victors proceeded, as usual, to pillage the property and set fire to the habitations of the vanquished; and having, with considerable fatigue and difficulty, made their way through the deep swamps and sloughs which covered the neighbourhood, finally encamped at Shahnawauz, described as a respectable and opulent village, where they found a most abundant supply of grain. Of this, when they had accommodated themselves with all that they could carry away, they burnt the remainder by Teymûr's directions, lest it should serve to relieve the wants of the infidel inhabitants of the town and neighborhood; a measure of which, we should have supposed his experience might long since have taught that monarch, the impolicy and absurdity. The imperial army now quitted Shahnawauz, and, descending along the right bank of the Beiah, or more properly the Setleje, again encamped on the same river, opposite to the

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1396.  
Rouzn-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 801. town of Jenjaun, stated by De la Croix to be about forty miles from  
 A. D. 1398. Mûltaun.\* The same day, Hurri Melek, the confidential agent of  
 Rouzit-us- Shahrokh, arrived from Herât, with advices from that prince, and a rou-  
 sulfa. tine of presents which he laid with the usual ceremony before the  
 throne of Teymûr.

The manner in which Mirza Peir Mahommed became engaged in the siege of Mûltaun, has been already noticed. We are now informed that at the expiration of six months, during the whole of which the works of the town were, in some place or other, twice every day regularly assailed by the besiegers, famine at last produced in favor of the prince, what, by external force he had hitherto in vain laboured to accomplish. For having exhausted all their means of subsistence, even to their cats and dogs, the garrison found themselves finally constrained to surrender the city; which, with the territory depending upon it, was accordingly taken possession of by the Shahzâdah. Of this event, at the proper period, Peir Mahommed did not fail to apprise his imperial grandsire. In the mean time, it being the period by the natives of Hindûstaun denominated the Bershegaul, or rainy season, the Shahzâdah, in consequence of the loss of all his horses, from the heavy rains which fell for several days without cessation, found himself compelled to shut his army up within the walls of Mûltaun. This was followed by the immediate revolt of the native chiefs; who, in many places, proceeded to put the Teymûrian officers to death, and carried their insolence so far as to menace the gates of the metropolis, the troops within having been rendered incapable of acting by the loss of their horses.

From this state of anxiety and alarm, Peir Mahommed was, however, at length relieved by the advance of his grandfather; the enemy disappearing in dismay at the approach of the imperial standard. Finding the danger thus dispelled, the Shahzâdah, accompanied by a full train of his dependents, hastened from Mûltaun; and, on the fourteenth of Suffur,† entered the imperial encampment still on the right, or western bank of the Setleje, where he was received by Teymûr,

\* The miles of De la Croix are evidently Kosse, of about a mile and a half English, the distance of 40 Kösse being that at which this place appears, in the best maps, to the eastward of Mûltaun.

† 25th of October.

with every mark of paternal regard and affection. It is here observed that, as soon as they understood that he was in possession of Mûltan, Jenneid Boureldâi, his brother Bayezzid, and Mahommed Derweish Taykhauny, three Moghûl chiefs who had deserted the imperial division under Ameir Jabaun Shah and fled into Hindûstaun, during the war against Khaurezm, had immediately proceeded to join Peir Mahommed, the prince having engaged to intercede for them with their offended sovereign. Of this engagement the prince now availed himself of the opportunity to acquit himself; and Teymûr having consented at his intercession to pronounce their pardon, the three chiefs were accordingly set at large, not however, before they had each of them received an allotted number of strokes under the bastinado.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

On saturday the fifteenth of Suffur,\* the army proceeded across the Setleje, and encamped near the opposite fortress of Jenjaun recently mentioned, where it remained for a period of four days. This interval of repose Peir Mahommed embraced to lay before his grandfather the allotment of presents, which he had been able to collect for his acceptance. These consisted, as usual, of diadems, or tiaras, enriched with all kinds of precious stone, of scarfs or girdles of gold similarly enriched, of horses of the choicest breed, with caparisons of gold and silver, of the most delicate manufacture in silk and linnen, and of articles of plate and utensils for his household of solid gold, altogether to a vast amount. All this, however, although it occupied a period of two days to register the account in the treasury, Teymûr, with his usual liberality, distributed without reserve among the ladies of his family, the princes of the blood, his generals, ministers, and other members of his court and army. At the same time, to make up for their recent losses before Mûltaun, he caused a supply of thirty thousand horses to be distributed to the soldiers of the Shahzadah's army who are described to have entered the imperial encampment, some on foot and some on bullocks, and must have exhibited to their countrymen a very grotesque and amusing spectacle. From Jenjaun Teymûr proceeded, about the twentieth of the month †, towards Jehwaul, where he again encamped; a distance of about forty miles, which he dispatched in separate stages.

\* 26th of October.

† 31st of October.

A. H. 801.  
 A. D. 1398.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

Soon after his entrance into the Punjaub, the inhabitants of this quarter had also submitted to the authority of Mirza Peir Mahommed; and an officer of the name of Mússafer Kábuly, with a detachment of one thousand men, had been dispatched by that prince, in consequence, to superintend the government of the country. Nevertheless, like the natives of the districts to the westward of them, when the Tcheghatayan troops at Múltaun had been so materially crippled in their activity by the effects of the periodical rains, these also hastened to throw off the yoke of the strangers; and uniting with the slaves, or household troops, of Súltan Feyrouz Shah, proceeded to put the imperial commander with the whole of his detachment to the sword. But when the approach of Teymúr was announced by appalling rumours, from Múltaun to Dehly, these men, so audacious when a temporary misfortune seemed to suspend the career of the invader, suddenly abandoned their dwellings, and fled for security to the distant fortress of Batneir. Immediately therefore on his arrival at Jehwaul, having placed the heavy baggage and impediments of the army in charge of Ameir Shah Melek, and Dowlut Temúr Tawatchei, with instructions to proceed with the main body by the route of Dibalpour\* on the upper Setleje, so as to join him again at Samau-nah, Teymúr in person, with ten thousand of the best cavalry, hastened by a more southern route to Adjuden, about twenty miles, which he reached on the twenty-fourth of the month.†

A short time previous to this, seduced by the imprudent cotusels of two Sheikhs of the name of Múnower, and Saudek, the inhabitants of Adjuden, had, for the greater part, forsaken the place; some flying with Saudek towards Batneir, and others with Múnower, towards Dehly. The Seyuds, however, and úlema, apprized of Teymúr's uniformly kind and indulgent disposition towards all of their class, resolutely withstood the arguments of the two Sheikhs, and remained by their dwellings; and, in the full confidence of his clemency, on the day of his arrival at Adjuden, threw themselves on the protection of the Tcheghatayan monarch. They experienced, as they had been taught to expect, a very gracious reception, and returned to their habitations not a little elated by this circumstance

\* About seventy miles to the north-east.

† 4th of November.

of good fortune; Moulana Nausser-ud-dein Omar, and Mahommed the son of Khaujah Mahmûd Shahaub, being deputed by the conqueror to preside over the place, and to protect the remnant of inhabitants from the excesses incidental to the passage of a numerous, and undisciplined soldiery.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

The fortress of Batneir is described to have been, at this period, a place of extraordinary, if not impregnable strength; for the reputation of which it may, however, perhaps have been more immediately indebted to its almost inaccessible situation, some distance within the sandy desert of Bikkaneir. To this alsomay be ascribed the circumstance, if true, that hitherto it had never been visited by foreign hostility; and hence, on this occasion, it became the asylum to which the inhabitants of Adjuden and Dibalpour, and indeed of all the adjoining districts of Hindûstaun, had flocked for protection. Such, in short, was the multitude which thronged to its gates before the terrors of invasion, that the compass of the walls was too narrow for their reception. A prodigious assemblage of cattle, with carriages innumerable containing the effects of the fugitives, were crouded at all events under the surrounding walls, while guards were stationed at every avenue to watch over their security.

In the mean time, having passed a few hours within the town of Adjûden, on a visit to the sepulchre of Sheikh Fereid Shukkergunje, the influence of whose sainted spirit he besought to accompany him in his designs, Teymûr, on the twenty-fifth of Suffur,\* took his departure from that place: and having crossed the Dûna river, which runs by it, proceeded to Khaules Kouteli, a hill or range of hills here stated to lie at the distance of two kôsse from Adjuden, and fifty from Batneir, three of these kôsse or Kourûh, being at the same time expressly represented as equal to one imperial, or statute farsang.† After a short halt at Khaules Kouteli, for the performance of meridian prayer, he continued his march thence for the whole of the remainder of the day, and of the following night without intermission; and

\* 5th of November.

† As the distance from Adjuden to Batneir, in Arrowsmith's valuable map of Asia, is almost precisely 91 geographical miles, we are warranted in stating these kôsse as equal to one mile and three quarters each, and the farsang at five miles and a quarter.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut us-  
suffa.

on the twenty-sixth of the month, at Tchaushtgâb, the hour of his morning's repast about ten in the forenoon, to the extreme surprise and terror of the inhabitants, he appeared in sight of Batneir, having performed this extraordinary march of fifty kôsse, in less than four and twenty hours. All that was without the fortifications became the immediate prey of these formidable and unexpected visitants.

Confident, nevertheless, in the strength of his post, and in the numbers assembled for its defence, Râo Doultschen,\* or perhaps, Doultschund, appeared but little disposed to submit, and the imperial troops advanced without delay on all points to attack the Sheherbund, or fortified suburbs, which were carried at the first onset; the unfortunate Hindûs being put to the sword in great numbers, and a vast booty falling into the hands of the assailants. The commanders of Tomauns and Koushûns then proceeded to the attack of the interior fort, which they approached with fearful celerity under cover of fascines and hurdles. On the other hand, determined on making a gallant resistance, Râo Doultschen, at the head of some of his bravest Hindûs, had taken post at the principal gate; where being, however, assailed with equal vigour and perseverance, on the part of the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Seyud Khaujah, and Jahaun Melek, with others belonging to the Tomaun of Shah Rokh, the Hindû chief conceived that the works of the town were on the point of being forced; and a sudden panic seizing upon his mind, he immediately dispatched a certain Seyud, who resided under his protection, to intercede for a cessation of hostilities for the remainder of the day, and to engage, in his behalf, that the gates of the town should be thrown open on the day following, when he would in person quit the place, and make his submission to Teymûr. From regard to the character of the agent, in whose veins flowed the blood of his prophet, Teymûr consented to this arrangement; and the troops were immediately ordered to withdraw from the foot of the works, and to retire altogether from the town, to their encampment without the suburbs.

Finding, however, next day, little on the part of the Hindû that indicated a disposition to fulfil his engagements, the generals of the

\* In Hindy the author here observes that Râo corresponds with the title of Bahauder, or hero, or perhaps knight, in Persian.

imperial army again received orders each to approach, by sap, that part of the enemy's works directly opposite to his station; and the rapidity and perseverance with which these orders were carried into execution on the part of the Teymûrians, in spite of the fire-works, stones, and arrows, showered upon them in all directions, was again so appalling that, alarmed at their progress, Râo Dôultchen and his officers, from the towers and ramparts, implored afresh the mercy of their besiegers. A second time the imperial clemency was awakened in their behalf; and the same day Râo Dôultchen dispatched his own son and lieutenant, with some very rare and costly presents, further to solicit the indulgence of Teymûr, who permitted him, after a very favorable and distinguished reception, to return to his father. Encouraged thus to hope for similar indulgence, on the part of the conqueror, the Hindû chief did not hesitate the day afterwards, accompanied by Sheikh Saud of Adjuden, probably the Saudek recently mentioned, to repair himself to the tents of Teymûr; to whom, in humble prostration, he was permitted to present some rare and beautiful animals, with three toghouz, or sets, of Arabian horses, consisting of nine to each set. He likewise experienced a reception equally liberal and distinguished, and was presented in return, with a gold embroidered Khelaut, or pelisse, a scarf, or girdle of the same, or still more costly materials, and a diadem richly set with precious stones.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

The multitude which had fled to Batneir, on intelligence of the approach of Teymûr, was great beyond calculation, and particularly from Deibalpour, and Adjuden, and the adjacent parts of Hindûstau; and the Ameirs Sûliman Shah and Allahdaud were now directed to take possession of the gates; and to dispatch to the imperial encampment, without delay, all those from the surrounding districts who had sought so treacherous a security within the walls of this remote fortress. In consequence of these instructions, five hundred of the inhabitants of Deibalpour, who had been accomplices in the death of Mûssafer Kâbuli and his followers, were immediately put to death, and their women and children condemned to slavery. Some also from Adjuden, who had been induced, it seems, by absurd and groundless apprehensions to turn their backs on the Tcheghatayan stand-

A. H. 801.  
 A. D. 1398.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

ard, and to seek the same fallacious security, here experienced the woeful retribution of their folly and unwarrantable suspicions. In the mean time, Kummaul-ud-dein the brother, and his nephew, the son of Râo Doultchen, impressed, not unjustly as the author would persuade us, with alarm of the vindictive designs of Teymûr, in an evil hour proceeded to close the gates of the town against their ferocious adversaries; although perfectly aware that their chief was at the same moment in the hands of the conqueror. This, of course, excited afresh, and to a more violent degree, the indignation of Teymûr; and again the rapid progress of the Teymûrians to sap the foundations of the walls and towers, produced its former terrific impressions upon the infatuated wretches within. The brother and son of the Hindô, who was now in irons through the rashness of their proceedings, now both together came out of the town; and once more in the most abject terms implored the mercy of Teymûr, having lodged the keys of the fort in the hands of the imperial generals.

It might have been conceived that the fate of Batneir was now finally decided; but the worst was yet to come. For, when the Amers Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Allahdaud, proceeded into the town, in order to collect the contribution which was imposed upon the inhabitants as the ransom of their lives, the perfidious Rayas, or opulent Hindû residents, most probably Raujpouts, raised every obstacle, by cavil and otherwise, to the payment of the stipulated sums; and evincing in every respect a disposition to betray their engagements, the dispute atlast terminated in open and actual hostilities. Teymûr was early apprized of this new disturbance, and a mandate was immediately issued for the total extermination of its authors. The Teymûrians now approached for the last time; and having scaled the parapets of the ramparts, by means of ropes and sling-nooses cast over them, were soon masters of the whole of the works. In this extremity the infidel Hindûs, or Raujpouts, for such from this characteristic trait they assuredly were, associated with others of the inhabitants,\* set fire to the town; and having cut the throats of their women and children, all together in the frenzy of despair stood ready to combat to the last with their assailants. They are described as equally form-

\* De la Croix states that some of these called themselves Mussulmans.



idable in point of numbers, courage, and bodily strength; and a most deadly conflict accordingly ensued between them and the Tcheghatâians, in the midst of the conflagration which raged on all sides of them. The believers, in unusual frequency, bit the dust, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein himself was on the point of being sacrificed to the vengeance of the exasperated Hindûs, having been entirely surrounded by them; when in the very crisis of his danger he was fortunately rescued by the intrepid zeal of two of the Teymûrian soldiers, one a native of Baghdâd, and the other of the province of Seiestaun, who at the imminent hazard of their lives cut their way through the deadly circle by which he was enclosed.

A. H. 601.  
A. D. 1898.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

The ministers of Teymûr's vengeance were, however, finally triumphant; ten thousand of the unfortunate garrison and inhabitants having fallen by the swords of these pious and worthy advocates of a religion of intolerance and blood. Such of the buildings of the place as had hitherto escaped the general conflagration, were now set on fire and the whole burnt to the ground; and nothing remained to indicate the site of this once populous town, excepting a few melancholy heaps of cinders and ashes. All the effects that had been rescued from the devouring element, were by Teymûr's directions distributed to the troops; and the two soldiers who had so nobly exerted themselves, in the relief of Nûr-ud-dein, were selected as objects peculiarly worthy of imperial favor,

On the third of the former Rebbeia,\* or three days after the destruction of Batneir according to De la Croix's work, Teymûr directed his views to penetrate further into the neighboring districts to the eastward; and proceeding fourteen kosse in the time usually allotted for the dispatch of a single farsang,† he came to a station which is designated by the appellation of the Kinaur-e-aub-e-hawz, or hâouz, —the side of the tank.‡ On the following day, he broke up from thence and conducted his troops to the walls of Sersetty, or Sreswatty, on the river of the same name; the proposed termination, according

\* 12th of November.

† A mode of expression intended to indicate extraordinary celerity of march; perhaps six or seven miles an hour.

‡ The Kaggar river is about half way between Batneir and the Sreswatty, and may perhaps be the water here adverted to.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

to some maps, of the canal once designed to connect that river with the Jumna. As the inhabitants of this town were, for the greater part, strangers to the vaunted light of Islaum, and are here contemptuously stigmatized as eaters of hogs flesh, they had abandoned the place, as soon as it had been ascertained that the Tcheghatâian armies were approaching in that direction. They were immediately pursued, and partly overtaken, by a detachment of the imperial troops, and cut to pieces in considerable numbers, with the loss of one person only on the part of the Teymûrians. After a repose of one day at Sersetty, Teymûr continued his march the next, taking a northerly direction towards Futtehabad, lying, according to De la Croix, at the distance of eighteen miles from the last station.\* This place, on his arrival, he also found deserted by the inhabitants; who were however pursued by the Teymûrians with considerable slaughter to the fugitives, and no small acquisition of spoil to their pursuers.

From Futtehabad, Teymûr proceeded next to Ahrouny, a fortified town which was consigned to the discretion of a rapacious soldiery, the greater part of the inhabitants put to the sword, and the remainder driven into slavery, because, according to our author, there was not among the whole a single individual of sufficient weight, good sense or prudence, to come forward with an appeal to the clemency of the conqueror. The place was consumed to ashes. In the mean time, for a period of some duration, the neighboring territory had been subject to the dominion of the Jatts a numerous and powerful tribe; which had long and cruelly infested the roads, in all directions, with every species of violence, robbery, and outrage. No sooner was it known, however, that the armies of Teymûr had drawn their swords on the fertile plains to the eastward of the Indus, than these ferocious plunderers retired into some adjoining forests, rendered difficult of access by the wilderness of thorns,† and thorny trees, interspersed throughout. To punish and put a stop to the further outrages of these unlicensed marauders, a division of the imperial troops was immediately employed under Towukkel Hindwi Kerkerrah, and

\* We have already hazarded an opinion that the miles of De la Croix were kósse, of about one and three quarters, or two miles.

† Ney shukker indicates the sugar cane; but Neishgur must mean thorny, as the sugar cane is seldom cultivated in the jungles.

Moulana Nausser-ud-dein Omar; who accordingly entered the jungles, and having hunted the banditti from their hiding places and cut to pieces about two hundred of them, returned without loss, and with a considerable number of captives to rejoin the main body of the army.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

But as the views of Teymûr were directed to the entire extirpation of the obnoxious tribe, in order to secure mankind effectually against any future violence, on the part of these depredators, he dispatched the heavy baggage with the accumulated booty, in charge of Ameir Sûliman Shah, towards Samaunah, while he proceeded in person, with the body of the army, in further search of the Jatts, who were still secreted in the surrounding woods and deserts. On the same day, that on which he left the station of Tohanah, the ninth of the former Rebbeia\* according to De la Croix, no less than two thousand of these proscribed barbarians, for the author is not sparing of ill language on the occasion, were drawn into the snare cast round them by their destiny, and their property women and children became the lot of their exterminators. Thus, continues our author, was the mischief occasioned by these faithless banditti, a mischief by which not even the morning breeze was permitted to pass in that direction without extreme difficulty, now entirely cut up by the roots. In the mean time, a community of Seyuds, whose abode was in the neighborhood, embraced the opportunity to claim the protection of Teymûr, who conferred upon them the most encouraging marks of his favor; an officer being immediately appointed to preside over their village, and to defend them against the excesses to which they might otherwise have been exposed, during the passage of the imperial armies.

On the banks of the Kehker, or Kaggar, river, not far from the town of Samaunah, Teymûr rejoined his heavy equipments previously dispatched towards that place, under Ameir Sûliman Shah; and having halted, according to De la Croix, for the space of four days, he proceeded, on monday the fifteenth of the former Rebbeia,† to the bridge of Koupelah, perhaps Koubleh, apparently either on the Sreswatty, or a branch of that river, near, or at the head of which he

\* 18th of November.

† 24th of November.



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again encamped. At this station he was now joined by Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the Ameirzâdahs Sûltan Hûseyne and Rûstum, and by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, Sheikh Arslan, Sounjek Bahauder, and Mûbasher, with the troops of the left wing, dispatched as formerly related, to enter Hindûstaun, by the northern route; having subjugated many refractory and hostile tribes during their march, and enriched themselves by a competent accumulation of spoil. The Tcheghatâian monarch then led his armies over the pûll, or bridge, of Koupelah to the station of Keytuhl, situated at the distance of five farsangs\* and two meil, or about twenty miles [south east] from Samaunah.

The princes of his blood and other distinguished commanders, who had been hitherto employed in traversing the invaded territory in different directions, being now all assembled under the standard of their sovereign, the following order of march was prescribed for the future movements of the imperial army. The right wing was directed to proceed in a separate column, under the orders of the Mirzas Peir Mahommed, and Rûstum, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Yadgaur Berlas, Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and other chiefs whose names it would be tedious to enumerate; the left wing in another column, as before, under the direction of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular sovereign of Transoxiana, accompanied by the Mirzas, or Ameirzâdahs Khaleil Sûltan, and Sûltan Hûseyne, together with the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Shah Melek, Sheikh Arslan, Mahommed Eykou Temûr, and Sounjek Bahauder: and the centre, consisting of the great, the Saur-subbuz, [the green perhaps], and other Tomauns, in a third column, conducted by Ameir Allahdaud, and Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, perhaps quartermaster, or campmaster general, under the immediate orders of Teymûr. And in this disposition, occupying as well as can be understood, either from right to left, or front to rear, a space of between four and six farsangs and two meil, or from fourteen to three and twenty miles, the whole now advanced towards the metropolis of Dehly, which lay at the distance of about ninety-five or a hundred miles to the south-east.

\* Ferishtah says five kôsse.—or about 17 miles.

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 A. D. 1398.  
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 suffa.

On the twenty-second of the month,\* the army reached Assendy, about seventeen miles, according to De la Croix, from the last ground at Keytuhl; the inhabitants of this as well as those of Samaunah and other places in their progress, having deserted their abodes, and fled to Dehly. Leaving Assendy the next day, the imperial standard was advanced to the fortress of Toghluḱpour, a short march of six miles.† The author here observes, in passing, that the inhabitants of this place destitute of the knowledge of those sublime truths which vindicate the inseparate unity of the supreme being, maintained the absurd doctrine of the existence of two divinities, or eternal principles, to one of whom they assigned the appellation of Yezdan, and to the other that of Ahreman [Arimanes]; the former, according to their interpretation, being the fountain of light, and the source of all that is good and excellent, and the latter, the principle of darkness, and of all evil and mischief. They were, in all probability, a colony of the descendants of the ancient Persians, professing the doctrine of Zera-tusht, Zerdūsht, or Zoroaster; of which indeed the author, as a Persian scholar, could not have been ignorant, as they are still sufficiently numerous and respectable, on the western side of the Peninsula of India. In this place they are, however, distinguished by the appellation of *Saloun*, and like the inhabitants of most other places in his route had abandoned their dwellings at the approach of Teymūr. The town was, therefore, wholly burnt to the ground, and not a vestige left to indicate the spot whereon it stood.

Leaving the ruins of Toghluḱpour‡, Teymūr proceeded twelve kōsse, to Pauniput; where he appears to have arrived on the twenty-fourth of the month. Like the rest, this place had also been abandoned by the inhabitants; but a granary of one hundred and sixty thousand mauns§ of wheat, discovered in the fort, furnished a very seasonable and acceptable supply to the army. Thus prosecuting his march, and halting occasionally according to circumstances, Teymūr,

\* 1st of December.

† De la Croix; the miles were probably kōsse.

‡ This was probably the same with what is now called in the maps Sufendou, about the distance of 20 miles to the westward of Pauniput.

§ The maun is an indefinite admeasurement, from one to twenty-eight, and even forty pounds.

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on the twenty-seventh of the former Rebbeia\*, directed the Ameirs of the left wing to scour the country up to the walls of Jahaun-nemâ; a magnificent palace erected by the late Sûltan Feyrouz Shah, on an eminence on the right bank of the Joun, or Jumna, about two farsangs or seven miles above the city of Dehly. This order was carried into execution with the customary promptitude and dispatch, and the whole country from the village of Kaun-e-gûzein to the palace in question, was accordingly overrun by the imperial cavalry; the inhabitants of the intervening plains being either put to the sword or driven into captivity, and their property pillaged or destroyed.

The executioners of his vengeance having again rejoined him, Teymûr, on monday the 29th of the former Rebbeia,† proceeded across the river Jumna, directing his march to the fortified town of Louny, situated to the left of that river,‡ and between it and the Meilen, or Heilen; a canal cut by Sûltan Feyrouz Shah, for the name of this prince seems connected with every thing devised to improve and embellish his country, in order to unite the same river with the Kâleiny. The country in this neighborhood affording the most excellent forage, Teymûr encamped the same day in sight of Louny, which had been previously invested by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Shah Melek, and Allahdaud; and as the Koutwal, or governor of the town, continued to make an obstinate resistance, he set his troops to work, in order to gain the defences by sap, and in the course of a very few hours they were masters of the place. The Mahomedan inhabitants, whose lives had been previously secured through the intercession of a respectable Sheikh their fellow citizen, were then set apart from the infidels; the whole of whom were immediately put to the sword. The town was afterwards pillaged and burnt, and the walls laid in ruins.

On the first day of the latter Rebbeia.§ Teymûr took horse to reconnoitre the passages of the Jumna, opposite to the palace of Jahaun-nemâ; and the same day, on his return to camp, he dispatched Ameir Jahaun Shah with other distinguished commanders to sweep the country|| on all sides of Dehly, and to secure a supply of

\* 6th of December.

† 8th of December.

‡ About ten miles above the city of Dehly.

§ 10th of December.

|| Ferishtah says, "the country south of Dehly."

grain for the army, in the event that he might be compelled to lay regular siege to the great Indian metropolis. The following day, desirous of visiting the palace of Jahaun-nemâ, Teymûr crossed the Jumna to the western side, accompanied by seven hundred of the flower of his cavalry; and having accordingly gratified his curiosity to a sufficient degree, in admiring the various beauties of this magnificent structure, his attention was directed towards the adjoining plain, in order to determine how far it presented situations for giving battle, with advantage, to the enemy. While these circumstances engaged his consideration, Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, and Jeneid Bûreldâi, who had been sent to scour the vicinity round, brought in each a prisoner; one of whom, Mahommed Sellef a respectable Ameir of the court of Dehly, the monarch caused to be immediately put to death, having replied unsatisfactorily to the questions put to him with regard to the state of affairs in the city. A few minutes afterwards, a body of the enemy composed of four thousand cuirassiers, or cavalry clad in mail, with five thousand foot, and seven and twenty elephants, under the command of Mullou Khaun, or Mellou Ekbal Khaun as he is entituled in Ferishtah, the prime minister of the empire, issued from the groves which encompass the city at that distance, and drew near to the spot on which Teymûr was engaged in making his observations. Without a moment's delay Teymûr recrossed the river, leaving Seyud Khaujah and Mûbasher Bahauder, to make head against the advanced parties of the enemy; before whom they retired gradually to the river side, where they took their final stand against their adversaries.

In the mean time, as soon as he had regained his camp in the neighborhood of Louny, the Ameirs Sounjek and Allahdaud were dispatched by Teymûr, with a competent force, to the assistance of Seyud Khaujah and his gallant associates. With the rapidity of lightning these commanders passed the Jumna, to the support of their companions in arms, whom they soon and effectually relieved from the pressure of the enemy; the latter, on receiving some striking lessons of the superior address of the Teymûrians, and in particular of the unerring skill of their archers, early withdrawing from the conflict, although not without sustaining a considerable loss. On this

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suffa.

A. H. 801. occasion the circumstance of one of their elephants being disabled  
 A. D. 1398. during the flight of the enemy, is described to have produced an  
 Rouzut-us- important impression among the Tcheghatâians; those among them  
 suffa. in any degree accustomed to penetrate beyond the present, hailing the  
 incident as a happy presage of future more substantial successes.

Quitting the bank of the Jumna, opposite to the palace of Jahaun-nemâi, Teymûr, on friday the third of the latter Rebbeia,\* removed his camp to the eastward of Louny; where he was joined shortly afterwards, if not in the course of the same day, by the Shahzâdahs who had been employed to make a sweep of the country. It was during the short period of suspended activity which now took place, that a general massacre of the prisoners was resolved on; a measure the odium of which the author has endeavoured to shift from the memory of the Tcheghatâian conqueror, to his ministers. For, at a general council, composed of all the princes of his blood, and his principal generals, after Teymûr had expatiated with some formality, and considerable eloquence, on the precautions observed by the monarchs of former ages, in conducting the complicated operations of war, whether in disposing of their armies for the immediate conflict of the field of battle, or in providing for their safe retreat, when committed to situations of unforeseen difficulty and danger; and in short, on all the maxims and occurrences of that destructive science, of which he was, without dispute, the most consummate master of his time, the Shahzadahs and other members of the council, ventured to represent, that from the passage of the Indus to their arrival on the spot on which they were now assembled, the accumulation of prisoners of all descriptions of idolaters, Magians as well as Hindûs, was so great as at this moment to exceed one hundred thousand, within the precincts of the imperial encampment—that, from a predilection by no means unnatural, in the event of a general battle with the troops of Dehly, it was to be apprehended that these men would avail themselves of the opportunity to go over to the enemy—and that the indiscreet and undisguised satisfaction indicated in their behavior during the recent movement of the force under Mullou Khaun, afforded the strongest grounds for such an inference. But however

\* 12th of December.



originating, these suggestions, built on the maxims of a barbarous and sanguinary policy, were sufficient with Teymûr to justify the horrible mandate which he immediately issued, that these unarmed and defenceless captives should be put to the sword; denouncing, at the same time, the punishment of death to any that might evince the slightest disposition to delay the execution of the sanguinary decree. The scene of butchery accordingly commenced, with frightful activity; and such is described to have been the zeal with which the detestable mandate was carried into execution, that no less than fifteen innocent and defenceless victims were contributed, to the list of the massacred, by Moulana Nausser ud-dein Omar, a man to this period so little habituated to bloodshed, as never to have drawn his knife to the slaughter of a sheep. In short, it is acknowledged that, at the most moderate computation, not less than one hundred thousand of the natives of India perished by the hands of their persecutors, on this cruel occasion; and when the atrocious butchery had reached its consummation, an order was circulated, that every tenth soldier in the army should remain with the encampment; as a guard over the women and children of the slaughtered, and as a security for the accumulated booty of every description.

On the day which was rendered thus memorable, by the massacre of so many defenceless human beings, Teymûr resumed his position on the left bank of the Jumna; nothing being now left to divert his attention from the prosecution of his grand design, the final subjugation of the metropolis of Hindûstaun. In these circumstances his astrologers, appalled perhaps by the horrible and bloody scene which had just passed before their eyes, having held a previous consultation among themselves, on the course of events indicated by the present position of the heavenly bodies, ventured to intimate to their sovereign what had been the result of their observations; and to urge the expediency of a short delay in his operations, until the aspect of the stars should exhibit something more favorable to the issue. To these, however, Teymûr paid but little attention, the experience of a long and eventful life having possibly convinced him of the fallacy of such speculations, and how little the course of human affairs is governed by the influence of trines and sextiles, or the triangular and hexagonal positions of the stars.

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But as he conceived it, at the same time, necessary to employ some expedient, in order to produce in the minds of his soldiers an anticipation favorable to his undertakings, he proceeded, the following day, after the performance of morning prayer, and the recital of the usual portion of the sacred volume; to consult the Korân, in the expectation of opening upon some passage that might apply to the enterprize, in which he was about to engage, against the city of Dehly; and the result was, it seems, flattering to his most sanguine hopes. Not yet satisfied, the sacred volume was again unfolded, with reference to his design as it affected Mullou Khaun in particular; on whose courage and talents the troops of the Indian monarchy appear to have reposed their firmest reliance: and the attention of Teymûr was immediately attracted by the following passage, in the chapter of the Bee! "God propounded as a parable a possessed, [or purchased] slave, and *him* on whom we have bestowed a good provision from us, and who giveth alms thereout both secretly and openly: shall these two be esteemed equal?"\* Elated by the perusal of these lines, of which the application was so obvious, Teymûr broke up without further delay, from the left of the Jumna, and proceeded across that river, to the opposite or western side; where, on the plains of Feyrouzabad, the imperial army now finally encamped.† In addition to the ordinary precautions of a ditch and breastworks, the latter composed of the branches of trees and hurdles, [fascines and gabions], Teymûr placed a multitude of buffalos, well bound neck and heels, in front of the ditch, [within the ditch according to Ferishtah,] in order the more effectually to prevent surprise, and to embarrass the approach of the enemy.‡

On the morning of Tuesday the seventh of the latter Rebeia,§ Teymûr proceeded to draw out his troops in order of battle, the command of his right wing being entrusted to his grandson Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, aided by the Ameirs Yadgaur Berlas, and Sâliman Shah, with Komaury, and Temûr Khaujâh, or

\* Vide Sale's Korân Vol. II. Chap. 16. Page 85.

† 14th December.

‡ In his institutes Teymûr asserts that he had recourse to these precautions, in order to impress the enemy with the persuasion that he was conscious of his weakness.

§ 16th of December.

Khojah, the son of Aukbouga, and other distinguished chieftains. The left wing was placed under the direction of the Mirzas Sûltan Hâsseyne, the son of one of Teymûr's daughters by the grandson of his early friend Ameir Moussa, and Khaleil Sûltan the son of Meiran Shah, at this period not more than fifteen years of age, assisted by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah and Sheikh Arslan, and other commanders whose names it would be unnecessary to recapitulate. The vanguard, of the centre possibly, was consigned to the discretion of Mirza Rûstum\* the son of Omar Sheikh, accompanied by the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek, and Allahdaud; and, as the animating principle of the whole machine, Teymûr displayed the imperial standard at the head of the centre, of which he assumed the command in person. In this disposition, he advanced to the ground on which he had previously determined to give battle to the enemy. Sûltan Mahmûd, on the other hand, accompanied by the minister Mullou Khaun, also displayed his standard at the head of the centre of his army; of which the left wing was placed under the orders of Toghâi Khaun, and Ameir Ally Mûeyud, and the right under those of Melek Mûeyne-ud-dein, Melek Hauny, and other distinguished Indian commanders. But the whole force of the army destined, on this occasion, to combat in defence of the throne of Dehly, does not appear to have exceeded twelve thousand horse and forty thousand foot, well armed and equipped for battle. Their principal dependence is, at the same time, said to have rested on a formidable line of armed elephants, one hundred and twenty in number, each with a wooden turret on its back, filled with archers and slingers,† parties of cross-bowmen and rocket boys being, moreover, stationed in the intervals of the line of elephants: and in this array, with minds prepared for conquest or for death, they approached to meet their enemies.

Although the Tcheghatâian troops had at former periods been engaged in many a fearful conflict—had dissipated the ranks of many a puissant army—the enormous bulk of the elephants, so formidably arrayed and caparisoned for offence, was, however, a spectacle to

\* According to De la Croix's translation, this prince commanded the rear guard.

† Tcherkh-andâuz.

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A. D. 1398.  
Rouzat-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 801.  
 A. D. 1398,  
 Rouzut us-  
 suffa.

which they had not yet been sufficiently familiarized. They had heard it, moreover, described that the bodies of these tremendous animals were proof against every weapon, and their strength so prodigious that they tore down the largest trees by the middle with their trunks, and detrued the most massy buildings by the mere pressure of their sides. It is accordingly acknowledged that the various reports, which they heard circulating in every quarter on the subject, had produced a considerable sensation of alarm upon their minds; so much, indeed, that when Teymûr assigned to the different Ameirs of his court their respective stations, and, with his usual solicitude for the accommodation and security of persons of their class, demanded of Khaujah Afzel of Kesh, and Moulana Abduljebbaur the son of Niamman-ud-dein the Kharezmian, and the other men of letters who attended him during the expedition, where they wished to be disposed of, they unanimously requested to be conveyed to the same place with the women. Considering therefore the apprehensions which appeared to have seized upon all descriptions of his followers, the monarch, in order as far as possible to restore their confidence, gave orders afresh that a breastwork of hurdles, strengthened by a ditch, should be immediately thrown up along the whole front of his line of battle; a number of buffalos being picketed as before, without the ditch, further to embarras the attempts of the enemy. The foot soldiers were, moreover, furnished with large iron prongs, a sort of crows feet possibly, which they were to cast before the elephants, when they approached to the attack.

But, an eternal providence watching over the destiny of Teymûr throughout every stage of his eventful life, all these precautions proved entirely superfluous, and might have been omitted with perfect safety to the design. In the mean time, while the distance between the adverse lines was gradually and rapidly diminishing, the Tcheghatâian monarch, who had taken his station on a rising ground near the centre of his armies, suddenly dismounted from his charger; and twice, humbly prostrate on the earth, besought the Almighty disposer of events, to aid him in the subjugation of his enemies; and, as his supplications originated, it seems, in motives of *the most spotless purity*, appearances, almost instantaneously, indicated that they

were favorably attended to. For, it is considered a circumstance extremely singular to relate, if not totally extraneous to the ordinary course of events, that, while their sovereign was thus devoutly engaged in addressing his creator, it occurred to the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek, and Allahdaud, who were attached to the advanced guard, to accept as an omen auspicious to his cause that any troops should be detached from the centre to the support of the right wing. It so fell out, that Teymûr was no sooner at leisure from the performance of his devotions, than he dispatched Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, with Altûn Bukhshy, and Moussa Kummaul [possibly Rekmaul] exactly as their hopes anticipated, to reinforce his right, while another division of troops proceeded at the same moment to the assistance of the vanguard; and this being immediately observed by the three respectable commanders just mentioned, was joyfully hailed as the undoubted presage of success, and, with a courage thus animated to the conflict, they manfully prepared to receive the enemy.

But, in order to explain the matter more in detail, the author proceeds to relate that the Ameirs Sounjek Babauder, Seyud Khaujeh, Allahdaud, Nussret Komaury, Sâeine Temûr, Mahommed Derweish, and other chiefs who led the Kerawul, or light troops, of the advanced guard, observing that the enemy were advancing from all sides to attack the right wing of the imperial army, immediately threw themselves into ambuscade; so that the advanced parties of the assailants passed through without discovering the snare. They had, however, no sooner cleared the ambuscade than they were furiously assailed in the rear by the troops in ambush; by whom, at the very first onset, five hundred of them were laid in the dust. Soon afterwards, Peir Mahommed led the Kumbul, or vanguard of the right wing, into action, directing his attention towards one of the elephants which he singled out, and sword in hand immediately attacked; the main body of the same wing bearing simultaneously and with united force against the adverse wing of the enemy, which was, as has already been mentioned, under the direction of Tôghâi Khaun—another of their chiefs, on whose courage and skill, the Hindûstaunies appear to have reposed the utmost reliance. The whole of this wing, nevertheless,

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suffa.

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 suffa.

now gave way in consternation before the Teymûriais, who pursued, with eager impetuosity until they had driven the enemy beyond the Hâouz-e-khauss, or royal tank—a noble reservoir the work of Sûltan Feyrouz Shah, more than a bow shot across, on the south-west side of Dehly, calculated, when adequately replenished by the periodical rains, to furnish an ample supply of water to the whole of the city for the twelve months round. The tomb, or mausoleum, of that beneficent and illustrious monarch stood by the side of this magnificent reservoir.

To the left likewise, Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, at the head of the advanced guard of that wing of the army, and aided by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, and Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, was equally successful against the right of the enemy; which was also thrown into disorder, and pursued to the very gates of the town. In the mean time, the centre of the army of Dehly, preceded by the line of elephants, made its grand attack upon the advanced guard of Teymûr's centre, under Mirza Rûstum, and the Ameirs Shah Melek, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein; who opposed, however, so determined and destructive a resistance, as at once to change the hopes of the enemy into the blackest despair. They were, almost at the same moment, assailed with irresistible fury by Dowlut Temûr Tawatchei, and Mûngaly Khaubah, and other commanders of Tomauns, and Koushûns, who, bearing the invincible fortune of their master at the points of their lances, pushed without dismay to the line of elephants, whose riders they brought alternately headlong to the earth; the trunks of these enormous and useful animals being struck off in frequent instances by the scimitars of the Tcheghatâian warriors. The Indian commanders exhibited, nevertheless, to the extent of their ability, a courage and perseverance, in many respects, worthy of a better fate; neither did they relax in their exertions until convinced, by surrounding objects, of the disgrace and defeat about to overwhelm them. They then gave up the contest, and fled on all sides in dismay and despair, and the whole plain was soon covered with the dead and dying.

Sûltan Mahmûd and Mullou Khaun his minister, having retreated with the utmost precipitation into the city, Teymûr proceeded in person in full career to the very gates; and having taken a careful

survey of the walls and towers, drew off, for the present, to the tank of Feyrouz Shah, by the side of which he caused his pavilion to be immediately erected. Here he received from the Shahzâdahs and his principal generals their heart felt congratulations on the triumphant issue of the conflict; every instance of distinguished valour exhibited, in the course of the day, by the soldiers of the imperial army of all classes and descriptions, being now reported in detail, for the approbation of their sovereign. The name of Khaleil Sûltan is recorded in particular, as having attracted universal applause by an example of undaunted spirit, little expected in a youth of his years. In the heat of the conflict he had captured one of the largest elephants, which he led in triumph immediately to the presence of his grandfather. In short, every circumstance of this memorable day most justly contributed to awaken afresh, in the bosom of Teymûr, the most lively sensations of gratitude towards that inscrutable and all-bountiful being who, from among so many millions of his creatures, had selected himself alone to bless with so illustrious a progeny, and with a train of followers to aid in his designs, so numerous and puissant; with treasures so prodigiously accumulated, and with an extent of dominions at the same time so rich, flourishing, and populous. All this he did not fail on the occasion to acknowledge with all the fervor and devotion, which it was in so eminent a degree calculated to excite.

Having, as we have just seen, fled from the fury of the Tchegafâian armies into the city of Dehly, Sûltan Maḥmûd and his vezzeir, with hearts resigned to grief despair and blood, thought for a moment to interpose the walls of the devoted metropolis between them and the fearful mischiefs which were accumulating around; beginning to repent, when repentance was no longer availing, of their manifold misdeeds, or, more justly speaking, to meditate with painful regret on the total failure of all their plans to oppose the progress of their cruel invaders. Conceiving, however, on further reflection, that there remained for them no means of safety but in early, and immediate flight from the scene of danger, they determined on leaving the city without a moment's delay; and accordingly, during the obscurity of the same night, took their departure, each by a different gate, Sûl-

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Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 801. tan Mahmûd directing his course for Gûjerât, and the minister proceeding towards Beren. Intelligence of their departure being, however, early conveyed to Teymûr, several Ameirs were immediately dispatched in pursuit. These returned shortly afterwards with a considerable booty, together with the two sons of Mullou Khaun, Seyf-ud-dein, and Khodaud,\* whom they had taken prisoners; although both the Sûltan and his minister succeeded in effecting their escape, beyond the reach of all pursuit. In the mean time, before the night was yet at an end, the Teymûrian generals were ordered to secure all the gates; with instructions that no more of the garrison and inhabitants should be permitted to leave the town.

A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

On wednesday the eighth of the month,† early in the forenoon, Teymûr repaired in mighty pomp to the Eidgauh, or place of sacrifice, in front of the Durwauzah-e-meydaun; one of the gates of that division of the city called the Jahaunpunnah, and over against which, according to De la Croix, lay the Hâouz-e-khauss, or royal tank of Feyrouz Shah, already described. Here the Seyuds and Kauzies, men of letters and the law, and the devout and abstinent of every class and denomination, hastened to make their submission to the conqueror, by whom they were very graciously received. The Nâeib also, or Locumtenens, of Mullou Khaun, who appears to have been a native of Bâlkh of the name of Fuzzul-ullah, together with the civil officers of the government, and of the revenue, ventured to approach the imperial presence, and experienced a reception no less favorable. In the mean time, the ministers of religion and Seyuds successfully pleaded with the Shahzâdahs and principal generals, for their intermediation with the Tcheghatâian monarch, in behalf of the terrified inhabitants of Dehly; and a promise was secured that they should be inviolably protected in their lives and property—a promise with which they returned highly rejoiced to the city.

The imperial standard was now displayed over the principal gate of the town, and the martial music struck up to announce to the world the consummation of this important conquest; the precise date of which is to be found in certain words of either of three distichs compos-

\* According to Ferishtah these were the sons of Sûltan Mahmûd himself.

† 17th of December.



ed on the occasion ; but *z'futtah Shah—in the conquest of the Shah*, that is to say of Mahmūd Shah, the leading words of the first line of one of the distichs, will give, without further investigation, the number 801, being the year of the hidjerah in which it was achieved. The captured elephants, together with twelve rhinoceroses found in the royal menagerie, were next brought before Teymūr; the former being taught to place their foreheads to the earth, and to raise a fearful cry, as if imploring the mercy of the conqueror. Of one hundred and twenty of these noble animals, which, in all, fell into the hands of the Tcheghataïan troops on this memorable occasion, two were conveyed to Meiran Shah at Tebreiz, five to the court of Shah Rokh at Herât, one to Ameir Ibrauhim at Shirvaun, and one to Ameir Taherten at Arzenjaun. The remainder were either conducted, at a subsequent period, to Samarkand, or distributed on the spot among the Shahzadâhs, and principal Ameirs of the imperial court and army. And finally, on friday the tenth of the latter Rebbeia, \* Moulana Nausserud-dein Omar, accompanied by a numerous train of the ministers of religion, and of the principal lords of the court, proceeded, by command of the conqueror, to pronounce from the pulpit of the cathedral mosque of Dehly, the names and titles of the august and invincible Teymūr, associated with those of his grandson Peir Mahommed Sôltan, the son of Jahangueir, on this occasion, at least, his acknowledged successor to the throne of Asia.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzul-us-  
suffa.

Thus far, all circumstances considered, matters appear to have proceeded in a train not altogether unfavorable to the poor inhabitants of Dehly ; although the Puttektcheis and inferior officers of the imperial exchequer, who had entered the city for the purpose of collecting the ransom stipulated for their redemption, from pillage and massacre, had already commenced their operations with inflexible rigor and severity. In the mean time, not to omit the opportunity of indulging in the social enjoyments of wine and music, Teymūr entered on a magnificent course of festivities, for the entertainment of the princes of his blood, and the generals of his armies; the whole being admitted, at the same time, to a most bountiful participation in that liberality, with which their sovereign so well understood how to

\* 19th of December.

A. H. 801. cherish and reward the exertions of distinguished merit, in whatever  
 A. D. 1398. shape displayed. But, while the conqueror was thus employed in  
 Rouzut-us-softening the rugged brow of war, amidst the smiles and blandish-  
 suffa. ments of female beauty, and the fascinations of the festive scenes  
 before him, a body of his soldiers had collected together, on thursday  
 the sixteenth of the month,\* at one of the gates of the city; where  
 they proceeded to insult, and otherwise molest, the unarmed and de-  
 fenceless inhabitants. Some of their Ameirs were immediately dis-  
 patched to restrain them from the exercise of these acts of audacious  
 and undisciplined violence; but the destruction of Dehly, and its  
 vicinity, having been predetermined in the inscrutable plans of an  
 eternal and overruling providence, the exertion proved unavailing;  
 the consummation could it seems be no longer averted; and the  
 circumstances which accelerated the catastrophe, appear to be de-  
 scribed with sufficient fidelity in the following detail.

The Princess Tchelpan Aga, with other ladies of Teymúr's court, had rode into the city in order to visit the palace of Hazzur settoun, or a thousand pillars; said to have been erected by Melek Jounah, in the short space of four months.† A multitude of individuals also entered the town at the same time, for the purpose of purchasing sugar and grain and other necessary supplies for the army, while numerous bands of soldiers poured in pursuit of the unhappy fugitives, who had there sought, from the western provinces, an asylum against the enormities of their invaders. In these circumstances, perceiving the disorderly disposition of the promiscuous throng which every moment increased, and alarmed beyond measure at the barbarous and unintelligible jargon of the Moghûls, the inhabitants of the whole of the three divisions, of Srei, Jahaunpunnah, and old Dehly, which comprized the aggregate of the metropolis, all at once flew to arms, and in the frenzy of despair proceeded to assail their insolent oppressors. To add to the horrors of the scene, great numbers of the idolatrous Hindûs hastened to set fire to their habitations and effects,

\* 25th of December.

† According to Ferishtah, this palace was erected about A. D. 1303, by Sûltan Alla-ud-dein-Khiljy, in Gueltchy, who reigned at Dehly, with great renown, from A. D. 1296 to 1316. Melek Fakher-ud-dein Jouna was, however, the former title of Mahommed Toghluék Shah, a succeeding monarch of Dehly.

and, with their women and children, cast themselves into the devouring flames. The Teymûrian generals on the spot, notwithstanding these outrages and ill-timed hostilities on the part of the inhabitants, proceeded without delay to shut the gates; in order to prevent the further access of the troops from without, and, as far as possible, to check the progress of the mischief. This was, however, unavailing. Fifteen thousand of the Tcheghatâian soldiery, either more or less, were already within the town; which, from thursday evening to the ensuing morning, exhibited accordingly the most frightful scenes of plunder and conflagration.

On the following day, the seventeenth of the month, as soon as the morning dawned on the devoted city, the whole of the Teymûrian army, from without, breaking through all restraint, rushed towards the walls, and entered the town; where the measure of calamity was now carried to its utmost extent; every street and quarter of the two divisions of the Srei and Jahaunpunnah being, for the greater part, immediately rifled by the rapacious soldiers. On saturday, the eighteenth,\* nothing was omitted to complete the work of spoliation and violence, all that escaped the sword of the spoiler, being driven into slavery; the meanest soldier in the army having twenty slaves in his possession, others found themselves masters of fifty and sixty, and not a few led out of the town to the number of one hundred each, including women and children. Of the booty—in jewels, and particularly in diamonds and rubies, in pieces of the most rare and beautiful manufacture, in valuable effects, and the richest furniture of every description, in utensils of gold and silver, in chrystal vases and in specie, it would be scarcely possible, it is affirmed, to estimate a thousandth part of the almost incalculable aggregate. The noble and elegant females, and the women indeed of every class, now condemned to a bondage worse than death, having their legs and arms, and other parts of their persons, in a manner, loaded with gold and silver ornaments, such was the abundance of the precious metals and other more costly articles, that the most valuable aromatic drugs and ointments, which is not, however, extremely singular, were contemptuously cast aside, as little worth the attention of the rapacious spoiler.

\* 27th of December,

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.



A. H. 801.  
 A. D. 1398.  
 Rouzut us-  
 suffa.

In the mean time, a remnant of the infidel, or native, Hindûs, had gradually retired, and taken post in considerable force, in the great mosque of old Dehly; where they prepared to defend themselves, with desperate resolution, against the imperial troops. The Ameirs Shah Melek, and Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, with five hundred followers, armed from head to foot, proceeded therefore on the nineteenth of the month, by Teymûr's directions, to quell this last effort of ill concerted resistance; or rather this virtuous, but unavailing recoil of oppressed humanity, against barbarous violence. As might have been expected, the post was forced; and the unhappy Hindûs, who sought to defend it, were all put to the sword. The imperial troops then extended the horrors of pillage and blood through every corner of old Dehly; and the desolation of the Indian metropolis was thus complete. Such as escaped the carnage were driven to share, with their fellow citizens, the misery and degradation of captivity. The most skilful workmen, mechanics, and artificers, were for the most part distributed among the princes of the blood, and the ladies of the imperial family who accompanied the expedition; others were sent to the younger branches, and the royal dames, who had been left at Samarkand. But, as Teymûr had it in contemplation, immediately on his return, to erect at that metropolis a cathedral mosque, or Jumma-mesjeid, of hewn stone, similar to that which stood in the city of Dehly, particular orders were issued, that all the artificers who wrought in stone or marble should be exclusively reserved for his own service.

Of the three towns composing the celebrated city, of which the spoliation is thus recorded, we are indebted to the author for the following imperfect outline. The town of Srei, situated to the East inclining to North, which appears to have stood on the same ground with the ancient city of Indrapet, and of the still more ancient one of Hustnapour of the Mahabauret, was encircled by an oval wall; and that of old Dehly, lying in the opposite direction of west inclining to the south, was enclosed by a similar wall, or rampart, but of much greater compass. Between these two towns, and connecting them together, were two long walls, giving protection to the Jahaunpunnah; a kind of intermediary suburb, although far more extensive

than either of the two former divisions of the city. The three towns, altogether, communicated with the country and with each other, by thirty gates; namely, three leading from Srei to Jahaunpunnah, and four from the same to the country outwards; thirteen from Jahaunpunnah, six to the northwest, and seven to the southeast, and possibly along the Jumma; and the remaining ten gates, must be assigned to the division of old Dehly, communicating on different sides with the country round.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1398.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

Having continued for the period of fifteen days in the environs of Dehly, Teymûr prepared to follow the impulse of zeal and ambition, to other parts of the Indian territory. But, previous to his final departure from the capital, he convened an assembly of the Kauzies, Seyuds, and other distinguished individuals of the Mahomedan persuasion, in the great mosque of the Jahaunpunnah; where it was announced to them, that an officer of the imperial household was appointed, to preside over and protect them against the excesses and irregularities, which might unavoidably occur during the passage and movements of the different divisions of the Tcheghatâian armies. After which, at tchaushtgah, or breakfast time about ten in the forenoon, of wednesday the twenty second of the latter Rebbeia, of the eight hundred and first of the hidjerah,\* the conqueror quitted his ground in front of the walls of the Jahaunpunnah; and proceeded, with the main body of the army, to Feyrouzabad on the Jumma, about three kôsse, or six miles, below the city of Dehly. Some hours were devoted to explore the beauties of this place; and to offer up to the divine majesty the sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise, in the noble mosque of polished marble, erected, on the bank of the same river, by that able and enlightened monarch Sûltan Feyrouz Shah.

At the gate of Feyrouzabad, as he was quitting the town, Teymûr was accosted by Seyud Shums-ud-dein of Termed, and Alla-ud-dein, the Nâeib, or agent, of Sheikh Gougury who had been recently dispatched on a mission to Bahauder Nehaur, the chief of Koteilah; with assurances of the zeal and submission of the latter ruler, and of his design to confirm these assurances in person, on the ensuing friday.

\* 31st of December.

A. H. 801.  
 A. D. 1399.  
 Rouzû us-  
 suffa.

When he reached the ground of encampment on the neighboring plain, some personages presented to him, on the part of the same Bahauder Nehaur, two white parrots; which had been transferred from one Indian sovereign to another, from the time of Sûltan Toghlûk Shah, who reigned at Dehly from the month of august A. D. 1321 to that of february 1325, and which must, therefore, have surpassed the age of seventy-four years at this period. They were accordingly received by Teymûr as curiosities most singularly rare. Leaving the neighborhood of Feyrôuzabad, Teymûr appears to have now recrossed the Jumna, into the Doaub, or Peninsula, between that river and the Ganges, some distance below that place; and after an easy march he proceeded to encamp at the town or station of Ketah, at present little known: where the abovementioned Bahauder Nehaur, accompanied by his son Kolektaush, and introducing a very rare and costly assortment of presents, was admitted to an audience, and, after rendering due homage, very honorably received by the Tcheghatâian conqueror.

Quitting the obscure place to which we have just referred, Teymûr proceeded in two marches of six kôsse, or about twelve miles each, to the town of Assaur, where he again encamped; and from thence, on the twenty-sixth of the month,\* he dispatched the Ameirs Rûstum Toghâi Bonga, Shah Melek, and Allahdaud, to invest the fortress of Meirta. Two days afterwards, he received advices from these commanders, from their position before Meirta, announcing that Eleiaus an Avghan chief, with the son of Moulana Ahmed of Tahnaser, and a Gubber, or infidel Raujpûte probably, of the name of Seffy, had occupied the place in considerable force, and with views of determined resistance; and that they had, moreover, in reply to the summons of surrender, arrogantly sent to inform them that the fortress of Meirta had, at no very distant period, baffled the attempts of no less a *personage* than Termasherin Khaun himself.† Offended in a high degree at this insolent and sarcastic reference to the failure of Ter-

\* 4th of January 1399.

† According to Ferishtah, the invasion of Hindûstân by Termasherin Khaun took place during the 727th of the hidjerah, about the 1327th of the Christian era, while Sûltan Mahommed Shah Toghlûk was on the throne of Dehly.

masherin, Teymûr instantly set off, at the head of ten thousand horse, and, having marched without intermission during the whole of the succeeding night, appeared the following day at noon, the twenty-ninth of the month, before the gates of Meirta. The very moment of his arrival the commanders of Tonauns and Koushûns received orders, each from his respective station, to open a trench of approach towards the opposite point of the enemy's works; and by night-fall, a lodgment from ten to fifteen cubits wide was effected parallel to, or at the foot of, every tower of the place. Terrified at the alarming celerity with which, in spite of every obstacle, the besiegers had carried on their approaches, the garrison appeared at once to have lost all power of exertion; and of this their assailants did not fail to take their advantage. On the morning of the first day of the former Jummaudy,\* Ameir Allahdaud, at the head of his Koushûn, advanced to the principal gate; and one of his followers, an intrepid soldier of the name of Serâi, having by a cast fixed his Kummund, or noose, to one of the battlements of the parapet, was the first to ascend to the top of the wall. He was, however, immediately joined by a number of his associates, animated by the noble example of their fellow soldier. In a moment, Eleiaus the Afghan, and the son of the Tahnaserian, who were probably at the post of danger, were made prisoners by Rûstum Berlas, and conveyed without delay, bound hand and foot, to the presence of Teymûr. The Gubber chief fell during the assault; and his tribe, together with most of the garrison, were put to the sword. The women and children were made slaves. And thus, in a few hours, was a fortress, which had defied the puissance of Termasherin, subdued by the more skilful experience of Teymûr and his veteran legions.

On the reduction of Meirta, which, it may perhaps be unnecessary to observe, stands in the Doaub, forty or fifty miles north-north-east of Dehly, and about two thirds of the way from the Jumna to the Ganges, according to the best maps, Ameir Jahaunshah, with a division of the imperial troops, was directed to proceed along the Jumna upwards, in order to pillage and lay waste the territory of the infidels in that quarter. At the same time, Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein with the

\* 8th of January.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1399.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1399.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

heavy baggage and impediments, was ordered to follow a central route along the Kara-sou, or Kaleiny, or black river; while Teymûr in person, with the imperial standard, took a direction more to the right, towards the river Ganges. When he had continued his march to a considerable distance, Teymûr, at length, reached the bank of that celebrated river, at the town of Peyrouzpour; having been joined during the march by Ameir Sûliman Shah, with the division under his command. Finding that he could not conveniently effect his passage to the opposite side, with the whole of his army, Teymûr proceeded along the right or western bank of the river upwards; until, after a further march of three kôsse, or about six miles, he came, about ten in the forenoon, to a part where the passage might be effected, although not yet with any considerable force at one time. Some of the troops, however, more confident than their fellows, plunged into the stream and swam across; and Teymûr, in person, was spurring his charger to follow the example, when his generals on their knees interposed to prevent the design; urging the expediency of remaining on the western bank of the river, until the appearance of Peir Mahomed, and Ameir Sûliman Shah, who had previously crossed, with the right division, in the neighborhood of Peyrouzpour.

In compliance with the remonstrances of his generals, and after causing Seyud Khaujah, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and Jahaun Melek, with a reinforcement of troops belonging, chiefly, to the Tomaun of Shah Rokh, to pass over to the support of those who had already, as we have seen, crossed to the left bank, Teymûr resumed his march along the opposite bank upwards for two kôsse further, and there encamped. The day following, which appears to have been the third of the former Jummaudy,\* he prosecuted his march for Toghlûkpour, situated about twenty kôsse higher up; but when he had proceeded part of the way, intelligence was communicated to him that an immense body of the disorderly and refractory natives, were collected with views of hostility, in the bed of the Ganges, at no great distance off. He conceived it therefore immediately expedient to dispatch a division of five thousand horse under Mûbasher Bahauder, and Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, with instructions either to attack, or keep the

\* 10th of January.



enemy in check. He continued his march, however, without delay, although he happened at this period to be under the care of his physicians, for a swelling in his knee.\*

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1399.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

In these circumstances, his scouts, or videttes, brought information that the enemy were rapidly descending the Ganges in eight and twenty of the river craft, formidably armed and appointed. The instant this intelligence was conveyed to Teymûr, the pain in his knee seems to have been entirely dispelled by the ardor of religious zeal—if such be the appellation with which we are to dignify an insatiable thirst after human blood. At the head of one thousand of his best cavalry, who happened at the moment to be the nearest to his person, Teymûr immediately approached the river side; where on his arrival, part of his followers taking post along the bank, from thence proceeded to assail the enemy in their boats, with volleys of arrows, while others more resolutely plunged into the stream, and attacked them sword in hand. Against the former species of attack the enemy contrived to protect themselves, without great difficulty, covering themselves with their targets and returning volley for volley; but the warriors who had committed themselves to the stream, intrepidly seizing the boats by the gunnel, and springing on board, all they found were immediately cut to pieces; and being thus masters of a part, were enabled to assail the remainder with greater facility and advantage, and thus soon completed the capture of the whole flotilla. Two of the vessels, however, better manned and armed than the others, and fast bound together with ropes, continued to make, for a long time, the most courageous and desperate resistance; although finally overpowered and compelled to submit to their destiny, by the superior prowess of the Teymûrians.

Triumphant in this naval combat on the sacred river, Teymûr proceeded on his march for Toghlûkpour. In the course of the succeeding night, that as it would appear of the fourth of the month,\* he was apprized, by two messengers from the Ameirs Allah-daud and Bayezid Koutchein, who had been detached in advance with Altân Bukhshy, that the enemy had assembled in considerable

\* In his shoulder or arm, according to De la Croix, Bauzu for zauû—it may, however, have been the former.

A. H. 1001.  
A. D. 1539  
-Ruzul us-  
suba.

force, on the opposite bank, under an Indian chief of the name of Mûbaurek Khaun, and seemed disposed to hazard a conflict with the imperial troops. Before day light the next morning, at the head of one thousand of his cavalry, Teymûr, with his usual promptitude of decision, crossed the river, and having marched about a kôsse on the opposite, or eastern bank, halted for the performance of morning prayer; after which, when his soldiers had adjusted their armour, he advanced with little anxiety for the event in search of the enemy, whom he shortly afterwards discovered; standing to their arms in order of battle, with Mûbaurek Khaun at their head, to the number of ten thousand horse and foot. In these circumstances, yielding to a moment's reflection on his great disparity of number, and on the distance, by which he considered himself precluded from all probability of support, from the troops of his right and left wings, Teymûr perceived, at a single glance, that he had no resource but in the exertions of individual courage, and in the sure hope of the distressed, the watchful care of an Almighty providence.

By one of those extraordinary and fortunate contingencies, which have so frequently contributed to secure the triumphs of the brave, at the very instant these reflections were rapidly passing through his mind, it happened that a body of five thousand men, part of the toman of Shak Rokh, which had crossed the Ganges, as formerly described, above Peyrouzpour, under Seyud Khaajah and Jahann Melek, should make their appearance most seasonably to his relief. On this, the Amier Shah Melek and Allahdaud, with the troops immediately about his person, received Teymûr's orders, without regard to superiority of number, or preciousness of array, to attack the enemy in their front. Notwithstanding the imposing appearance which they exhibited at first sight, Mûbaurek Khaun and his followers were, however, not of a temper steadily to await the charge of their adversaries; who were now, sword in hand, rapidly advancing upon them. Suffering themselves therefore to be overcome by a shameful panic, which was possibly not diminished by the unexpected arrival of the reinforcement to join their assailants, they instantly quitted the field without a struggle, preferring a short protracted existence with infamy, to the noble perils of a dubious conflict. They were pursued with

great slaughter, into the adjoining woods, into which they had fled for shelter; their women and children were driven into slavery, and an immense booty in cattle of every description became, as usual, the reward of the victorious Teymûrians.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1399.  
Rouzot us-  
sulla.

Teymûr had not yet removed from the spot, from whence he had just driven the enemy, when information was afresh communicated to him, that another body of Hindies was collected, in considerable force, at the foot of the pass of Koupelah, or Goupila, adjoining to the Ganges, some distance higher up; where that river appears to expand itself into a spacious and extensive lake.\* Without a moment's delay, at the head of five hundred horse only, the remainder of his troops being yet employed in collecting and securing their booty, the Tcheghatâiau monarch proceeded, in quest of this new enemy, in the direction which had been indicated to him. When he approached the range of hills forming the pass of Koupelah, the enemy was discovered in great multitude, most advantageously posted, and prepared at all points for a vigorous and determined resistance. They were, nevertheless, immediately attacked and dislodged from their post, with equal facility and dispatch, by Amcîr Shah Melek and Ally Sûltan Tawatchei, at the head of a part only of that small body of troops, with whom their sovereign had thus committed himself to the hazard of an unequal conflict; there now remaining for the immediate protection of his person, in the whole, not more than one hundred horse. The danger to which he was exposed, was not unobserved by the enemy; and an Indian chief of the name of Melek Sheikhah, with some thousands of followers both horse and foot, advanced sword in hand, with the determination of avenging, on the head of the imperial desolator, the wrongs of his native country. Teymûr, however, nothing appalled, addressed himself to combat hand to hand, for life and safety; but, when he had approached within a trifling distance of his antagonist, one of his attendants, deceived by some circumstance of resemblance, called out that it was the Sheikhah Gougury, one of the imperial vassals, at the moment supposed to be with the camp in another part of the country. Misled by the information, Teymûr turned short towards the neighboring

\* Boheirah.

A. H. 801.  
 A. D. 1399.  
 Rouzut us-  
 suffa.

range of hills; while the supposed Sheikah proceeded, with considerable execution, to lay about him, with his scimitar, among the Teymûrians who happened to be nearest at hand. Thus undeceived, Teymûr again drew round, without delay, to oppose the violent hostility of this impetuous stranger, who is described to have been a person of more than ordinary stature. He had, however, by this time been brought headlong from his horse, by a wound in the abdomen by an arrow, and another in the head by a sword; and he was soon afterwards laid neck and heels before Teymûr, in whose presence he expired, before he could make any reply to the questions immediately proposed to him by the conqueror.

He had scarcely been relieved from this dangerous embarrassment when again intelligence was conveyed to Teymûr, that another body of Hindies remained still collected in great force, within the pass, at the distance of two kôsse from his present position. Although his approach lay over roads equally rugged and difficult, and through a forest impervious to the winds of heaven, and although he had already twice, in the course of the same day, sustained the fatigues of an arduous conflict, after which, to a man in his sixty third year, some repose might have been conceived indispensably necessary, Teymûr the self-same hour, accompanied by such of the imperial vassals and chiefs of Koushûns, as were present, hastened to seek the enemy. His progress being, however, considerably retarded by the intricacies of the forest, and the difficulties of the road, he had leisure to reflect on the hazards to which he was exposing himself; and he could not forbear ejaculating a fervent wish that his grandson Peir Mahommed, and Ameir Jahaun Shah, whom, three days before, he had detached to harass and exterminate the idolaters and magians,\* on that side the Ganges, might, by a manifestation of the divine will, or by some fortunate coincidence, be brought to his support. At the same time, he acknowledged that there existed but a very slight probability for the occurrence of an event so desirable. When, however, the sun had declined about half-way from the meridian, the so little expected Peir Mahommed and Jahaun Shah, who had formed no conception that

\* It is not clear that there were any of the religion of Zoroaster in this part of the country; the term is probably applied in additional contempt of the unfortunate Hindies.

the emperor was on the same side of the river, much less that he was so nearly at hand, before he had well given expression to his wishes, stood suddenly in his presence; and enabled him, with restored confidence and more adequate force, to rush upon the hostile multitude now in his front. The Hindies were immediately defeated with severe loss; and the conqueror returned, with a vast acquisition of booty, in cattle and other descriptions of property, to the ground on which he had fought the second action of this busy day.

At this station, which all circumstances apparently concur to fix on the left, or eastern bank of the Ganges, at no great distance from Loldong, it was reported to Teymûr, that beyond the pass of Koupe-lah, fifteen kôsse upwards, there stood a rock in the form of a cow, either natural or artificial, through the mouth of which issued the principal stream of the Ganges; and which rock constituted an object of universal worship with the superstitious natives, from every part of the Indian territory. Neither was this superstitious veneration confined to the Indian territory alone; since the sacred spot was the resort of numerous pilgrims from the remotest limits of this quarter of the Asiatic continent. Such, in short, is described to have been the blind stupidity of these uninstructed idolaters, that, although common sense and experience might have generally taught them, says our author, that nothing good was to be expected from a mass of inert and insensate matter, they were, nevertheless, induced to bring the ashes of their dead from places most remote, and to commit them on this spot to the hallowed stream; accompanied by the richest oblations in gold and silver, as the surest means of averting present evil, and of securing the highest gradations in a future state. Lastly, these simple enthusiasts conceived their devotions consummated in performing their ablutions leg deep in the stream; casting its sacred waters over their heads, and shaving their heads and beards, before they quitted this scene of superstitious folly and puerility. In the mean time, if this information was not, indeed, altogether intended to deceive, a moment's consideration of the best surveys would lead us to conclude, that it must have referred to some thing of the kind at Deupraug; and not to the Gungoutra, or celebrated descent of the Ganges, at the cow's mouth, which, instead of fifteen, is by the

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1399.  

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Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 801. course of the river, at least an hundred kôsse beyond the pass of  
 A. D. 1399. Koupelah.

Rouzat-us-  
 suffa.

But, however this may be, learning that there was now assembled on the spot a vast multitude of the Hindû natives, with every species of property to an incalculable amount, Teymûr resolved without further delay, to proceed in that direction ; and accordingly, at sunrise of the fifth day of the former Jummaudy,\* he came upon this devoted body of Hindûs, whom he found posted, as on former occasions, in one of the narrow passes, with the rash and useless determination of again giving battle to the imperial troops. Here they were instantly attacked, and, for the greater part, put to the sword by Mahommed Sûltan, Sûliman Shah, and other distinguished commanders, at the head of the right and left wings, and by Ameir Shah Melek with the advanced guard of the centre. Some contrived, however, through a thousand difficulties and exertions, to escape the carnage. But, recollecting all at once that the country was now effectually relieved from the polluted sway of the enemies of the true faith, and that his victorious legions were incumbered, beyond measure, by the immensity of the booty which had fallen into their hands, this mild reformer conceived the sudden resolution of returning upon his steps ; and accordingly repassing the Ganges, on the very same day by the hour of noon, he proceeded, after the performance of his devotions, immediately along the right, or western bank of the river, downwards; making a march of five kôsse before he found it convenient to encamp for the evening.

This rapid movement in retrograde might afford grounds for the suspicion, that occurrences in advance did not terminate in a manner exactly to correspond with the views of Teymûr, since we hear no more of his zeal to pursue the unfortunate votaries of Hindû superstition, to their sanctuary at the descent of the Ganges. Satisfied on the contrary, with having purged the empire of Dehly from the pollutions of infidelity and idolatry, he now adopted the final resolution of withdrawing, without further delay, into his native dominions; and for that purpose, on tuesday the sixth of the former Jummaudy, of the year eight hundred and one,† his operations on that celebrated

\* 12th January.

† 13th of January 1399.

river being confined to the short period of four days, he quitted the banks of the Ganges—the course of his march now taking him in a north-westerly direction towards the upper Jumna.\*

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1399.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

On the day following, when he had already dispatched the Yourutcheis, or quartermasters, in order to conduct the column of baggage to join him, intelligence was brought to Teymûr that, in the defiles and vallies of Mount Sewaulek, which is estimated at a lak and a sixth part of the whole of Hindûstaun.† a formidable body of the natives had united to defend the recesses of their country. In consequence of this information, instructions were transmitted afresh to the division of the army which accompanied the heavy baggage, along the course of the Kârasou, or Kâleiny, to proceed straight forward in to Sewaulek, instead of digressing to the right to join the main body, as had been originally directed, Teymûr in person marched, in the mean time, to the foot of Sewaulek, where he now encamped; and where he was shortly afterwards joined by Khaleil Sûltan, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, who had hastened in advance of the heavy equipments.

On this occasion, his principal generals employed every argument with Teymûr, to dissuade him from unnecessarily exposing his person among the forests and defiles of Sewaulek; urging, at the same time, that the task of chastizing the still refractory infidels of these wild regions might with perfect safety be entrusted to the zeal of his faithful vassals. The monarch, however in substance, stated in reply that he could not be supposed less sensible than those who spoke to him, to the two-fold advantage to be ensured by a zealous exertion in the cause of truth and religion; namely, the acquisition of temporal wealth, and, what was of infinitely higher importance, the attainment of eternal happiness hereafter. Neither could he, for a moment, forget that the lives and safety of the people committed to his care were never

\* The point of his departure may have been some where in the neighborhood, or, on a parallel with Hurdwaur.

† This mode of expression the translator does not exactly comprehend. De la Croix explains it, as extending over two thirds of Hindûstaun. From the tenor of the history Mt. Sewaulek would appear to extend across the upper part of the Douaub, between the Ganges and the Jumna; and may therefore be said to stretch across two thirds of the northern boundary of Hindûstaun.

A. H. 801.  
 A. D. 1399.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

to be bartered for any considerations of private risk and convenience. As he\* was, therefore, determined to claim his full share in the glory, he should not withhold his person from the danger of the service; and in this, his resolution was not to be shaken. On the same day he transmitted orders to Ameir Jahaun Shah, who had been detached a week before, with part of the troops of the left wing, on a predatory expedition along the Jumna upwards, to join him without delay, in that incursion of frantic zeal, in which he was immediately about to engage.

Having been accordingly joined, on the tenth of the month,\* by Ameir Jahaun Shah and his division, Teymûr put his whole force in motion to enter the recesses of Sewaulek. In one of the principal passes of this celebrated range of mountains, a Râi, or Rajah, of the name of Behrouz, had lodged himself,\* at the head of a powerful body of the uncivilized and predatory natives; with whom, relying on the unassailable strength of his position, he vaunted his design to make the most determined resistance. The attack immediately commenced, on different points respectively, by the right wing of the Teymûrians, led on by Mirza Peir Mahommed, Ameir Sâliman Shah, and other distinguished commanders, by the left under Mirza, or Ameirzadah Sûltan Hûseyne, and Ameir Jahaun Shah, and by the Hurawul, or advanced guard of the centre, under Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Shah Melek; the Tcheghatâian monarch himself remaining at the entrance of the defile, in order to support the operations of the whole, as occasion might require. The conflict which ensued was extremely fierce and sanguinary, although it finally terminated in the triumph of the imperial troops; who were rewarded, as usual, by a considerable booty, in treasure, cattle, and other valuable effects, as well as in arms. On this occasion, finding that the stoutest of the soldiers had supplied themselves from the spoil, to the prejudice of their weaker, or less fortunate associates—some to the extent of three and four hundred head of cattle—Teymûr did not hesitate to insist on their surrendering a part, in order to furnish a fresh and more equitable distribution of the whole booty; which drew upon him the applause and benedictions of every rank in the army.

\* 17th of January.



When he had thus secured the fruits of his victory, Teymûr returned to his camp in the neighborhood. Such, however, by this time was the prodigious accumulation of his baggage and incumbrances, that a march of four kôsse, or about eight miles, was the utmost he could accomplish in the four and twenty hours. This will sufficiently account for the tardiness of his progress, between the tenth and fourteenth of the month;\* on which latter day he appears to have recrossed the Jumna, some kôsse to the westward of the station of Kunder. He now encamped at the foot of Sewaulek, in† another direction, where intelligence was conveyed to him that another of the Hindû Râias, with an enormous force collected together by various means, had taken post on one of the loftiest ranges, within the thickest of the forests; and in a situation no otherwise accessible than, with infinite labour and difficulty, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the way through rocks and underwood. Impelled, however, by the ardour of religious zeal, this indefatigable and ever victorious monarch on the same night, between the fourteenth and fifteenth of the month, without tarrying for daylight, set his soldiers at work to cut their way through the forest by the light of torches; and thus to open a passage to the enemy. In the course of the night they had, with incredible activity, succeeded in penetrating not less than twelve kôsse, or about four and twenty miles,† into this almost impermeable jungul; and, by the morning of the fifteenth, the imperial standard was displayed in the valley which separates the two mountains of Koukeh and Sewaulek. The troops were immediately disposed in order of battle, and proceeded to attack the enemy; but the moment their ears were assailed by the horrible din of the horns and kettle drums, and by the appalling war-cry of the Teymûrians, the wretched Hindûs were so completely panic stricken that they broke and fled in the utmost consternation, pursued with unsparing slaughter by their remorseless invaders. On this occasion, Ameir Jahaun Shah had been entrusted with the direction of the left wing; and entering by a different road, although equally successful in the scheme of slaughter, had been less fortunate in the acquisition of spoil. Both right and left wings, however, rejoined

A. H. 801.  
A D 1399.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

\* 21st of January.

† Perhaps eighteen would be nearer the truth.

A. H. 801.  
 A. D. 1399.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

the main body in the course of the evening; after having, for the greater part, succeeded in exterminating the obnoxious natives of these mountain regions.

On Friday the sixteenth,\* Teymûr reascended the heights of Sewaulek, at a distance of fifteen farsangs, or about fifty miles, from the country of Bekker, or Bekirkout;† the intervening tract being overgrown with vast forests, and intersected by ranges of hills and rugged passes, which rendered it almost entirely inaccessible to foreign hostility. Nevertheless, understanding from various sources of intelligence that these impervious forests and hills were the resort of numerous idolatrous tribes, and the zeal of Teymûr being still inflexibly directed towards the utter extermination of the unhallowed brood, wherever they came within the reach of his power, the imperial troops were employed, from different points, to enter this gloomy wilderness; although the monarch was now prevailed upon himself to remain at the outskirts. But, without accompanying the author further in his detail of these sanguinary inroads, which furnish neither variety, nor novelty in the description, it will be sufficient to observe that during the period of a month, in which the Teymûrians were employed among the mountains of Koukeh, and Sewaulek, they fought twenty-seven battles, and reduced seven castles of singular strength, and the first importance. One of the latter belonged, it appears, to Sheikhou, a kinsman of Sheikh Gougre, prince of Lahour; and the garrison had been prevailed upon, through the mediation of certain Mahommedans who resided among them, to submit to the imperial authority. This is, however, alleged to have been nothing more than a mask, or expedient, to answer the purposes of present convenience. But the deception having been, in some degree, discovered through the unwarrantable practices employed by the refractory rabble in order to evade the payment of the ransom stipulated for their exemption from plunder and execution, one of the imperial officers ventured to avail himself of a very simple device

\* 23rd of January.

† Were it not that the latter is specified in De la Croix's map of the expedition of Teymûr, I should have been disposed to think that this referred to Nuggurkout, or Naugracut, which is to be sought for in this neighborhood.

to bring them more effectually under controul. It was agreed upon, that various articles of property should be received in payment of the ransom, and some old clothes and bows of little worth having been accepted of, at an estimate far above their value, the garrison were entirely thrown off their guard by the allurements of this gainful traffic; and they were at last induced, in this way, to dispose of the very weapons with which alone they could justly hope to secure themselves against attack. Accordingly, when it became known that they had thus stupidly disarmed themselves, an order was issued that forty of them should be immediately enrolled for the service of Hindû Shah Khauzen, [the treasurer,] one of the principal officers of the imperial court. Of this, as might have been expected, the wretched infidels with frantic violence opposed the execution; and they proceeded to the extremity of putting several of the Tcheghâtâian soldiers to death. Little more was necessary to awaken the desire of vengeance in the Teymûrians, who were immediately led to the attack of the place; which, in all probability, they carried without any great resistance, putting the garrison to the number of two thousand men to the sword.

In this place, the author of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, with a degree of candour in which he does not on many occasions affect to indulge, pauses to remark that, although he has related the circumstances of this capture as it is described in the Zuffurnâmah of the Yezdian, and in other works, yet he is not altogether convinced, because they were guilty of the folly and imbecility of bartering away their arms to make up the payment of their ransom, that the charge of duplicity and fraud, depravity and hostility, so liberally bestowed upon them, is so clearly established against the unfortunate garrison, as these authors seem disposed to allege.

Having satisfactorily terminated his operations on the confines of Sewaulek, Teymûr resumed, without further delay, his march westward, towards the territory of Jummou; where he soon after this encamped near Baubelah, or perhaps, Bâeilah, a small town or village dependent on that place. The Ameirs Sheikh Mahommed Eykou Temûr, Mûbasher, and Ismâeil Berlas, had been previously dispatched to surprise and take possession of this town; but the inhabitants, a brave and hardy race of men, having the advantage of

A. H. 861.  
A. D. 1399.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffâ.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1399  
De la Croix.

thick and intricate forest, which they rendered further inaccessible by surrounding it with a breast-work of hurdles and other materials, evinced a determination to make a gallant and formidable resistance. The Teymûrian chiefs were, however, proceeding without delay, to attack and punish them for their audacious insolence, in thus presuming to defend their property and abodes, when they received a message from the sovereign directing them to suspend their attack, until he should join them with the remainder of the army.

The following day, being as it would appear the seventeenth of the latter Jummaudy,\* Teymûr accordingly brought up the main body of the army, when the whole immediately advanced in order of battle, to force the enemy's lines; which they carried, after all, without the slightest resistance, the enemy, terrified by the appalling shouts and tremendous martial music of the Tcheghatâians, instantly abandoning their posts, and dispersing in the utmost dismay. Having levelled, or removed the defences, part of the imperial troops remained encamped in front of the jungul, while another part proceeded to the town, which stood within; and there supplied themselves in perfect security, with the grain which was found there in vast abundance. In the course of the same day, Teymûr prosecuted his march to the distance of four kôsse, after which he again encamped.

At this period, Ouljah Temûr, Fûlaud, and Miatemmed Zeyne-ud-dein, the agents who had been long since dispatched from Dehly, to the court of Eskunder Shah prince of Kashmeir, rejoined the camp of their sovereign. They were accompanied by the envoys of that prince, who on their admission to an audience, represented to Teymûr, that their master had already reached the station of Jebhan, at the foot of the Kashmeirian mountains, on his way to do homage before the throne of the conqueror of India, when he was met by Moulana Nûr-ud-dein, with a demand, as he alleged, on the part of the officers of the imperial treasury, for thirty thousand horses and a contribution of one hundred thousand *dârest* of gold, each of the weight of two methkauls,† to be levied on the province; and that the Shah had,

\* 23rd of February.

† At a dram and a half to the methkaul, this would be about two tons, six hundred, and eighty-seven pounds and a half.

in consequence, immediately returned into Kashmeir, in order to provide for the discharge of this enormous demand; with the design, as soon as that object should have been accomplished, of prosecuting his journey with less anxiety of mind to the imperial presence. With considerable apparent moderation, Teymûr for himself, expressly disavowed having authorized this exorbitant claim on the part of his ministers; declaring that in demanding what was so entirely disproportionate to the resources of the country, they had set at nought the most obvious maxims of strict justice, which should have restrained them from levying upon the Shah, more than was commensurate with his ability to discharge. The envoys repeated their assurances of the sincere submission, and purity of design of Eskunder; and they were charged by the Tcheghatâian monarch, in reply, to tell their master that he was to suffer no consideration whatever to detain him from the immediate prosecution of his journey to court. On the eighteenth, however, the day of their dismissal, they were finally given to understand that the presence of their master would be expected on the banks of the Indus, on the eight and twentieth of the month, or exactly ten days from that date.\*

After the departure of the Kashmeirian agents, who were accompanied, on their return by the same Miatemmed Zeyne-ud-dein, who had been their conductor to court, the imperial troops, by the plunder of three very large and flourishing towns on the verge of their course, succeeded in securing an ample supply of forage and subsistence for the army, for several days afterwards. In the mean time, having continued his march for the distance of four farsangs, [about fourteen miles], through richly cultivated lands, with the corn still standing, Teymûr entered the pass, or valley, which gives issue to the river of Jummou; and having, from its frequent flexures, repeatedly crossed and recrossed the stream, he came at last to the foot of the mountain on the right hand side, where was situated the smaller town of Menou, that of Jummou, the capital of the district, being situated to the left. The inhabitants of both these places are described as a tall, robust, and athletic people, whose country from its hills and

\* If it had been eight and twenty days, as exhibited in the manuscript, the intimation must have been obviously intended to deceive.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1399.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 801. forests, was generally reputed unassailable. Encouraged by such a  
 A. D. 1399. belief, after having conveyed their women and children to the tops of  
 Rouzut us-  
 suffa. the remotest hills, the native chiefs with the bravest of the men, took post on one of the most inaccessible ranges ; from whence they continually assailed the Teymûrians, with volleys of arrows and other missiles, insulting them, at the same time, with the most barbarous and savage outcries.

For, doubtless, competent reasons, Teymûr conceived it advisable, for the present, to confine his vengeance to the pillage of the town of Menou ; after which, on their return, the imperial troops entered that of Jummou, where they found such prodigious magazines of grain and other articles of subsistence, as to furnish an abundant supply for all their wants. Teymûr then proceeded on his march westwards ; leaving, however, several Koushûns of his most resolute veterans, concealed among the woods, to take advantage of the movements of the enemy. On Friday the twenty first\* of the month, having crossed the river Jummou for the last time, and continued his march four kôsse, or about eight miles, Teymûr encamped on the left bank of the Tchunaub ; where that river intersects a plain, of luxuriant pasturage, extending to the distance of four farsangs in every direction. Shortly after the main body of the army had thus cleared the defiles of Jummou and Menou, the natives, states our author, conceiving that the lordly ruler of the forest had entirely quitted their woods, like foxes from their holes, suddenly issued from their hiding places. And in such circumstances, where they least expected it, they found themselves fiercely assailed by the Teymûrian troops, in ambuscade, by whom they were cut to pieces in great numbers. The Rajah of Jummou, who was wounded in the conflict, fell into the hands of Dowlut Temûr Tawatchei, and Husseyne Melek, of the Koutehein tribe ; by whom, with fifty of his followers, he was now conveyed to the presence of the Tcheghatâian monarch. It was thought advisable that the Rajah's wounds should be made the object of peculiar care, and he was himself finally prevailed upon, by the joint influence of threats and promises, to make profession of the Mahommedan creed, in violation of one of the most sacred laws of his country consenting even to

\* 27th of February.

eat bullock's flesh in company with his newly adopted brethren. By these sacrifices he, however, effectually secured the favor of Teymûr; to whose court he now voluntarily attached himself, and whom, in all probability, he accompanied to the Indus.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1399.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

In the mean time, while he lay encamped on the Tchunaub, intelligence was conveyed to Teymûr, that the Shâhzadâhs and other Ameirs who had been detached towards Lahour, in order to chastise the contumacious apostacy of Sheikhah, the brother of Nussret Gougry, had succeeded in securing the person of that perfidious and ungrateful changeling. This man, while Teymûr was employed in the peninsula of the Jumna and Ganges, had received permission to proceed to Lahour, on a promise of again joining the imperial standard when it reached the Biah; a promise, however, of which he thought he might venture to omit the performance. On the twenty-fourth of the month,\* the imperial army was in motion to cross the Tchûnaub, and, after a march of five kôsse, again encamped in a situation of singular beauty and amenity. The same day, the agent of Meiran Shah brought advices of the state of affairs in Azerbâijaun, and the provinces in that quarter of the empire; and on the day following,† Hindû Shah Khauzen was directed to proceed immediately to Samarkand, in order to announce the approaching return of Teymûr.

On the twenty-sixth of the latter Jummaudy, the army finally quitted the Tchûnaub; and, after a march of six kôsse, or about twelve miles, encamped in the desert tract, some distance to the westward of that river. On the twenty-seventh,‡ the army was again in motion; and while the imperial litter was set for a moment on the summit of an eminence, contiguous to the line of march, a lion is described to have suddenly rushed from his haunts, and being immediately beset on all sides by the troops in attendance, was attacked sword in hand, and cut down by the intrepid Sheikh Nûr-ud-dejn. Before the close of this day's march Teymûr was joined by the Mirzas Peir Mahommed and Rûstum, and the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, and Sûliman Shah, on their return from their successful expedition against Sheikhah Gougry, and Lahour. Of the assortment of presents which they laid before their sovereign on this occasion, consisting of articles

\* 2nd of March.

† 3rd of March.

‡ 5th of March.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1399.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

the most costly and rare selected from the accumulated booty, the whole was immediately distributed by him to his courtiers, without the reserve of a single article for himself. His attention being, at the same time, particularly directed towards the gallant and faithful Peir Mahommed Azaud, of whose talents and prowess some signal proofs were exhibited among the Siahpoush towards the commencement of the expedition, Teymûr conceived it a fit opportunity to distinguish him above others by presenting him with a vest from his own wardrobe, together with a quiver suspended to a belt of gold; all of which had occasionally formed the appendages of his own dress, and were thus rendered doubly estimable to those who best loved him.

In the course of the same day, the twenty seventh of the month, the Shahzâdahs and principal generals received orders, by a route prescribed to them, to proceed to their respective governments; each, according to his rank and station, presented with some splendid decoration for his person, from the diadem blazing with the radiance of the diamond, for his brows, to the girdle enriched with gems and gold, for his waist. The Hindûstauny chiefs and nobles, who, like the genius of victory, had attached themselves during the expedition to the stirrup of the conqueror, were also now permitted to return homewards, richly arrayed in robes of honour, and furnished with letters patent for their possessions, under the imperial authority. The important government of Mûltaun was, at the same time, conferred upon Khuzzer Khaun; who had formerly escaped from the prisons of Saurung Khaun, to the protection of Ahouden, chief of Bejaunah, west of Agra, but who had subsequently enrolled himself under the standard of Teymûr.

The country through which he was now passing, between the Tchûnaub and Behaut, the latter river also denominated indiscriminately the *Tcheilum*, Jamed, and Dindana, in different stages of its course to the Indus, furnishing a vast variety of game and beasts of the chase, including, according to our author, the lion, tyger, rhinoceros, wolf, and an animal to which he assigns the name of Koutahpâi, or shortleg, together with the elk, or Sauber, or stag of the forest, and the Gâozen-e-kaboud, Neilagão, or blue ox—and among the feathered race, the pheasant, peacock, wild-duck, and paroquet, without mentioning numerous other kinds, Teymûr did not omit the oppor-



tunity of indulging in his favorite amusement. Having, accordingly, gratified his inclinations in this respect, by a prodigious slaughter among these different animals, the Tcheghatàian monarch, on the twenty-eighth of the month,\* continued his progress westward, and after a march of eight kôsse, encamped at the station of Jebhan; an advanced post, already mentioned, on the frontiers of Kashmeir, the country round, at this period, blooming in all the verdure and fragrance of spring.

On the last day of the latter Jummaudy,† having determined to make the best of his way to Samarkand, Teymûr separated from the army, and proceeded by a forced march of twenty kôsse, [about forty miles], to the town of Saumbisseb, or Saumbastah; a dependency on Mount Joud, and situated, according to the best maps, on the right or western bank of the Behaut, about thirty miles below Rotas. On the first day of the month of Rudjub,‡ he prosecuted his march to the village of Beroujah, or Beroutchah; from whence, after the performance of meridian prayer, he hastened to enter the desert of Tchoul, or Joul-Jullauly, formerly mentioned; through which he succeeded in effecting his passage, by the hour of evening prayer, about sunset, when he appears to have encamped on the side of a piece of water, formed by the periodical rains, after a march of thirty kôsse or about sixty miles, from the last mentioned village of Beroujah. Some time in the forenoon of the following day, he reached the left bank of the Indus; being the fifty seventh day since his departure from the vicinity of the Ganges, and just five months and seventeen days from the period at which he crossed the Indus to the eastward, at the commencement of this memorable expedition.

A bridge of boats and hurdles secured to grapnels in the bed of the river, having, in consequence of previous orders, been already constructed by Peir Ally Seldûz, Shah Ally Ferauhy, and other officers left in charge of the adjoining districts of Banou and Nughz, Teymûr appears to have immediately crossed to the opposite side, where he remained until noon. Then leaving Ameir Allahdaud at the head of the bridge, with injunctions to take care that the passage should be effected without precipitation, by the army which followed at some distance in the rear, he finally proceeded on his journey to the castle of Banou, or Bunnou, on the Kowmul river; the situation of which was indicated in a former page.

\* 6th of March.

† 7th of March.

‡ 8th of March.

A. H. 801.  
A. D 1399.  
Rouzut-us-  
sufta.

## CHAP. VII.

A. H. 801.  
A. D. 1399.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

**H**AVING left Banou on thursday the fourth of Rudjub,\* corresponding with the first of Ferwardein, the new years day of the era of Melek Shah, Teymâr proceeded towards Nughuz, which he reached on the following day. He was detained at Nughuz, in order to complete the fortifications of that place, and in particular, in extending them so as to include a neighboring convenient spring within the works, until the ninth, on which day he proceeded one stage, by the mausoleum of Sheikh Mûbaurek Shah, to the station of Kermauje. But finding his reception here, from a certain Afghan chief, not exactly suitable to his dignity, or the claims of civilized society, he continued his march the same day, to Aseikan, Askina, or Aksica, where he was hospitably entertained in the habitation of Sheikh Abdal. On the tenth,† he passed through the defile of Araumek, [Rame of De la Croix], and having taken some repose and dined, the same day proceeded to Kabûl. Here leaving some of the ladies of the imperial family, who were unable to keep up with the necessary expedition, in charge of Mûbasher Bahauder, he continued his journey, on the eleventh, to the head of the new canal of Mauhygueir, recently completed under his own instructions. From thence, on the twelfth, he proceeded to the station of Gherbaun, or Garban; and having encamped for the night, gave orders for the construction of an extensive Rebbaut, or square, of brick and tile, for the accommodation of travellers, the spot being situated at the junction of several roads.

He continued his march from Gherbaun, on the thirteenth of Rudjub, and proceeding two farsangs, or about seven miles, the manuscript exhibits ten farsangs, or 35 miles, and we have chosen that of De la Croix as the more moderate computation, he passed through the defile of Shebertou and encamped at a place to which, in consequence

\* 11th of March.

† 17th of March.

of an eruptive disorder, that broke out in biles upon his legs and arms, his attendants gave the name of Binna khoushk—the abode of drought, or insalubriousness. Having been detained here three days by the severity of his complaint, he was able to prosecute his journey on the fourth, which must have been the seventeenth of Rudjub,\* in a litter conveyed by mules; but as the motion of these animals increased the pain of his disorder, the officers of his household took the litter on their own shoulders. And in this manner he was borne through the straits of Seiahbunje, being compelled to cross the same river from the commencement to the termination of the pass, probably that of Soraub, not less than eight and forty times; namely, six and twenty times on one side of the ridge, and two and twenty on the other. This species of exercise, however, seems to have removed his complaint altogether; and he proceeded accordingly, on the eighteenth of the month, from the station of Soraub towards Bakalaun; and having halted to partake of a short repast at the village of Aukher, possibly in the neighborhood of the last mentioned town, he continued his march the same day to Karabaugh, or perhaps Karaboulac, as given in De la Croix's history. On the nineteenth, according to that author, he reached Semenkan, or Semenjaun, and proceeded the same day to Gaznik. On the twentieth, he prosecuted his journey to Kûlm, and setting out from thence at noon, reached the banks of the Jeyhûn, in front of Termed, in the middle of the night between the twentieth and the twenty-first of Rudjub.†

On the twenty-first, he proceeded by boat across the Jeyhûn, and was met on the opposite bank by the princes Olûgh Beg, and Ibrauhim Sûltan, the queen consorts Serâi Melek Khaunum, and Tomaau Aga, by the princess Beigesy Sûltan his favorite daughter, and by a numerous assemblage of the magistrates and chief citizens of Samarkand and its dependencies, who had hastened thus far to salute and congratulate their common sovereign on his triumphant return.

Having remained at Termed for two days, and after having been sumptuously entertained on the second day by the Khaunzadah Alâ-ul-Melek, a Seyud of the greatest distinction, and possibly the gov-

\* 24th of March.

† 27th and 28th of March.

A. H. 301.  
A. D. 1899  
De la Croix.

ernor of that place, Teymûr proceeded, on tuesday the twenty-third of the month,\* to the Keshlaur, or winter palace of Jahaun mûlk; on the twenty-fourth, to the baths of Turkey, and on the twenty-fifth, he passed the iron gate, or strait of Koluga, and encamped on the river Barik. On the twenty-sixth, he continued his journey to Tchekedalic, on the twenty-seventh to Kouzimondac, and on the twenty-eighth, reached the station of Dourbiltchein, where he found his son Shah Rokh, who had repaired thus far from Herât, to offer his homage of filial respect to his august parent. On the same day, Mirza Omar the son of Meiran Shah, whom, at his departure on the expedition, Teymûr had left in charge of the government of Samarkand, and who, by his prudent and conciliatory demeanor, had merited his entire approbation, also appeared at court; and experienced a most gracious and distinguished reception from his imperial grandsire. On the twenty-ninth, Teymûr proceeded to encamp on the little river Toum; and on the last day of Rudjub, he displayed his victorious horse tails on the verdant meads in the neighborhood of his native city of Kesh.

Here, employed on pious visitations to the tombs of his father, and children, and that of Sheikh Shums-ud-dein Kolaur, the patron saint of the place, and in distributing alms to the poor of the vicinity, Teymûr continued until the fourteenth of Shabaun:† on which day he quitted Kesh, and proceeded to encamp on the Roudek. On the fifteenth, he reached the Tchunaur-rebaut, or hotel of the plane trees; on the sixteenth, he passed the intervening mountain, and encamped at Kûtlûg; and on the seventeenth, he continued his journey to Takht-e-kâratchah, the palace which, as formerly described, he had caused to be built during one of his excursions from Samarkand. On the eighteenth, he arrived at the Koushek, Kiosk, or garden palace of Jahaun-nemâ; on the nineteenth, he proceeded to the pleasure house of Doulutabad, and on monday the twentieth of Shabaun, about nine in the morning,‡ he reached his palace in the garden of Dilgûshâi, in the neighborhood of Samarkand, which had been finished during his absence; and where a sumptuous and royal

\* 30th of March.

† 20th of April.

‡ 26th of April.

banquet prepared by his illustrious relatives, and the inhabitants of the metropolis, now awaited his arrival.\*

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suŕa,

On the day following, Teymûr made his entry into the metropolis; where his first object, after indulging in the recreation of his baths, was to visit the tomb of Kothem the son of the venerable Abbas. From thence, he proceeded to the hospital and almshouse, erected and endowed by his consort Tomaun Aga; after which, he successively visited the several imperial palaces and gardens of the Baugh-e-tchunaur, Baugh-e-behisht, and Baugh-e-belend. In the mean time, the captured elephants, which had remained behind with the baggage of the army, arrived at Samarkand; and by their prodigious bulk and singular structure, filled the natives of the country, unaccustomed to the spectacle, with admiration, and astonishment at the consummate skill displayed by the creator, in all his works. The treasures of art, manufacture, and curiosity, acquired during the Indian expedition, were now distributed with unbounded liberality among the shahzâdahs, the princesses of the imperial family, the Ameirs and Nûyaus, and the nobility and principal inhabitants of Transoxiana. Saurung the captive governor of Mûltaun, and the elder brother of Mullou Khaun the prime minister of Dehly, together with two of the elephants, and many articles of the greatest rarity and value, was dispatched to Asheirah on the frontiers of Khatâi, in order to be presented to Mirza Mahommed Sûltan; who commanded, as we have already seen, in that remote quarter of the empire. Neither were any of the feudal chiefs, or Ameirs, stationed on the other boundaries of his extensive dominions, forgotten in this liberal dispensation of their sovereign's bounty. Not long afterwards, Shah Rokh was permitted to return to Herât, the metropolis of his government.

Amidst these peaceful avocations, the design of erecting a cathedral mosque in his capital did not escape the attention of Teymûr; and on sunday the fourth of Ramzaun† accordingly, the day fixed

\* For this dry detail of the stages of Teymûr's journey from the Indus to his capital, if an apology be required, it must be sought for in the eventual utility of such itineraries, to the purposes of geographical information; and the author of these pages would not regret his labor, if they presented manymore such to the perusal of his readers,

† 9th of May.

A. H. 661.

A. D. 1399.

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suffa.

upon by the astrologers, the moon being then in leo, and, in the jargon of the sect, departing from the sextile of the sun into that of Venus, the architects and other workmen, who had been selected from every country in Asia for their superior skill, proceeded to lay the foundations of this long projected structure. Of these, two hundred of the most skilful who wrought in stone and marble, were constantly employed on the body of the building; and five hundred in the mountain quarries, in squaring and dispatching the stone for the work. Ninety chain, or head, of the captured elephants were set apart for the conveyance of the different materials, the larger stones being, however, transported in carts drawn by oxen. Each of the princes of the blood, principal generals, and Ameirs of the court, was respectively, charged with a pillar, or arch, or pinnacle, or other part of the work; and the whole being carried on under the immediate superintendance of the emperor, was prosecuted to a completion with extraordinary diligence and dispatch. In the mean time, our author professing to be a compiler of history, not a describer of architectural beauties, and declining to enter into further particulars with respect to this magnificent structure, we shall endeavour to supply the defect from the work of De la Croix. It appears therefore, to have been sustained or decorated by four hundred and eighty pillars of hewn stone, [sung toraushidah], most likely of marble, each seven cubits high. The vaulted roof was covered with the same sort of stone, neatly sculptured and polished, the height from the architrave of the entablature to the top of the roof, being nine cubits. At each of the four corners of the building was raised a lofty minaret; the doors were of brass; and the walls, without as well as within, and the arches of the roof, or dome, were decorated with inscriptions in relievo, among which was the entire chapter of the cavern—the eighteenth of the Korân. The pulpit and reading desk were of the richest materials and workmanship, and the niche of the altar was covered with plates of iron overlaid with gold, and likewise of extraordinary beauty.

The elevated rank, as well as the conspicuous share allotted to Meiran Shah in the events of this reign, renders it here necessary to recur to the affairs of the seven hundred and ninety-eighth of the hidjerah;

in the autumn of which year, and in consequence of a dangerous fall from his horse in hunting, and the unskilful and improper treatment of his physicians, that prince became subject to a very unhappy and deplorable derangement of intellects. Hence his behavior became, in a variety of instances, extremely capricious and extravagant, and in every respect unworthy of his exalted station. Among the instances of extravagance recorded against him, we find it related that he would occasionally lay the treasures of his government in places where they were at the discretion of every casual beggar; and among circumstances of more heinous criminality, it is laid to his charge that he would on the slightest grounds condemn the innocent to die. In the early part of the hot season of the year seven hundred and ninety-nine, from no other inducement than a vague idea, that Sûltan Ahmed would abandon his capital at the very rumour of his approach, he led his troops towards Baghdâd; and although intelligence was conveyed to him on his arrival at Ibrauhimlik, that some among the higher orders of the inhabitants of Tebreiz, had entered into a confederacy hostile to his government, he persisted in his design, and in defiance of every suggestion of prudence, prosecuted his march to the gates of that capital. Sûltan Ahmed, on the other hand, fully aware that, at such a season, the siege of the place was an undertaking of equal folly and temerity, instead of becoming again a fugitive, as had been fondly anticipated, determined to abide by his post, and made every preparation to defend himself. In two days, however, after he had thus unadvisedly engaged himself before the metropolis of Irâk, Meiran Shah, in consequence of intelligence from Tebreiz, announcing afresh, and with alarming frequency, the violent agitations which disturbed that capital, found himself, after all, constrained to abandon his ill-concerted scheme, and to return with the utmost celerity, to appease the commotions which menaced the subversion of his own power; and which he did not fail to punish, on his arrival, with equal severity and rigor—the Kauzy, or principal judge of Tebreiz, in particular, being among the malcontents who suffered death for their turbulent and seditious practices, on this occasion.

During the autumnal quarter of the same year, on some slight suspicion of hostility to his interests, and without the smallest investigation into the grounds of his suspicion, he led an army against

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suffa.

A. H. 801. Seyud Ally Erlaut, the ruler of Shekky; whose territory he laid waste,  
 A. D. 1399. and pillaged of every species of property.

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 suffa.

Hence, as it was reasonable to apprehend, when accounts of the Shahzadah's debauched and voluptuous indulgences, aggravated by these violent and unwarrantable proceedings, became circulated in the neighboring provinces, the Georgians, who had disappeared to their hiding places in the mountains, from the vengeance of the Moghûl armies, availed themselves of the opportunity furnished, at the same time, by the departure of Teymûr on his Indian expedition, to resume their hostile aggressions on the frontiers of the Empire. At this period, Sûltan Sunjur the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein\* was engaged in the blockade of Alanjek, now reduced to the last extremity; although it still continued to hold out with singular pertinacity, against the Teymûrians, under Sûltan Taher the son of Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd. A strong line of circumvallation thrown up, by the besiegers, around the whole circumference of the hill, seemed also to have cut off from the garrison all communication with the adjoining territory, and all hope of relief from without; and it was at such a crisis, that Melek Gûrguein, or Gregory, prince of Georgia, dispatched a superior force, in order to raise the siege of this important place, and to attempt the deliverance of Sûltan Taher. To this force, provoked by the recent wanton outrages committed by Meiran Shah, on the territories of his government, and however zealously attached to the authority of Teymûr and the cause of Islâm, Seyud Ally of Shekky, immediately united his troops; and the whole together proceeded accordingly, without delay, to enter the province of Azerbâijaun, on their way to Alanjek. Before such superior numbers, as soon as he became apprized that they were advancing against him, Sûltan Sunjur conceived it prudent to retire, and he accordingly raised the siege, and withdrew to Tebreiz; where he communicated to Meiran Shah, amidst the voluptuaries to whom he had resigned himself, the circumstances under which, on the verge of its accomplishment, he had been compelled to abandon the service entrusted to his care.

\* Perhaps it was Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein himself, and that the prenomen of Sûltan Sunjur was only an additional title bestowed upon him.



In order if possible to retrieve the disgrace of which this must have been the occasion, Meiran Shah employed his own son Aba Bukker, accompanied by the same Sûltan Sunjur, with Hadjy Abdullah Abbas, and an additional force, which was now led to repel the enemy and to resume the position before Alanjek. In the mean time, the Georgians had accomplished their object in approaching that place, by the liberation of Sûltan Taher; who had hastened to descend from his post on the appearance of his deliverers, leaving Hadjy Salah and Siddi Ahmed Ally Shâhy, together with three Georgian Ornawers, or Oznawers, a title of nobility with that nation, behind him, in order to continue the defence of this important fortress. Having therefore, nothing further in view in this quarter, than what related to the safety of Sûltan Taher, the Georgians were on their march from Alanjek homewards, when they fell in with the Tebrizian army, with whom a conflict now unavoidably ensued; in which the latter being defeated, both on the right and left, by the superior force of their adversaries, although Seyud Ally the chief of Shekky was killed in the battle, Mirza Aba Bukker, after signaling himself by the most conspicuous gallantry, conceived it advisable to quit the field to his opponents, who were then permitted to continue their retreat into their native country, without further interruption.

All this time, nevertheless, Meiran Shah, to the entire and shameful neglect of all public business, continued so completely immersed in his pleasures, that the affairs of his government, were suffered to fall into the most ruinous state of confusion; so that on his return to Samarkand, from his memorable expedition to Dehly, one of the earliest pieces of information that reached Teymûr was the very precarious and unsettled condition of affairs in Azerbâijaun. Not long afterwards, the consort of Meiran Shah, the highborn Khaunzadah in person, repaired to Samarkand, to complain of some gross and unmerited insults which she had sustained from her husband, as well as to represent the disorder in his intellects; expressly declaring, at the same time, that nothing but the immediate presence of the sovereign in Azerbâijaun could prevent the open and actual revolt of the infatuated prince, against his father's authority. These untoward circumstances are assigned, at all events, as the causes which limited the stay of Tey-

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mûr in his capital, on this occasion, to the period of four months; at the termination of which, it was finally resolved to proceed once more into western Persia. And the Tawatcheis, or imperial commissaries, were accordingly dispatched to the different provinces of the empire, in order to summons the several contingents, without delay, to join the imperial standard, fully equipped in all respects for a distant warfare of seven years.

In concurrence with instructions to this purpose, Seyud Khaujah, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Jahaun Melek, and Peir Mahommed Pâlaud, with other distinguished chiefs attached to the government of Khorassaun, hastened to Herât; in order to convey to Shah Rokh, his fathers commands to march with the troops of his province, into Azerbâijaun, previously dispatching a division in advance, under Sûliman Shah, towards the capital of Tebreiz. In obedience to these commands, the advanced division thus indicated was immediately dispatched by Shah Rokh, under Sûliman Shah, accompanied, at the same time, by Seyud Khaujah; and, as soon as they could be assembled, he proceeded in person with the remainder of the troops of the province, taking the route of Bostaum and Damaghaun. Receiving, however, on his arrival at Jaujerem, advices by Towukkel Kerker, that the main body of the imperial armies, after crossing the Oxus, would pursue the route of Damaghaun, and that the division of Khorassaun must therefore proceed by that of Shasemnaun and Asterabad, the Shahzâdah immediately altered the direction of his march, and drew off to the right, into Mazanderaun; where, through the difficulty of the roads, and the noxious herbage in the swamps and forests of that barbarous country, he lost the greater part of the cattle of his army. After sustaining the greatest hardships, and privations in every form, he succeeded at length, notwithstanding, in conducting his troops to Feyrouzkôh; from whence he was enabled to continue his march without further obstacle.

In the mean time, having left his grandson Mahommed Sûltan, to preside during his absence over the important provinces of Tûraun, or that part of his dominions which lies to the eastward of the Oxus, and having sent the Mirzas Eskunder and Omar Sheikh, to take charge of Andegaun, and the government of Ferghaunah, Teymûr

quitted Samarkand once more, on the eighth day of Mohurrim, of the eight hundred and second of the hidjerah,\* and proceeded across the Jeyhûn, at Termed, to Balkh; where he took up his abode in the mansion of Ameir Yadgaur Berlas, the governor of that city, by whom he was most hospitably entertained during his stay. From thence he continued his march to Saurek Kemesh of Jaum.† Here he was visited by the princesses Melket Aga, and Gouher Shaud Aga, both the wives of Shah Rokh; the former of whom took this opportunity, of presenting to his grandsire her infant son Seyûrghetmesh, born in the month of Ramzaun, of the preceding year. From the neighborhood of Jaum he dispatched Mirza Rûstum, accompanied by Ameir Sounjek, at the head of two thousand horse, to join his elder brother Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, at Shirauz; with orders to proceed together from that place, with the troops of the province, towards Baghdâd. Teymûr then prosecuted his march by the route of Neyshapûr and Bostaum, or Bistaum, skirting the territory of Rey, to the village, or smaller town of Aywaunek; at which station he was joined by Shah Rokh, and the division with which, as we have already noticed, he had, according to his instructions, passed with so much difficulty through Mazanderaun.

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suffa.

On the other hand, Ameir Sûliman Shah, who had proceeded towards Tebreiz, with the advanced division of the troops of Khorasau, received on his arrival at Rey, from the statements of Beyan Koutchein, sufficient confirmation with respect to the unfortunate malady which had attacked the brain of Meiran Shah. Conceiving therefore, that a continuation of his march to Tebreiz, and an interview with the Shahzâdah, in the present posture of affairs, would be extremely unadvisable, if not hazardous, he proceeded straight forward to Hamadaun; where he determined to remain until circumstances should further arise to govern his conduct. In the mean time, receiving intelligence of his approach, Mirza Aba Bukker, and Meiran Shah in person, or, according to others, the former on his own authority, with the advice of his father's Ameirs, dispatched a letter

\* 9th September, 1399.

† Whether this be an additional appellative of Jaum, or a place in the neighborhood, is not yet clear.

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to Ameir Sûliman, inviting him to hasten to Tebreiz, without apprehension. With this invitation he was easily induced to comply; and from that place, two days after his arrival, he finally prevailed upon Meiran Shah to proceed, without further delay, to the camp of his father.

At this period Teymûr had left the territory of Rey considerably in his rear, and soon afterwards, Meiran Shah, with his retinue, entered the imperial encampment. On the first day, he was, however, forbidden to enter the presence of his father; and on the second day, although he was permitted to prostrate himself at the foot of the throne, with the presents which he had prepared for the purpose of abating the royal displeasure, his reception in other respects, in consequence of the heavy charges of delinquency conveyed against him, continued, nevertheless, extremely cold and discouraging. In the mean time, commissioners had been dispatched to Tebreiz, to inspect the accounts of the public treasury; from which it was sufficiently ascertained, that for several years, no less than two parts, out of three perhaps, of the revenues of the state, had been indiscriminately squandered away among his thoughtless favorites, by the infatuated prince, during the paroxysms of his folly. And since it appeared that in his licentious excesses, his frantic indulgence of an inordinate passion for wine and music, he had been chiefly encouraged by the excitements and example of the bards and minstrels, who composed the associates of his pleasures, some of them the most eminent in genius and skill of the age and country in which they lived, these were seized, and condemned to expiate, by an ignominious death on the gallows, their participation in the follies of an infatuated voluptuary; and the sentence was carried into execution, without the slightest regard to the tears of the muses, or to the acknowledged claims of genius and talents however distinguished. It is, at the same time, observed that, although the associates of his pleasures were thus condemned to suffer by the hands of the executioner, and the whole of his followers of every class forever banished his presence, the Shahzâdah was himself permitted, nevertheless, to retain his place at court, as usual, above all the princes of the blood; and during the succeeding expeditions into Syria and the dominions of the Sûltan of Egypt,

continued to receive, without variation, from all the individuals of his tribe and family, the same testimonies of respect and distinction as he had ever been accustomed to experience.

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Having remained some short time at Súltauniah, Teymûr proceeded at length through the Kâraderrah, or black pass, by the city of Ardebeil, and over the plains of Moughan and Aktaun where he did not fail to indulge in his love of the chase, to the banks of the Aras, or Araxes; and having thrown a bridge across, he continued his march to the opposite bank of that river, where he placed his troops in winter quarters distributed along the verge of Fetour, or Koutûrkund, the territory or feudal tenure of Omar Taban.

It will be remembered that, after assisting the Georgians to raise the siege of Alanjek, Seidy, or Seyud Ally Erlat, prince of Shekky, had with his life already made atonement for his offences, in the battle with Mirza Aba Bukker. His son Seyud Ahmed had, however, possessed himself of the vacant government; and, at the period under consideration, he availed himself of the known influence of Ameir Ibrauhim, the prince of the adjoining province of Shirvaun, to intercede with Teymûr, lest the offences of the father might be visited on the unoffending son. He was accordingly introduced, through the medium of that chief, to the imperial presence, experienced a favorable reception, and had his fathers estates and dignities confirmed to him. The imperial court was, at the same time, sumptuously entertained by Ameir Ibrauhim; who laid before his august and powerful patron the ordinary magnificent display of presents, one article of which consisted of six thousand prime and valuable horses.

While the attention of Teymûr was yet engaged in these minor considerations, intelligence of higher importance, favorable to the prosperity of his government, reached him from different quarters of the empire. Among the earliest, it was announced that Teymûr Kât-lûgh Oghlan, who, on the subversion of the authority of Touktemesh Khaun, and under the sanction of Teymûr's name, had proceeded to take possession of the throne of Keptchawk, but, after assuming the government of his ancestors, had ungratefully violated his engagements with his benefactor, was recently dead, and that his country was become a prey to the most violent commotions. Next came advices from

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Syria and Egypt, which stated the dissensions which prevailed among the members of his court, the Maumlouk Beys, on the death of Melek Berkouk, and on the accession of Melek Feredje, or Fareutje, the son of that prince, with a precarious and ill supported authority. In the third place, followed accounts from China, which announced that Bethghour, or Tangouz Khaun, the monarch of that vast country, after a protracted course of infidelity, had terminated his mortal existence; leaving his empire in a state of anarchy and confusion entirely favorable to the designs of the first invader. And last of all, though not in importance the least, was the information now received, of the demise of Khuzzer Khaujeh Oghlan, the monarch of Jettah, or interior Tartary; and of the contest which had arisen, for the succession, between his children Shumma Jahaun, Sheir Ally, and Shahjahaun Oghlan, in consequence of the violent and selfish counsels of the evil disposed.

As a sequel to this last piece of intelligence, it was at the same time, announced that a considerable force, taking advantage of the prevailing distractions, had proceeded from Andegaun, under the command of Mirza Eskunder the son of Omar Sheikh, to invade the territory of Jettah, and the adjoining country of the Moghûls; in which the aspiring ambition of the young prince, at this period not more than fifteen years of age, was successful in an eminent degree. But as it has contributed to throw some additional light upon the geography of these remote and unexplored regions, we shall venture to accompany the author in his sketch of the operations of this incidental expedition.

It would, therefore, appear, that when the young prince became apprized of the death of Khuzzer Khaujeh, and of the disturbances which had ensued in the government of his country, he early determined to avail himself of such an opportunity; and having, accordingly, assembled a competent force at Andegaun, he seems to have marched directly to the eastward, accompanied by Peir Mahommed Toghâi Bouga, Yourek Berlas, Beyan Temûr the son of Begtchek, and other Ameirs attached to his court. On his arrival in the neighborhood of Kashghar, the Shahzâdah was further joined by Beirdy Beg Saurbougâ, Khodadaud [*Theodore*] the son of Hûseyne, Shums-ud-dein.

Abbas, and other chiefs, stationed on the frontiers of Jettah. With these he proceeded south-east, first to Yaurkent, which was given up to pillage; after which, overrunning the several districts of Saurck Kemmesh, Kelapein, Alligoule, and others, which it would be in vain to search for in a map, he came before a place of some strength, the name of which, if it were of any importance, is omitted in the manuscript. Probably it was the Aouje described, in De la Croix's work, as a province in Moghûlstaun. However, with considerable exertion, the prince finally made himself master of it.

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From this place, Eskunder next directed his march towards Auksû, described as consisting of three distinct fortresses closely communicating with each other; or, possibly, of three ramparts one within the other, and furnishing to the inhabitants of the surrounding districts a secure retreat under circumstances of distress and danger. However, after the Shahzâdah had in vain employed all the usual methods of attack for its reduction, during a period of nearly forty days, the inhabitants at last, with a suitable present, conveyed proposals of submission to their besiegers; at the same time, as a sacrifice to ensure the preservation of their own property, they barbarously expelled from the place a number of Khatâian, or Chinese merchants, who had possibly relied on the laws of hospitality for a protection against robbery and violence. These concessions on the part of the garrison proved satisfactory to the Shahzâdah, who immediately directed his troops to cease hostilities. It is, nevertheless, represented on the other hand with some variation by different historians, that when the besieged, at the expiration of about twelve days, had evinced a disposition to treat, and the Shahzâdah had consented to grant terms to the garrison, they suddenly retracted from their proposals, and recurred to hostilities. In consequence of which, enraged at their audacity, the young prince resumed the operations of the siege, with increasing vigor and activity; and having finally obtained possession of the place by assault, put the whole of the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms to the sword, and made captives of the women and children.

When he had, at all events, made himself master of Auksû, Mirza Eskunder detached some squadrons of his army towards Bâey, or Paey, and Kowsen; two stations described by the author as the sum-

A. H. 602. mer and winter quarters of the Moghûl tribes of that part of Tartary.  
 A. D. 1399. Of both these places the inhabitants were either destroyed or dispersed; after which the troops proceeded to the district of Taurem, which they overran and pillaged, with the ordinary severity. The Shahzâdah then led his army towards Khoten.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

From Khoten, the capital of the territory of the same name, we are here informed that to Khaunbâlegh, or Cambalu, or Pekin, eastward nearly under the same parallel of latitude, is a distance of one hundred and sixty-one munsuls, or stages, or perhaps days journey by caravan; all of which have been distinctly laid down, by geographers, through a habitable country furnishing the necessary supply of water and every article of subsistence for the traveller.\* There is, however, a shorter route, by which the frontiers of China might be reached in forty days; but in this the traveller would find nothing for the support of existence, nothing but sand, light and moveable sand, during the whole of his perilous journey. With respect to the former route, we learn, from De la Croix's work more particularly, that they reckon from Khoten to Kara Khojah, five and thirty days' journey; from Kara Khojah to Tetcaoul, the frontier station of China, where there is a wall [the great wall] extending between two mountains, with a great gate, and several Yamkhaunahs, or courier stations calculated also for the accommodation of travellers, thirty days' journey; from thence to Ghenjanfou [Kingyanfou] one of the cities of China within the great wall, fifty-one days' journey; and from the latter place to Cambalec, or Khaunbâlegh, forty days. In all one hundred and fifty-seven days' journey; of which sixty-six without, and ninety-one within the wall. It is added that from Khoten to Kashghar, north-west-ward, is a distance of fifteen days journey, and from Kashghar to Samarkand, of five and twenty days; making from Samarkand to Pekin, altogether, a distance of one hundred and ninety seven days journey. We shall further remark, from the same author, that the stones of the two rivers of Khoten, the Oraccaush and

The longitudinal distance between Khoten and Pekin, according to the best maps, is at least 1840 miles, but this, in consequence of the extensive deviations to avoid the great deserts on either hand, will be easily increased to one third more; at the smallest computation, that of 20 miles to a day's journey, it would, however, give 3220 miles—at 15, 2415 miles.



Kâracaush, both having their source in the western mountains of Karangoutâg, by which it is separated from little Tibet, furnish a quantity of jasper, which is an article of considerable exportation to various countries.

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suffa.

From the inhabitants of Khoten, Mirza Eskunder appears to have experienced a reception every way favorable, and he is described, without difficulty, to have brought the whole of that country to submit to the authority of Teymûr; after which he returned to Kashghar, where he passed the succeeding winter. In the mean time, from among the most beautiful of the maidens of Khoten, he selected two toghûz, or lots of nine each, to be conveyed as part of a present to his imperial grandsire; and another lot of the same description of beauties, with nine of the finest horses, he dispatched for his cousin german Mahommed Sûltan, by whom the whole was, however, rejected with disdain. In this place it becomes necessary to explain that Mahommed Sûltan, who had been left by Teymûr to preside in chief over the territory eastward of the Oxus, had long since proceeded from Samarkand, with a view of joining in the expedition towards Jettah; but finding that Mirza Eskunder had thought fit to hasten his departure without awaiting the arrival of the superior authority, he now rejected the proffered presents with scorn, and returned in displeasure to the capital of his government.

Accordingly at the return of spring, when Mirza Eskunder commenced his journey towards the same capital of Samarkand, information was conveyed to him that his kinsman, extremely incensed at his conduct, had arranged measures for the seizure of his person. In consequence, becoming alarmed at the danger, the young prince returned upon his steps, and shut himself up in the fortress of Andegaun. This circumstance, which appears to have had no other object than personal security, was immediately construed by the Ameirs of the province, such as Peir Mahommed Toghâi Bouga, and Peir Hadjy Melesh, into an indication of determined hostility towards the imperial government; and having, with this impression, assembled their feudatories, they proceeded without further delay to surround the prince in the place which he had chosen for his asylum. After some previous communication with his besiegers, Eskunder having,

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Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

however, been induced by some means or other to lay aside his fears, and to take up his abode in a garden enclosed and beautified by his father Omar Sheikh, without the fort, his person was seized without further difficulty, by the associated Ameirs; who immediately dispatched to Mahommed Sûltan a report of their proceedings, and a request for further instructions. Mirza Eskunder and his followers were soon afterwards conveyed to Samarkand, where the person of the young prince was soon placed under competent security; but his Atabek, or preceptor, Beyan Temûr the son of Begtchek, and six and twenty of his retainers were condemned to suffer death, for the errors in which they had engaged their principal.

In the mean time, the period during which he remained encamped at Kârabaugh, was employed by Teymûr in giving scope to, and bringing to maturity his projects of vengeance against the Georgians; for their audacious interruption of the siege of Alanjek, and their liberation of Sûltan Taher. When, therefore, his arrangements were complete, the Tcheghatâian monarch, having previously dismissed his vassals Ameir Ibrauhim prince of Shirvaun, and Seidy Ahmed of Shekky, to their respective governments, with a selection of three tenths taken from among the soldiers, and ten days' provisions, proceeded by forced marches across the Peninsula, to the banks of the Kûrr, leaving the main body of his army with the heavy baggage in their former encampment. A bridge was speedily thrown across the river; and the imperial troops having passed with equal facility and good order to the opposite bank, Teymûr was there rejoined by the Princes of Shirvaun and Shekky, with their respective contingents. Continuing his march, Teymûr proceeded by the town of Shekky, towards the pass of Khumsha, a post two days' journey within their impermeable forests, in which the Georgians had lodged themselves in great force, under a chief also of the same name of Khumsha. As this post was no otherwise accessible, the troops were employed without delay, with their saws and hatchets, to cut a passage through; which they finally accomplished, in spite of the heavy snow which fell for a period of six and twenty days without intermission. The Georgians were then attacked, and defeated with horrible slaughter; the whole surface of the mountain being steeped in the blood of the slain, to

considerable distance round, and exhibiting no imperfect resemblance to a bed of tulips.

A. H. 802.  
A. D 1399.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

Khumslá the prince of this tribe of Georgians contrived, however, to effect his escape from the scene of carnage, although closely pursued by the Teymûrians, to the entrance of another formidable pass, called the pass of Auksú—the Leucorhoas or white river perhaps. It being, however, notorious that the whole of the natives of the surrounding territory, were immoderately addicted to the use of wine; and, as if in contempt of one of the most obvious precepts of Mahommedan orthodoxy, that they made a practice of even bathing the bodies of their dead in the generous liquid, before they committed them to the grave, Teymûr gave immediate directions that every vine, and vineyard throughout the country, should be taken up by the roots, and utterly destroyed; and, moreover, as far as possible to abolish from the minds of the natives every trace of the religious system of their fathers, every church, and place of christian worship, was levelled to the ground, leaving in short, throughout the whole of this region, neither fruit-bearing tree, nor the vestige of any habitation which could indicate in any shape that it had ever been the abode of human beings. The destroyer was, nevertheless, compelled for the present, by the continued rigors of the season, and the difficulty of procuring subsistence for his troops, to suspend the work of devastation, and to return, however loaded with booty, across the Kârr, to his cantonments near Kâraabaugh.

It has been already noticed that, when in the neighborhood of Jaum, on his recent march towards Azerbâjjaun, Teymûr had dispatched his grandson Mirza Rûstum the son of Omar Sheikh, to join his brother Peir Mahommed at Shirauz, with further instructions to proceed, together with that prince, towards Baghdâd. Mirza Rûstum hastened accordingly to Shirauz, and, on his arrival at that place, was received by his brother with every demonstration of regard and distinction. Shortly afterwards, Ameir Şounjek, with his nephew Hussun Jandaur, and Hussun Joghdawul, both employed under Peir Mahommed, was sent in advance by the route of Tustur, towards Baghdâd; and he was followed at a convenient interval in the same direction, by the two Mirzas Peir Mahommed and Rûstum, the Ameirs,

A. H. 802.  
 A. D. 1400.  
 Kouzut-us-  
 suffa.

Sâeid Berlas, and Ally Beg Eissa, this latter akin to Ameir Abbas, being left, in conformity with the instructions of Teymûr, to provide for the security of Shirauz. Peir Mahommed had, however, proceeded no further than Noubendejaun, when he pretended sickness, and embraced the opportunity of returning to the capital of his government. Mirza Rûstum and the other Ameirs, notwithstanding this defection, continued their march by Dezhfûll, the village, or station of the bridge, on the river of Tustur, pillaging the country as they passed along, the whole way to Mundely; where they appear to have arrived in the former Jummaudy, of the year eight hundred and two.\* At Mundely, which was then a town of some importance dependent on Baghdâd, the Teymûrians were opposed, however unsuccessfully, by Ameir Ally Kullunder, who commanded on the part of Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir; and who was defeated with little difficulty, by the force under Mirza Rûstum, the latter permitting the place to be entirely plundered, and, in a great measure, destroyed by his followers.

Having as we have just seen returned to Shirauz, under the pretence of illness, and yielding further to the mischievous counsels of those unprincipled advisers who are too frequently permitted to haunt the society, and mar the best intentions of the great, Peir Mahommed proceeded to exhibit so many proofs of misgovernment and malignant depravity, as could not fail to render his character equally dangerous and detestable, since he did not scruple to avail himself of the nefarious acts of the poisoner, in order to remove those persons who appeared obnoxious to his views. These odious and disloyal practices were, however, promptly discovered by some of his own domestics, to Abû Sâeid Berlas, and the accusation being repeated to his face, when made the subject of public investigation before an assembly of the Ameirs, the Shahzâdah was confined, without further ceremony, to the castle of Kohendezh; Abû Sâeid himself taking up his residence in the same fortress, for the greater security of his person, and dispatching to the imperial head quarters, to announce the extremities to which he had been compelled to resort, under these untoward circumstances.

\* January A. D. 1400.

In consequence of the receipt of these dispatches from Abû Sâeid, Ameir Allahdaud was directed, by Teymûr, to proceed immediately to Shirauz; in order to bring to justice the seditious profligates who had been concerned in misleading the unfortunate Peir Mahommed, and to establish Mirza Rûstum in the government of the province, in the room of his misguided brother. On his arrival at Shirauz, in conformity with his instructions, Ameir Allahdaud instantly put to death three of the most notorious of the prince's evil counsellors, struck off the hands and feet of a fourth, and threw the remainder into bonds; dispatching, at the same time, to Mirza Rûstum, in the territory of Baghdâd, the letters patent of his appointment. These were delivered to Mirza Rûstum at Mundely, subsequent to the defeat of Ally Kullunder recently noticed; and the young prince did not the less hasten to return to Shirauz, because his advancement had arisen on the degradation of his brother. Ameir Sounjek proceeded, at the same time, by the route of Jeijemaul, to join the imperial head quarters at this period at Kârabaugh.

On the other hand, on his discomfiture by Mirza Rûstum and the Teymûrian Ameirs at Mundely, Ally Kullunder had fled in dismay to Baghdâd; where, together with the circumstances of his disgrace, he communicated no small degree of alarm to Sûltan Ahmed, who directed the gates of the city to be immediately closed, lest the victorious Teymûrians might enter with the fugitives. At this crisis an event occurred, which, however in appearance, inauspicious at the outset, through the influence of that unerring destiny which seems to have governed his affairs, finally terminated, like all other contingencies, in promoting the prosperity and grandeur of Teymûr.

The government of Khûzistaun had, at a former period, been entrusted under the Teymûrian authority, to a certain Ameir Shirvaun, of whom little more is known further than what has brought his name in question, on the present occasion. In effect, resigning the whole of his faculties to the accumulation of wealth, this man, so undeservedly selected, did not scruple to exercise every species of violence and injustice, in order to gratify the ruling propensity of his mind; and putting to death many of the citizens of Haweizah, or Ahû-suz sometimes so called, and extorting immense property from Shums-

A. H. 602.  
A. D. 1400.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 802.  
 A. D. 1400.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 snffa.

ud-dein Dehdaur in particular, and other opulent inhabitants of the province, he finally completed the measure of his iniquities, by going over, accompanied by one thousand horse completely armed and equipped, to Sûltan Ahmed at Baghdâd, by whom he was most favorably received, and immediately raised to the highest distinctions under his government. Shortly afterwards, notwithstanding, as if equally regardless of present, and of former obligations, if it was not indeed as might very easily be conceived, the result of a preconcerted plan with his late sovereign, Shirwaun proceeded to tamper privately with the courtiers of the Sûltan of Baghdâd; some of whom he found means to purchase at the price of ten thousand, others at no less a sum than three hundred thousand dinaurs. Among those who were not able to resist the all subduing influence of gold on this occasion, was the princess Wuffa Khautûn, the aunt of the Sûltan, by whom he had been brought up from his cradle; and who, to this moment, had never ceased to manifest towards him, every proof of the fondest attachment. It so happened, however, that a memorandum of the sums thus distributed, and of the individuals to whom they were allotted, was accidentally dropped by a clerk in the service of Shirwaun; and falling into the hands of Kourah Bahauder, one of the Sûltan's officers, was by him delivered to his master, at the very crisis at which, in consequence of his apprehensions of the approach of the Teymûrian armies, he had given orders to secure the gates of the capital. The horrors of domestic treason were scarcely of a nature to diminish the alarm of foreign attack; and the sum of ten thousand dinaurs having been placed in this catalogue of corruption to the credit of Raffya, one of his ministers in whose attachment he possibly reposed with more than ordinary confidence, the Sûltan's apprehensions were aggravated a thousand fold. Him, therefore, he determined to make sure of, and immediately sending for him, on the spot cut his throat with his own hand.

At the period of this discovery Ameir Shirwaun had been detached, together with Kûttûb Heydery and some other commanders, on an expedition against the tribe of Aweyraut; and to these commanders, through the medium of Yadgaur the Sûltan's Akhtatchei, or grand equerry, instructions were now conveyed to take off the head

of this turbulent exile, and bring it to court. The instructions were carried into execution without demur; and the Aneirs immediately repaired to Baghdâd, conveying with them the ghastly proof of their prompt obedience. Shortly after he had thus removed the principal object of his vengeance, Sûltan Ahmed proceeded furthermore to dispose of such of the members of his court, as he had reason to suspect of having corruptly abetted the design of subverting his authority. Accordingly, having directed each of these persons, composing in fact the most distinguished of his officers, to be brought separately to his closet, he introduced the subject by demanding whether it was to be tolerated that such a one, naming the individual to whom he referred, who had been raised to wealth and honor through the bounty of his government, should by any groundless, or unprovoked perversion of principle, be induced to espouse the cause of his enemies; and he concluded by further demanding, in such a case of perfidy and ingratitude, what course seemed most advisable to pursue. The individual replied on his knees, in the usual language of adulation, that whatever his sovereign thought fit to ordain, as founded on the dictates of unerring wisdom, would doubtless command the entire approbation of his faithful servants. The Sûltan further observed that if he were disposed to make choice of the person to whom his discourse was now directed, as the object of his regard and confidence, it would probably be to experience the same proofs of disloyalty and ingratitude; and he was answered with the most solemn assurances of zeal and fidelity in the execution of whatever he might be pleased to command. Sûltan Ahmed then proceeded more explicitly to state that there was a certain individual by whom he had, in this respect, been most injuriously treated, and that if he would but do him justice on the ingrate, the family, the wealth, and every thing belonging to the traitor, would be his immediate recompence. The unfortunate man had, however, no sooner executed on his part the design for which he had been selected, than another was prevailed upon by the same inducements to be the executioner of a similar plan of vengeance on himself. And by this, or some other expedient of the kind, if any credit be due to the statement of the original, in one short week did Sûltan Ahmed contrive to cut off no less than two thousand individu-

A. H. 802.  
A. D. 1400.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 802.

A. D. 1400.

Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

als, within the limits of his capital alone, exclusive of what might have been destroyed at a distance.

On this occasion, while the Sûltan was thus, like a maniac, engaged in the immolation of such a multitude of his unoffending subjects, one day descending the steps of his palace, he was not ashamed to tell over to a feraush, or common sweeper, the names of those unhappy persons, whom he had been just dispatching to their long account. "Excellent!" replied the man, "so long as you and I remain alive, it matters not what becomes of the rest of the world." The remark produced some impression upon the infatuated prince, who immediately threw away his sword, and smiling at its import, pardoned the man for the freedom of his expression. His jealous vengeance was, however, not extinguished until the nurse of his infancy, the princess Wuffa Khautûn already noticed, was smothered by a bolster at Wausset, and numbers of the ladies and female domestics of the haram had perished by his own hand. It is at the same time stated, with some variation, that Wuffa Khautûn, and the other females who had unfortunately excited the suspicions of the Sûltan, were by his orders embarked together in a boat on the Tigris, on the pretence of being conveyed to Wausset, and all drowned in the mid-channel of that river.

The tyrant had, by this time, rendered his palace a frightful solitude, none being suffered to approach but the purveyors of his kitchen; by whom, on a concerted signal, without entering the gate, the provisions necessary to his subsistence were consigned to the few miserable females, who were yet permitted to remain in attendance upon his person. At last, when he had become sufficiently weary of this life of seclusion and despair, he directed six of his domestics, on whom he still continued to repose some confidence, to convey seven of his fleetest horses to the opposite, or western bank of the Tigris; and having repaired to the same spot, during the obscurity of a dark night, he made the best of his way, accompanied by these six domestics only, to the camp of Kâra Yûssuf the Tûrkman; which without further accident he reached in perfect safety, his good subjects at Baghdâd continuing to suppose that he was still immured within the precincts of his palace.



The Sûltan, in the mean time, with a baseness not often paralleled, is said to have proposed to the Tûrkman, the pillage of his own forsaken capital ; and with this design he immediately accompanied the predatory chief to the banks of the Tigris, opposite to the town ; where having marked out a camp for his Tûrkman allies he proceeded himself across the river in a boat, in order to make such further arrangements as were necessary to ensure the final execution of his plan. Suddenly repenting, however, of the atrocious wickedness of such a design, he prudently receded on the very verge of execution ; and availing himself of the opportunity to procure an adequate number of his finest horses, with these and such arms furniture and costly effects, as he conceived would answer his purpose, he returned to Kara Yûssuf, the rapacity of whose followers he thus contrived to appease, without exposing the devoted city to the enormities of a general pillage.

In the midst of these scenes of domestic distraction, the Sûltan's apprehensions of the approach of the Teymûrian armies were, however, not suffered to subside ; for, towards the close of the eight hundred and second of the hidjerah,\* the emissaries whom he employed to watch the movements of his enemies conveyed intelligence to him, that the imperial standard was advancing in the direction of Sevauss ; and it immediately occurred to him, that his retreat to that quarter would be extremely precarious, if not entirely cut off, should the Teymûrians once effect their entrance into Anatolia and Syria. Without further delay he determined, therefore, to quit Baghdâd altogether ; and accordingly taking with him the whole of what remained of his family, and the most valuable part of his property, he proceeded in company with Kâra Yûssuf and his Tûrkmans across the Euphrates, directing his course towards Aleppo. In the neighborhood of that city he found himself opposed by Teymûr Taush the governor, at the head of a numerous body of the troops of Egypt and Syria ; whom, however, after an obstinate conflict, through the assistance of his Tûrkman allies, he finally defeated, the vanquished retiring in dismay within the walls of Aleppo. Being, at the same time, but little prepared for the operations of a siege, the Sûltan and his as-

A. H. 802.  
A. D. 1400.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

\* The summer of 1400.

A. H. 802.  
 A. D. 1399.  
 Kouzut-us-  
 suffa.

sociates continued their march, without further obstacle, into Anatolia. On their arrival at Bohsta, perhaps Bostan, on the confines of Karamania, a misunderstanding, after all, arose between Sûltan Ahmed and the Tûrkman chief; which being too successfully fomented by the intrigues of evil disposed persons, produced an immediate separation, the Sûltan proceeding directly towards the residence of Sûltan Bayezid, or Bajazet, who at this period swayed the sceptre of the house of Othman with hitherto singular splendor and success. He was most honorably received by the Turkish monarch, by whom the revenues of the city of Koutahiah\* were bountifully assigned for the expences of his kitchen. Shortly afterwards, by particular invitation, he again visited the Turkish monarch at his capital of Byrsa, or Prusa, in Bithynia, where he experienced the same hospitable and distinguished reception as on the former occasion. He then returned to Koutahiah, and there took up his permanent abode. At no very distant period, Kâra Yûssuf† also presented himself at the court of the Turkish Sûltan, and experienced in an equal degree the protection and liberality of that monarch, the collections of Aukseher [the white city], being allotted for his support; and he continued to reside at that place, in perfect security, until again compelled to seek an asylum elsewhere, by the progress of those events which we are endeavouring to bring under the contemplation of our readers.

The spring of the year eight hundred and two had been employed by Teymûr in a variety of operations against the territory of Melek Gurguîn, or Gregory, prince of Georgia; who nobly persisted in affording protection to Sûltan Taher, in defiance of the dangers with which he was threatened by the superior force of his puissant adversary. But as the detail of these operations would protract the narrative beyond all reasonable limit, without contributing in any degree to the information of the reader, it will be sufficient briefly to state that, after the loss of Teflis, and of numerous other places of surpassing strength and vital importance, perceiving that resistance was no longer availing, and having previously secured to Sûltan Taher an opportunity of escaping into the territories of the house of

\* Or Kotaich.

† Called Josephus Niger king of Colchis, by Kuelles.

Othman, the Georgian prince finally determined on dispat- hing to solicit an accommodation with Teymûr. This, through the interven- tion of a Mahommedan of the name of Ismâeil, who resided under his protection, he succeeded in obtaining with less difficulty than might have been expected, and the Tcheghatâian conqueror, in conse- quence, withdrew from the territory of the Georgians; not, however, before he had signalized afresh his aversion for christianity, by the destruction of every church that fell within the range of his fury, and the substitution, on its ruins, of a mosque for the triumphant rites of the Korân.

A. H. 802.  
A. D. 1400.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

The Teymûrian armies now proceeded to the plains of Menkoule, apparently in Armenia, where the emperor had already determined to fix his summer quarters; and here we find recorded an embassy from some european state, or potentate of the Frânks, conducting to the presence of Teymûr, the son of Ameir Yadgaur, one of the Keyaus- sera, or Cæsars,\* who by some accident or other had fallen into the hands of the Christians. The individuals who composed this embassy were, through the introduction of some Ameirs of the court, hand- somely received by Teymûr, and permitted to express, to him in person, on the part of the sovereigns of their country, most likely some of the provinces on the Danube, the sincere zeal with which they were in general animated, for the prosperity and advancement of all his designs.

It will be recollected that the monarch who at this period wielded the sceptre of the house of Othman was Sûltan Bajazet,† by the orientals usually referred to under the designation of Eylinderem Bayezid Ghâzy—Bajazet the thunderbolt ever victorious; whom his dis- tinguished renown, extensive dominions, and well disciplined and numerous armies appeared to indicate, among all the sovereigns of the East, as infinitely the best suited to arrest the progress of Tey- mûr's victorious career. Elated accordingly by a contemplation of his abundant resources, this prince, some time previous to the crisis in question, had ventured to dispatch by one of his agents, to Ameir

\* According to De la Croix, it was a son of the late Sûltan Mûrad, or Amurath.

† He had succeeded to the monarchy on the demise of his father Murad the 1st, about the year 1390.

A. H. 802.  
 A. D. 1400.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

Taherten, the prince of Erzenjaun and Erzeroum, and the acknowledged feudatory of Teymûr, an insolent demand that the tribute of those provinces should be immediately remitted to the treasury of the house of Othman. The agent during his interview with Ameir Taherten made use, at the same time, of language on the part of his master so derogatory to the exalted claims of the Tcheghatâian conqueror, as could not fail to produce on the report, the warmest feelings of resentment and indignation. Accordingly, when this demand, together with the circumstances of arrogance and unnecessary insult with which it was accompanied, was made known to the ministers of Teymûr, and by them communicated to their master, the latter very ingeniously affected to discover that, in the pride and insolence of power, his haughty rival had suffered himself to be transported beyond all just bounds of moderation; and yet a very ordinary share of reflection might have previously led him to suspect, that the exploits of Bajazet in his conflicts with the warlike and hardy nations on the Danube, were of a magnitude to be viewed without disadvantage, even on a comparison with his own in the remote regions of the north and east. In other respects, the services rendered to their common faith, by the victories of the house of Othman against the Christian states between the Hellespont and the Danube, do not appear to have escaped his notice; since the consideration of that circumstance is described to have produced, on this occasion, upon his mind a strong repugnance to expose the dominions of his rival, to the dreadful ravages of the undisciplined, and numberless host by which he was followed. He therefore resolved, in the first instance, to try whether the Turkish monarch might not yet be won over to a spirit of forbearance and moderation, by a written appeal to his cooler reason, and to the dictates of a more prudent policy. For this purpose he accordingly directed his secretary to arrange into the form of a letter the sentiments which compose the substance of the following dispatch; but how far they were calculated to produce, upon the haughty spirit of Bajazet, a disposition to harmonize, it would be perfectly unnecessary to discuss.

This piece then commences with an invocation of the divine favor in behalf of that man, who, sensible of the just limits of his own

claims, prudently forbore to transgress those limits, or to aspire beyond the point assigned to him in the scale of human grandeur. It next proceeds to express, on the part of Teymûr, what was better calculated to delineate the prodigious extent of his own power, than the just tribute of gratitude to the divine majesty, which he described, through the medium of a glorious and triumphant destiny, to have irrevocably fixed in the hands of the ministers of his court, the reins of supreme authority, both spiritual and temporal—which had compelled the monarchs of Persia and Tartary, and other sovereigns not less potent and renowned, to submit to his superior might, without the discretion of deviating the breadth of a hair from their obedience—and which, in short, had finally placed at his disposal, the wide extended surface of the habitable globe. At the same time, he desired it might be clearly understood, that he was no stranger to that particular in their history, which derived the origin of the race of Othman, from an obscure Tûrkman pilot, or boatman. He could not therefore omit to recommend to the offspring of such a stock, to confine himself quietly to his cabin of repentance, and to conduct his frail bark to an anchor in that harbour of peace, where alone security was to be found against that storm of vengeance, which was otherwise likely to burst upon him. Hitherto, indeed, from a just consideration that their arms and exertions were, for the greater part, employed in expeditions of meritorious zeal against the Franks, or nations of Europe, and in the extermination of those worthless Nazarenes without name or renown, the Teymûrian power had been withheld from extending its victorious operations, against the territories of the house of Othman; in order to avert, as long as possible, from the advocates of the true faith the desolation unavoidably incident to the movements of invading armies, and not less to discourage, in the common enemy, those presumptuous hopes derived from a contemplation of the distractions which prevailed among the votaries of the Korân. The letter concludes with a stern caution, to beware of forsaking the prudent maxims and example of his ancestors—of suffering the spirit of ambition to mislead him into the mazes of error and untried hostility—to bear in mind the adage, “trouble not the Tatar if the Tatar be at rest,”—to deliberate well and seriously, before he laid open, against himself, and his

A. H. 802.  
A. D. 1400.  
Rouz-ul-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 802.  
 A. D. 1400.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

dominions, the barriers of that inundation of calamities and mischief, of which his experience could afford him but a very inadequate conception ; and finally he bid him health and peace from the servant of the most high.

Such in substance was the dispatch, authenticated under the imperial seal and cypher, now forwarded, by a deputation of discreet and experienced individuals, to the court of Bajazet ; in whose presence, a short time afterwards, they proceeded accordingly to discharge the object of their mission, with the punctuality and precision which appeared expedient, in an affair of such vital importance. The materials of revenge and ambition were by this time, however, too highly wrought, to be appeased by the counsels of moderation. The Turkish monarch on the contrary, highly incensed at the language of superiority assumed by his equally haughty adversary, instantly replied in terms of menace and proud defiance ; avowing that a contest with the cruel spoiler of the oriental world, on fair and equal terms in the field of battle, had been long the object of his most ardent contemplation ; and that, though he were now even of himself disposed to withdraw his boasted power, he was resolved to pursue him to the gates of Tebreiz—where, peradventure, it would be proved which of them the too often experienced instability of fortune might exalt to the summit of glory, and whom debase to the lowest point in the scale of human wretchedness.

In consequence of this reply on the part of Bajazet, Teymûr finally resolved on advancing towards Sevauss, and he proceeded accordingly to Aoneik, or Avanik ; where Ameir Allahdaud, who had been employed to bring away the refractory Peir Mahommed from Shirauz, now conducted that prince in bonds, to the camp of his offended grandsire. An inquiry was immediately instituted into the circumstances recently alleged in accusation of the prince, and his conduct was found to have been sufficiently reprehensible. He was, however, finally set at large, although not before he had been subjected to the national discipline of the bastinado ; whilst Sheikhzâdah Fereid, and Mûbaurek Khojah, who had been his instructors in his depraved practices, were put to death. The princesses of the imperial family were, in the mean time, sent back towards Sûltauniah, in charge of

Olúgh Beg, accompanied by Mirza Omar, with Khodadaud ul Hús-seyny the elder brother of Allahdaud, and Moulana Kâtbuddein of Koum. The army then moved in great force towards Erzeroum; where it was immediately joined by Ameir Taherten, at the head of a respectable body of troops. Two days afterwards, Teymûr advanced his standard beyond Erzenjaun; where he must have crossed the higher Euphrates, about one hundred and thirty miles from Sevauss, anciently Sebastia, in Cappadocia.

A. H. 803.  
A. D. 1400.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.



On the first day of Mohurrim, of the eight hundred and third of the hidjerah,\* Teymûr accelerated his march for Sevauss; in the prosecution of which intelligence was conveyed to him, that the advanced guard of Bajazet's troops, under the command of his son Kereshtchei, Mahommed Tcheleby so called, and Teymûr Taush one of his most distinguished generals, apprized of the approach of the Teymûrian armies, had withdrawn from that city, and retreated upon their main body. In consequence of this information, the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Sûliman Shah, Sheikh Nur-ud-dein, Sounjek Bahauder, Seyud Khaujah, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and Dauneh Khaujah,† were immediately dispatched by the Tcheghatâian monarch, in pursuit of the Turks; whom they are said to have overtaken and dispersed in the neighborhood of Kaysereiah, considerably to the westward of Sevauss. After which, and having laid waste the country far and wide, they returned with a considerable booty, to rejoin the imperial standard, under the walls of that city.

At the period under consideration, the city of Sevauss is described to have been surrounded by a strong wall, constructed from the foundation to the crest of the battlements, of hewn stone, each separate block of which being of the dimensions of two and three cubits long, by one cubit thick; the wall itself being twenty cubits high, ten cubits thick at the bottom, and six at the top. On three sides it was further defended by a broad and deep ditch, by which it was rendered more completely unassailable, on these sides; it being already in a great measure so from the nature of the soil, because on striking

\* 21st of August 1400.

† Among these we have not yet been able to recognize the Axalla, described by Knolles, as a Genoese captain, high in the confidence of Teymûr.

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a cubit deep, the sappers and miners would find their operations prevented by the gush of water. The only part on which it was open to the usual methods of attack was that to the eastward, on which side the imperial army took its station on the present occasion. These defences are by historians ascribed to Sûltan Alla-ud-dein Key Kobaud, of the Rûmian, or Anatolian branch of the race of Seljûk; and a garrison of four thousand veteran soldiers under Mûstaffa, their governor on the part of Bajazet, seemed prepared in every respect to make the most determined and vigorous resistance.

On that part of the town where alone it was practicable,\* the miners proceeded, however, to work without delay; while the engineers hastened to plant their Araudahs and Manjeneiks, the former for the discharge of fireworks, the latter for stones, with every other instrument of annoyance and destruction against the defences of the besieged. At the expiration of eighteen days, the fortifications appeared to have been considerably injured from the effect of the machines; and the miners having succeeded in carrying their galleries under the foundation of some of the principal towers, orders were issued to set fire to the wooden props and rafters, by which they were sustained; on which the walls and revetements fell in, to the unspeakable astonishment and terror of the garrison. In these circumstances, the besiegers being on the point of entering by the breaches, Mûstaffa, the Turkish governor, hastened out of the town; and through the intercession of the Seyuds and ministers of religion, in the most humble terms ventured to implore the mercy of the conqueror. All that could be obtained, however, was an exemption from slaughter on the payment of a stipulated ransom, in behalf of the Mûssulmans; the Christian and other infidels being indiscriminately consigned over to be plundered, and driven into captivity, by the rapacious soldiery. At the same time, four thousand of the troops of Bajazet, the greater part of them strangers to the pure faith of Mahommed, and who had been most active in the defence of the place, were inhumanly cast into pits in the earth, and buried alive, as an awful and seasonable example to deter others of their nation, who might be similarly disposed, from signaling themselves by a contumacious

\* The Western according to De la Croix.



resistance against the Teymûrian armies. The walls of Sevauss were then levelled with the ground, and, of all its magnificent and lofty structures, not a vestige was left standing to denote that such had ever been in existence.

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At this crisis it was announced to Teymûr that Sûltan Ahmed, on his flight from Baghdâd towards the court of the Turkish monarch, was now passing at no great distance in the neighborhood; and a detachment of the imperial troops was immediately put in motion to pursue, and endeavor to cut off his retreat. Marching with great celerity these troops came up with the baggage of the Sûltan, whose eldest sister, Sûltan Dilshaud, one of his daughters, and several of his wives, or women, they captured; although the prince himself succeeded in effecting his escape from the danger, and in making good his retreat to the court of Bajazet, as recently shewn in a former page.

While engaged in the siege of Sevauss, Teymûr had sustained considerable annoyance from the robbers of Aublestaun, or Zûlkau-dria;\* who had repeatedly stolen into his camp, and, with singular audacity and address, carried off many of the horses of the cavalry. In consequence of this, when the reduction of Sevauss had been accomplished in the manner just related, and Ameir Taherten had been already directed to return towards Erzenjaun, in order to protect the frontiers in that quarter, a division of the imperial troops under the orders of Shah Rokh, accompanied by Sûliman Shah, and other commanders, was dispatched to chastize these midnight marauders; who apparently occupied some of the recesses of Mt. Taurus, between Armenia and the country of Diaurbekir. On his arrival in the territory of Aublestaun, however, the Shahzâdah found that the Tûrkmen had abandoned their chief place of residence, and fled the country; but proceeding without delay in pursuit of them, he finally overtook, and after some resistance entirely dispersed them. After which he rejoined the imperial encampment with a considerable booty taken from these Tûrkmauns.

In the mean time, a message had been dispatched from Teymûr to demand the surrender of Melautyah, a city of considerable impor-

\* A Tûrkman tribe of that name, according to De la Croix.

A. H. 803. tance south of Sevauss, on the route into Syria ; the governor of  
 A. D. 1400. which, being the son of Mûstafâa who recently commanded at Se-  
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 suffa. vauss, had the audacity to imprison the messenger. In consequence  
 of this act of insolent defiance, instead of proceeding further into  
 Anatolia, Teymûr instantly changed the direction of his march to the  
 left, in order to inflict his speedy vengeance on the author of it.  
 But the governor of Melautyah was no sooner apprized of the approach  
 of the imperial standard than he fled in consternation; and the Tey-  
 mûrians became masters of the place on the very day of their arrival.  
 The Georgians and other infidels, or Christians, who composed the  
 garrison, were made slaves, and a ransom was exacted on the Mûs-  
 sulman inhabitants, for the security of their lives and property.  
 Ameir Jahaun Shah and other commanders were then employed, to  
 extend the terror of the Teymûrian name through the neighboring  
 districts ; and they hastened accordingly to spread the ravages of fire  
 and sword, westward to the fortress of Kaukhtah; laid down by De la  
 Croix, at the distance of about thirty leagues W. N. W. of Melau-  
 tyah. They then rejoined the imperial encampment at the latter  
 place; after having previously reduced a great variety of castles, and  
 other places of strength, thât lay in the direction of their march. The  
 government of Melautyah and its dependencies was, on this occasion,  
 conferred by Teymûr upon Kâra Othmaun the Tûrkman chief; who  
 had long faithfully attached himself to the interests of the Tchegha-  
 taian conqueror.

Some time during the seven hundred and ninety-fifth of the hid-  
 jerah, soon after he had taken transient possession of Irâk Arab,  
 Teymûr had dispatched a certain Khaujâh Sheikh Sawah, equally  
 distinguished for his birth and talents, on an embassy to the court of  
 Melek Barkouk, the Maumlouk Sûltan of Egypt and Syria; and that  
 monarch, in defiance of the most generally received laws of civilized  
 society, had suffered himself to be persuaded by the malignant impor-  
 tunities of Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, when a fugitive under his protec-  
 tion, to put the ambassador to death, at the town of Rahabah, situated  
 on the frontier between Syria and Irâk, while he innocently awaited  
 the usual permission to proceed to the Egyptian court; although,  
 according to our author, this prince could not have been otherwise

than sufficiently aware of the awful example of vengeance inflicted upon Mahommed the Khaurezmian, by the immortal Jengueiz, for the assassination of his ambassadors and the Moghûl merchants at Otraur. Again, when subsequent to the conquest of Azerbâijaun, the Tcheghatâian monarch was drawn to the provinces on the Volga, in order to oppose the ambitious designs of Touktemesh the Khaun of Keptchauk, and Ettelmesh Koutchin, who had been left in the government of Aoneik, or Avaneik, after having been defeated and taken prisoner by Kâra Yûssuf the Tûrkman, was by that chieftain conveyed in irons to the same Sûltan of Egypt, he did not hesitate to add to his offences by persisting in the detention of that officer. On the present occasion, when the territory of Aublestaun and the city of Melautyah, had submitted to the power of Teymûr, he determined by another embassy to ascertain, whether Melek Faredje the son, who had now succeeded to the government of Egypt and Syria, might not be animated by a more equitable spirit than the father, and induced to comply with the demand now conveyed to him, for the enlargement of Ettelmesh. However, when the members of this embassy reached Aleppo, and were detained at that place according to custom, until instructions should be received from Kaherah, or Cairo, for their further disposal, Melek Faredje, unfortunately inheriting the hostile and unaccommodating disposition of his father, instantly gave orders that they should be rigorously confined to the castle of Aleppo, where they were exposed to every species of injury and ill usage.

This proof of persevering and contumacious hostility, on the part of the Egyptian Sûltan, produced its full effect upon the haughty and indignant spirit of Teymûr; and he immediately resolved to abandon, for the present at least, all further designs against Bajazet, and to direct his whole force and attention to the subjugation of Syria and Egypt; more especially since the Turkish monarch, notwithstanding his recent menaces, had entirely abstained from offering to molest or interrupt his proceedings, while engaged in the reduction of Sevauss and Melautyah. In the mean time, remonstrances were not wanting on the part of his Ameirs and principal generals, against the design of engaging in the invasion of Syria, before his armies were yet suf-

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suffa.

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ficiently recovered from the labors and fatigues of the expeditions into India and Georgia, and the more recent operations against Sevauss and Melautyah; but their sovereign was not to be dissuaded from his purpose by any considerations of ordinary prudence, or regard to the personal convenience of those whom he conceived bound to sacrifice all things, in support of their allegiance to his authority.

Adhering therefore to the dictates of his own judgment, Teymûr again put his armies in motion; his son Şah Rokh, at the head of an advanced division, proceeding towards Behesny, or Behesna, in some maps laid down about eighteen or twenty miles to the southwest of Sémisaut, and here described as a fortress of singular strength, situated among converging passes on the summit of an exceeding lofty ridge, rendered still more difficult of access by the neighboring mountain torrents, and almost impregnable by the height and solidity of its walls and towers. This place had been, for some time, invested by the Shahzâdah, when Teymûr in person with the main body of the army also arrived before it; and from the top of a neighboring hill proceeded to take an attentive survey of the fortifications. In the mean time, the suburbs, or inferior town, had been carried at the first onset, and pillaged by the Teymûrians, with the entire slaughter of all the inhabitants. An officer of the name of Mûkbel commanded in the fortress on the part of the government of Syria, and he seemed perfectly disposed to discharge the duties of his trust with fidelity and resolution. Among other implements of annoyance is here stated to have been constructed, on some central spot in the interior of the works, a Manjeneik, or catapulta, in such a way as to admit of being traversed in all directions; and it so happened that, at the very moment at which Teymûr was engaged in viewing the defences of the place, a large stone, impelled by this same machine, should strike the ground almost at his feet, and roll into his tent. This circumstance operated as a fresh stimulus upon the irritable feelings of the haughty Teymûr, and the siege was instantly commenced with all imaginable vigor and activity; the whole circumference of the works being assigned, as usual, in regulated allotments to the principal generals of the imperial army.

Twenty Manjeneiks were now planted on as many different points, in order to batter down the defences of the place, and one of them on the exact spot where the stone had fallen, near the tent of Teymûr; and it might be considered not less a proof of the unabating ascendancy of their master's fortune than of the singular skill of his artillerists, that the traversing catapulta in the interior of the fort, by which that stone was thrown, should have been disabled by the very first cast of the machine thus just erected to reply to it. It was at all events accepted as an omen auspicious to the hopes of the besiegers. In the mean time, the imperial armies were further reinforced by the arrival of Mirza Rûstum, with the troops from Shirauz; and the sappers and miners continued to carry on their approaches with such unceasing diligence and activity, that, notwithstanding the great extent of the works, and we should suppose the difficulty of access, they finally succeeded in completing their galleries under the foundations of great part of the walls, and most of the towers; which being now supported merely by the woodwork in the mines of the assailants, it only remained to set fire to the substructure in order to bring the whole in fragments to the ground. Alarmed at the idea of the approaching catastrophe, the governor dispatched repeated messages to solicit the mercy of Teymûr; protesting that he was only deterred from coming in person to cast himself at his feet, by the awful majesty of the imperial umbrella. That he would, however, appeal with confidence to the clemency of so august a monarch, to avert from so humble and defenceless an individual as himself, that fearful storm of vengeance which seemed directed against his head. In reply to this, Teymûr desired he might be informed, that when he had sufficiently evinced his power by gaining forcible possession of the place, he might peradventure feel disposed to overlook his offences, and treat him as an object of compassion: but, the fortress of Behesna had acquired among the natives, such a reputation for impregnable strength, that should he consent to withdraw his troops, or to give him terms on any consideration, before that object was accomplished, it might, by men of depraved intellects, or unreflecting minds, be ascribed to a conscious defect of courage and skill on the part of his victorious armies, rather than to a generous spirit of compassion for the van-

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quished. Accordingly, on thursday the seventh of Suffur, of the eight hundred and third of the hidjerah,\* orders were issued to set fire to the woodwork which supported the galleries of the mines, and the walls and towers immediately began to give way in every direction. This alarming spectacle was not calculated to diminish the apprehensions of the governor and his affrighted garrison; and he proceeded to make a hasty selection of every thing the place afforded that was either precious or rare; which he dispatched without further delay, to the presence of Teymûr, through the medium of the Seyuds and ûlema, who resided under his protection, and whom he charged once more most humbly to intercede for mercy with his stern besieger.

The intermediation of Shah Rokh having, by some means or other, been also secured on the occasion, this last application proved successful; and Teymûr, after acceptance of the presents in behalf of the governor and inhabitants, finally consented to spare the lives of the whole. From Behesna Teymûr then directed his march for Ayntaub, another fortress on the same frontier, about fifty miles north of Aleppo; the walls and towers of which were also of compact and solid masonry, with a tremendous ditch thirty cubits deep, and seventy cubits wide; and, what added greatly to its strength, a fausse bray of masonry embracing the whole of the works, and containing a vaulted passage beneath, sufficiently capacious to admit of soldiers on horseback, but more immediately designed for the lodgment of archers in order to scour and defend the ditch. Here, on their arrival, the imperial troops found themselves where the most abundant supplies of grain, and every species of luxury, seemed to court their acceptance; for the magistrates and principal inhabitants having pusillanimously abandoned the place; the artizans and mechanics, who remained behind, had merely closed the gates, for the purpose of throwing them formally open at the approach of the Teymûrians.†

\* 26th September.

† De la Croix in a note to his history, said to be extracted from Arab Shah, an author who is stated to have availed himself of every opportunity to detract from the merits of Teymûr, alleges that that monarch had avoided Kellaut-er-roum, without risking the reputation of his arms, by an attack upon a place of such superior strength; although Nausser Mahommed had made several successful sallies from it, and very much molested his army.

In the mean time, the appearance of the Teymûrian armies at Behesna, and subsequently at Ayntaub, is said to have filled the mind of Teymûr Taush, the governor of Aleppo under the authority of the Sûltan of Egypt, with alarm and consternation; and he dispatched without delay to demand immediate succours from his master. In consequence of this demand, Shedoun, the lieutenant general of Damascus, with the whole force of the province of Syria formidably equipped and appointed, proceeded towards Aleppo, with orders to support the governor of that place to the utmost of his power. When the whole were assembled in the neighborhood of Aleppo, Teymûr Taush, here also designated as Ameir, prince, or ruler, of Arabia, and described as pre-eminently endowed in point of talents and understanding, proceeded to enumerate the renowned achievements and exalted qualities of the Tcheghataian monarch, and to profess his entire conviction that he was acting under the peculiar care and direction of omnipotence; since armies the most numerous and formidable had been discomfited by his prowess, and fortresses, which all the resources of nature and art had contributed to render impregnable, had been subjugated by his consummate skill, and the superior discipline of his armies. In short, he stated, what was sufficiently notorious, that he had, at the point of the sword, made himself undisputed master of the greater part of the habitable globe; and he should therefore, without further reserve, provided such a step appeared equally advisable to those who heard him, propose to dispatch to the presence of Teymûr, a deputation of Seyuds and others learned in the law, whose influence with the conqueror was universally understood, with suitable presents, and offers of unconditional submission. In which case it was just possible that he might beprevailed upon to permit them to remain unmolested in their persons and possessions, and to direct the course of his victories to some other quarter. These suggestions, on the part of the governor of Aleppo, might probably furnish those writers who are hostile to the memory of Teymûr, with grounds for the accusation, that he had entered into engagements. Upon this it might be observed, that with us it might be rather looked upon as an impeachment of his prudence, had he suffered his attention to be any further withdrawn, by these minor objects, from the more important one of the invasion of Syria,

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A. H. 803. ments with that monarch to betray the cause of his superior, the Sultán  
 A. D. 1400. of Egypt.

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 suffa.

To such as were of a sounder judgment, at least in the eyes of our author, the proposal of Teymûr Taush appeared equally prudent and discreet; while others less provident and more fool-hardy, and among these the lowminded Shedoun, a bold spirited and intractable Maumlouk, peradventure, peremptorily rejected every idea of compromise. It required, they said, no argument to prove that those who yielded so easily to the suggestions of their fears, could have no just grounds to hope for success in any speculation. For their part, they considered that the country, which by interest and inclination they were equally bound to defend, bore but little resemblance to the regions hitherto subjugated by these restless invaders. Neither were the cities and fortresses, of mud and clay and sun-dried brick, of which they so proudly boasted the reduction, to be compared with those stupendous bulwarks of solid masonry, some of them hewn from the rock, which protected the towns and fortresses of the noble province of Syria, many of which it would, at least, require the labour of years to subdue. If, at the same time the apprehensions of Teymûr Taush and of those that thought with him, arose from a contemplation of the superior numbers, arms, or equipment of the enemy, they could not be sufficiently grateful to heaven, that, in this respect also, the advantage was clearly on the side of the Syrians and Egyptians. For what, of a similar description, could be brought into a comparison with their bows of Damascus, their swords of Egyptian manufacture, their lances of Arabia, and their bucklers of Aleppo! With respect to numerical force, it was to be remembered that in Syria and its dependencies there were not less than sixty thousand towns and villages, and if but a few armed soldiers were drawn from each of these, it was scarcely too much to say that the whole world might be covered with warriors. Their enemies, moreover, relied for protection against the elements, the inclemencies of the weather, on perishable fabrics of silk, and gold, and linen; whereas the shelter of the Syrians consisted in their massive bulwarks, as durable in the solidity of their foundations, as the firmament of the heavens on its base. It, therefore, behoved them to discard these ignoble apprehensions, these



unmanly fears, and to exert themselves with a courage and resolution worthy of the noble objects which they had at stake; and, finally, to repose their confidence in the aid of a beneficent creator.

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In the crisis of the debate several natives of the Persian empire, who had, for some time, resided among the inhabitants of Aleppo, and who were universally respected for the exemplary integrity of their lives, and for their good sense and discretion, ventured to interfere; and to intreat that the resolution of irrevocable hostility might not be too inconsiderately entered upon by their adopted fellow citizens, which they professed to have had the most powerful reasons to deprecate, from their recent too fatal experience of the character, and singular energies, of the adversary with whom they were so precipitately about to engage. Instead, however, of producing the effect they proposed, these remonstrances immediately drew upon them the jealousy of the Arabian chiefs, in particular, who charged them, on the spot, with being emissaries on the part of the Tcheghatâian monarch, and with a disposition to favor the subjugation of the country to the arms of the Moghûls. After tedious discussion and considerable warmth of altercation, it was, nevertheless, finally determined to adopt a middle course, and to act entirely on the defensive, avoiding to the utmost the hazard of committing themselves beyond the protection of their fortified towns; and our author is constrained to acknowledge that, if they had prudently adhered to this cautious plan of operations, the fate of Syria might have been protracted to a period far beyond the limits of ordinary calculation.

On the other hand, after having made a march or two from Ayntaub, with his usual celerity of movement, Teymûr, by some means or other, became acquainted with the resolution recently adopted by the Syrians; and, instructed by that inspiration which seemed to guide him in all his actions, suddenly slackened his progress, which was now restricted to the distance of half a farsang a day; his troops, at the same time, receiving orders when they encamped for the night, to entrench themselves, and to observe all those extraordinary precautions of the art of war, usually resorted to in the presence of the most formidable and enterprizing enemy. The Syrians, incapable of comprehending the subtile designs of such a genius as Teymûr's, fondly

A. H. 803. conceived that the Tcheghatâian troops were in awe of them, and  
 A. D. 1400. that their present circumspect proceedings were to be ascribed to  
 Rouzit-us- that impression alone. This conclusion once drawn, their confidence  
 suffa. rose in proportion; the prudent defensive system, which seemed to correspond so well with their means of resistance, was at once abandoned; and they rashly drew out from the walls of Aleppo, to the neighboring plains, with the avowed design of committing their fate to the hazards of a general action, in the open field.

On Thursday the ninth of the former Rebbeia, at all events, corresponding with the twenty seventh of October, A. D. 1400, the standard of Teymûr was displayed in the vicinity of Aleppo. In approaching the place, on this occasion, Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, very slenderly accompanied, fell in with an advanced guard of the enemy; which, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers, he attacked without hesitation, and having with the point of his lance unhorsed one of the troopers, he brought him a prisoner to the imperial head quarters. His followers, at the same time, acquitting themselves with distinguished zeal and resolution, also brought off two of their adversaries; the remainder of whom thereupon fled in dismay, expressing their utmost astonishment at the singular boldness and address, with which they had been attacked. The same day, Mirza Aba Bukker, another of Teymûr's grandsons being in advance of the main body, with about sixty of his bravest cavaliers, was attacked by the Syrians in great force; whom he resisted with such intrepidity and skill, that after a very severe conflict, both parties finally separated, without either claiming the advantage. On the day following, a more considerable division of the Tcheghatâian troops drew up in presence of the Syrians; both parties on this occasion, however, withdrawing to their respective encampments, at the close of the day, without a blow having been struck on either side. But, on the third day, at sunrise, the whole army received the commands of Teymûr, to form in order of battle; the right wing under the direction of Meiran Shah, (who must, by this time, have been sufficiently recovered from the unhappy effects of his fall), with his brother Shah Rokh, the Ameir Sûliman Shah, and other distinguished commanders. The advanced guard of this wing was placed under the orders of Mirza

Aba Bukker, the son of Meiran Shah. The left wing was committed to the discretion of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular sovereign of the Tcheghatâian dominions, assisted by Ameir Jahaun Shah and other experienced veterans; the advanced guard of this wing being conducted by Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne. Teymûr, in person, took post as usual, with the centre division; and, on this occasion, to the equal surprise and terror of his adversaries, he displayed in tremendous order his line of elephants, part of those taken in his Indian expedition, formidably armed and caparisoned. At the same time, a chosen division of ten thousand horse, was directed to take post on a rising ground, which overlooked the intended field of battle; with orders not to quit their station, whatever appearances of discomfiture they might have occasion to observe, on the part of the enemy. Neither were the Syro-Egyptians, on their part, in any respect less forward in their preparations for battle, for which they also drew out in formidable array. In the mean time, the horrific din of the various warlike instruments of music, nuggârahs, horns, and kettle-drums, seemed to shake the ebon vault of heaven.

The obstinacy of resistance did not, however, by any means correspond with this awful note of preparation. The left of the Syrians was successfully assailed, and thrown into disorder, by Mirza Aba Bukker, and his division; while Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, and Ameir Jahaun Shah, with the advanced guard of the left wing of the Teymûrians, fell upon the opposite wing of the enemy, which they entirely broke and dispersed, in every direction. In the mean time, the troops of the centre remained immoveable at their posts, the line of elephants alone advancing upon the enemy in their front, who were also driven from their ground, with little apparent difficulty; neither does any further effort appear to have been made, on the part of the Syrians, to retrieve the discomfitures of the day. In these appalling circumstances, perceiving that all was lost, both Shedoun and Teymûr Taush abandoned the field of battle in great dismay, retiring into the city of Aleppo through the gate of Menkoussa; while the greater part of the other fugitives directed their flight for Damascus, closely pursued by the victorious Teymûrians, by whom they were slaughtered without mercy; a single horseman, indeed, alone escaping the carnage of the

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battle and pursuit, to announce to the inhabitants of Damascus, the circumstances of the dreadful discomfiture. The troops belonging more immediately to Aleppo, on the other hand, made directly for the town, in the hope of finding shelter behind its walls against the fury of their enemies; but, as all the avenues in that direction were soon rendered impassable, by the disorderly throng which crowded to escape, the unhappy fugitives were here also butchered, with unsparing execution, by their sanguinary pursuers. Such, at the same time, appears to have been the fearful distraction which had seized upon them, that the Syrians precipitating themselves, one upon another, into the town ditch, and perishing in prodigious heaps, the interval was filled to an entire level with the glaciis, and thus afforded, over the bodies of the suffocated, an easy passage to the Teymûrian soldiery, who immediately mounted to the assault; and thus, on the eleventh day of the former Rebbeia, without the formality of a siege, was the city of Aleppo laid at the mercy of Teymûr.

In their flight from the field of battle, Shedoun and Teymûr Taush appear to have concerned themselves but very little with the fate of the town, passing through without a moment's delay to the citadel; which is here described as a stupendous fabric erected, with blocks of granite, on a lofty elevation, and enclosed by a ditch thirty cubits broad, and of such a depth, as to communicate with the waters below. Between this ditch, which obviously surrounded the base of the hill, and the rampart, it was moreover protected by a capacious *fausse braye*, not less than one hundred cubits wide, so steep and smoothly scarped, as to be almost impracticable of ascent. The strength of the place, either natural or artificial,\* was such, however, as to inspire Teymûr Taush, and his colleague, with the utmost confidence; and they accordingly prepared, with arrogance unsubdued, and unbending obstinacy, to resist afresh the progress of the conqueror; the garrison proceeding with loud shouts to man the defences, and the slingers of Naptha commencing a most gallant discharge of fire-works, in order to retard the approaches of the besieging army.

\* According to De la Croix, the citadel of Aleppo was erected on an artificial mount of earth, the scarp of which was entirely overlaid with free stone.

In the mean time, having entered the city in person, Teymûr caused the imperial pavilion to be set up directly in front of the castle; and his archers proceeded to ply their bows, with such indefatigable activity and skill, that the soldiers of the garrison no longer ventured to show their heads, above the parapets of the walls and towers. The Teymûrian troops then drew up on the very counter-scarp, or verge of the ditch, already mentioned; and this, being in a short time perforated like a riddle in a thousand parts, by the sappers and miners, was soon completely drained to the bottom. On the day following, they mounted the *fausse braye*, and gained the foot of the wall; which, although composed of enormous blocks of granite, or other masses of rock, they proceeded, without delay, to undermine—or possibly to unsettle and displace the enormous materials, with their bars and pickaxes.

A. H. 803.  
A. D. 1400.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

In his account of the principal events of the life of Teymûr, or possibly of this his Syrian expedition in particular, a certain Moulana Nizam-ud-dein of Damascus, who was, at this period, actually resident at Aleppo, is alleged to describe, that while he stood one day, on a tower which commanded a full view of the works, and was making his observations on the progress of the miners, and on the surprising intrepidity displayed by the Teymûrian troops in general, he beheld one of the gates of the citadel suddenly thrown open, and five warriors, cased in steel from head to foot, issuing from the place. Each of these fastening round his waist a rope, one end of which was held by some of the garrison on the ramparts, in order to facilitate their ascent and descent along the steep and slippery scarp of the *fausse braye*, immediately proceeded sword in hand, to the entrance of the galleries, in which the imperial miners were employed against the foundation of a particular part of the wall; and having cut to pieces the whole of these, together with the guards stationed for their protection, were then every one of them drawn up to the works, although it could never be ascertained whether they were dead or alive.\* At the conclusion of the siege, the narrator of this incident was introduced to the presence of Teymûr, through the medium of Jullaul-ul-islam, and liberally provided for by the conqueror.

\* The statement in De la Croix represents that they were all five killed by the Teymûrian archers, and their dead bodies thus drawn up.

A. H. 803.  
 A. D. 1490.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

Subsequent to this slight sally, the garrison was, however, so completely kept in check, by the indefatigable activity of the besiegers in the discharge of their missiles, that not one of them any longer dared to trust himself even at a loop hole, much less to appear without the walls. In these circumstances, a messenger from Teymûr obtained admission to the castle, with letters to the two commanding chiefs—urging the total inutility of resistance against that power, which had already subjugated the greater part of the oriental world, and to restrain the progress of which, the strongest bulwarks, and the most formidable armaments, had proved equally unavailing. If, therefore, they yet retained any regard for their lives and property, they would immediately comply with the summons now communicated to them, to abandon their useless fortifications, and lay themselves at the mercy of a magnanimous conqueror, without persevering further in a defence, which must inevitably terminate in the total disgrace, and destruction, of themselves and all belonging to them. The troops who composed the garrison, as well as their officers, had become, by this time, also sufficiently instructed that, however, a persevering resistance might protract, it could not possibly avert the most direful calamities, in the issue. Hence, a resolution was speedily adopted to atone for the past, by an immediate and voluntary submission; and, accordingly, Shedoun and Teymûr Taush, followed by all the Seyuds, ûlema, and principal inhabitants, passed out without further delay, and hastened to lay themselves at the feet of the Tcheghatâian monarch, to whose ministers, they now delivered the keys of the citadel, and of its rich and accumulated treasures. The two commanders, with one thousand of the officers and soldiers of the garrison, were however, notwithstanding the delusive hopes held out in the letters of Teymûr, immediately consigned, by his orders, in separate small bodies, to the different tomana of the army, to be detained in safe custody; until it should be further determined in what manner to dispose of them.

With his usual princely liberality, Teymûr caused the whole of the treasure found in the castle of Aleppo, as well the deposit of former ages as of modern times, to be distributed among the Ameirs of his court and armies; after which he gave directions that the

battlements, which crowned the ramparts and lofty towers of this noble fortress, should be dismantled and thrown to the ground, leaving the remainder of the works, for the present, undemolished. It now occurred to him to make one more experiment on the feelings of the Sûltan of Egypt, by dispatching to Kâherah, or Cairo, Essen Boughâi Dowatdaur, one of that prince's secretaries of state, for so the appellation implies, who had fallen into the hands of the imperial troops, on the capture of the town, in order to announce to his master, that Shedoun and Teymûr Taush, were now both prisoners in the imperial camp; and that they only awaited the enlargement of Ettelmesh, so long and unjustly detained in Egypt, to be set at liberty, without further inconvenience. With this message, and an engagement to return without failure, by a certain limited period, Essen Boughâi, with all the expedition of which he was capable, proceeded to the court, or camp, of the Maumlouk sevêreign. In the mean time, after lodging his heavy baggage and more ponderous equipments in the citadel of Aleppo, which he placed in charge of Seyud Budder-ud-dein Hâzaurguzzi, Shahshâhan prince of Seiestaun, and Moussa Bougha, and after having remained there altogether fifteen days, Teymûr quitted that place, and bent his course for another quarter of the province of Syria.

While he was yet detained in his camp before Aleppo, Teymûr had previously detached a competent force under Mirza Peir Mahommed Sûltan the son of Omar Sheikh, accompanied by Mirza Aba Bukker, the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, and Sounjek Bahauder, and other distinguished captains, to form the siege of Hamy, or Hâma; and, although these commanders had succeeded in making themselves masters of the town, the castle, or interior fort, in consequence of its greater strength, still continued to hold out against their attacks. Being, therefore, at leisure from the reduction of Aleppo, Teymûr proceeded directly towards Hama; in order to complete the subjugation of that place by the capture of the citadel. But, he had no sooner made his appearance before it, than the garrison, intimidated by the stupendous force by which they now perceived themselves on all sides surrounded, at once repented of their ill-advised hostility; and, as their only resource, determined on immediate submission. They

A. H. 802.  
A. D. 1400.-  
Kouat-us-  
suffa,

A. H. 803.  
 A. D. 1400.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

issued from their gates accordingly, with such an assortment of valuables as they could collect together for their purpose, and through the intercession of the Shahzâdah already employed against the town, they succeeded in obtaining from Teymûr, what they possibly rejoiced to receive, indemnity for their lives.

Although the booty acquired at the reduction of Hama had been added, by Teymûr, to the distribution already made among the princes of the blood, and the principal officers of his court and armies, all these together, twenty days subsequent to that event, united in representing to him again, nevertheless, the fatigue and hardships to which, for a period of almost two years, they had been exposed in distant and laborious expeditions, and by which their cattle, of every description, were at last reduced to mere skeletons, totally incapable of active service or exertion in any shape; while their enemies, unimpaired in force and equipment, sat quietly at their doors with all their resources at hand, in perfect readiness for action. It was, they alleged, on these considerations that they now proposed to their sovereign, provided he could bring himself to concur in opinion, to proceed without further delay to the plains of Terabolis, or Tripoly, there to pass the approaching winter; and that they would be then enabled at the return of spring, with recruited vigor and renovated equipments, to resume his designs of extermination against the enemy.

These remonstrances, however consistent in appearance with the dictates of ordinary prudence, produced but little impression upon the inflexible temper of Teymûr; whose plan was already concerted, by an active and rapid course of operations, to harrass and distress the enemy, without affording him a moment's repose. In concurrence with this he put his troops in motion next for Hames, Hems, or Emesa, at the distance of about four and twenty miles, perhaps, from his last position at Hama. At the suggestion of some of the lords of his court favorably disposed to their interests, and who had preceded the main body in that direction, the inhabitants of Hems prudently resolved on immediate submission; and, on the appearance of the imperial standard in the neighborhood, proceeded accordingly to attest, by the most prompt and acceptable services, their zeal, and obedience to the authority of the conqueror. In consequence of thus prudent-



ly yielding to the storm, they remained, for the present at least, secure against the depredations and excesses of the ferocious, and hostile myriads by whom they were encompassed; and Teymûr directed his march, from Hems, towards the ancient and celebrated city of Baalbek.

A. H. 808.  
A. D. 1400.  
Rouzut-us-  
sufla.

Having continued his progress in that direction for several farsangs, [for a day's journey according to De la Croix], he found it convenient to encamp in the neighborhood of a Nimekzaur, or saltmarsh; from whence he took the opportunity of detaching a division of his armies to over-run the country towards Seydah and Beirout—the Sidon and Berytus of the ancients, as it is almost unnecessary to explain. Resuming his march, he arrived before Baalbek;\* and the whole army became astonished to the last degree, at the singular strength and solidity of the walls of that place, some of the stones which formed the angles being found, on admeasurement, of the enormous dimensions of eight and twenty cubits in length by sixteen cubits in breadth; and, it is added from De la Croix, that they were seven cubits, or at least twelve feet ten inches thick. According to the tradition of the country prevailing among all classes of the natives, they were erected by supernatural powers—by the genii under the instructions of Solomon. Be this, however, as it may, the imperial troops made themselves masters of this celebrated city, the Syrian Heliopolis of former ages, without the smallest difficulty; and an immense supply of fruit, and all kinds of grain, rendered them abundantly thankful for the spontaneous bounty of that almighty power, which thus never ceased to promote and prosper all their undertakings. From Baalbek, a body of thirty thousand horse, under the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek, and Sounjek Bahauder, was now dispatched towards Damascus.

As the winter† was by this time considerably advanced, and the rigors of the season prevailing with more intense severity at Baalbek, in consequence of its situation at the foot of Mount Libanus, Teymûr proceeded also, without further delay, to the fertile and genial territory adjoining to Damascus. In the mean time, the commanders whom

\* By the best maps, it appears to be situated about 34 miles, N. N. W. of Damascus.

† The first of the fifteenth century.

A. H. 803.  
 A. D. 1400.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

he had employed to overrun the country towards Seydah and Beirout, and to scour the coast of Phœnicia, joined him on the march, loaded with booty. While, on the other hand, the chiefs who presided at Damascus, having ascertained the approach of Teymûr, dispatched by fresh, and repeated messages, to announce their danger to Melek Far-edje, and to urge the necessity of his immediate presence on the spot, in order to resist the progress of the Tcheghatâian armies. Roused by these urgent solicitations, the Sûltan of Egypt at last set out for Damascus, at the head of a puissant force, armed and equipped with extraordinary splendor. On his arrival, however, in his Syran capital, after exerting himself with indefatigable activity to complete his arrangements for the defence of the city, the author of mischief suggested to the Sûltan the idea of employing the perfidious expedient of assassination, in order to cut off his illustrious adversary.

For this purpose, having selected a desperate ruffian who, under the garb of a religious mendicant, was possessed of the most fascinating address, and powers of language uncommonly seductive, the Egyptian Sûltan dispatched him as his envoy, or confidential agent, to the presence of Teymûr; with instructions to remain about the person of that monarch, until he should have found an opportunity to stab him with a poisoned dagger. This ruffian was accompanied, at the same time, by two others of the same character with himself, also furnished with similar poisoned weapons, which they concealed in their boots. The perfidious deputation obtained admission, without difficulty, to the presence of Teymur; but, although frequently permitted to approach his person, they could never find the opportunity for which they sought. At length, through that singular felicity which seemed on all occasions to watch over the destiny of Teymûr, some circumstance in the behavior of these men awakened the suspicions of Khaujah Mûssâoud, the Semnaunian, at this period one of the secretaries of the council; and their persons being immediately subjected to examination, the poisoned weapons were discovered in their boots. A full disclosure of the base design was now drawn from the principal; and, although Teymûr conceived it necessary to express his full sense of the regard, which was always due to the sacred character of an ambassador, with which he was invested, yet as an example to all mankind, that it

was not to be prostituted with impunity to the purposes of treason and assassination, he caused him to be instantly hacked to death with his own dagger, and his carcase burnt to ashes. His accomplices were, however, dismissed with the loss of their ears and noses, and with a letter which they were charged to deliver to their unworthy employer, the Sûltan of Egypt.

A H. 803.  
A. D. 1400.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

The imperial armies now advanced in full force, straight to Damascus, before which they presently encamped near the kubbah Seyaur, or cupola of the winepress, or perhaps of the planets, immediately surrounding their camp with a trench, and parâpet, or breastwork, of hurdles and fascines, [tchupper & manduah]. Teymûr, in person, proceeded to the summit of a neighboring eminence, in order to take a distinct and careful survey of the works of the place; at the same time, directing the advanced parties of the army to move on, without delay, to attack the enemy who appeared without the town. Ameir Sounjek, and other distinguished commanders, hastened accordingly to give to their adversaries further proofs of superior gallantry and skill. The attack was led on in particular by Sâeine Teymûr Bahauder, Daunah Khaujâh, and Towukkel Bawertchei, and these were, in a short time, bravely supported by the Ameirs Seyud Khaujâh, and Sheikh Ally Bahauder, from the right, and by Mirza Rûstum, from the left wing of the main body. In the issue, however, the Syrians were driven with great slaughter into the town, or its environs; and a number of prisoners having fallen into the hands of the Teymûrians, they were conducted to the imperial tents, and there immediately put to death, together with Shedoun, and the captives who had been brought from Aleppo, in retaliation, possibly, for the recent perfidious attempt of Melek Faredje. In the mean time, since the name of Teymûr Taush is not expressly mentioned among these who suffered on the occasion, there may have been some grounds for the accusation that he had betrayed the cause of his master, and for the conclusion that he was now spared on that account.

That very night, however, an event occurred in the imperial camp, so singular and unexpected as to excite universal surprise and astonishment. This was the desertion, to the enemy, of no less distinguished a personage than Mirza, or Ameirzâdah, Sûltan Hûseyne,

A. H. 803.  
 A. D. 1400.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

the grandson of Teymûr by his daughter Taujia Beggy espoused, at an early period, to Mahommed Beg the son of Ameir Moussa. The otherwise unaccountable defection, of a prince who had so frequently signalized his courage and zeal under the standard of his grandfather, is ascribed to the effect of a drunken debauch, and to the depraved and malevolent suggestions of some turbulent individuals, with whom he had the misfortune to associate. But, whatever were his motives, he made directly for the city, and was there received by the Syrians as the harbinger of success and victory; and he was accordingly conducted into the town, with a pomp and splendor which bespoke their satisfaction in a very eminent degree. The circumstance was, however, instantly made known to Ameir Shah Melek, by two of the Mirza's domestics, and by that chief reported without delay to Teymûr.

In consequence of this untoward proceeding, the Tcheghatâian monarch early the following day, conceived it expedient to change the position of his army; and to withdraw to the distance of about a farsang, to the south west of Damascus—to the plains on the road to Kanaan and Egypt, where he again encamped, directing his troops, on this occasion, to encircle the whole of the position with a breast work of stone, protected by a ditch in front. Light troops were, at the same time, dispatched to every quarter, and strong guards posted in all directions; in order to prevent surprise, and to give the earliest intelligence of the enemy's movements. Two days had been suffered to expire in this state of suspense and inactivity, when Teymûr, in all probability, with a view to encourage the confidence and augment the fancied security of the Egyptians, determined to dispatch an officer, of the name of Padshah Bouran, to the court of Melek Faredje, in order to demand, once more, the enlargement of his servant Ettelmesh; and further, if he were wisely disposed to avert the calamities by which the desolation of his country was about to be completed, to require that the coinage might be struck, and the Khotbah, or prayer for the sovereign, pronounced in his name.

Contrary to former practice, the ambassador was now received, on his entrance into Damascus, with all the respect that was due to his character, by Melek Faredje; every attention being shewn to him that could either conciliate his good opinion or gratify his wishes.

To accomplish this, and not less to display their superior skill in the management of artificial fireworks, and the artillery of that age, [raud-andauz—literally thunder casting, and probably adverting to the discharge of greek fire, which is described to have made a frightful roaring noise in its passage through the air], all who excelled in that branch of the art of war, and these were retained in extraordinary numbers in the service of the Sultán, were now summoned to exhibit, in all their perfection, their boasted powers in that formidable species of annoyance; the Syrians, observes our author, fondly flattering themselves that these must be proofs, to conviction, of their surpassing strength and multiplied resources—little reflecting that when once the torrent of vengeance was let loose, neither the fire-worker nor his inventions, the engineer nor his boasted machinery, would be able for a moment to arrest its awful course.

A. H. 803.  
A. D. 1400.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

With every reason to be rejoiced at the result of his mission, the envoy returned to the camp of his sovereign, and was immediately followed by a deputation, from the town, with instructions to repair to the presence of Teymûr. At the interview with that monarch, to which they were without difficulty admitted, they humbly stated on the part of the Egyptian and Syrian chiefs, that they were not less disposed to give him the last proofs of submission and obedience, than to evince their entire repugnance to the commission of any act, that might appear hostile to his authority; and in the confidence that this would entitle them to the compassionate forbearance of the Tcheghatâian monarch, that his lieutenant Ettelmesh, in the course of a few days, would be restored to liberty, and to the presence of his sovereign; after which, and encouraged by their hopes of the further extension of imperial favor, that they would be found, through life, steadfast and undeviating in the path of duty and allegiance. The deputies were upon this honorably dismissed with presents of money and Khelauts, and every other mark of royal consideration.

When, however, the main body of the imperial armies had continued, for about ten days, thus encamped to the south-westward of Damascus, and every vestige of forage, and subsistence for his cattle, had disappeared from that part of the country, Teymûr dispatched his quartermasters to examine the state of the district about Ghoutah,

A. H. 803.  
 A. D. 1400.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 siffa.

which lay to the eastward of the city; and, as these returned with a favorable report of that rich and fertile region, the whole of the troops were immediately set in motion to encamp in that quarter. Hence, on perceiving the movement, the inhabitants of Damascus rashly concluded that it must have been occasioned by some circumstances of alarming sedition, some disastrous failure of means, or defection of force; and that the Tcheghatâian armies, by the direction of their march, were in full retreat towards the Euphrates. Under such an impression, they proceeded to animate each other to embrace this golden opportunity of attacking, with superior and united force, the rear of the Teymûrians; whose resistance, even under the ordinary disadvantages of a retreat would be but feeble, and the least confusion might be easily improved into all the horrors of a tumultuous and disorderly flight. With these absurd and ill grounded speculations, all, that were capable of bearing arms, now hastened to buckle on their cuirasses and coats of mail; and, sword and spear in hand, on horseback and on foot, with every species of weapon they could procure at the moment, issued from the gates of Damascus in such prodigious multitudes, that they covered the surrounding plains as far as the eye could reach.

The appearance of this promiscuous multitude was soon announced to Teymûr, by the light cavalry employed to scour the country, and convey intelligence of the enemy's designs; and he immediately prognosticated, that the power of the Sûltan of Egypt was approaching to the verge of decline, and that it was, probably, about to set forever. With confidence unimpaired he, therefore, hastened in person to the rear, in order to make head against this hostile throng; at the same time giving directions that his tents might be pitched, and that the army should immediately encamp, covering themselves with a barricade of stones, and articles of baggage, or whatever else they found nearest at hand.

In the mean time, accompanied by fifty of his guards and attendants, Teymûr ascended a hill in the neighborhood, where he proceeded, in the first instance, to the performance of his devotions; and, having earnestly implored the aid of that unpartnered being who rules the universe, to aid him in the conflict in which he was about to engage,

he, with the steadiness of a mind at ease, remounted his horse to prepare for battle. The troops of the left wing had now all returned, and were at their allotted stations, when orders were given that the Mirzas Meiran Shah, Shah Rokh, and Abû Bukker, with the Ameir Sûliman Shah, and other distinguished commanders from the right wing, should advance without delay to repulse the enemy; a corresponding attack being made, nearly at the same moment, from the left, by the tomauns and koushûns under Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, and Mirza Khaleîl Sûltan, with the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Gheyauth-ud-dein Terkhan, Towukkel Yadgaur Berlas, Sheikh Arslan, Toglûgh Khaujah Berlas, [this is his first appearance], Peir Ally Seldûz, and many other gallant chiefs. A third attack was carried on, at the same time, by the advanced guard of the centre, under the direction of the Ameirs Sounjek, Shah Melek, Seyud Khaujah, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, together with Sâeine Temûr [Saint Maur], Mahommed Azaud, Towukkel Bawertchei, and other leaders of Koushûns.

Thus assailed on every side, the Syrians and Egyptians were soon awakened from their illusive dream of triumph, and finally repelled, with tremendous slaughter, to the gates of Damascus; the carnage being only put a stop to by the walls of the town. During the conflict, the misguided Mirza Sûltan Hâsseyne, who had been entrusted with the command of the left wing of the enemy, and who was opposed in the battle to the Mirzas Meiran Shah and Shah Rokh, was taken prisoner by Kûilek, or, perhaps, Toublek Koutchin, one of the retainers of the latter prince, who seized his horse by the bridle, and conducted him to the presence of his chief. The circumstance was reported without delay to Teymûr, by whose commands he was immediately placed under close and rigorous restraint. From this, at the expiration of a few days, he was, released, nevertheless, at the intercession of Shah Rokh, but not before he had been subjected to the discipline of the bastinado; neither was he, for a long time afterwards, permitted to enter the imperial presence.

The battle which, on this occasion, decided the fate of Damascus, is recorded to have taken place on the nineteenth of the latter Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and third of the hidjerah.\* On the day

\* 3d of February 1401.

A. H. 803.  
A. D. 1400.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffâ.

A. H. 803.  
A. D. 1401.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

following, Teymûr removed his camp to the foot of one of the hills in the neighborhood, at a short distance from the town. On the twenty first, having directed the whole army to array and arm themselves with more than ordinary attention, and posting his line of elephants in the front, their trunks tremendously furnished with the implements of destruction in various forms, he proceeded in magnificent order of battle towards the city; and, on a rising ground which overlooked the place, drew up the whole in fair and formidable display, to the equal astonishment and terror of the inhabitants, who had not, before, had an opportunity of contemplating the stupendous force of the enemy, now, on the acclivity of the hill, completely in their view. Their terrors were not at all abated by the frightful din of the horns and kettle-drums, and the savage and appalling shouts of the Teymûrians; and it was, therefore, with confusion in their minds and trepidation in their limbs, that they prepared to oppose a destiny which appeared no longer resistible. The victorious Teymûrians advanced, on the other hand, altogether to the side of a deep ravine, or water course, on the edge of which they now encamped; the ravine answering the purpose of a ditch to the rampart of hurdles and earth, with which they, as usual, fortified their camp, further protected on this occasion by chevaux de frise.\*

When all these precautions had been attended to, the cavalry of the army, or a part of them, were ordered to cross the watercourse in their front, and to present themselves in order of battle to the enemy; but, as the latter, however in competent force and equipment, were yet smarting under the experience of recent discomfiture, they were not to be provoked into the hazard of a second conflict in the open field; and they accordingly remained immoveable at their posts. In these circumstances, the Sûltan of Egypt held a council of war with his principal officers; of whom he demanded to know in what manner, in their judgment, it appeared most advisable next to proceed, in order to avert the awful calamities which seemed so near at hand. Several of the chiefs contended, on the occasion, that although they had suffered very considerably in the late unfortunate sally, yet that the loss had fallen principally upon the Syrian troops, and the inhabitants

\* Sch pâyah—crowsfeet.



of Damascus. The town, however, and its defences, heaven bepraised, were still they alleged in perfect condition, and theré yet remained a numerous and disciplined force, well equipped and superbly armed, to maintain them against every species of attack. They therefore proposed to abide the issue within the walls of Damascus. Others, distinguished for their superior sagacity and more extensive experience, objected to this proposal, as equally absurd and preposterous, since in their view, it was inconsistent with common sense, to put their safety to hazard upon the success of such a plan. That the disastrous result of the experiment which they had recently tried upon the Teymûrians, under all the disadvantages of surprise, and a negligent retreat, ought to be a sufficient lesson to guard them against presuming too far upon the confidence of superior numbers, and strength of position. That which they should recommend, on the contrary, was to endeavor, this very day, to open a further correspondence with their adversaries, in order by conciliatory language, to lay their vengeance asleep, for a few hours; and, as soon as night should spread her sable mantle over the earth, to avail themselves of the opportunity, to make the best of their way into Egypt. With respect to the Syrians in Damascus, the fighting men and inhabitants composed together, they further alleged, an incalculable multitude, and, if inclined to continue hostilities in the defence of their women and children, they were in possession of ample means to gratify their zeal; and as a last resource, they had the protection of a well fortified citadel to retire to, while their fellow subjects would be thus better enabled to effect a secure retreat into Egypt.

The majority, if not the whole, of the council having finally acceded to this latter plan of proceeding, the Egyptian Sûltan instantly dispatched his agent to the presence of Teymûr, instructed to disavow, on his part, any share in the late attack upon the Tcheghatâian army on its march, which he expressly ascribed to the indiscreet violence of an undisciplined multitude; to declare, moreover, that he implicitly adhered to the terms already proposed on his part; and, that if it did not materially interfere with the views of Teymûr to suspend all further hostilities for the present, the Sûltan would not fail, the very next day, to fulfil every article of his engagements, with the most

A. H. 803.  
A. D. 1401.  
Kouat-tus-  
suffa.

A. H. 803.

A. D. 1401.

Kouzut-us-  
suffa.

scrupulous and conscientious fidelity. The agent was admitted, as before, without difficulty, to a conference with Teymûr, and having delivered his presents, and discharged the object of his mission, the imperial troops were immediately directed to cease hostilities, and, shortly afterwards, peaceably withdrew to their encampment.

Upon this, having already made every previous arrangement for his design, Melek Faredje, accompanied by the greater part of his court and army, quitted Damascus in the middle of the same night, and fled with his utmost expedition towards the frontiers of Egypt. His flight, however, did not remain long undiscovered. A certain Tchekmauk, afterwards well known among the Persians, by the name of Tchekmauk the Syrian, early deserted the fugitives, and hastened to make known the circumstance to Shah Rokh ; by whom he was immediately dispatched to communicate the intelligence to Teymûr. The first care of the latter was to preclude all further escape from the town; every avenue to which was now closely blocked up, by Mirza Aba Bukker, and Ameir Jahaun Shah, from the right wing of the army, while a formidable division of the most active troops, under the Ameirs Sounjek, Allahdaud, Berendek, and Ally Sûltan, with other commanders, proceeded to pursue, and harass the retreat of the enemy; many of whom were accordingly overtaken and cut to pieces, although the greater part, by disencumbering themselves of every article of baggage and other property, through a thousand difficulties, finally effected their escape into Egypt.

On the day following at sunrise, the main body of the Teymûrian army was put in motion, in order to pass the gardens by which the city was encircled, and to form a closer investiture of the town. This operation was executed with little difficulty; and the Tcheghatâian conqueror now took up his abode in the Kusser-e-eblek, the mottled, or marble palace, erected by Melek Zauher, one of the former Sûltans of Egypt, in front of the castle of Damascus. The Shahzâdahs, and principal generals, took up their quarters at the same time, in view of the fortifications of the city; the whole of the exterior town, or suburbs, comprising in effect the best part of Damascus, with an incredible booty in rich merchandize, and other valuable property, as also a vast assortment of arms and defensive armour of the finest

temper and most elaborate workmanship, thus falling into the hands of the Teymûrians, without further resistance. With his usual demonstration of zeal, Teymûr immediately proceeded to visit and perform his devotions, before the tombs of Omm-e-Selmah, and Omm-e-Habeibah, the mothers of Selmah and Habeibah, [two of the prophets wives, so called], as well as that of Bellaul, the Abyssinian, the herald, and who possessed a distinguished share in the confidence of the prophet.

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suffa.

In the mean time, completely subdued by the terrors which had now taken possession of all hearts, the principal inhabitants of the city, Seyuds, ûlema, and Sheikhs, descendants of the prophet, men of letters, elders, magistrates, hastened out of the gates to implore the mercy of Teymûr; by whom, after having arranged a composition for their lives and property, they were permitted to return in safety to their affrighted fellow citizens. Shortly afterwards, the Ameirs Sueikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek and Allahdaud, with the secretaries of the treasury, Khaujah Mûssâoud the Semnaunian, and Jullaul-ul-isslaum, were dispatched into the city to receive the stipulated ransom, and to regulate the government; and on the succeeding friday, the awful name and titles of the Tcheghataïan conqueror, as supreme monarch of the habitable earth, was announced from the tribune of the superb mosque of the Benni Ommeyah.

Although the city of Damascus had thus, on the flight of Melek Faredje, submitted to the arms of Teymûr, without the labour of a regular siege, or the hazards of an assault, Yezdaur Kôtwaul, the governor of the castle, a man, according to our author, of violent spirit and desperate designs, with a garrison of veteran soldiers, manifested a determined resolution to defend his post to the last extremity. In this, he appears to have been justified by the uncommon strength of the place; which is described to have been constructed, from the foundation to the crown of the parapets, of stones of the largest size and of the most compact masonry. The walls and towers were, at the same time, of extraordinary height, and it was moreover furnished with provisions and stores of every description, in such abundance, as to bid defiance to a siege of many years; and such was the activity and skill, with which the numerous garrison plied their

A. H. 803. warlike machines and fire works, that, for some time at least, it was  
 A. D. 1401. found scarcely possible to approach the walls in any direction.

Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

Teymûr however, on the other hand, equally resolved on its reduction, proceeded to put in practice, without delay, all those expedients which he conceived calculated for the speedy accomplishment of his object. In the first place, he directed the princes of his blood, and principal generals, to invest the works as closely as possible on every side; dividing the whole circumference, as usual, in regular allotments betwixt themselves, and planting their machines of annoyance, balistæ and catapultæ, on such spots as might best contribute to expedite, and assist, the operations of the siege. At the same time, three meljouns, or mounts, or cavaliers, were raised by the troops, of a height sufficient to overlook the works of the citadel; and the sappers having entirely drained the ditch, the miners now descended with their tents, or screens, and proceeded to shake and displace the stones from the foot of the walls, in defiance of every species of annoyance hurled upon them from above.

While the siege was thus carrying on with all possible vigor, the Mirzas Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, and Jahaun Shah, were directed to move with the whole of the cattle of the army, towards Kanaan, to the south-east-ward\* of Damascus; there to take up their quarters for the convenience of forage. In the mean time, the imperial miners continued their operations at the foot of the rampart, first heating the large stones with fire, after that pouring vinegar upon them; then breaking them to pieces with the hammers and pickaxes, and so gradually displacing them, the walls and towers were by these means soon reduced to a tottering condition. The tower of Tarmah, possibly Taurem, the firmament, the loftiest in the place, and which, in the disposition for the attack, had been assigned to the lot of Altûn Bukhshy, was the first that gave way before the skill of the miners: for the foundation having been at length completely under-wrought, and the foot of the wall, or plinth, being made to rest alone for support on the rafters and uprights of wood, which had been successively driven beneath, by the workmen as they proceeded, orders were finally given to set fire to the sustain-

\* About 20 leagues according to one of De la Croix's sketches.

ing frame ; and the entire front of the tower, soon afterwards, sunk into the excavation, presenting a wide and practicable breach to the Teymûrians, who, with their targets over their heads, immediately rushed to take possession. As it happened, however, an adjoining part of the wall also coming down unexpectedly, with a tremendous crash, nearly eighty of the assailants were overwhelmed, and perished under the ruins; and this alarming accident causing the remainder of the division, which was hastening to the assault, to draw back, afforded to the garrison an opportunity, of which they instantly availed themselves, to repair the breach.

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Although the language of insolent defiance, in which they had, on different occasions, presumed to indulge themselves, had withheld them from immediately throwing open the gates, and suing for mercy, the terror produced by this alarm left the most discouraging impression upon the minds of the whole garrison; and fire having been, at the same time, applied to the different galleries, which had been finished under the defences on other sides of the towu, these also gave way in a variety of places, and presented extensive breaches in all directions. The horrors of an impending general assault, to which they now lay open on every side, however, soon brought them to a decision; and they accordingly hastened, without further delay, to deliver up the keys of the citadel, with all its magazines and treasures, to the Teymûrian generals. Yezdaur, the unfortunate governor, was without much ceremony, immediately put to death; and enormous wealth was again taken possession of by the imperial treasurers. There was, at the same time, found in the place, a very considerable depot of grain, collected for the supply of the sacred cities of Mekkah and Medeina. Of this, as soon as he became apprized of the objects for which it was destined, Teymûr forbid his officers, under the severest penalties, to appropriate the smallest quantity; and Hurry Melek, one of the imperial Towatcheis, who had, through implied ignorance, presumed to take away about one hundred maunns of barley, was not only compelled to refund the value of the embezzlement, but to suffer the discipline of the bastinado, both before and behind, in punishment for his offence.

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 suffa.

It was now about the close of the year, and the country being moreover exhausted by the ravages of war, by which it had been laid desolate in every direction, the means of subsistence had become extremely scarce, if not totally unattainable. In such circumstances, therefore, after all, Teymûr was compelled without alternative, to avail himself of the supply placed at his disposal in this otherwise sacred deposit; and he accordingly authorized certain officers, on whose prudence and integrity he could rely, to expose the whole to sale, at the rate of three Kopek dinaurs to the Maunn; an immense sum of money being thus realized, which was immediately and scrupulously paid into the hands of the agents of the two cities, without the slightest deduction. In the mean time, the garrison, which was entirely composed of slaves and Maumlouks, some from Circassia, and others from countries more remote, was distributed in separate lots among the shahzâdahs and principal Ameirs; and the remainder of those captured in the place, of every sex, age, and condition, were also condemned to slavery—the artizans and manufacturers, being, however, set apart, and destined with their families to be transported to Samarkand. Among other ingenious individuals conveyed on this occasion to that renowned metropolis, are particularly mentioned, Moulana Jummauk-ud-dein, and Sûliman Shah, both celebrated physicians, of the highest reputed skill in their profession.

While these transactions were in progress, Teymûr removed from the mottled palace, to a mansion that belonged to Betkhaush, or Betkaush, a distinguished and opulent Syrian Ameir of that name; where the extraordinary beauty and elegance of his accommodations, unfortunately produced, in his mind, sentiments extremely unfavorable to the zeal and orthodoxy, of the people of Damascus. These, it is alleged, were particularly awakened by a comparison of the dilapidated state, in which they suffered the tombs of the widows of their prophet, to be exposed to the rude attacks of time and the elements; while they could find means to raise such splendid specimens of architecture and taste, for the wretched gratification of a weak and ostentatious vanity. Such considerations, at all events, seem to have quickened in the conqueror, his determination to erect without delay, over the graves of the venerated females, recently mentioned, two

magnificent Kubbahs, alcoves, or porticos; of which the immediate execution was committed to the superintendance of the Mirzas Abû Bukker, and Khaleil Sûltan, and of the loyal Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Ally Sûltan, and Monghûly Khaujah; and such was the diligence with which the work was carried on, that in the short space of five and twenty days, two noble domes with their appendages, of the purest white and polished marble, were entirely completed, which, according to the amplified language of the original, in loftiness, beauty, and solidity, might be said to indicate the time and labour necessary to the construction of the pyramids of the Nile.

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suffa.

The attention of Teymûr was next directed to ameliorate the current coin of the province, which was of silver, but of the basest alloy; and a mandate being accordingly issued that all the gold and silver might be brought to the mint, after passing through the regular assay, should be struck into pieces of one hundred, of fifty, and ten Methkauls and under, with the imperial name and titles, such was the abundance of the precious metals, in the hands of the soldiers, that the profits of the mint actually lodged in the imperial treasury, amounted, in a very short time, to the sum of six hundred thousand Kopek dinaurs.\* There were, also, struck on this occasion, a number of silver medals, which, together with the letters announcing his recent triumphs, Teymûr dispatched to every quarter of the empire; in order to be distributed to the ladies of his family, the princes of his blood, and in short, to all the distinguished classes of inhabitants throughout the wide extent of his dominions.

About the same time, orders were conveyed to Shah Rokh, by which he was instructed to detach the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, and Jahaun Shah, with a division of the army under his command, to scour the coast of the Mediterranean, or sea of the Franks, all the way to Akkah, or Ptolemais; a service which was executed with the ordinary circumstances of pillage and devastation, the two Ameirs, at the conclusion, rejoining the camp of the princes, at Kanaan, loaded with booty.

Matters were in this state when a troublesome and painful tu-

\* At the lowest of the computation to which we have usually adhered, of nine shillings, and two pence to the dinaur of gold, this would amount to about \$275000 sterling.

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 suffa.

mour, or ulcer, broke out on the back of Teymûr, which at first threatened to terminate in serious consequences; and Aratemûr, one of the principal officers of the household was, therefore, dispatched to require the presence of the Mirzas Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, with the Ameirs under their orders in Kanaan, at Damascus. The malady was, however, in a great measure, removed, while they were on their march, and Teymûr once more restored to health. Shortly after this, at a royal council, which was numerously attended by the Seyuds, and ûlema, and the principal Ameirs of his court, Teymûr proceeded to state, that some circumstance or other was perpétually occurring to remind him of the base and ungrateful conduct of the house of Merwatn, towards the sacred family of the prophet; and particularly of Mauweiah and Yezzid, in their treatment of his cousin german, son-in-law, and rightful successor, Ally, and of the oppressed and much injured Imaum Hûsseyne; in all which it was but too notorious, that they had been uniformly supported, and emulated, by the inhabitants of this same city of Damascus. And yet, he added, to a rational mind it seemed unaccountable, if not altogether inconceivable, that a people who were indebted for their instruction in the truths of eternal salvation, and for their emancipation from the snares of infidelity, to the advice of the inspired prophet himself, should have so perversely united themselves to the inveterate enemies of his house; and associated in the multiplied, and cruel injuries, inflicted on the descendants of his pure blood of every age and sex. That such, however, had been the case there existed, unhappily, too many proofs to admit of a doubt—Otherwise, to what cause was it to be ascribed that that almighty being, whose will it was the glory of all earthly monarchs to obey, should have directed such dreadful retribution upon their posterity. But, that they inherited in every respect the perverse and profligate spirit of their ancestors, no further proof was necessary than that, in a period of seven centuries, during which the tombs of their prophet's wives, had been suffered to moulder into ruin, among such a multitude of opulent individuals, wallowing in all the luxury of wealth and abundance, not one was to be found, whom a miserable and contracted soul did not withhold



from raising a simple enclosure of four walls, to protect these sacred monuments from the injuries of the weather.

These remarks, at the same time that they are recorded as ample proofs of the attachment of Teymûr to the principles of the Sheiahs, and of his veneration either sincere or affected, for the family of the prophet, furnished to his troops indications, which were too clearly understood, of the vindictive designs of their sovereign. Accordingly, on wednesday the first of Shabaun, of the eight hundred and third of the hidjerah,\* they entered the city on all sides, for the undisguised purposes of pillage and depredation; proceeding, without either remorse or restraint, to exhibit the usual scenes of robbery and outrage. In these, however, and it is rather a singular incident in this history of atrocity, the inhabitants, by some happy chance or other, escaped the horrors of massacre, although the whole of them, of every sex, age, and condition, were driven into slavery; and in one short hour, the treasure of years, accumulated from the bowels of the earth, and bosom of the ocean, became the prey of a rapacious soldiery. Such, indeed, is described to have been the richness of the spoil which fell to the lot of the Teymûrian pillagers, on this occasion, that they are alleged on unquestionable authority, to have thrown away their former booty, consisting of woollens of Cyprus, linens of Russia,† of beautiful scarlets, and other pieces of the manufacture of Alexandria and Cairo, in order to load themselves with money, the object in general of the most needy and sordid of mankind, with utensils of gold and silver, and with gold enriched with precious stones, wrought into girdles and into fillets for the head, or diadems.

While the city of Damascus was thus agonizing under her afflictions, either by accident or design, the unhappy town was set on fire; and as the houses were composed, in general, on a ground floor of stone, of one or two stories of wood finely varnished, or lacquered, in different colours, it was, in the course of a few hours, entirely consumed to ashes. It had, on former occasions, frequently taken fire, which had seldom been extinguished until one or two of its quarters had

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suffa.

\* 15th of March 1401.

† By mistake possibly taken for Rûme—Asia minor.

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Rouzet-us-  
suffa.

been destroyed, in spite of the united exertions of the whole of the inhabitants; but now that they were dispersed, and exposed to every gradation of wretchedness, not a single hand was raised to check the progress of the devouring flames. In the midst of the conflagration, intelligence of the calamity was conveyed to Teymûr; and Ameir Shah Melek hastened by his orders, with a division of troops, to preserve, if possible, the superb mosque of the Ommeyades from the general destruction. The roof of this magnificent and costly edifice being, however, also of wood, all the exertions of that respectable chief, to rescue it from the raging element, were unavailing. Such was the fury with which the conflagration raged, that the eastern minaret of the mosque, which was built of solid masonry, was reduced to ashes; and yet the opposite minaret, called the mînaur-e-orouss, or column of the festivals, on which, according to a prediction of the prophet, at the consummation of all things, the Messiah is to descend from heaven, and to which he therefore gave the name of the mînaur-e-beyza, or column of light, escaped without injury, although constructed of wood merely plastered over, or stuccoed with lime.\*

Having satiated his vindictive zeal in the entire destruction of Damascus, thus pillaged and burnt to the ground, and extended the horrors of plunder and conflagration throughout the whole of Syria, Teymûr prepared for his return to the east. Previous, however, to his departure, he thought fit to give orders that the whole of the captives of Damascus should be restored to liberty; in consequence of which being all assembled on the spot, under the direction of Jullaul-ul-isslaum, they were by him conducted to re-establish their abode, amidst the smoking embers of their once beautiful and flourishing city.

On the fourth of Shabaun\* this stern destroyer quitted the station of Kôbeibat westward, and proceeded to that of Ghortah, to the eastward of Damascus, where he encamped. From this favored spot, which in beauty and amenity is described as the very model of the terrestrial paradise, he dispatched instructions to his grandson, Mir-

\* It was possibly a part of the church, on the foundation of which the mosque might have been erected; although not for a long time after the death of the prophet, who possibly applied the prediction to the tower of the church, if at all.

† 18th of March.

za Mahommed Sûltan, who commanded on the frontiers of Moghûlstaun, to leave the stations in that quarter in charge of Khodadaud ul Hûsseyny, and Beirdy Beg Saur Bougha, and to repair, himself, to court without delay; the throne and territory of Hûllaukû Khaun, Tebreiz and the province of Azerbâijaun so called, being destined for his government, on the supersession of Meiran Shah. Another dispatch was forwarded, at the same time, requiring the presence with the army, of the imperial consort Tomaun Aga, together with the younger branches of the imperial family; both dispatches being entrusted to the conveyance of Daunah Khaujah.

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Teymûr now proceeded on his march, and, in three stages, appeared again in the neighborhood of Hems; the inhabitants of which having continued faithful to their engagements, during the absence of the imperial armies, thus escaped the depredations and exactions to which they would have been otherwise exposed. Hence, after deliberating with his generals on his future plan of operations, it was resolved to detach the Mirzas Rûstum, and Aba Bukker, together with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, at the head of ten thousand horse, towards the celebrated city of Tedmer, Tadmor, or Palmyra, in the desert, about a degree to the east of Hems, towards the Euphrates; the building of which, like most other stupendous undertakings among the orientals, is here also ascribed to Solomon and his subordinate genii. The object of this detachment was to attack, and expel, the fugitive tribe of Zûl Kauder, which had there sought an abode when recently compelled to withdraw from the vallies of Mt. Taurus, by the Teymûrians on their march from Syria. Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, whom we should not have suspected to be so early restored to employment, with Ameir Berendek and another detachment of five thousand horse, was ordered at the same time, in a northern direction, towards Antioch; while Mirza Khaileil Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, Temûr Khaujah Aukbouga, and Ally Sûltan Towatchei, with a third division of fifteen thousand horse, proceeded against the Kounek Tûrkmauns, who had established themselves immediately along the banks of the Euphrates.

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 suffa.

The Mirzas Aba Bukker and Rûstum, with the troops of the right wing under their orders, hastened in concurrence with their instructions to Palmyra; from whence, with immense flocks of sheep the property of the Zûl Kaudrians, who had further fled for safety into the territory of Mekkah, or Arabia, they continued their march through the remaining part of the desert, to the western bank of the Euphrates, subsequently directing their course to the left, and along that river upwards. Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, on the other hand, with his division of the troops of the left wing, having reached the neighborhood of Antioch, immediately proceeded to plunder and lay waste the surrounding territory; after which, turning off towards Aleppo, and being joined on the way towards that place, by the column from the centre under Mirza Khaleil, the whole now marched together towards Kellaut-er-roum, situated to the north-east, in the vicinity of the river Euphrates. Not far from that place, they fell in with a body of Tûrkmen, prepared at all points to give them battle; but whom, notwithstanding, after a conflict of considerable obstinacy, they defeated with great slaughter; their commander Sheikh Hûseyne the son of Kounek, or perhaps Koubek, the head of the tribe, being killed in the action. Much booty, including more than eight hundred thousand sheep captured on this occasion, became the reward of the Teymûrians.

From Emesa, Teymûr conducted the main body of his army to Hama; where on his arrival, finding that the inhabitants had been led on by their evil destiny to betray their hostile spirit, by pulling up and demolishing the cantonments which had been erected by the imperial troops, on their advance into Syria, the place was instantly delivered over to the rage of the soldiery—the whole population driven into slavery—and the city burnt to the ground. From the burning embers of Hama, Teymûr prosecuted his march to Aleppo, the castle of which, immediately on his arrival, he directed to be levelled with the earth; and when that was accomplished, the city was also consigned to the flames, and consumed to ashes. From thence, the imperial army finally struck off to the north-east, and, in four days march, reached the right bank of the Euphrates, nearly opposite to the fortress of Beirah, or Bîr; which is situated on the

on the left, or eastern, bank of the river. Here he was immediately joined by the Mirzas Rústum, and Aba Bukker, with the troops of the right, from Palmyra, and shortly afterwards, by the Mirzas Khaleil Súltan, and Súltan Hússeyne, with those of the left and centre, from their excursion towards Kellaut-er-room; Súltan Hússeyne, having conducted himself, during his absence on this occasion, with such distinguished zeal and gallantry, that he was, immediately on his return, admitted to the presence, and restored to the favor of his grandsire. Although the accumulation of cattle was so great, in consequence of the junction of these divisions with their booty, a single dinaur, or about nine shillings sterling, was still reckoned in the market a very moderate price for a sheep; indeed in the original, it is recorded as a proof of extraordinary abundance, and the coin may have been something of much inferior value to the dinaur.

The imperial armies were now directed to cross the Euphrates, two boats, of some description or other, having been procured at Beirah, for the particular conveyance of Teymûr and his equipage. With respect to the troops, they fairly plunged into the stream, and having thus effected their passage by swimming, proceeded to encamp in the vicinity of the fortress already mentioned. The Governor of Beirah, with strong professions of attachment and zeal, and with presents in proportion to his ability, hastened to offer homage to Teymûr, was favorably received, and confirmed in his government; in consequence of which, the inhabitants were suffered to remain unmolested in their dwellings, during the passage of the Tcheghatâian armies through the district. While he continued at Beirah, Kâra Othman the Tûrkman chief also repaired to the camp of Teymûr, with suitable presents, and experienced the reception which was due to his acknowledged fidelity and attachment.

On his departure from Beirah, Teymûr proceeded to recreate himself and his armies, in the amusements of the chase. The different divisions forming, on this occasion, an enormous circle of five days journey in extent; and having closed inwards upon the station of Rauss-ûl-Eyne, as their common centre, they there commenced with various weapons, the slaughter of the different animals thus driven together from all points of the surrounding territory of Jezzeirah.

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A. D. 1401.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 803.  
 A. D. 1401.  
 Rouznt-us-suffa.

From this scene of recreative slaughter, he continued his march to Rouha, or Edessa; the magistrates, and principal inhabitants of which, repaired with such presents as they could provide, to the imperial encampment; and they were permitted to return to their fellow citizens, with minds perfectly assured against all apprehension of danger. On their subsequent march from Rouha, the course of the imperial armies lay by the walls of a certain fortress, described as in possession of a garrison of Armenians, which they were ordered to reduce; and of which they accordingly made themselves masters, together with a considerable booty. It was then laid in ruins. When he was thus far advanced on his return, Teymûr experienced considerable satisfaction from the arrival of Hindû Shah Khezantchei, the treasurer, from Samarkand; accompanied by some officers of the household belonging to the princesses of the imperial family, with the customary presents, and advices of the favorable and prosperous state of affairs in that quarter.

The march of the imperial armies was now directed to the south-east, towards Mardein; and, in the mean time, Hindû Shah, together with the officers by whom he was accompanied, was dismissed on his return, furnished with letters, and valuable presents for the princesses at Samarkand. The Sûltan of Hussun-e-Keyfa, the prince of Arzein, and other rulers of the adjoining territory, availed themselves of this opportunity, to repair to the presence of Teymûr, and were all received with distinguished favor. But, with respect to Sûltan Eissa the prince of Mardein, it will be remembered that, after suffering a short imprisonment at Sûltauniah, he had formerly been permitted to resume his government; on binding himself, by the most solemn oaths and engagements, to be faithful through life to the authority of Teymûr. Nevertheless, during the recent march of the Tcheghatâian troops, on their Syrian expedition, when it behoved him in person to have accompanied the standard of his liege lord, or at least, if it appeared imprudent to quit the seat of his government from any apprehension of the designs of a hostile neighborhood, to have dispatched either a son, or a brother, to supply his place, he foolishly omitted to exhibit in either way, that necessary proof of his allegiance. Conscious of this improvident failure, as he had been withheld before,

by absurd and groundless speculations, so was he now deterred by the apprehensions of guilt from greeting the conqueror, on his approach, with the requisite demonstrations of fidelity.

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suffa.

When he appeared in sight of Mardein, notwithstanding, Teymûr with extraordinary condescension, dispatched a particular agent to invite the Sûltan to his presence, although without effect; the rash and unreflecting chief, turning a deaf ear to every argument that was made use of to bring him to a better understanding, and, like a tortoise in its shell, seeking to screen himself from the effects of his disloyalty, by shrinking behind the walls of his castle. The siege of Mardein being, however, an enterprize of time and difficulty, and the territory in the neighborhood affording neither forage nor pasturage for the horses of his numerous cavalry, Teymûr was constrained to content himself with directing, that every thing that stood without the fortifications should be levelled with the earth, and every thing combustible consumed to ashes.\* From the proximity of his government of Malautyah, Kâra Othman the Tûrkomaun, after having been further distinguished by the most liberal marks of imperial favor, was then instructed to keep the refractory chief, in a state, of strict and rigorous blockade, within the works of Mardein. The princes of Hussun-e-Keyfa, of Arzein, and other chieftains of the neighboring petty states, who, by early repairing to his presence, had the good fortune to secure the forbearance of Teymûr, were at the same time, dismissed to their several governments, with rich Khelauts, or dresses, embroidered with gold, belts of the same materials, and gold hilted scimitars, with other splendid trappings, the badges indeed of their vassalage; while the imperial troops proceeded in their march towards the fortress, or fortified town, of Nissebein, or Nisibis, which they had received orders to destroy. This extremity was, however, averted by the timely submission of the inhabitants, who hastening to lay the keys of their gates at the feet of Teymûr, thus succeeded in awakening the compassion, or rather in appeasing the fury of the conqueror,

\* The castle of Mardein is described, however, as impregnable to open force, from its situation on an inaccessible rock; and the arable ground and inexhaustible springs within the walls, seemed to secure it against all risk of being reduced by famine. De la Croix cites an Arabian proverb, which expresses, that to attempt the capture of Mardein would be "to beckon to the blind, or court the friendship of the envious."

A. H. 803. who restrained his ferocious legions from offering the slightest molestation in their passage. Shortly afterwards, Ameer Allahdaud was dispatched towards Aushferah,\* in Ferghaunah, to take the command of that place, in order to protect the frontiers of the empire towards Jettah.

A. D. 1401.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

At the period of his departure from the neighborhood of Mardein, the Mirzas Sûltan Hûsseyne, Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, and Aba Bukker the son of Meiran Shah, together with the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, Temûr Khaujâh, Seyud Khaujâh the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and other distinguished commanders, had been also dispatched by Teymûr, to bring the siege of Alanjek to a termination; after which, they were further instructed to enter Georgia, and to resume hostilities against the obnoxious inhabitants of that country. The blockade of the important fortress just alluded to, had, in the mean time, been rigorously maintained, ever since the imperial armies were on their march towards Sevauss, and subsequently into Syria, by Sheikh Mahommed Daroghah, and Ameer Feyrouz Shah, two officers in the service of Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, respectively; and the garrison, notwithstanding the smallness of their numbers, had been reduced to such extremity as to subsist on skins and old leather, and even these meagre articles at last also failing them, there now remained no other alternative than unconditional surrender. They had accordingly, thrown open their gates to their besiegers; and the governor, Sûltan Ahmed Ally Shahy, was immediately conveyed in irons to the imperial head quarters. The Shahzâdahs hearing therefore of the reduction of Alanjek, on their arrival at Aouneik, or Avaneik, continued their march without delay into Georgia; where they proceeded, as usual, to extend in every direction the customary scenes of plunder and devastation. Melek Gourguein, or Gregory, the native prince, having, however, on intelligence of these depredations, dispatched his agent to declare that he considered himself among the lowliest of that train of vassals, who acknowledged the authority of Teymûr, and to assure them that the moment the imperial standard made its appearance in the province, he should be

\* It might have been Aushirah, on the borders of Kara Khatâi; but that would have been to protect the frontiers towards China.



among the first to present his homage at the foot of the throne; the Shahzâdahs immediately suspended their operations, and transmitted advices of this declaration, on the part of the prince of Georgia, to their grandfather, requesting his instructions for their future proceedings. In the mean time, they led their troops into quarters, on the plains of Menkoul, and in the adjoining territory.

A. H. 808.  
A. D. 1401.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

While these young princes were thus employed in Georgia and Armenia, a formidable division of the army, under Sâltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular successor of Tcheghatâi, accompanied by Mirza Rûstum, the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Mozraub Tchaukû, Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, and other distinguished commanders, was ordered to march with the utmost expedition to Baghdâd. In conformity with their instructions, these associated chiefs proceeded accordingly towards Baghdâd, and, after several rapid marches, finally took post in front of the city; which was at the period under consideration held, under the authority of the fugitive Sâltan Ahmed, by a person of obscure origin whose name was Feridje, or Faridje. Encouraged by the support of a numerous body of Turks and Arabs, assembled under his orders, this man had been recently led to entertain the most aspiring and dangerous designs, and evinced a disposition to the last degree hostile towards the Teymûrian power. At the same time, when it became known that the imperial troops were arrived in the neighborhood, Ameir Ally Kullender from Mundely, and Jaun Ahmed from Yakoubiah, passed the Tigris near Medâein, while Furrukh Shah from Hellah, and Meykâeil from Seibon the Euphrates, hastened to join them at the station of Serser, situated on a canal to the westward of Baghdâd; from whence they proceeded together, comprising, in the whole, a force of not more than three thousand men well armed, to attack the Teymûrians—possibly in the expectation of finding them off their guard, and thus making their way good to the assistance of their compatriots in the city. But the experience of Sâltan Mahmûd, and his associates, had been too well exercised, not to be prepared against such a contingency; and, accordingly, they took in an instant to their horses, and proceeded to surround and cut off this devoted detachment of their adversaries, without a possibility of escape. The conflict was speedily decided; for Jaun Ahmed, one

A. H. 803 of their captains, with a considerable part of his followers, having  
 A. D. 1401. been killed in the action, the remainder were driven into the Tigris,  
 Rouzul-us- and there perished; a few only, with Ally Kullender, more dead than  
 sufiâ. alive contriving, nevertheless, through a thousand difficulties, to extricate themselves from the danger into which they had been so unfortunately committed.

Notwithstanding this disastrous miscarriage of the attempt for his relief, the improvident Feridje, who, previous to his unlooked for accession to the government of Baghdâd, possessed neither authority nor distinction among men, could not yet bring himself to the resolution of abandoning his ill suited power; which, on the other hand, he employed every artifice that invention could devise to preserve. Among other pretences, however, not less specious than consistent with probability, he alleged that in consigning to him the government of his capital, Sûltan Ahmed, had exacted from him a solemn engagement, not to surrender it to any human being but to Teymûr himself in person—in no case to the Shahzâdahs, his sons, or grandsons, much less to any subordinate generals, of whatever rank or dignity. This engagement, owing, as he did, his elevation and livelihood, to the bounty of so good a master, he declared that he should never violate: and under such a plea, no dishonorable one to ordinary perceptions, however condemned by our author, he prepared for a bold and resolute defence; the greater part of the inhabitants and troops, imposed upon by his arguments, cordially uniting to promote his designs, and to repel, to the last extremity, the efforts of the Teymûrians to become masters of the town. The exertions of Feridje, or Faridje, or whatever else might have been his name, in defence of his post, were, however, such as would not have disgraced a better, or more applauded cause; since it is acknowledged, that accompanied by his principal adherents, either in his boats on the Tigris, or wherever an opportunity occurred, he was always foremost to annoy and disconcert the attacks of the besiegers, on the several quarters of the city.

While a part of his troops, were thus employed before Baghdâd, Teymûr, with the main body of the army, on his march to Tebreiz, reached Mossûl; and a bridge of boats having been there thrown across

the Tigris, he transported the whole to the opposite bank of the river in Kourdestaun, in the space of seven days. Here he received, from his generals, information of the obstinacy with which the governor of Baghdâd, seemed determined to oppose their proceedings, and of the plausible pretext under which he attempted to justify his resolution to resist the imperial authority. Perceiving from the nature of this intelligence, in all its circumstances, the necessity of his presence on the spot, and leaving the direction of the main body to the care of Mahommed Sûltan,\* aided by the counsels and experience of Ameir Shah Melek, Teymûr, with his usual promptitude of decision, hastened, by the route of Altûn Kûpny—the golden bridge—towards Baghdâd; where, on his arrival after several days march, he took up a position on the Tigris, below the city, on the left bank; opposite to the Kerreiat-ul-okkaub, or village of the eagle, on the western side of the river. The place was now closely invested on every quarter; and the sappers and miners were directed to proceed in their labours without delay. Of the princes of the blood employed in the siege of Baghdâd, on this occasion, we find enumerated the Mirzas Meiran Shah, Rûstum, and Khaleil Sûltan, and of the great Ameirs, Sûliman Shah, Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Berendek Jahaungûshâi, Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, and Ally Sûltan Towatchei; besides many other commanders of Koushûns, and even of Tomauns, whose names it has not been thought necessary to commit to record: but who were, nevertheless, equally active and vigilant in promoting the final accomplishment of the enterprize, either in carrying on the laborious part of the operations, or in protecting the working parties against the attempts of the garrison.

A. H. 803.  
A. D. 1401.  
Rouz-ul-us-  
suffa.

In the mean time, Feridje, or Faredje, in order to ascertain the fact of Teymûr's arrival, sent out of the town an officer in his confidence, previously acquainted with the person of the monarch, to solicit an audience, as authorized to communicate some proposal on his part. This person was admitted, with the usual facility, to the presence of Teymûr; and having been courteously dismissed, after a favorable reception, with the customary marks of bounty, proceeded to make on

\* This must be an error, since Mahommed Sûltan was in Transoxiana, at the period in question.

A. H. 803.  
 A. D. 1401.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

his return to his employer, a faithful report of the result of his interview, in such terms as to have removed every doubt, if any yet existed on the subject. Faridje, however, although perfectly convinced in his own mind of the truth of his information, lest, by continuing at large, the circumstance of Teymûr's presence at the siege might, through his means, become too generally known among the inhabitants, immediately placed the agent under close restraint, on a charge of falsehood in his report. And having thus, according to our original, with shameless effrontery withheld the truth from his followers, he prepared, with an audacity which seemed to increase with the danger, to continue his exertions for the defence of the town. In this state of affairs, some random arrow shot from the walls proved fatal to Mongûly Khaujâh, a distinguished Moghûl chief, and to Khaujâh Mûssâoud the Semnaunian, frequently mentioned in these pages.

Teymûr, on the other hand, finding possibly that the undertaking had become more arduous than he had calculated at the commencement, dispatched one of his Tawatcheis, to summon Shah Rokh and his division, with the heavy equipments of the army, to join him before Baghdâd. The messenger came up with Shah Rokh, at Kollaughy, the town of that name, in all probability, in Kourdestaun, on the way to Tebreiz; and shortly afterwards conducted the prince with his division, to the imperial encampment, to the equal discouragement and dismay of the garrison of Baghdâd: which, like the signet in his ring, was now on all sides more closely and completely invested by the armies of Teymûr. In order to do this the more effectually, directions had been given to construct a bridge across the Tigris, immediately below the city, and parties of experienced archers were stationed at convenient distances, to cut off, from the garrison, all possibility of escape along the river downwards; while the princes Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, took post opposite to the Souque-us-Sûltaun, in order to guard the approaches to the town from above. For similar purposes, Mahommed Azaud with his division took post in front of the city to the westward; and in short, although it extended over a space of nearly two farsangs, or about seven miles, in circumference, so completely was every avenue to egress and ingress closed up, that it scarcely seemed possible for the smallest reptile that

crawls upon the earth, either to enter or depart—much less for any human being to escape from the town.

While the operations of the siege were proceeding with a vigour which had no remission, Ameir Mousa, one of the imperial officers, arrived with dispatches from Mahommed Sultán the son of Jahangueir, in Transoxiana; and presented to Teymûr a single ruby, of the astonishing weight of one hundred and twenty methkals,\* recently taken from the mine in Badakhshaun. In the mean time Faridje and the inhabitants of Baghdâd, having discarded all prospect of deliverance in any other way, continued to defend themselves with the obstinacy and animation of despair; and, although the miners of the besieging army had repeatedly succeeded in bringing down the wall in several places, by setting fire to their galleries under the foundation, the garrison exerted themselves with such unwearied constancy and activity in repairing the breaches with brick and mortar, that the Teymûrians were constrained, over and over again, to resume their labors without effect. The heat of the weather was, at the same time, so intensely great, the sun being at this period in cancer, that the very crabs at the bottom of the ocean might be said to fry, and the solid rock to melt like wax—at least, in the genuine extravagance of oriental metaphor, so we are told by our author. The zeal of Teymûr's veterans was, however, not to be discouraged by any circumstances of fatigue and danger; and they persevered from morn to night to labour in spite of every obstacle, in their cuirasses, at the mounts, or cavaliers, which they were raising to command the works of the place, and to employ with unceasing diligence all the expedients that could be devised to harass and destroy their adversaries.

In the mean time, anxious to rescue so rich and populous a city from the horrors of a general assault, Teymûr had resisted the repeated importunities of the Shahzâdahs, and his principal generals, for permission to attack the place without further delay; trusting that cooler reflection, and an increasing sense of danger, might finally prevail with the inhabitants to sue for mercy. In this he was, however, disappointed; these misguided men continuing to persevere in

\* At a dram and a half to the Methkaul, if our calculation be correct, this would be about 2400 carats, or fifteen ounces avoirdupoise.

A. H. 803.  
A. D. 1401.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 803.  
A. D. 1401.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

their plans of hostility and resistance, until, in the general scarcity of all that could in any shape contribute to the support of existence, nothing remained but the sorrowful recollection of their past abundance.

Such was the state of things, when, one day at noon, exhausted by the scorching heat of a meridian sun, the garrison withdrew from their posts on the ramparts and in the towers, leaving their turbans and helmets fixed on poles, along the parapets, in order to deceive the besiegers. At this moment of fatal security, Shahzâdah Khaleil Sûltan the son of Meiran Shah, from among the princes of the blood, and the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, from among the chief commanders, approached the devoted city; and, placing their ladders against the walls, immediately mounted to the rampart, the veteran Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein being the first to plant his victorious standard of horsetail on the parapet. Shortly afterwards, the Mirzas Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, and Ameirs Sûliman Shah, from their posts on the river above, and Mirza Rûstum, with the Ameirs Shah Melek, Berendek, and Ally Sûltan, on opposite sides of the town, rushed to the assault, and, having precipitated a great part of the walls into the ditch, laid open tremendous breaches to the troops; who now, from every direction, poured into the place without further resistance, the astonished inhabitants being as much affrighted as if the terrors of the last judgment were passing before them.

During this scene of suspense and terror, Teymûr took his station at the head of the bridge below the town, which he had caused to be thrown across the Tigris, while his soldiers, eager for blood and slaughter, urged each other onward to the attack; the terrified inhabitants in great numbers, perceiving themselves, like beasts of the chase encircled in the toils of the hunter, encompassed on every side by the snares of death, chose rather to plunge into the stream of the Tigris, and perish in a watery grave, than nobly tempt their fate by encountering the weapons of the enemy. Others embarked in crowds in boats on the river; and many more endeavored to effect their escape, by swimming with the stream downwards, until intercepted by the temporary bridge, where they were shot to death by the archers posted

to cut off their retreat, by the instructions of Teymûr. The wretched Faredje, after his brief exercise of a precarious and turbulent authority, accompanied by an only daughter and a few faithful attendants, directed his flight in a boat, along the Tigris upwards; but, being closely pursued by the Teymûrian archers, who plied him without ceasing, from either bank, with their arrows, he was at last compelled with his unfortunate associates to plunge, covered with wounds, into the stream, in which they all perished. The body of Faredje was afterwards dragged out of the river and laid on the bank, exposed to every mark of contempt and insult.

A H. 803.  
A. D. 1401.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

As his soldiers had fallen in extraordinary numbers, during the siege and assault, Teymûr had issued orders that required every individual in the army, to produce the head of an enemy; and a carnage now took place, which revived, in their most sanguinary colours, the horrible scenes of the Jenguizian irruption—every sex and condition of the inhabitants being indiscriminately devoted to the slaughter. The heads of the slain were then erected into pyramids, one hundred and twenty in number according to De la Croix, to serve as ghastly memorials of the dire vengeance which awaited those who dared to raise the standard of revolt, against the dread authority of Teymûr. Many Seyuds, âlema, Sheikhs, and pious individuals, who had taken the precaution to claim the imperial protection, before it was too late, were, however, exempted from the general butchery, and otherwise munificently treated. Directions were finally given to level the city with the ground, but to spare the mosques, colleges, hospitals, and other structures set apart for divine worship, and for charitable or benevolent purposes; and the whole, with these exceptions, was accordingly reduced by the soldiery to a heap of rubbish. We shall dismiss the subject with stating that the capture of Baghdâd, on this occasion, is recorded to have taken place on Sunday the seventh of Zilkaudah, of the eight hundred and third of the hidjerah,\* the siege having occupied altogether a period of forty days.

Quitting the ruins of this ill-fated metropolis, during the first ten days of Zilhudje, Teymûr proceeded to encamp his troops about 4 farsang above the city, at the Mausoleum of Imaum Moussa ul Kau-

\* 20th of June 1401.

A. H. 803.  
 A. D. 1401.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

zem; the influence of whose pure spirit he presumed to invoke in favor of those schemes of blood and rapine, which he had in further contemplation. Soon afterwards, Sultán Mahmúd Khaun, accompanied by Mirza Khaleil Sultán the son of Meiran Shah, the Ameirs Súkman Shah, Shah Melek, and other highly distinguished commanders, with a numerous military retinue, was dispatched across the Tigris and Euphrates, to visit the shrine of Ally at Nudjef, to the westward of the latter river; where, by their pious prostrations, and a liberal distribution of alms, they sought to secure the prayers and benedictions of those who ministered about the sacred structure. The troops who accompanied them did not, however, omit on their return, to pillage both the towns of Hellah and Wausset; after which, the whole proceeded to rejoin the imperial head quarters. The army thus assembled was now finally set in motion for Tebreiz, by the route of Sheherzour, and the Kollaughy already mentioned, which lay to all appearance in the neighborhood of Selmauss; Teymúr leaving the main body and impediments to continue the march by easy stages, while he proceeded, in person, accompanied by the Mirzas Meiran Shah, Shah Rokh, and Khaleil Sultán, to make the best of his way to the capital of Azerbáijaun.



## CHAP. VIII.

IT would now appear that while Teymûr was employed in the invasion of Syria, Bayezid, or Bajazet, the Sûltan of the Othmanlû Turks, urged by the importunities of Sûltan Ahmed, and the Türkman Kâra Yûssuf, who had sought his protection against the fury of the Tcheghatâian armies, had proceeded, in retaliation for the destruction of Sevauss; to invest the fortress of Arzenjaun; of which, after defeating the troops of Ameir Taherten, he finally accomplished the reduction. During the hostilities which preceded this capture, Mûkbel, the lieutenant of Ameir Taherten, had fallen into the hands of some of the followers of Kâra Yûssuf; but the Turkish monarch had been prevailed upon, through the intercession of Sûltan Ahmed, to restore the government of Arzenjaun to Ameir Taherten, taking his wife and children, however, away with him, as hostages for his good behavior, to the metropolis of Broussa; to which, he soon afterwards returned. Such a circumstance did not fail to occasion the utmost degree of mortification to the haughty spirit of Teymûr; and it being further reported to him while he lay encamped at the station of Hushtroud, on his return towards Azerbâijaun, that Bajazet was again approaching in the direction of that province, his indignation was kindled beyond all bounds: and he accordingly gave orders that Shah Rokh, with the Ameirs Shah Melek, and Sûliman Shah, and other illustrious commanders at the head of a formidable army, should proceed without delay to oppose and repel the audacious invasion. Ameir Mûzraub was dispatched, at the same time, to the Shahzâdahs, and the other chiefs who had encamped at Menkoul, after the expedition into Georgia, with instructions to join Shah Rokh immediately, with the whole of the force under their orders.

In the mean time, on his arrival at Aouneik, Shah Rokh was met by Sheikh Ally, the sister's son of Ameir Taherten, with a message to announce that the Turkish monarch, repenting of his unjust ag-

A. H. 803.  
A. D. 1401.  
Rouzuf-us-suffa.



A. H. 803. gressions, had requested the mediation of his uncle for the forgiveness  
 A. D. 1401. of Teymûr; and had engaged, as some acknowledgment for such  
 Rouzut-us- mediation, on the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the rival  
 suffa. monarchs, to restore the hostages whom, on the capture of Arzên-  
 jaun, he had caused to be conveyed to Broussa, or Prusa—the ancient  
 capital of Bythinia, at that period the capital of the Turkish mon-  
 archy. It was further announced that a correspondence on these  
 grounds had been already opened, between Ameir Taherten and the  
 Sûltan of the Turks. Having sent one of his officers to conduct this  
 person to the presence of his father, Shah Rokh determined to re-  
 main at Aouneik, or Avanic, until he should receive further in-  
 structions. By this time, the imperial head quarters had been re-  
 moved from Hushtroud, or the eight rivers, to Oujaun; from whence,  
 after the residence of a few days, Teymûr had proceeded further  
 towards Tebreiz. At that place, on his arrival shortly afterwards,  
 the Tcheghatâian monarch, taking up his abode in the palace of the  
 government, is stated to have furnished during his stay to all classes  
 of the inhabitants, the most gratifying proofs of his moderation,  
 liberality, and love of justice. It was at this crisis, that Khaujâh  
 Ally the Semnaunian, from Herât, and Seyf-ud-dein Touny, from  
 Subbuzwaur, arrived at court; and experienced the most encourag-  
 ing reception from the sovereign, being both of them immediately  
 nominated to distinguished appointments in the exchequer. The  
 Khaujâh Mûssâoud already stated to have fallen before Baghdâd, was  
 probably a relative, and possibly a brother to the former. Be that  
 however as it may, the two favorites soon contrived to render them-  
 selves of importance; first, by encouraging certain officious individu-  
 als to impeach the integrity of Jullaul-ul-islam, who appears to  
 have long held a distinguished place in the department of the finances,  
 and finally by communicating the impeachment to their master. A  
 mandate was immediately issued to suspend the unfortunate minister  
 from his employments, to commit him to close custody, and to  
 investigate the grounds of his accusation. He was subsequently  
 turned over to certain commissioners, perhaps inquisitors, and a very  
 large sum of money, arising from his property and that of his depen-  
 dents, was confiscated to the state.

In these circumstances, impelled to desperation by the severity of his inquisitors, the degraded minister drew a poniard, and made an attempt to destroy himself; but as the wound was inflicted by an irresolute and unsteady hand, a few days medical attention was sufficient to heal it. He was finally directed, by command of Teymûr, to charge himself with the superintendance of the Persian auxiliary troops; possibly with a view to the discovery of further frauds in the revenue department, without, however, being permitted to interfere in any shape with the collections. This scheme, unintelligible as it seems, was not without success, since two more embezzlements to a considerable extent are said to have been detected, through the diligence of those employed to develope them; and Khaujâh Mahomméd Shahaub, also an officer of the exchequer, was dismissed with a fine of two hundred horses of a moderate price. Khaujâh Ismâeil Khowaify, another in the same department, was, however, treated with far greater severity, being hanged in the public market place of the camp, shortly after this period, on the departure of the army from Tebreiz.

A. H. 806.  
A. D. 1401  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

Teymûr now proceeded across the Araxes to Nekhtchûaun; from whence, accompanied by an escort of his Ameirs and principal generals, he made an excursion to view the celebrated fortress of Alanjek in this neighborhood, which, as noticed on a former occasion, had been recently taken possession of by the imperial troops. After a very minute and careful survey of the fortifications, and of the mountain on which they stood, he returned to his encampment. Shortly after this, Ameir Taherten arrived from Erzenjaun, and on his knees communicated to Teymûr proposals for an accommodation of their differences, on the part of the Turkish Sûltan Bajazet, as well as what he had been authorized to represent in extenuation of the hostile proceedings of that prince; of whose cause he proved so successful an advocate, as to appease for the present, if he did not totally extinguish, the indignation of the Tcheghatâian monarch.

While he remained at Nekhtchuaun, on this occasion, an agent was dispatched on the part of Teymûr, to make a demand of tribute, and the ordinary proofs of submission from the prince of Georgia. In the mean time, he was rejoined by the Mirzas Sûltan Hûsseyne, and

A. H. 803  
 A. D. 1401.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

Aba Bukker, and the Ameirs Jahaun Shah and Temûr Khaujah, or Khojah, with the troops who had proceeded from Menkoul to place themselves under the orders of Shah Rokh, in expectation of hostilities with the Turkish Sûltan. The imperial head quarters were then removed from Nekhtchuaun, to the banks of the Gouktcha tengueiz, or blue lake, where Teymûr recreated himself for some time, with the amusements of the chase. Not long afterwards, he was joined by Shah Rokh in person, together with the division under his orders, in concurrence with the instructions which had been afresh transmitted to him at Aouneik, or Avanic. The imperial armies then advanced to the plains of Shemkour, laid down by De la Croix to the left, or N. E. of the Kûrr, although it does not appear that the troops had yet crossed that river. While encamped on these plains, Eidekou the son of Gheyauth-ud-dein Berlas arrived from Kermaun, with a suitable display of valuables, which he laid at the feet of the sovereign. On the same spot, the agent who had been dispatched into Georgia, returned to the presence of Teymûr, followed by the brother of Melek Gârguein, with presents to an enormous amount, and an express agreement, on the part of the Georgian chief, to become tributary to the imperial authority. Having been, through the intercèssion of some powerful Ameirs of the court, introduced to an audience, this person communicated to Teymûr the most positive assurances of homage on the part of his brother, as well as his extreme regret for past audacious aggressions ; which he intreated might be alone ascribed to the genuine cause, excess of rashness, and entire ignorance of the substantial interests of his country. If, however, from such considerations the imperial clemency might be disposed to view these errors with indulgence, and to cast over them the veil of oblivion, he pledged himself for the punctual payment, in future, of any tax or tribute that might be determined upon, and for the furnishing of whatever contingent of troops might be required to serve under the shadow of the imperial standard. And, in short, engaging that his obligations of service and allegiance should now terminate, only with his life. These protestations, in behalf of the prince of Georgia, produced an immediate and very favorable impression on the mind of Teymûr. The apologies of the Georgian chief were graciously accepted

of, his offences overlooked, and his brother dismissed with a pelisse, and presents of uncommon splendor, and all his wishes liberally gratified. He was, nevertheless, charged on his departure, to announce to the prince his brother, that the conqueror was induced to forego his just vengeance, and to suspend the invasion of his territories, on the express condition that he should, for the future, forbear in any shape to molest the advocates of the true faith; on the contrary that he should, on all occasions, be prepared to treat them with respect and kindness, and that he would never omit an opportunity to contribute to their welfare and prosperity: for, he desired it to be understood that he should consider this, or any other treaty with him, no longer valid than he adhered to the conditions thus prescribed.

The affair with the Georgian thus happily adjusted, Teymûr, ever anxious for the tranquillity of his own capital, conceived it expedient, about the period under consideration, to dispatch the discreet and respectable Temûr Khaujâh to Samarkand; in order to afford to Mirza Omar the aid of his counsels, and to admonish the Ameirs on the spot, of their obligations to exert themselves with zeal and unanimity, in promoting the success of his government. Some days afterwards, the imperial head quarters were removed to the station of Karawultoupah. Here, information was received from Mirza Mahommed Sûltan that, in conformity with his instructions, he had left Samarkand some time since, for the purpose of repairing to the imperial presence, accompanied by Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein; but, that it had fallen to his lot to announce the death, after a short illness, of that able and gallant commander, soon after his arrival at Neyshapûr. The long and eminent services of this loyal and veteran chief, rendered his death a circumstance of deep and sensible regret to his master; although he exerted all his fortitude to sustain it with becoming resignation. "At the expiration of a month, during which he remained at Karawultoupah, he decamped from that station, and returned towards Kârabaugh, on the Araxes, where he proposed to establish his winter quarters. On his arrival in the neighborhood of that place, about the twenty-second of the latter Rebbeia, of the year 804,\* the artificers of the army proceeded to erect for the accommodation of the monarch, the princes of his blood, and the imperial fami-

A H. 803.  
A. D. 1401.  
Kouzut-us-  
suffa.

\* 28th of November 1401.

A. H. 804.  
A. D. 1401.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

ly, lofty sheds constructed of mats, canes, and rafters, under which to cover the tents and pavilions, thus competently secured against the rigors of the approaching season. In the mean time, in concurrence with the resolution publicly avowed, of marching at the commencement of spring into Keptchauk, the princes and other great commanders are described, on this occasion, to have uniformly placed the forepart of their tents in the direction of Derbend; while a liberal distribution of money evinced to the army, afresh, the unexhausted munificence of their sovereign.

Shortly afterwards, an embassy from Keptchauk appeared, however, in the encampment, and proceeded in humble and submissive language to express, on the part of the Khaun, the most perfect obedience to the authority of Teymûr. The conciliatory terms in which the ambassadors discharged themselves of the object of their mission, succeeded in this instance also, in appeasing the resentment of the Tcheghatâian monarch; whose vindictive passions the frost of age had probably, by this time, in some degree contributed to mitigate. While these matters were in train, it was further announced that Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, with the powerful reinforcement of troops and equipments from Samarkand, was arrived at the station of Aktaum; hence most of the Shahzâdahs, including the Mirzas Meiran Shah, and Shah Rokh, together with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Jahaun Shah, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and many others of the principal ministers and generals, proceeded immediately over the bridge on the Araxes, in order to conduct him to the presence of his grandfather, by whom he was most cordially embraced on his arrival, shortly after this, in the imperial encampment. The appearance of the young prince, whom, it may be necessary to recollect, his grandfather had long destined to succeed to the imperial dignity, was followed for several days, by a course of continued festivity; at which the ladies of the imperial family are described to have presented themselves arrayed with extraordinary splendor. The Shahzâdah was, at the same time, overwhelmed with favors by his august relative. A diadem of gold was placed upon his brows, and his waist encircled by a girdle of the same precious material. A lot of nine of the choicest Arabian horses, nine times told, with saddles and caparisons of gold, was also among the presents bestowed upon him on the occasion.

When these festivities were at an end, Teymûr, as usual, directed his attention to the more important concerns of his government; and among these he proceeded in the first place to institute an inquiry into the conduct of Mirza Eskunder the son of Omar Sheikh, still under restraint, for his precocious and overforward zeal, in the expedition from Ferghaunah formerly described. The young prince, at this period not eighteen years of age, after having been subjected to a very rigorous investigation, and suffering the discipline of the bastinado, was then set at liberty from his bonds. But on this subject we are informed that, in the margin of his history, Moulana Kummaul-uddein Abdurrezauk should, with his own hand, have recorded his astonishment at a circumstance so totally inconsistent with the maxims of justice, and common sense; the expedition having been undertaken with Teymûr's express approbation, and not the slightest proof having been produced, during the investigation, to impeach in any degree, the fidelity and duty of Mirza Eskunder; and, furthermore, no previous instance having occurred, in the whole course of his reign, in which the monarch had condemned any of his own blood to the discipline of the bastinado. Upon this passage our author very justly proceeds to remark, that it appears still more extraordinary in this same Abdurrezauk, to have so completely overlooked the statement in his own work, as well as in every other on the subject, which expressly records a similar punishment inflicted, by Teymûr's orders, on Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne the son of a favorite daughter, for his flagrant and perfidious desertion during the campaign in Syria. But more than this, it was sufficiently notorious, that he had on other occasions condemned his sons Peir Mahommed, and Omar Sheikh, to the very same punishment, as hath been already shewn in the course of these pages.

Before we proceed to the detail of more important matters, it may be necessary to observe that, encouraged by the rumours of approaching hostilities with Bajazet, Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir was again endeavoring to re-establish his authority among the ruins of Baghdâd; the fortifications of which he was now labouring with his utmost diligence to place in a state of repair. There was, however, little probability that he should be suffered to bring his plans to maturity

A. H. 804.  
A. D. 1401.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa,

A. H. 804.  
A. D. 1401.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

without interruption from the ever watchful policy of Teymûr. Accordingly, in the very depth of winter, and in defiance of all the rigors of an inclement season, not less than four distinct armies were dispatched by different routes to attack the Sûltan, before his power should have acquired strength; and to check at its birth the spirit of disobedience, and revolt, which his presence might have produced in Arabian Irâk, and in the adjoining provinces of Khouzistaun, and Shouster. With one of these columns Mirza Aba Bukker the son of Meiran Shah, accompanied by Ameir Jahaun Shah, proceeded immediately towards Baghdâd, of which they had very nearly effected the surprise. The Sûltan with his son Sûltan Tâher, contrived, however, to escape towards Hellah; and although closely pursued, the following morning, by a detachment under the orders of Ameir Jahaun Shah, he succeeded, by destroying the bridge on the Euphrates, in finally withdrawing to the island of Khaled and Malek, situated in the bed of that river some distance below, where the vicinity of the Arabian desert seemed to offer the best prospect of a secure retreat. Without attending to the proceedings of the three other divisions, it will be sufficient to remark that in the early part of the succeeding spring, the whole rejoined the main body of the Teymûrian armies, about that period assembling for the purpose of approaching the frontiers of the Anatolian Peninsula.

The jealousy which had been so long fermenting in the breasts of the rival monarchs had now reached its crisis, and Teymûr was at last preparing, in earnest, to bring the question of universal dominion between him and Sûltan Bayezid, to a final decision; an undertaking, in every respect, worthy of the full display of his talents and valour, of the hazard and importance of which he was perfectly aware, and in which he does not appear to have engaged without the most mature and anxious deliberation.

During the period in which he continued in his winter quarters at Kârabaugh, he had received a formal embassy from the Turkish Sûltan; and he had condescended to avail himself of the opportunity to repeat his complaints of the asylum still afforded to that object of his unabating vengeance, the Tûrkman Kâra Yûssuf; again urging his extreme repugnance to engagè in hostilities with a monarch, whose



exertions had been, hitherto, so laudably employed against the enemies of their common faith, the odious abettors of the religion of the Messiah. In order, therefore, before it was yet too late, to avert from his Müssulman subjects, the dreadful calamities to which they would be unavoidably exposed from the invasion of the Tcheghtàian armies, he now proposed to the ambassadors, for the consideration of their sovereign, either of the three following alternatives. To take the punishment of the refractory Tûrkomanian upon himself, and to do him justice upon the rebel—To send him to his court in chains, in order to receive that punishment, which on an impartial investigation might appear due to his crimes—Or lastly, as the smallest concession to which he was entitled, to expel the odious profligate from his dominions. With these propositions, after treating them with a superb hunting-match, on the plains of Akfaum on the opposite bank of the Araxes, and otherwise most sumptuously entertaining them, Teymûr dismissed the agents of Bajazet, acquainting them, on their departure, that he should continue in his present quarters during winter; but, that at the return of spring, he should advance towards the Turkish frontier, in order to be the more conveniently at hand, for such communications as their master might be disposed to convey to him. If these should prove what he had such just grounds to expect, all would be well—Otherwise, that the day of battle must decide between them. The ambassadors were accompanied, at the same time, by another diplomatic mission from Teymûr, at the head of which was Bayezid Tchimauny Eiltchigadâi, charged with written dispatches from his master to the Tûrkish Sûltan.

A. H. 804.  
A. D. 1401.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

In the interval which succeeded to the dispatch of these ambassadors, Teymûr occupied himself in opening and clearing out an ancient canal, which had been choked up in the lapse of ages, and which had attracted his attention, in the course of his hunting parties. It appears to have communicated with the Araxes on the right, or southern bank; to have been completed on this occasion to the length of two farsangs and upwards, in the short space of one month, and it received the name of the canal of Berlas.

Although it is acknowledged that considerable repugnance was to be conquered on the part of Teymûr, before he could prevail upon himself.

A. H. 804.  
 A. D. 1402.  
 \* Rouzut-us-  
 suffia.

finally to resolve on the expedition into Natolia, from a species of religious deference to the zeal with which Bajazet had so frequently signalized himself in his wars against the infidels; nevertheless, it was a measure on the expediency of which none of his courtiers had hitherto ventured, in his presence, to hazard the slightest doubt. He had, at the same time, formed an estimate on no inadequate scale, of the formidable extent of the Turkish dominions; of the resources, the strength and discipline of the armies of the house of Othman, which latter were known to be in the most perfect state of preparation for war—the grandeur and magnificence of Bajazets equipments, being such, from recent report, that he had no less than twelve thousand dog keepers,\* or huntsmen, in his train, which were probably a body of life guards particularly armed and appointed, for the protection of his person. The Teymûrians, on the other hand, had been so perpetually harrassed, during a period of four years, by a series of fatiguing marches and expeditions, from one country to another, that their horses were worn to skeletons; and the Ameirs and principal generals appeared therefore with little exception, extremely averse to engage at present, in an enterprize of such magnitude and importance. As a person who, by his wit and eloquence, had secured unobstructed access to the presence of the monarch, by whom he was indulged with freedom of speech on all occasions, they accordingly fixed upon Shums-ud-dein of Almaulegh, to be the organ of their representations on this subject; instructing him to support his arguments on the occasion, with an alleged declaration of the astrologers that the Tcheghatâian armies were destined, in the course of the present year, to suffer some serious injury from those of Rûme.

Shums-ud-dein proceeded, accordingly, to communicate to Teymûr, what he had received in charge from the great officers of his court, superadding, as he had been instructed to do, the report of the astrologers. The sagacious monarch condescendingly observed, that, admitting all he alleged on the part of the Ameirs to be perfectly just, he should yet require to be more particularly informed, from whom he derived his alarming decision on the aspect of the heavenly bodies. To this Shums-ud-dein appearing unable to reply, Jullaul-ul-isslaum

\* Segbaun.

immediately threw himself upon his knees, and declared that in direct opposition to the speculations of both Ameirs, and astrologers, he should without reserve give his voice for the expedition; little doubting that with the aid of that presiding providence, which had hitherto so conspicuously maintained the ascendancy of the imperial power, they should yet bring the *thunderbolt* Bayezid, a forsaken captive to the foot of the throne, and include the provinces of his boasted empire within the already wide extended limits of the Teymûrian authority: and what furnished, as he said, additional confidence to these hopes, was the evidence daily accumulating, that the presumption of the Turkish monarch had reached its acme, and that the declension of his power must necessarily be at hand. But the more effectually to dispel the doubts and apprehensions of his generals, Teymûr called upon Moulana Abdullah Lessaun, a very skilful astrologer who always attended his person, to announce such discoveries as he might have made, in his observations of the heavenly bodies. The Moulana replied, without hesitation, that with the aid of the ephemerides, and other astronomical guides calculated for the present year, he was enabled to state that the fortune of Teymûr was in the highest degree of ascendancy; while that of his adversaries appeared at the very lowest decline. It so fell out that about this very crisis, a comet made its appearance in Aries, taking its course from the westward, as well as we are able to understand the passage, from its rise in the evening to its occultation in the twilight. At the expiration of some days, it appeared again, about daylight in the morning, in the east. Moulana Abdullah then, very opportunely, produced to the council a passage from the works of Mohey-ud-dein Meghreby, which predicted in express terms that when a comet should appear in the celestial sign above alluded to, it portended that an army from the east should invade the country of Roum, or Anatolia, and occasion some great calamity to the sovereign ruler of that territory.

But, whatever might have been exhibited in the phenomena of the heavens, or affirmed by the impostures of astrology, the resolution of Teymûr was unalterably fixed for his expedition into Anatolia; and he, accordingly, broke up from his winter quarters at Kara-

A H. 804.  
A. D. 1402.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 804.  
 A. D. 1402.  
 Rouzut us-  
 suffa.

baugh, on the thirteenth of Rudjub, of the 804th of the hidjerah,\* leading his troops immediately to encamp on the extensive and luxuriant plains in the neighborhood. Here he remained some days, awaiting the final close of the cold season; after which, he again put his troops in motion, and proceeded towards the plains of Shemkour, already mentioned above. Mirza Mahommed Sûltan proceeded, at the same time, across the Kûrr, directing his march along the left bank of that river upwards, possibly towards the city of Teflis. Leading his troops through Berdaa and Ganjah, to the plains of Shemkour above mentioned, Teymûr there continued, until the whole of the forage in the circle of the adjoining districts had been entirely consumed. After this, he directed his march to the left, towards Alatauk, or Alataug, which lay to all appearance in the vicinity of Ararat.

While the army lay encamped on the river of Bender, [aub-e-Bender, or Tubudaur, according to De la Croix], which is the boundary of Georgia on that side, the imperial family received the further augmentation, on the twenty fourth of Ramzaun, † of a son to Shah Rokh, by his consort Gouher Shaud Aga, who received the name of Mahommed Jouky. Mirza Mahommed Sûltan had, in the mean time, been successfully employed against the Legzies, or Lezgies, of Mt. Albûrz, whom he had destroyed in considerable numbers; and he now rejoined the imperial encampment, with no small accumulation of booty. Before he proceeded further in his designs, Teymûr availed himself of the opportunity of sending back towards Tebreiz and Sûltaniah, the Queen consort, Serâi Melek Khaunum, and some of the principal ladies, together with the younger branches of the imperial family; among whom are particularly mentioned the Mirzas Olugh Beg, and Ibrauhim Sûltan, sons of Shah Rokh, at this period about eight years of age, Jahangueir the son of Peir Mahommed Jahangueir, Anjel, or Ayjel, the son of Meiran Shah, each about seven, and Bâisungur and Seyûrghetmesh, also the sons of Shah Rokh, the one five, and the other three years old.

Having thus disencumbered himself of what might otherwise have been the source of much anxiety, Teymûr advanced to the neighbor-

\* 15th of February, A. D. 1402.

† 20th of April.

hood of Senkour, or more probably Menkoul, the extensive plains formerly mentioned as supposed to lie on the frontiers which separate Georgia and Armenia; whence his whole force, right, left, and centre, became now united in one stupendous and overwhelming mass. From hence, he conceived it expedient again to dispatch an embassy to the court of Bajazet to acquaint that monarch that although he had found it advisable to conduct his armies thus far, he nevertheless still adhered to the tenor of his recent proposals; to which if the Turkish prince acceded, in either alternative, and would further give directions for the surrender, to the Teymûrian officers, of the fortress of Kemaukh, which he maintained to have always been a dependency of the Persian monarchy, he, the Turkish Sûltan, should be left in unmolested possession of all his dominions, and thence permitted to prosecute, without interruption, his meritorious designs against the abject infidels of the european continent. Nay, more than this, that he was perfectly disposed, as far as other important objects would allow, to afford him every support, in order to share in the glory and ultimate rewards of his pious exertions in exterminating the adversaries of the faith of Mahommed. Intelligence, however, arriving at this very conjuncture, that Kâra Yûssuf had actually quitted the court of Bajazet, without a single follower, Teymûr, as it determined at all events to keep alive the embers of discord, further instructed his ambassadors to apprise the Turkish monarch, that in order to give stability to the basis of their dawning friendship, it behoved him to convey to the imperial encampment, without delay, the family and adherents of the fugitive Târki-man.

During the period in which he remained, on this occasion, on the plains of Menkoule, his emissaries conveyed information to Teymûr, that there existed in the neighborhood a fortress of great strength, which bore the name of Tertoum, and of which the garrison, consisting of no more than two hundred Georgian soldiers, was reported to be the occasion of extreme annoyance, to all such as passed through the adjoining territory. This, with their usual good fortune, a division of the imperial troops, under the orders of Sheikh Nûr-ud-dem and Shah Melek, was employed to reduce; the place was carried by storm, on the sixth day of its investiture; the whole of the slender garrison

A H 804.  
A D 1402.  
Houcut us  
suda.

A. H. 804. put to the sword, and the walls levelled with the earth. After this  
 A. D. 1402. exploit, Teymûr proceeded to Aouneik, where he again halted for  
 Rouzut-us- some days.  
 suffa.

Two months having, however, now elapsed, since the period at which he had reason to expect the return of the former embassy to the court of Bajazet, without the slightest reply to his proposals, Teymûr expressed considerable impatience at the delay; observing that he was at last convinced of the inutility of placing any reliance on the good faith of a person of Bajazet's ignoble extraction. For it was sufficiently clear that the moderation which, from motives the most friendly, he had exercised in the course of the correspondence between them, had produced but little impression on the perverse and untractable Tûrkman, for so he affected to denominate the representative of the illustrious house of Othman. And to this untractable disposition he must ascribe his neglect to close with those offers of accommodation and peace so liberally extended to him. The imperial armies, from a consideration that it was on this side the bulwark of Islâm, had indeed, he continued to observe, been hitherto restrained from entering his devoted country; but the unworthy demeanor of the Sûltan in a variety of instances, and particularly in his recent detention of the ambassadors, had rendered it, at last, indispensably necessary to advance without further delay—in order to carry home to himself the just chastisement due to his perverse and refractory proceedings.

On his arrival at Erzeroum, shortly afterwards, Teymûr, having been successively joined by the divisions which had been detached, in different directions from Kârabaugh, during the winter, determined on the reduction of the fortress of Kemaukh, or Kemak, already-mentioned; and here described as a place of well known strength, situated on the summit of a high rock, surrounded on its acclivity by delicious gardens, with the river Euphrates, here a beautiful stream, running at the bottom. What rendered the spot further remarkable was an extraordinary fall, for three days in the spring of every year, of small birds like young sparrows, which were caught and cured in salt, in great quantities by the natives; but which, if neglected to be taken precisely within the three days, were enabled to take flight by the

growth of their wings. The siege of Kemaùkh, at his particular and earnest intreaty, was consigned to the direction of Mirza Mahommed Sùltan, the son of Jahangueir; who accordingly proceeded, at the head of a numerous and formidable division of the army, to the attack of the place. As if this force appeared incompetent to the design, Teymûr, on advancing to Erzenjaun soon afterwards, dispatched the Mirzas Aba Bukker, and Khaleil Sùltan, and other Shahzâdahs and generals, with an addition of troops, to assist in the operations of the siege; which was immediately commenced with singular vigour and activity. In short, after having succeeded in cutting off from the garrison all supply of water, and preparing a number of ladders of rope, which were carried up by some natives of Mekreit, in the obscurity of the night, to be fastened to the ridge of the rock on which the fortress was erected, a chosen body of soldiers, whose names were recorded in a particular register on that occasion, by Mahommed Sùltan in person, as a memorial to future ages, intrepidly mounted to the assault. The garrison being, however, unexpectedly alarmed, hastily stood to their defence; and, by rolling down large stones on the heads of their assailants, precipitated them altogether to the bottom of the rock, and many to rise no more. Among others of considerable distinction, was Ally Sheir, the nephew of Ameirzâdah Abbas, who missing the steps of the ladder fell headlong downwards, and perished on the spot.

On the following morning, however, the attack was resumed with inconceivable fury on all points of the rock, and the troops, animated by the voice and example of the Mirzas Mahommed Sùltan and Aba Bukker, at last succeeded in gaining the summit, the followers of the latter prince being the first to ascend; and thus, in the face of day, was carried by storm a place so singularly strong both by nature and art, as to be reputed impregnable to open force. On receipt of the welcome intelligence, Teymûr immediately took horse, and proceeded to survey the works of this important post; of which, as it lay within seven farsangs, or about six and twenty miles below Erzenjaun, on the same river Euphrates, he conferred the government on his faithful vassal Ameir Taherten. He then returned to Erzenjaun; where he continued for some time longer, in order to complete his

A. H. 804,  
A. D. 1402.  
Kouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 804.  
 A. D. 1402.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

arrangements for the war with Bajazet : his troops being, however, in the mean time, actively employed in beating up the quarters of, and dislodging the savage and refractory natives, who had taken post in the caverns, and other inaccessible retreats, of the neighboring mountains.

When he had subsequently advanced to Sevauss, Tcheimauny, or Tchempai, Eiltchigadâi, the ambassador whom he had last dispatched to the court of Bajazet, returned to the presence of Teymûr, accompanied by the envoys of the Turkish monarch, bearing from their master, since it was ordained by the decrees of eternal destiny that his country should be immediately delivered over to the horrors of war and desolation, a reply to the proposals of his puissant rival, full of insolent and acrimonious defiance, and refusing on any consideration to give up the fortress of Kemaukh. The purport of this ill-advised and intemperate mission, having been introduced through the medium of the Shahzâdahs, and some of the principal generals to an audience, the envoys on their knees ventured in part to explain to Teymûr. Not a little enraged at the language with which they had presumed to address him, and disdainfully rejecting their presents, which consisted of ten Arabian horses, and several animals trained to the chase, the Tcheghatâian monarch observed to the spokesman, in a tone of indignation, that if it were not at variance with the usages of civilized humanity, to act with rigor towards men who appeared in his sacred character, his head would have been the immediate forfeit of his presumption. But, having thus yielded to the first ebullitions of resentment, his indignation subsided; and the monarch proceeded dispassionately to remark, that when an individual was once entirely forsaken by his good fortune, the best intended and most salutary counsels were received through a perverted medium. And hence it was, that however sincerely he had laboured to awaken this imprudent prince from his dream of fancied security, and in order to shield his devoted subjects from the calamities of a tremendous invasion, all his arguments had proved unavailing. For could any stronger proof be required of the total perversion of intellect, which governed the decisions of this man, than that he should have chosen to expose his country to all the horrors of the impending awful visitation, rather



than submit to the comparatively trifling alternative of sending away the wife of Kâra Yûssuf, and of ceding over the fortress of Kemaukh, to which he possessed no sort of legitimate claim. In the latter point, however, thanks to heaven and to the gallantry of the imperial armies, his interposition was no longer wanting. Tell your master, "he observed in conclusion, addressing himself to the members of the embassy," since he has thought fit to disregard the counsels of good will and experience, and to reject the demands of justice on my part, if he be, what he would persuade the world to believe him, a man of undaunted courage, to take his ground with firmness; for *he* was at hand to assail him, whose power it would require his utmost energies to withstand."

A. H. 804.  
A. D. 1402.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

Having thus taken his final resolution, Teymûr proceeded to a general review of his troops; which by tomauns, hazaurahs, and koush-ûns, impelling each other like the billows of the ocean, now passed before him in tremendous array, and countless succession. The division of Mirza Mahommed Sûltan in particular, recently arrived from Samarkand, exhibited the most beautiful and splendid appearance; the shahzâdah having provided, that each separate corps of his division should be distinguished by one uniform colour—the standards, arms, and habiliments, bows and arrows, and quivers, spears and maces, of one corps being all red, of another green, of another white, and of another purple, or blue, all clad in coats of mail, and cuirasses, to the extreme delight of the spectators, and to the approbation openly expressed of their invincible master. This superb spectacle continued from dawn of day, until the hour of prayer at noon; the Turkish ambassadors having been conducted, by order of Teymûr, to survey the whole to the very last ranks and squadrons; and they are described to have been filled with dismay, and astonishment, at the prodigious assemblage of warriors completely equipped and armed, that day exhibited in their presence. Of this tremendous host, in the meantime, the author does not furnish the slightest estimate as to number; but from other channels we learn that the force with which Teymûr, on this occasion, entered the dominions of the house of Othman, did not consist of less than three hundred thousand horse, and five hundred thousand foot, of different nations.\*

\* Knolles's history of the Turks, in particular.

A. H. 804.  
 A. D. 1402.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

On the day following, Teymûr dismissed the ambassadors of Bajazet, after treating them very honorably; and charging them to tell their master, after all, that he was still sincerely disposed to respect the tranquillity of the Mûssulmau states—now limiting his demands to the restoration of the wife and family of Ameir Taherten, and the delivery of one of the princes his sons, as an hostage for the discontinuance of every cause of jealousy between them, engaging, at the same time, that the treatment of the illustrious pledge should not be less tender and affectionate, than if he were one of his own offspring.

Without delaying further to describe the reduction of Harouk, another strong fort in the neighborhood, by a division of the troops under Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, we shall proceed to state that finding, while he continued at Sevauss, from those well acquainted with the approaches into Natolia, that the road to Tokaut lay through gloomy forests full of difficult and dangerous defiles; and, moreover, that Bajazet was already arrived at that place, at the head of a numerous and formidable army, with which he had taken care to secure the fords in the different rivers, which report was further confirmed, in all its circumstances, by the scouts whom he had employed to explore the forests in question, Teymûr proceeded on his march, taking the direction to the left, towards Kaysereiah; having previously detached Ameir Sûliman Shah, with a numerous advanced guard towards that quarter. Immediately afterwards, Ally Sûltan Tawatchei was dispatched with instructions to that commander, not to suffer his troops on any consideration, to pass beyond Kaysereiah; the main body of the imperial army, being, in the mean time, on its march from Sevauss, to the last mentioned place, which occupied a period of six days; owing, possibly, to the intricacies and inequalities of the road, among the defiles of Mount Taurus, since the distance by the map does not appear to exceed sixty, or seventy miles.

Having remained for several days at Kaysereiah, dispensing to the inhabitants, if we may believe our authority, many conspicuous proofs of his liberality and love of justice, Teymûr employed his troops, in part, to hunt out the unhappy natives, who had been constrained by their fears to seek for refuge in subterraneous passages, and other

places of fancied security, and in part to bring in the grain and forage of the surrounding districts; it being, at this time, the regular period for collecting the produce of their husbandry. This last important object attained, he dispatched Mirza Aba Bukker, accompanied by the veteran Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, in advance; and then, with the remainder of the army, now bracing on their coats of mail and cuirasses, and otherwise preparing for action, he prosecuted his march for three days, in the direction of Angouriah, pitching his tents on the fourth day, in the neighborhood of Kersheher, not far from the banks of the Kuzzel Yermek, or red Yermek, the Halys of the ancients. Here he received intelligence that the light troops of Bajazet were in sight; and the Shahzâdahs and generals were accordingly enjoined to encamp with the strictest regularity, observing every precaution to guard against surprise, and fortifying their respective quarters with a ditch, and breast-work of fascines and hurdles, in order to frustrate any sudden attempt, on the part of the enemy.

The very same night, Ameir Shah Melek, with a detachment of one thousand horse, set off, by Teymûr's directions, in order to procure more certain intelligence of the situation of the enemy; and proceeding with all the celerity that was practicable in the obscurity of the night, and in a country little known, that chief, after a march of nearly ten farsangs, or about five and thirty miles, found himself at break of day, immediately in front of the camp of Bajazet, and hastened without delay, to place his detachment in ambuscade. It was, however, early discovered by the light troops of the enemy, who were proceeding as usual, to scour the precincts of the encampment in the morning, and a very desperate conflict accordingly ensued. In these circumstances, not a little enraged to observe the intrepid resistance maintained, by such disparity of numbers, against the overwhelming superiority of force which now thronged to attack them from every side, the Turkish monarch expressed himself in terms of severe reproach to his generals; and, immediately after sunrise, put his whole army in motion towards Kersheher, Shah Melek dispatching at the same time, to report his situation to Teymûr, and to announce the approach of his adversary. The crisis appeared now too serious and important, to confide to the ordinary means of information, and Tey-

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A. D. 1402.  
Kouznit-us-  
suffa.

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 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

mûr, accordingly, selected a troop of sixty of his most distinguished warriors, among whom are enumerated in particular, Eleiaus Khaujâh, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Sâeine Temûr, with his brother Mûraud, Daunah Khaujâh, Ameir Hûsseyne Kourtchei, and Sûltaun Melek the son of Ouje Kâra Bahauder; whom he instructed to seize such prisoners as they could lay hands on, for the purpose of securing the desired intelligence. In the mean time, Shah Melek made good his retreat to the main body, in the course of the evening.

Early the following day, at a council of war or some such assembly of his principal officers, Teymûr proceeded to state, to the Shahzadâhs and other chief commanders, that in this stage of the campaign, there occurred to his judgment two particular plans of operation best calculated to bring the design in which they were engaged, to a successful termination. The first was, to await the attack of the enemy in their present position; and this would at least be attended with one very material advantage, an interval of repose to their men and horses. The second was to enter at once into the heart of the country, and, by detaching separate columns in opposite directions, to spread desolation and alarm in all; thus compelling the Turkish Sûltan to harass and wear out his troops, the strength of which appears to have consisted in infantry, in fatiguing and ineffectual exertions. After considerable debate, it was in the end determined to pursue the latter plan; in concurrence with which, leaving Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, with not more than two thousand horse, for the protection of his camp, Teymûr put the army again in motion, dispatching Ameir Berendek, with other commanders, in advance towards Angouriah, in order to check any designs of the enemy, from that quarter. This division was accompanied by a detachment of infantry and pioneers, under the direction of Abdurrahman Towatchei, with instructions to sink wells at convenient distances, for the supply of the main body on its march.

In the mean time, the band of distinguished warriors dispatched the preceding day, for the purpose of procuring intelligence, fell in with one of the advanced parties of the enemy; and having seized two prisoners, they put one of them to death, retaining the survivor in their custody, until they should have wrung from him the information.

of which they were in quest. It happened that one of the sons of Bajazet, at the head of a thousand cavalry, should have been employed by his father on the same night, for the similar purpose of exploring the country and gaining intelligence; and having passed this small band of heroes, without observing them, proceeded to take post in a neighboring defile, where he lay in ambuscade, in order to avail himself of any opportunity that might occur to his advantage. At break of day on the ensuing morning, while they were proceeding on their return to camp, the Teymûrians found their progress unexpectedly intercepted by this body of the enemy, by whom they were immediately attacked. Although, as we have already observed, they did not exceed sixty in number, and their adversaries were almost twenty to one, with all the advantages of surprise, they received the attack with the coolest resolution; and continued to repulse them in every attempt, gradually prosecuting their march, until the appearance of the squadrons left for the protection of the encampment near Kersheher, under the orders of Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, finally compelled the enemy to withdraw from the pursuit.

The Ameirs who had proceeded with the infantry in advance, towards Angouriah, appear to have executed their orders in sinking wells, and in pillaging the country, without either opposition or difficulty; and in three days march from his encampment at Kersheher, a distance of about seventy miles, Teymûr, in person, displayed his victorious banners before the walls of the former city. Were we not already apprized that Bajazet, with the main body of his troops, was in the direction of Tokaut, and consequently in the rear of Teymûr's right flank, it would not be easy to comprehend in what manner two hostile armies, of such prodigious force, could have contrived, on this occasion, to move in so circumscribed a space, without coming in contact. But, to proceed with our relation, we are further told that the garrison of Angouriah was, at this period, commanded by an officer of the name of Yakoub, recently dispatched by the Turkish Sûltan to take charge of the place; which is represented as very strongly fortified, and which he did not neglect to furnish with every requisite, for a protracted and resolute defence. The day subsequent to that on which he appeared before Angouriah, the

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A. D. 1402.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 804.  
 A. D. 1402.  
 Rouzut us-  
 suffa.

Ancyra of the ancients, Teymûr on horseback proceeded to view the fortifications; and having ascertained the assailable points, soon afterwards gave direction that the troops should immediately commence their attack. His orders were, as usual, carried into execution without a moment's delay. The sappers and miners, had drained the ditch. A band of warriors, including Towûkkel Bawertchei, another Ally Sheir, and Shahsowaur, with many others whose names it would be tedious to recite, had succeeded in ascending one of the towers; and the place was thus on the point of being carried by assault, when intelligence was suddenly announced, from the parties which scoured the country, that Bajazet, with an army more numerous than the stars in the firmament, had made his appearance at the distance of five farsangs, or about six leagues, in the rear. Teymûr immediately repaired to his camp. The troops who had lodged themselves in the tower reluctantly withdrew, without, however, discontinuing the conflict with the garrison, by whom they were doubtless vigorously pursued in their retreat; and the whole army was shortly afterwards put in motion to meet the enemy. When it had, however, proceeded about the distance that a horse could gallop\* without being blown, it was again encamped at a place here called Nûrah, with the river [of Angouriah] in its rear. The position was further protected by a ditch, and a breastwork of stakes and hurdles thrown up on the occasion.

In the direction by which alone it was understood that the enemy could approach, it was known that there existed a small spring at the foot of a hill, the only one which afforded any supply of water for a considerable distance around. This fountain, Teymûr, in the course of the night, employed a detachment to render unfit for use, by filling it with all they could collect that was loathsome and disgusting to the senses. In the mean time, at that silent and solemn hour when all but the unhappy had resigned themselves to the influence of sleep, Teymûr betook himself to the consolations of religion; and in humble prostration besought the sovereign disposer of events, in the approaching tremendous conflict, to give him the victory—pro-

\* This was probably done, in order to afford sufficient space for the evolutions necessary to bring the front of the army in the direction of the enemy.

fessing, nevertheless, in his heart-cheering confidence in the eternal power which had hitherto so invariably prospered him, in all his undertakings, his utter disregard of those external circumstances of danger, which even at a crisis less momentous may be supposed to occasion some anxiety to the most intrepid. "O thou eternal spring of all existence," exclaims our author in the name of the hero, "thou that hast impressed a worthless atom with the image of thy power, grant me thine aid; for I acknowledge no other source of consolation or support. Alas! rejected by thee, to whom in all existence, could I address my vows, in the hour of trial?"

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Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

The next day early in the morning, having directed the whole to mount their horses, Teymûr proceeded to dispose of his troops in the following order of battle. He fixed his own station with the centre division of the army, in advance of which was posted a chosen body of troops under Mirza Mahommed Sûltan; under whose standard, a red horse tail surmounted by a crescent, according to De la Croix, appeared arranged, on this occasion, the Mirzas Peir Mahommed, and, notwithstanding his recent disgrace, Eskunder, the sons of Omar Sheikh, together with the Ameirs Shums-ud-dein Abbas, Shah Melék, Eleiaus Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, and many other most distinguished commanders. The left wing of the main body was entrusted to the valour and abilities of his son Shah Rokh, assisted by Khaleil Sûltan, and those distinguished captains, the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Yadgaur Andekhoudy, Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, and Sounjek Bahauder. The Koumbul, or advanced guard of this wing, was placed under the direction of Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, aided by Ally Sûltan Towatchei, and Moussa Tûey Bouga. At the head of the right wing was displayed the standard of Meiran Shah, supported by the Ameirs Sheikh Nâr-ud-dein, Berendek, Ally Koutchein, Taherten of Erzenjaun, Mûbasher Bahauder, Hadjy Abdullah Abbas, Sûltan Sunjur the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, for the father was now dead, Omar Tauban, Sheikh Ibrauhim of Shirvaun, and many others whose names it is by no means inconvenient to omit. The advanced guard of this, the right wing, was consigned with obvious propriety to the management of Mirza Aba Bukker, the son of Meiran Shah, assisted by the Ameirs Jahauu Sliah, Kâra Othmaun the

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 suffa.

Türkman, Towukkel Berlas, and Peir Ally Seldüz. To the right of the centre division, was posted Mirza Ahmed the son of Omar Sheikh, with a long and splendid list of names, whom it would be, however, tedious to recite; and to the left of the same centre, was stationed another warlike band of Ameirs, with their followers, whom it would be equally tedious and unnecessary to enumerate. Apart from the whole, and probably in the rear of the centre, were finally drawn up under the imperial standard, forty chosen Koushûns, or squadrons, as a body of reserve, destined to furnish support wherever it might appear necessary, in the course of the action. Along the front of the imperial line were further disposed all, that remained with the army, of the elephants captured in the Indian expedition; each carrying a small party of archers and slingers of naphtha, and otherwise furnished with such implements of destruction as were calculated to harass, and confound the enemy.

Such, in a few words, as far as we are able to explain it from the statements of our original, was the disposition in which Teymûr prepared to combat, with his haughty rival, for the empire of the East. Bajazet, on the other hand, would scarcely employ less caution or diligence, in arranging his numerous, and warlike divisions, for the impending arduous conflict. The only particulars, however, of his order of battle, which we can collect from our author, are, that like his illustrious adversary, he took post himself in the centre, supported by his three sons, Moussa, Eissa, and Mûstafa. The advanced guard of the centre was chiefly composed of a body of one thousand, or, as De la Croix more probably states, of twenty thousand European cavalry, clad in black armour from head to foot, which is described to have left nothing exposed but the eyes; being of steel, or iron, and fastened to the back of each foot by a padlock. These were under the command of George, the brother of his wife Despina, and son of Lazarus, Despot of Servia, [pesser-e-Lauss]. The advanced guard of the left wing, consisting of the troops of Roume, or Natolia, was committed to his eldest son Mûssulman Tcheleby, [the noble] Mahommed Tcheleby, the ablest and most deserving of the whole, together with the different Pashas of the monarchy, at the head of their respective Koushûns, or divisions, occupied other stations in his line of battle, which



the author has not, however, thought it expedient to indicate for our information.

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At the hour of the morning repast, about nine or ten in the forenoon, the hostile armies appeared at last in the presence of each other. Teymûr, on his part, as was his invariable practice, immediately dismounting, with eyes uplifted to heaven, again most humbly besought the victory over his adversaries; and, having acquired a species of supernatural confidence from the fervor of devotion, cheerfully remounted to his seat on horseback, and approaching the field of battle, gave his final orders for the commencement of the action.

The conflict immediately opened with an attack on the left of the Turkish army commanded as we have already observed by Müssulman Tcheleby, led on by Mirza Aba Bukker, [it could not have been Shah Rokh, as stated in the manuscript by an obvious mistake], with the advanced guard of the right wing of the Teymûrians; and being gallantly supported by the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, and Kâra Othman, soon terminated in the entire defeat of that part of the enemy's force opposed to it. In another quarter, Mahommed Kerestchei, who probably commanded the right of the enemy, and who in valour and skill is said to have surpassed the whole of the sons of Bajazet, yet, after having exhibited the most distinguished proofs of courage and perseverance, and finding that all his efforts were unavailing against the superior numbers and discipline of the Teymûrians, finally quitted the field, with a precipitation that but little corresponded with his former renown. Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, with the advanced guard of the left wing of the Teymûrians,\* had borne with irresistible impetuosity upon the adverse squadrons of the enemy; and to him therefore must be materially ascribed the discomfiture of Mahommed Tcheleby, just alluded to. In the mean time, Mahommed Sûltan, at the head of the advance of the centre, hastened, with the permission of his grandfather, to support the movement of the left wing; which had probably been led into considerable disorder, in the eagerness of pursuit. Here, however, the career of victory is acknowledged to have been, for a long time, arrested by the invincible firmness of the son of the Despot of Servia, at the head of the

\* The manuscript by another vexatious mistake says the right wing.

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 siffa.

European cuirassiers; who must, by the way, have made a lateral movement from the front of the centre, to repair the disorder on the right of the Turkish army. So obstinate and arduous, indeed, was the contest in this part of the field, that the Turks and Teymûrians, are described to have been several times, alternately, compelled to give way; although the troops of Bajazet, were finally destined to yield to superior numbers, and to the triumphant fortune of his rival. To this ultimate success, the bravery of the Mirzas Peir Mahommed, and Eskunder, and of the veteran Shah Melek, who had finally conducted a part of the troops of the centre, into the thickest of the enemy, appears to have contributed in a very eminent degree.

In these circumstances, perceiving that, while they were discomfited with dreadful slaughter in some points, the efforts of his adversaries were obviously become languid and unavailing in all, Teymûr at length gave orders that both wings of the main body, under Meiran Shah and Shah Rokh respectively, together with the other Shahzâdahs and Ameirs, who had been hitherto held in reserve, should now advance and decide the fate of the day. It would, in the mean time, appear that while Mirza Mahommed Sûltan was engaged in pursuing the flying squadrons of the enemy's right wing, six of the Kou-shûns of his division ascended an eminence from which their adversaries had just been driven away. In this position, they were almost in an instant attacked by Bajazet in person, at the head of the centre of the Turkish army, which as yet remained unbroken amidst the surrounding discomfiture. The Teymûrians were now, in their turn, compelled to give way to superior force; but the Turkish monarch had no sooner gained the summit of this rising ground, than taking an anxious survey of the field of battle, the appalling spectacle met his view, of the entire demolition of his right and left wings.

Dismay and astonishment now seem, for a moment, to have seized upon the understanding of the unhappy monarch, the wreck of whose scattered divisions contrived, however, here to join him. In the mean time, his victorious opponents led on by Teymûr himself, approached to assail him in front; while Meiran Shah, and Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, with the Ameirs of the right and left, bore gradually round upon his flanks; until at last, like a lion in the toils, he was com-

pletely hemmed in on every side, by the whole of the Tcheghatâian army that could be drawn off from the more remote pursuit of the fugitives. In these perilous circumstances, the Turkish Sûltan, assisted by his European auxiliaries and what yet survived of his Asiatic troops, continued, nevertheless, with undaunted resolution to repel the efforts of his adversaries, for the remaining part of the day. At the approach of night, he made a desperate push for the bottom of the hill, and through an incessant discharge of arrows and other missiles, showered upon him from every side, succeeded by an astonishing exertion of individual prowess in effecting his escape, although not without heavy loss to those who accompanied him. Many of the fugitives of this tremendous day had perished, in the mean time, with fatigue and thirst, the sun being at this period in the sixth degree of Leo, and the heat of the weather extreme: added to which, the whole surrounding country did not furnish the smallest supply of water. The slaughter of such a conflict, both from the duration of the battle, and the multitude of those engaged, must have been prodigious; although we are not here furnished with any probable estimate of the loss on either side. In Knolles's antiquated history it is, however stated, on the report of the Turks themselves, that Bajazet here lost his son Mûstafa, with two hundred thousand of his men, and Teymûr not many fewer; some others speaking of a far less number, as that there should have been slain of the Turks about three score thousand, and of the troops of Tamerlane not more than twenty thousand.

This memorable battle appears to have been fought on Friday the nineteenth of Zilhudje of the eight hundred and fourth of the hidjerah, corresponding with the 20th of July A. D. 1402; not far, according to Knolles, from Mount Stella, and nearly on the spot already celebrated at a remote period, for the defeat of Mithridates by the Roman legions under Pompey the great. Referring, however, to the statement in Plutarch's life of that illustrious man, it would appear that the decisive battle with Mithridates was fought near the banks of the river Euphrates; and we are, therefore, disposed to think that the discomfiture of Bajazet, on this occasion, must have taken place nearly on the ground from which, *because it was destitute of water,*

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A D. 1402.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 864.  
 A. D. 1402.  
 Rouzhit-us-  
 suffa.

Mithridates was compelled to remove his camp, a short time previous to his final discomfiture; perhaps, between twelve and eighteen miles from Angouriah. Be this, however, as it may, as soon as the fate of the battle had been determined, by the flight of Bajazet, and the consequent total dispersion of his troops, Teymûr returned to his camp; where he immediately received the congratulations of the princes of his blood, and all his generals; on the triumphant issue of the conflict. In the mean time, the fugitive monarch was closely pursued by the Teymûrians; and finally made a prisoner, by the division under the orders of Sûltan Mahmûd Khâun, with whose participation in the glory of the day we are now first made acquainted, and by whom he was immediately dispatched, with his hands bound, to the presence of the conqueror.

If we are to give credit to some of his historians, it would appear, that when this concluding circumstance of the triumph of his arms was announced to Teymûr, his first order was, that the illustrious captive should be unmanacled; after which, he was introduced by his conductors, to the immediate presence of his conqueror, who exhibited, on his part, the most generous marks of compassion towards his haughty, but now vanquished rival. Having thus conceded what he conceives to be due to the opinion of others, the author, whom we have taken for our guide, proceeds, however, to state, what he alleges to have heard from his own father, on the information of Seyud Ahmed Terkhan, who was actually present on the occasion, namely: when it was announced to Teymûr, by some of his attendants, that the Turkish monarch with his hands bound was at the entrance of his pavilion; he signified his pleasure that he should be immediately introduced into the imperial presence; which being accordingly done, the conqueror proceeded at first sight, to address his captive in terms of most severe and stern reproach. But, when indulgence had thus been given to the emotions of resentment long suppressed, a better, and more liberal feeling, of compassion for misfortune took possession of the mind of Teymûr; and having directed that the hands of his captive should be relieved from their bonds, he invited him to take his seat beside himself, on the imperial cushion. He did not, however, forbear to remind the humbled monarch, that

although the controul of all human events, is finally to be sought in the will of the Creator; yet, that the causes which more immediately produced his recent catastrophe, were too obviously indicated to escape the most careless observation. If he had gathered thorns, they were of his own planting; if he had woven silk, it was of his own spinning. He then recapitulated the multiplied provocations which he had received at his hands, either of which he described as alone sufficient to justify the extremity, to which he had been reduced, of marching his victorious armies into the Turkish dominions. The considerations by which he had been so long withheld from this last step, had been frequently explained. For his own part, he solemnly protested, that if the Turkish monarch had given ear to his counsels, —if he had not so contemptuously disregarded the overtures of peace and conciliation so repeatedly conveyed to him, there was no species of support, either in troops or treasure, or any thing most essential to promote his views, whether of zeal or ambition, which he was not cordially disposed to bestow upon him. In conclusion, however notorious the severe and cruel vengeance, designed against himself and his faithful followers, had the issue of the recent conflict proved otherwise than what they had experienced, yet, as the noblest proof of gratitude which he could offer up to divine justice, for the splendid victory which had crowned his arms, he proceeded to assure the fallen Bajazet, that either towards himself, his sons, or any of his vassals, he had not ought in contemplation, that was in any shape inconsistent with the most friendly and benevolent motives. He therefore requested that he would discard from his mind every uneasy apprehension, every circumstance that could awaken solicitude or alarm; for from his conqueror, he had nothing further to fear.

Overwhelmed with grief and shame, Bajazet did not hesitate to acknowledge his errors, and his crimes; confessing that the event had too clearly demonstrated how grossly he had been misled, in disregarding the counsels of a monarch at once so magnanimous and invincible. If, therefore, the imperial clemency might be extended to forgive the past, he for his part should hold both himself, and his children, solemnly pledged for the remainder of their lives, to the most perfect obedience, and to the discharge of every duty within the

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 suffa.

compass of the most devoted zeal and loyalty to perform. This appeal to his clemency appears to have produced a further favorable effect upon the soul of Teymûr; who now caused his illustrious captive to be clad in imperial robes, and who unbended from the stern dignity of his character, to console and encourage him with promises, and with hopes the most flattering to his expectations. These proofs of a generous and sympathizing disposition, did not fail to awaken a corresponding impression in the mind of the Turkish monarch; although, after expressing due acknowledgement, he forbore to avail himself at present of the auspicious change, further than to intreat that his two sons Moussa, and Mûstafa, who had bravely fought by his side during the battle, and for whose fate he expressed the most anxious apprehensions, might be sought for; and, if still alive, brought to share with their father in the unlooked for bounties of a liberal and generous conqueror. The request of Bajazet was readily complied with, and the imperial Towatcheis were immediately employed to make the necessary inquiries. In the course of a few days, Moussa, one of the princes, was discovered, and conducted to the camp of Teymûr; by whom he was kindly and honorably received and conveyed to the presence of his father: who had, by this time, been lodged in a magnificent suite of pavilions, adjoining to the imperial head-quarters, subjected to no other restraint, than the superintendance of the guards appointed to observe his motions, and watch over his safety.

From the field of battle, Teymûr returned shortly afterwards, in triumph, to the plains in the vicinity of Angouriah; of which city, the governor Yakoub now presented the keys without further difficulty. He was consigned to the safe custody of Ally Sûltan Towatchei; and the agents of the imperial exchequer were immediately dispatched into the town, in order to levy upon the inhabitants, a ransom for the security of their persons and property. At this crisis, Mahommed Sûltan, with a division of the army, accompanied by Mirza Aba Bukker, and the Ameirs Jahaun Shah, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, was detached towards Brûsa, or Prusa, at that period, the metropolis of the dominions of the house of Othman; Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein being appointed to take charge of the revenues of the province.

Here, we may be permitted to observe, that some pains have been taken, without effect, to identify the Axalla described by Knolles, as a christian officer of Genoese extraction, born at Caffa in the Crimea, high in the confidence of Teymûr, and bearing the most distinguished command in his armies. On this occasion, he is said, by the author just adverted to, to have commanded the division dispatched towards Brûsa; but, according to our original, that command was entrusted to Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, and we are therefore reduced to the necessity of recognizing this celebrated personage either in Ameir Jahaun Shah, or Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, of whom we are disposed to fix upon the latter—with the reflection rather mortifying, that he must have been an apostate from the faith of his ancestors.\* Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops under his orders, proceeded, however, without delay, to the execution of the service entrusted to his direction; over-running in his course, the whole of the country to the confines of Isara Yaca, more generally known, according to our author, by the appellation of Ghaur-e-Eskunder—the cavern or valley of Eskunder—of which more hereafter. The Mirzas Sûltan Hûseyne, and Eskunder, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah, Rûstum Toghâi Bougha, and Seyud Khaujâh, were dispatched at the same time, in a southern direction, towards Kouniah, Auksheher, Alauniah, and Adauliah; all celebrated cities in the peninsula of Asia minor.

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suffa.

Having conveyed intelligence of his great victory, to every quarter in the vast circuit of his dominions, and detached his grandson Khaleil Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Mûbasher, and Dowlut Teymûr Towatchei, with a powerful reinforcement of troops, to protect the distant frontiers of the empire, towards Tûrkestaun, Teymûr quitted the neighborhood of Angouriah; and, in six stages, proceeded to Sourihessaur,† after surveying the citadel of which, he pitched his camp on the grounds adjoining. In the mean time, Shah Rokh with

\* Those acquainted with the blind prejudices of Mahomedan writers will, however, be sufficiently aware, that the exploits of a christian adventurer would find but little notice in Asiatic history. Amidst the nations of a more civilized quarter of the globe, half a century hence, how small a niche will be assigned to the exertions of British Soldiers, in the annals of Spain!

† About 20 leagues, or half way, between Angouriah & Kotauhiah.

A. H. 805. ten Tomauhs, or divisions of ten thousand, of the army, was sent off  
 A. D. 1402. in a northern direction, towards Kuzzul, or Gûzzulhessaur, [the red  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa. city], Estánous, and Ketheir, all lying in the route to the shore of  
 the Euxine; Teymûr in person continuing his march to Kotauhiah,  
 which he appears to have reached in two days. Here he fixed his  
 abode, for a period of one month, finding it a very fair and beautiful  
 city, remarkable for the amœnity of its situation; in the midst of  
 gardens and plantations, which yielded the most delicious fruits of  
 every description, and on a spot abounding on all sides with the most  
 salubrious and fertilizing springs. The inhabitants of the town, on  
 depositing a competent ransom in the imperial treasury, were favorably  
 treated; and a prodigious sum of money the property of Teymûr  
 Taush, left here for security, became a splendid addition to the amount  
 of the contribution. On his arrival at Kotauhiah, Teymûr perceived  
 the expediency of further detaching a division of the army, under the  
 Ameirs Shah Melek, Abdulkereim the son of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein,  
 and other distinguished chieftains, towards Keraudah, Khoujah-eyly,  
 and Menteishah, all in the territory of Asia minor, nearly opposite  
 to the island of Rhodes.

The whole of the peninsula of Anatolia, having thus become, as it  
 were, one vast parade of evolution, [Jowlangâh], to the victorious  
 myriads which composed the host of Teymûr, and the representative  
 of the house of Othman, with some, at least one, of his children se-  
 cured beyond the power of harm, in the fetters of captivity, his nume-  
 rous cares seemed to exact from the conqueror, that he should  
 now devote a short interval to celebrate, in a splendid course of fes-  
 tivities, this most important of triumphs. For this purpose having,  
 accordingly, invited to his presence a magnificent assemblage, compo-  
 sed of the princes and princesses of his family, together with the  
 Ameirs of his court and the generals of his armies, he hastened among  
 these, to circulate by the handsomest boys in the bloom of youth  
 and beauty, in unceasing round, and in goblets of gold and chrystal  
 vases, the exhilarating juice of the grape; while a thousand minstrels  
 on every side, united to fill the azure vault of heaven, with their  
 melodious strains. In the mean time, while the sovereign was thus  
 engaged in celebrating their triumphs, his victorious troops were not



the less active in extending his conquests to the various quarters of the Turkish dominion; and were possessing themselves of such a prodigious accumulation of spoil, as to banish from among them, for a time, both the speculations of usury, and the cravings of indigence.

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1402.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

Dismissing, however, these scenes of soft and luxurious indulgence, the author resumes the course of his narrative to state that Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops destined for Brousa, proceeded for five days and as many nights, with such celerity on his march, that out of thirty thousand horse which had left the imperial head quarters, under his orders, he found on his arrival before that city, that not more than four thousand had been able to keep up with him. Mûssulman Tçeleby had, nevertheless, contrived to get there before him; and after taking possession of as much of his father's treasures, as he could conveniently carry with him, had hastened, without delay, in quest of an asylum in some quarter more remote from the pursuit of his enemies. Some of the inhabitants had withdrawn into the recesses of Kouh Kesheish, or Kesheish Taug, or Mount Olympus so called by the orientals; the metropolis of Brousa being seated not far from the foot of that mountain; while others of the more wealthy fled towards the sea-coast, but were many of them intercepted in their flight by the Teymûrian cavalry, dispatched in pursuit of them. Two of the daughters of Bajazet, who lay concealed at Yenguisheher, or the new city, about four leagues from Brousa, and six days journey from Constantinople,\* together with the daughter of Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, betrothed at the request of Bajazet, to his son Mûstafa, and who had remained to abide her fate at Brousa, now fell into the hands of the victorious Teymûrians. On other authorities it is stated, that the princess Despina, daughter of Lazarus, or Eleazar Despot of Servia, and favorite wife of Bajazet, was among the captives seized at Brousa, on this occasion. Kâra Yûssuf, however, who had fixed his residence in that city in conformity with the particular instructions of the Turkish monarch, had prudently withdrawn, the moment it was announced that the Teymûrian armies were at Kaysereiah, and had returned in safety towards Hellah, and the inaccessible territory of Arabia.

\* According to De la Croix.

A. H. 805.  
 A. D. 1402.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

The city of Brousa having, in the mean time, submitted to Mahommed Sûltan, without resistance, Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein entered the castle, in order to secure the treasures of Bajazet, which had been lodged there to a vast amount, in specie and jewels, and other valuable effects; and two of the secretaries of the imperial exchequer were immediately employed, to take a regular account of the whole. But when this rich deposit had been secured for the state, every other description of property in the town and neighborhood, was swept off, without exception, by an indiscriminate pillage of the troops; after which, the city was set on fire, and being, for the greater part, constructed of wood and reeds, it was, in a short time, reduced to ashes. This useless and unavailing act of rigor consummated, Mahommed Sûltan, when he had been joined by the whole of the troops who had dropped in the rear during his rapid march to Brousa, proceeded towards the sea coast; first detaching Mirza Aba Bukker, with a division of ten thousand men, to the right hand towards Neike, or Nice, one of the most respectable cities in Natolia, famed for the salubrity of its climate, the purity of its waters, and defended by a strong and lofty wall of hewn stone. Before the entrance of one of the gates, [that towards the north-west], lies a spacious lake of two days journey in circumference; and the town is seated on the direct road to Constantinople, not far from the Ghaur-e-Eskunder, or cavern, or valley of Alexander, alluded to in a former page. At the same period, Ameir Sounjek was sent, with a considerable detachment, towards Kanendah, a city on the gulph of Nice, which he subsequently pillaged and laid in ruins.

Mirza Aba Bukker, on his part, proceeding to Nice, obtained possession of that place also, without resistance; Mûssulman Tcheleby, notwithstanding its reputed strength, and the superior force by which he was still attended, having abandoned it on his approach, and fled across the Aub-e-Boghaur, or Bosphorus, or straits of Gallipoli, into Asra Yakia, Thrakia, or Thrace, into which the appellation may without much difficulty be now resolved. The wives and family of the Ottoman prince, were disgracefully left, at the same time, to fall into the hands of the Teymûrians; who were thus suffered without restraint, to pillage the town and lay waste the neighborhood. A

report of his success was now conveyed by Aba Bukker, to Mahommed Sûltan, at this period encamped on the plains of Mikhauleje, about three or four and twenty leagues south-west of Brousa; and a selection of one hundred of the most resolute and active of his soldiers, was immediately appointed by the Shahzâdah, to communicate to the imperial head quarters the intelligence of the capture of Nice, and of the actual flight into Europe of Mûssulman Tcheleby. By the same opportunity, Auk Sûltan was dispatched by Aba Bukker, with the present of a Shonkaur, or white falcon, for his imperial grandsire.

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1402.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

Between Brousa and Kotauhiah, distant about two days journey (from either), is described to have existed a very difficult pass on the ridge of a mountain, thick set on every side by an almost impenetrable forest. As soon, therefore, as the troop dispatched by Mahommed Sûltan entered this pass, they were suddenly attacked on all sides by a vast number of the natives, who conceived it a favorable opportunity to inflict some punishment on their invaders; and they would, peradventure, have completely succeeded, were it not for the singular firmness, courage, and skill, with which they were received by their veteran opponents. In the issue they were, however, repulsed with loss and disgrace, and this chosen band of warriors was suffered to continue its march without further molestation to Kotauhiah; where it soon afterwards arrived in perfect safety, with the several articles entrusted to its conveyance. Almost at the same period, Shums-ud-dein Almauleghy was employed by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, with a similar escort of chosen troops, to convey to the presence of Teymûr the gold and jewels, which had been set apart for this purpose from the treasures of Bajazet, and which now reached their destination with equal felicity.

Mahommed Sûltan returned, shortly afterwards, from the plains of Mikhauleje to the ruins of Brousa; where he was joined, first by Aba Bukker with the plunder of Nice, and subsequently by Ameir Sounjek, from the destruction of Kanendah, and the pillage of the adjoining sea-coast. From thence the shahzâdah proceeded to encamp on the meadows of Yenguisheher, which are here said to lie contiguous to Brousa, probably extending from the one place to the

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1402.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa. \*

other; and here, in concurrence with an intimation conveyed from Teymûr, Mirza Aba Bukker espoused the eldest daughter of Bajazet.

On the other hand, the Mirzas Sûltan Hûseyne, and Eskunder, who had been detached to the left, with the Ameirs Sûliman Shah and Rûstum Toghâi Bouga, having by forced marches, first surprised the encampment of a Tûrkman chief of the name of Kebek, or Kepek, which they plundered, thence continued their progress to Auksheher, and Kârahessaur, the white city, and the black fortress; of both which they appear to have obtained possession without difficulty, if not without resistance, the inhabitants contributing a sufficient sum of money by way of ransom for their lives and property. After this, they proceeded to pillage the territory of Teheghebâlêgh, and the Arab tribe of Hameid; finally collecting together so vast a multitude of cattle of every description, particularly in camels, horses, and sheep, that it became at last utterly impossible to drive them along. They then reduced and ransomed the towns of Shehermata, and Aukserâi; after which Ameir Sûliman Shah appears to have separated from his associates, in order to fix his head quarters at Kouniah, or Iconium, among the vallies of the Karamanian mountains. From that station he dispatched, to the presence of his sovereign, a proportion of the booty which he caused, on this occasion, to be taken from the soldiers of his division;\* the Mirzas, with Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder and the other chiefs just mentioned, directing their march, at the same time, towards the territory of Aydein; the whole of which they plundered and laid waste, with cruel slaughter, to the shores of the Mediterranean.

In the mean time, the hoarded treasures and rich property of Bajazet, together with his consort Desteina, or rather Despina, the daughter of Lauss, or Lazarus or Eleazar prince of Servia, and all the females of his household, were conveyed by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, from Brousa, to the imperial head quarters at Kotauhiah. With a magnanimity very honorable to his memory, the princess with all her equipage, was immediately restored to her husband, by the conqueror; the lady, however, having been first prevailed upon, peradventure compelled, to embrace the doctrines of Isslaum in preference to the errors of

\* De la Croix asserts that it was a tribute from the captive soldiers of the enemy.

infidelity, or christianity, which she had been hitherto permitted to retain. About the same conjuncture, Ameir Mahommed, or Mahommed Beg, the son of Allâ-ud-dein formerly prince of Karamania, who had been detained in the prisons of Bajazet ever since he was twelve years of age, was conducted to the court of Teymûr, by whom he was entertained with distinguished kindness. Together with a rich diadem and girdle, the Tcheghatâian monarch immediately conferred upon him his hereditary government of Karamaun, including the cities of Kouniah, Larendah, Aukserâi, Anzariah, and Alaniah, together with all their lands and dependencies; and, as a further proof of his especial favor, superadded to the rest the sovereignty of Auksheher—all of which remained for a long time after this in the possession of the same Ameir Mahommed, or his children.

A H. 805.  
A. D. 1402.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

Having now consumed the period of one whole month, in triumphal festivity at Kotauhiah, Teymûr conceived it expedient again to set his army in motion, directing his course to the west-ward. He was shortly afterwards joined on his march, by Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, accompanied by the Ameirs Sûliman and Sounjek; Shumsud-dein Abbas having been left in charge of the encampment on the plains of Yenguisheher, Shehernou, or the new city, near Brousa. At this conjuncture the anger of his sovereign, for reasons not explained, was excited against Sâeine Temûr, who was now put to death together with one of his brothers on the spot; and two more, who were absent, were condemned to share the same fate, wherever they could be found. Not long after their arrival in the imperial encampment, on this occasion, the Mirzas Mahommed Sûltan and Aba Bukker, with the Ameirs by whom they had been attended, received orders to return, and rejoin the troops at Brousa, and Yenguisheher; while Teymûr with the main body, continued his march towards Teighourleg, or Tungouzleg, in a south-west direction; and crossing a mountainous ridge, or pass, on his way, again encamped among some delightful meadows in the neighborhood of Altûntaush, or the golden rock. Here the ministers of wrath were again in activity, to carry into execution a mandate now issued for the death of Khaujah Feyrouz, or Firozes, who had some time since held the government of Asrayakiah, or Thrace; the part of the European continent which was first occupied by the house of Othman.

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 suffa.

On the plains of Altûntaush, the scene of festivity and triumph was re-opened, with all imaginable splendor, by the Tcheghatâian conqueror; and at the moment when the hearts of all lay expanded from the effect of the most copious libations, a summons was dispatched to invite the captive Bajazet, to participate, if that was possible, in the pleasures of the entertainment—in order that having already witnessed their matchless prowess in the field of battle, he might also be convinced that the Teymûrians were equally unrivalled in the bowers of mirth and social enjoyment. The illustrious captive was received with every expression of kindness and hospitality, nor was any thing omitted to soothe, and alleviate, the anguish of misfortune; and, to complete the measure of imperial bounty, it was finally announced to him by his conqueror that, at the proper season, he should be actually reinstated in the possession of all his dominions in Natolia. Teymûr, shortly afterwards, resumed his march for Tungouzleg.

About this same period, Teymûr conceived it advisable to try the effect of another embassy to the court of Melek Faredje, or Feridje, Sûltan of Egypt; at the same time to announce his conquest of the dominions of the house of Othman, and to demand that his name should be inserted, without further demur, in the Khotbah, and on the coinage both of Egypt and Syria. The liberation of Ettelmesh was again insisted upon; in default of which the Sûltan was to be formally apprized that, immediately on their return from the Peninsula of Asia minor, the imperial armies would most assuredly enter his country. The person whom he selected to take charge of this embassy appears to have been a certain Budder-ud-dein Ahmed, the son of Shums-ud-dein Jezzery, or Jezzary, one of the vassals of Bajazet taken prisoner by the troops on his flight from Brousa; and recently introduced, by Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, to the patronage of his sovereign.

While he resided at Kotaubiah, similar missions were employed in other quarters, on the part of Teymûr; and among others, two persons were dispatched to Constantiniah, or Constantinople, with a demand of tribute on the Greek Emperor, [Emanuel Palæologus], here distinguished by the unaccountable appellation of Takour. Two more were authorized, at the same time, to proceed to the court of

Mússulman, or Súliman Tcheleby, [Calepinus], the son of Bajazet, who had, as recently described, effected his retreat into Asrayakiah, or Athrakia, on the European side of the Bosphorus; where he now resided at Gúzzelhessaur,\* a castle, or fortified town, said to have been erected by his father, opposite to the city of Constantinople, on the land side. The object of this latter mission was to require that Mússulman Tcheleby would either repair in person to the imperial presence, or transmit the ordinary tribute of homage, or Peishkesh, in token of his submission to the imperial authority. The envoys to the court of Constantinople returned; a short time afterwards, accompanied by an Ambassador of distinguished rank and abilities, from the Greek Emperor, conveying a competent sum of money in florins, [Felouri] together with the most superb display of presents, consisting of all that was precious and rare to be found in the once splendid metropolis of the Cæsars. He was further charged to declare on the part of his master, [Emanuel], that as an acknowledged vassal of the Lord Paramount of the world, his mind was already devoted to the most unreserved and submissive obedience; and that he therefore consented without hesitation, to the payment of any tribute that Teymúr, in his imperial pleasure, might be disposed to levy upon him, since he had already experienced too much from unavailing hostility, not to be utterly averse to engaging in fresh contests with any power whatever. Having accordingly fixed the amount of tribute to be remitted to the imperial treasury, by the Greek Emperor, Teymúr dismissed his agent, after presenting him with a Khelaut, or dress of honor, and otherwise treating him with the ordinary marks of favor.

As the above are the only circumstances related by our author, with regard to the communication between Teymúr and the Emperor Emanuel, or the Takour, as he is here fantastically denominated, we cannot forbear to introduce in this place, without pronouncing either on its truth or fallacy, the following curious statement from Knolles's history of the Turks.

“These Ambassadors, [of the Greek Emperor] by the commandment of Tamerlane, were by Axalla royally feasted, and all the honor done them that might be. One of them being sent back, to carry these unexpected neues unto the Greeke Emperor, filled both

\* Solyman Tcheleby is said to have retired to Gallipoli.

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1402.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 805.  
 A. D. 1402.  
 Knolles's  
 history.

“ him, and all the citie of Constantinople, with exceedinge joy and  
 “ gladnesse, which both he and his subjects in generall, spared not  
 “ with bonfires, and all other signes of joy and pleasure to manifest;  
 “ and the more to shew his thankfulnessse, shortly after by the ad-  
 “ vice of his grave counsailours, passed over the strait into Asia, to  
 “ see Tamerlane at Prusa, and in person himselfe to give him thanks;  
 “ who hearing of his coming, and very glad thereof, presently upon the  
 “ first daye’s journey, sent the prince Axalla to meet him, and to  
 “ certifie him of the joy that he conceived, to have the good hap for  
 “ to see him, as also to conduct him to Prusa: where those two great  
 “ princes, with the greatest magnificence that might be, met, and so  
 “ spent one whole day together. The Greeke Emperour, the next day  
 “ taking his leave, was by Tamerlane, with much honor, conducted  
 “ out of the city. Now had Tamerlane himself, conceived a secret  
 “ desire to see this so famous city as was Constantinople, from which  
 “ he was not now farre, yet would he not goe thither as a conquerour,  
 “ but as a private person: which by the meanes of Axalla, was ac-  
 “ complished, and he thereinto by the Greeke Emperour, privatly  
 “ received, and with all familiaritie possible entertained: the Emper-  
 “ our shewing unto him, all the rare and excellent things that were  
 “ therein to be seene: and the other Greeke princes devising all the  
 “ meanes they could, to do him pleasure, and them which did accom-  
 “ panie him; who were in a manner all apparelled after the Greeke  
 “ fashion. At which time the Greeke Emperour himself was curious  
 “ to shew unto him, all the faire-gardens alongst the sea coast, a league  
 “ or two from Constantinople, and so privatly conducting him, spent  
 “ five or six daies, with all the mirth that might be possible: Tamer-  
 “ lane by the way oftentimes saying, that he had never seene a fairer  
 “ citie: and that it was indeed the citie (considering the faire and rich  
 “ situation thereof) of right, worthie to command all the world. He  
 “ wondered at the costly buildings of the temples, the faire ingraven  
 “ pillars, the high pyramides, and the making of the faire gardens,  
 “ and oftentimes afterwards, said, that he nothing repented him of so  
 “ long and dangerous a voyage, if it had been onely but to have pre-  
 “ served from fire and sword, so noble a citie as that was. In the  
 “ Greeke Emperour, he commended greatly his mild nature and cour-



"tesie: who knowing him above all things, to take pleasure in faire  
 "and serviceable horses, gave unto him thirty of the fairest, strongest,  
 "and readiest that were possible to be gotten, all most richly furnish-  
 "ed; and sent likewise, faire presents unto all the princes and great  
 "commanders of the armie, and bountifully caused to bee delivered  
 "unto them, all things which he thought to be necessarie for the  
 "armie. So after many great kindnesses in short time passed, and a  
 "strait bond of friendship made, and by solemne oath confirmed be-  
 "twixt the two great princes, Tamerlane, with great contentment,  
 "took his leave of the Emperour, and returned again to his armie  
 "at Prusa. Wherewith he now at his pleasure, without resistance,  
 "wasted and spoiled all Bajazet his dominion in Asia, no man  
 "daring to make head against him."\*

A. H. 805.  
 A. D. 1402.  
 Knolles's  
 history.

But to return to our narrative; when the imperial standard reached the station of Belek, or Boulouk, to the east-ward, or north-east-ward of Smyrna, the agents dispatched to treat with Müssulman Tcheleby also returned to the presence of Teymûr; attended by Sheikh Ramzaun, a distinguished personage who, during the government of Bajazet, had exercised the function of grand Kauzy, conjointly with that of principal minister of state, and who was now employed on the part of Müssulman Tcheleby, to convey to Teymûr, together with suitable presents, in animals of the chase, and curiosities of various descriptions, and, moreover, a considerable sum in florins, the most positive assurances of the Turkish prince's entire homage and allegiance; to declare that the humane and liberal treatment experienced in the person of his father, had increased his confidence a thousand fold in the bounty and generosity of his conqueror; and that he was ready, the moment a wish of the sort was expressly intimated, to hasten without hesitation to the threshold of the imperial residence—there to offer in person his pledge of allegiance, and to share more immediately in those proofs of imperial munificence so liberally extended to his family. These professions on the part of the Turkish prince were favorably received by Teymûr; and he desired it might be communicated in reply, that he had dismissed from his mind all recollection of the past; had closed in oblivion the career of hostility; and with respect

Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

\* Knolles's History of the Turks, folio edition, page 222.

A. H. 805.

A. D. 1402.

*Rouzut-us-suffa.*

to the son of Bajazet, that it behoved him, without further delay, to repair to the presence, banishing from his mind all apprehension of danger, all traces of the recent disastrous events, and exchanging for the milder feelings of harmony and reconciliation the unavailing projects of animosity and revenge. By this he would fully entitle himself to a liberal participation in his imperial bounty. And, with these sentiments committed to writing, Sheikh Ramzaun, whom in modern language we should call Ramzaun Effendi, was allowed to return to his employer, after having been presented with a tiara and girdle of the usual rich materials.

Among the events of this period, in the mean time, we find recorded the death of Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun, the titular monarch of Transoxiana, or Mâwer-un-neher. He had accompanied Ameir Shah Melek, to over-run that part of the territory of Asia minor, lying between the gulph of Satalia and the coast of Karamania; and falling ill at the place called Ketch, or Ketchik Bûrlûgh, little Bûrlûgh, to the eastward of Menteishah, or Myndus the ancient chief city of Caria, he there resigned his spirit to the mercy of Olûgh Tongry; the great, or supreme being, so denominated among the Moghûl nations. Teymûr either was, or affected to be, extremely concerned at the intelligence; but being one of those events against which there is no alternative, he soon reconciled himself to his loss, repeating the usual formula from the Koran; "We came from God, and to God we must return." This did not, however, occasion any interruption to the design in which Shah Melek and his associates were engaged. They proceeded in their plans of desolation, with unremitting activity, seizing with little resistance, and pillaging without remorse, each of the towns of Ketchek Bûrlûgh, Aukbekah, or Aukcyaca, and Aauliah, or Satalia. Before this latter place, however, two respectable officers were killed, of the names of Sheikh Ally Seilauny, or perhaps Seblâi, and Sheikh Hadjy Seldûz. From thence, allowing the interval of one night to intervene, they extended the ravages of fire and sword along the adjoining sea coast, pillaging and destroying the territory of Menteishah, and Tekah-eyli, [Lycia, Caria, and Pamphylia], with merciless fury; and, having rendered the whole one frightful solitude, finally returned, as usual loaded with booty, to rejoin the imperial encampment.

In the beginning of autumn, Teymûr had encamped with the main body of the army at Tanghouzlig; a place set down, in De la Croix's sketch, about six and twenty leagues E. b. S. of Smyrna. At this station, he was further joined by Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with the division which had been employed against Aydein, or Atina, further to the south-ward, opposite to the island of Samos, and south of Ephesus; great numbers of the soldiers of this division having suffered, in consequence of the heat of the weather, and noxious air, of the country in which they had been serving.\* Seyud Khaujah was himself, for some time, in extreme danger, from the same causes, although he finally escaped; a visit from his sovereign, during which he experienced the most affectionate marks of condescension, contributing, as it is affirmed, in no small degree to the recovery of this favored chieftain. It is observed, as a very singular fact, that there exists in the neighborhood of Tanghouzlig a petrifying spring, and that many soldiers who ignorantly drank of its waters, perished on the spot in the coldness of death.

As the season for active operations was now drawing to a close, Teymûr proceeded to deliberate with the princes of his blood, and most distinguished generals, with regard to the disposition which he should select for the winter quarters of the army; and it was determined, that the several divisions should take up their stations for the season, in the different towns of the two Eyles, Sarûkhaun, and Gurmian-eyly; in a line, as it would appear, across the course of the rivers Meander, and Meinder, in the ancient Ionia, parallel with the coast of the Archipelago. In this disposition, the city of Maghnisiah, or Magnesia, on the former river, was assigned for the accommodation of Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops recently stationed at Yenguisheher of Brousa; and Shah Rokh, with the divisions of the left wing, the rear of the army being considered as resting on the sea-coast, was directed to occupy the territory of Gurmian-eyli, fixing his head quarters between the stations of Olûgh Bûrlûg, and Ketchek Bûrlûg, to the left of the Meinder.

In conformity with this arrangement, Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, with the troops at Yenguisheher, broke up from that place accord-

\* De la Croix affirms that their sufferings were occasioned by the air of Tanghouzlik; but in that case, the whole must have been equally exposed to suffer.

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1402.  
Kouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 805.  
 A. D. 1402.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

ingly ; and, after halting for some days on the plains of Mikhauleje, had passed the station of Balkessry, marking his course with the usual scenes of plunder and devastation, and pitched his camp among the groves and meadows, not far from the place last mentioned, when, at the expiration of the first watch of the night, he was suddenly attacked by Eliaus the Soubaushy, at the head of a large body of the Tchi-taughies, or native peasantry ; who had taken post in the neighborhood to protect themselves against the rapacity of their invaders. The officers who had been detached to guard the avenues to the encampment, having been too dilatory in announcing the approach of the enemy, they were suffered to enter without resistance ; the main body of the troops having either retired to rest, or dispersed to plunder. The Shahzâdah had, however, mounted his horse on the first alarm, and instantly abandoned the encampment, for the purpose of rallying his troops in the rear ; and being shortly afterwards joined by Ameir Jahaun Shah and the other commanders, the whole together turned upon their assailants, who were immediately repulsed in every direction, with infinite slaughter. Ameir Jahaun Shah, having remained on the spot for some days awaiting the baggage of the Shahzâdah, was then dispatched by that prince, together with Ameir Sounjek, towards the city of Beirauna, lying between Magnesia and the sea-coast ; which, with all its dependencies, became in consequence, the theatre of every species of cruelty and horror. The Shahzâdah, after having at the same time, with barbarous absurdity, over-run and wasted the settlements on that part of the coast of Ionia, finally proceeded to Magnesia, where he continued for the winter ; that place being also seated at the foot of a mountain, teeming with the most delicious and refreshing springs, and surrounded by an atmosphere so salubrious, as, according to our author, to restore health and animation even to putrescence itself. •

In the mean time, the imperial head quarters were removed from Tanghouzleg, to Doughourleg ; a city, according to our author, known to the ancients by the name of Ladkeia, or perhaps, Laodicea. It is possible, however, that the author here alludes to the celebrated city of Ephesus, the ruins of which are represented to lie in this neighborhood. But, at all events, either from regard to its ancient

renown, or from admiration of its then still beautiful structures, and not less of its singular abundance in all that could contribute to the enjoyments of life, Teymûr is said to have exempted the inhabitants from every species of injury and exaction, beyond a reasonable contribution which was levied upon them by way of ransom.

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Crossing the Meinder, or Mendouras, shortly afterwards, Teymûr encamped on the left, or southern, bank of that river, and there was visited by Ameirs Mahommed, and Asfendiaur, the sons of Mahommed late prince of Menteisha; who took care to ensure a favorable reception by a present of one thousand horses. They were each presented, in return, with a girdle and rich tiara; and it was agreed that Asfendiaur should attend the imperial court, while his brother having engaged for the payment of a stipulated sum of money, should return to his principality, accompanied by the officers of government authorized to receive it. Teymûr then proceeded to Gûzzulhessaur, for which purpose, according to the modern maps, he must have recrossed the Meinder; and here he continued for several days, while the agents of the treasury were employed to levy the contribution which had been imposed upon the inhabitants. While he remained at Gûzzulhessaur information was conveyed to him, that his foraging parties were considerably molested by a garrison of about two hundred of the natives, who were in possession of a strong hill-fort in the neighborhood. In consequence of this, the place was surrounded by Teymûr's orders, one evening after sunset; and by the ensuing morning, before the sun had arisen from behind the hill, the imperial troops had not left a single vestige of these daring unfortunates alive to tell the tale. From Gûzzulhessaur, Teymûr proceeded next to Ayaslik,\* north-west, and from thence, turning again to the north-east, he directed his march to Teirah, here mentioned as one of the most distinguished cities of the Anatolian peninsula; but though rendered on this occasion further illustrious by the presence of the Tcheghatâian conqueror, it was not by any means exempted from the contribution laid, by way of ransom, upon every place which came within the sphere of his operations. While he remained here, for a period of some duration, the officers who had

\* According to the modern maps, the ruins of Ephesus are to be sought for here; for I suppose Aiastsoluk to be the same place, differently spelt.

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been dispatched to Menteshah, in order to receive the tribute agreed upon with Ameir Mahommed, returned; bringing with them specie and valuable effects, to an immense amount, exclusive of a splendid peishkesh, or present of homage, from that Ameir, to be laid before the conqueror.

During this interval, information had been conveyed to Teymûr, that there stood on the neighboring sea-coast, at the distance of about five and thirty, or forty miles, a fortress of hewn stone, or of the best masonry, of great strength and magnitude, enclosed on three sides by the sea to a prodigious depth; and, on that part by which it was connected with the main land, secured against attack by a very wide and deep ditch excavated entirely across the isthmus. He learnt, at the same time, that this formidable post was in the hands of a numerous and daring garrison of Frenguies, Franks, or European Christians, so in general denominated by the oriental nations. These were the knights of St. John, at this period in possession of the Island of Rhodes. This celebrated fortress bore the name of Izmeir, [Smyrna], was considered by the natives as a place of extraordinary sanctity; and therefore resorted to, from all parts of the surrounding territory, by a crowd of superstitious zealots, bringing with them alms and oblations, in different shapes, to the infinite advantage of the town, in the belief that they were thus performing an act of the most pious and meritorious devotion. Opposite to this, at the distance of about as far as a horse can gallop, and on the summit of a high hill, was another fort, likewise called Izmeir; but in possession of a Mússulman garrison, betwixt whom and their opposite neighbors, there existed a state of perpetual and inveterate hostility.

Being washed on three sides by the sea, the Izmeir of the infidels, or christians, was, at the same time, on all occasions, open to every species of supply from the maritime resources of the enemies of the true faith; and, being continually exposed to the enterprises of the warlike inhabitants of the Mahomedan Izmeir, the Franks, together with the ordinary precautions for the maintenance of their impregnable station, which was always kept in the most perfect repair, took care, moreover, to provide for its security by an annual reinforcement of

one thousand veteran soldiers, amply furnished with the means of defence and subsistence for every emergency. Hence it arose, that not one of the Mûssulman states by whom it was assailed, had hitherto been able to make any effectual impression upon it; neither, from the period of its existence as a military station to the present moment, had its inhabitants paid tribute to any sovereign prince, of whatever religion. It is, moreover, added, that Sûltan Mûrad, or Amurat, the father of Bajazet, more than once attempted to reduce it without effect; and that Bajazet himself had actually besieged it, for seven years, with no better fortune. All which did not contribute to render the garrison by any means less insolent, and aggressive, to the Mahommedans of the adjoining territory.

On coming to the knowledge of these circumstances, Teymûr determined to undertake the reduction of this celebrated place; as a service of importance to the Mûssulman community, and not unworthy of his own exalted renown. Accordingly, Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, together with Sheikh Nûrud-dein and other distinguished commanders, at the head of a competent force, was dispatched towards Izmeir; with instructions to propose to the garrison, in the first instance, the terms of the early Mahommedan conquerors—Islaum, the tribute, or exterminating war. To these proposals, on his arrival before Izmeir shortly afterwards, Peir Mahommed, through his messengers, received from the infidel garrison no other reply, than what was conceived in the language of rude and insolent defiance: the principal inhabitants, literally the bellmen, adverting to the practice among christians for assembling to public worship, instantly dispatching to the christian states to require immediate aid. In consequence of this, they were in the course of a very short-time powerfully reinforced in men, and supplied with arms provisions and stores, to an extent that enabled them to enter upon their defence with singular advantage; and they did not appear at all disposed to suffer their resources to waste away in inactivity.

Peir Mahommed and his associates did not fail, in the mean-time, to transmit without delay, to the head quarters of Teymûr, the necessary report of what was passing; and that monarch, leaving his

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heavy baggage at the foot of the hill, on the summit of which the city of Teirah appears to have stood, on saturday the sixth of the latter Jummaudy of the eight hundred and fifth of the hidjerah,\* in the very depth of winter, and in the midst of incessant rain, proceeded in person at the head of his principal force to join the divisions already before Izmeir; Mahommed Sûltan with the troops of the left wing from Magnesia, and Meiran Shah and his son Aba Bukker, with the Ameirs under their orders, having, at the same time, received instructions to hasten to the same destination. Immediately on their arrival, the imperial troops of the main body commenced an attack on that part of Izmeir, by which it communicated with the main; the principal generals setting the miners to work, and planting their machines of war, and other implements of annoyance, on those points from whence the besieged appeared to be most assailable. But, as the works of the place were on three sides protected by the waters of the deep, Ameir Shah Melek, by direction of Teymûr, caused a number of strong wooden piles, of the necessary length, to be driven triangularly into the bottom of the sea, at short distances from each other; on the tops of which, thick planks being laid connecting them substantially together, a sort of bridge, or stage, was thus constructed of sufficient breadth and stability to receive considerable bodies of troops; and thus, to the astonishment of those within, a barrier shot up from the very bosom of the deep to cut them off from all possibility of egress and ingress, and effectually to deprive them of those supplies of arms and provisions, which they had calculated to receive from the shipping<sup>n</sup> of the friendly maritime states.

In these circumstances, Meiran Shah with his division, and Mahommed Sûltan with the troops from Magnesia, having left that station in charge of Shums-ud-dein Abbas, arrived before Smyrna; the troops of Mahommed Sûltan in particular, animated by the example of their prince, immediately joining, and with singular ardor, in the operations of the siege. The exertions of the whole army were now united to harass the troops, and beat down and destroy the defences of the enemy, by all the expedients which they

\* 1st of December 1402.



could devise from the whole theory of the art of war as then in practice; neither were the garrison in any shape less active in repelling the attacks, and retarding the operations of the besiegers, both by incessant discharges of fire-works, and an indefatigable application of the various means of annoyance, which they possessed in inéxhaustible abundance.

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The period of a fortnight had thus elapsed in unremitting hostilities; and time and fortune, the witness and agent of so many portentous revolutions in this everchanging world, might smile and shed a tear upon the unavailing efforts of this unhappy garrison, when the miners, by removing part of the masonry, at last succeeded in carrying their galleries under the foundation of the works on the land side; and the walls and towers were thus left with no other support than the rude frame-work, introduced by the engineers, to sustain them from immediate and total subversion. Nothing was therefore further wanting to complete the necessary arrangements, than to charge these galleries with the usual combustibles, dry faggots overlaid with naphtha. At a signal from the imperial head quarters, the whole was accordingly fired, and the entire line of works was almost at the same instant precipitated to the earth; numbers of the garrison being at the same time carried to the bottom, and perishing in the ruins. The imperial troops, sword in hand, immediately rushed to the assault, and, in spite of all resistance from their already terrified opponents, entering the breaches, put all to death that fell in their way; although there were some few who contrived, after all, through a thousand difficulties, by some of the vessels in port to effect their escape.

Glutted with blood and slaughter, the Teymúrians then received orders to demolish the whole of the buildings of the town, composed for the greater part of brick and mortar, and many of which exalted their proud turrets from earth to skies. These accordingly, together with the fortifications, were now levelled to the foundations; and not a vestige, but the name, remained to indicate the spot which had been once covered by a place so celebrated and formidable. In the mean time, several large vessels bearing two masts, and here denominated Karekah, [caracs] full of soldiers, provisions, and arms,

A. H. 805. dispatched by some of the European powers, now approached, when  
 A. D. 1402. too late, to the relief of the christian garrison ; but, finding the place  
 Rouzut-us, reduced to a heap of ruins, immediately stood off in equal astonish-  
 suffe. ment and alarm, without daring to enter the port. They were, however,  
 not at such a distance, but that several heads taken from the bodies of  
 the slaughtered garrison were, by order of Teymûr, cast on board by  
 the catapultæ ; and having thus received such ghastly and convinc-  
 ing proofs of the disastrous fate of their friends, the European rein-  
 forcements made sail without further delay, and departed with dis-  
 grace and sorrow to communicate the report of what they had witnessed.  
 The unexampled celerity with which the reduction of Smyrna was  
 accomplished on this occasion, is said to have struck the inhabitants  
 of the adjoining territory with astonishment and admiration ; but no  
 one experienced this astonishment in a greater degree than the un-  
 fortunate Bajazet himself, convinced as he had been by protracted  
 trial, of the strength and resources of the place ; for the present  
 siege, from the investiture to the close, did not occupy altogether a  
 period of more than twenty days.

While the attention of Teymûr was engaged in the reduction of  
 Izmeir, the Sheikh Ramzaun who had on a former occasion been  
 presented as the agent of Mûssulman Tcheleby, again appeared in  
 the imperial encampment ; where he was permitted once more to  
 lay at the foot of the throne a rich assortment of rarities in splendid  
 variety, and in all things suitable to the grandeur of the monarch for  
 whom they were destined. He conveyed at the same time, in terms  
 of the utmost humility, assurances of the sincere submission of his  
 employer, as well as the expectations which he had been encouraged  
 to entertain of the bounty and liberality of a magnanimous conquer-  
 or. These communications were received by Teymûr with singular  
 complacency ; and as a proof that the prince's expectations were not  
 ill grounded, he immediately caused a patent to be executed in his  
 favor for the government of Asrayakiah ; or the territory on the Eu-  
 ropean side of the Thracian Bosphorus, which had been long since  
 taken possession of by the house of Othman. With this, a splendid  
 Khelaut, or dress of honor, a horse in golden caparison, and a tiara  
 and girdle enriched with jewels, the agent was then most honorably

dismissed. About the same conjuncture, Kûtûb-ud-dein, deputed on the part of Eissa Tcheleby another of the sons of Bajazet, who had escaped from the catastrophe at Angouriah, also appeared at court with similar professions of allegiance on the part of his master, and was dismissed after a reception equally gracious and honorable.

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In the mean time, Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, after the reduction of Izmeir, proceeded by order of his grandfather towards a castle on the sea coast, about a days journey to the northwest;\* which, as it furnished an asylum to a great number of the infidel, or Christian Franks, he was to employ the vigour of his genius to subdue. The prince, however, no sooner made his appearance before the place, than, terrified by the appalling array of the Teymûrian divisions, the garrison and inhabitants, abandoning all thoughts of resistance, dispatched a deputation of their principal officers in order to treat for a capitulation; offering, on the sole condition of their lives being spared, to submit to any tribute that might be imposed upon them. To these terms the prince appears to have acceded without difficulty; and having determined the amount of the impost, and employed the proper persons to receive it, returned shortly afterwards, according to his instructions, together with the troops under his orders, to his winter quarters at Magnesia.

Having discharged his vengeance, in the manner just related, on the christian garrison of Izmeir, and furnished the neighboring fortress, the Izmeir of the Mosslems, with ample supplies of arms and warlike stores, together with many other proofs of his regard, not without a strict caution to a strenuous exertion of zeal in the prosecution of hostilities against the enemies of their faith, Teymûr, on his part, finally quitted the neighborhood, and proceeded towards the plains of Ayazlik; on which he again encamped shortly afterwards. Here he received an embassy from the prince of Safen†, or Scio; the island in the neighboring Archipelago, which produces the fragrant gum mastick. To this chief our author assigns the appellation of Sopah, or Sobah, perhaps Scopas, with the rank of independent sovereign among the monarchs of the Franks. The envoy, however that may be, was admitted to an audience by the Tcheghatâian conqueror; to

\* Fodjia, according to De la Croix.

† The concluding *fn*, having, through the perplexing negligence of transcription, been substituted for *ya*,

A. H. 805. whom he conveyed from his master, together with a suitable peishkesh,  
 A. D. 1402 some very zealous professions of allegiance and attachment; and he  
 Rouzul-us- was also permitted to return to his employer, after a kind and  
 suffa. indulgent reception.

A predatory expedition, under Mirza Eskunder the son of Omar Sheikh, accompanied by Ally Sûltan Towatchei and other respectable chieftains, was now dispatched into Aeily-ezem, the country of Yezem, or perhaps Bezem, as in De la Croix; although it is not easy to identify the precise state to which the name belongs in our present surveys. It was, however, entirely pillaged and laid waste, and a heavy contribution, moreover, levied on the capital of the province, by way of ransom from further mischiefs; with which the young Mirza and his associates hastened, in triumph, to rejoin the imperial head quarters, which were shortly afterwards transferred from Ayazlik, to the station of Tungouzlek formerly mentioned. At this latter place, Teymûr received a short visit from Mahommed Sûltan, who had separated from his division after quitting Magnesia; and was now instructed by his grandfather to lead the troops of the right wing,\* under his orders, in a direction to the left hand by the route of Angouriah—so as to form a junction with the main body on its arrival at Kaysereiah. Mahommed Sûltan remained accordingly at Tungouzlek, expecting the arrival of his division; while Teymûr proceeded to Sûltan-hessaur, on one of the streams which runs into the Maïnder. Here his troops were employed, by way of recreation perhaps, in doing some execution among the Tchitaughies, mountaineers peradventure who had taken refuge against foreign violence among the neighboring hills.

About the same period, he further signalized his bounty by conferring upon Yakoub Tcheleby, a younger brother of the house of Othman, the government of the territory of Gurmian-eyli, together with the cities of Kotauhiah, Tangouzlek, and Kârasheher, which already belonged to him by inheritance. On some former occasion, this prince is here stated to have fled from the tyranny of Bajazet into Syria; on the subjugation of which by the Tcheghatâian armies, he had placed himself under the protection of the imperial standard,

\* The right in advancing, now the left.

and had ever since been an inseparable attendant on the person of Teymûr. It is obvious further to remark that he was probably the younger brother of Bajazet; on whom, when his father Mûrad had been assassinated on the field of battle, after his victory over Lazarus Despot of Servia, the European writers have bestowed strangulation by the Pashas of the empire, under the instructions of Bajazet, although it is acknowledged by Knolles that the genuine Turkish annals lay no such matter to his charge; and it must therefore be an error to allege that by him was exhibited the first example of that sanguinary policy, which condemned the younger brothers of the race of Othman to perish by the bowstring.

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sulla.

Teymûr proceeded next towards Olûgh Bourlûg, or the greater Bourlûg, at which station on his arrival he was joined by Shah Rokh; who had also broke up from his winter quarters, in order to accompany the movements of the main body of the army. The castle of Olûgh Bourlûg, which had not yet submitted to the imperial troops, was now attacked and reduced; the men were all put to the sword; the women and children made slaves; and the place was levelled with the ground. From a couplet at the close of this section in the manuscript, the event just mentioned, together with the death of Jullaul-ul-isslam who was killed during the siege, appears to have taken place in the middle of the month of Rudjub of the eight hundred and fifth of the hidjerah.\*

In the territory of Hameid, or Hameid-eyli, north of the Gulf of Adaulia, or Satalia, is described to exist a small sea, or lake, of fresh water twenty farsangs in length, and four in breadth, laid down in modern geography about five and twenty or thirty miles south-east of Olûg Bourlûg. The dimensions of this lake are reduced, however, by De la Croix, to five farsangs in length, by four in breadth.† Into this lake several streams are described to enter on one side to discharge themselves on the other; its banks embellished to the water's edge by innumerable gardens and plantations, furnishing every species of flower, and fruit, and fragrant shrub in the greatest variety and abundance. But what particularly calls our attention to it in this place is the walled city, or fortress of Egrider, or Agride;

\* About the 7th of February, A. D. 1403.

† From its appearance on the map, it may be about 5 by 3, or about 18 miles in length, by 10 in breadth.

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 suffa.

seated on the lake, enclosed on three sides by its waters, and supported on the fourth by a mountain. In the midst of the lake, at a short distance from the city just mentioned, which has, at the same time, from historians received the further designation of Füllukabad, arose two islands, one of which bore the name of Gülestaun, the other of Nessebein. On the latter, which was the largest of the two, a castle had been erected, together with some other very handsome and spacious buildings; and, of this castle, the inhabitants of the vicinity of the lake had availed themselves, as a depot for their more valuable effects, as well as for their ordinary means of subsistence, in cases of emergency. The other island, from its name, possibly served as a resort for recreation and parties of pleasure.

At the period under consideration, it is moreover added that the castle of Nessebein was thronged to excess by the concourse of inhabitants, who fled to it from the neighboring territory, in the confidence of its secure situation; the lake being in all parts of a great depth, and rendering it unassailable by any ordinary method of attack. These various circumstances combining, at all events, to excite his attention, Teymûr determined at all hazards to make himself master of both city and island; and, as a previous arrangement, immediately issued orders that his heavy equipments should be conveyed towards Auksheher—the Antioch of Pisidia, about forty miles to the northward of the upper extremity of the lake. As the captive Bajazet was, at this period, laboring under the attack of a severe and dangerous malady, Teymûr directed that he should proceed at leisure with the heavy baggage of the army to the same place; attended by Moulana Mûssaoud of Shirauz, and Jullaul-ud-dein the Arabian, two of the most skilful physicians of the court, selected to prescribe to his relief on this occasion.

The imperial troops were then put in motion from Olûgh Bourlûg, and, with one intervening night, on the morning of the second day's march, appeared before Egrider. On the morning of the day following, the Mirzas Shah Rokh, Eskunder, and Sûltan Hûseyne, with the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek, Ally Sûltan Towatchei Sounjek Bahauder, and other eminent chieftains, were directed to advance against the town. Ascending the hill by which it was over-

looked, and partly skirting the base, in order to attack the principal gate, the assailants appear to have made themselves masters of the place, without any extraordinary resistance; the garrison and inhabitants, very possibly, resting their hopes of effectual defence on the protection of the neighboring islands, to which vast numbers now made their escape, plunging without hesitation into the waters of the lake. Orders were then issued to prepare, with the necessary dispatch, a great variety of rafts, and boats, the latter composed of poles, covered with the hides of oxen and horses. On these, and such other craft as could be provided on the occasion, the princes and principal generals embarked shortly afterwards, and proceeded to the attack of the fortified island of Nessebein, completely investing it on every side. Little expecting, peradventure, to be so immediately assailed in their fondly imagined inaccessible retreat, the inhabitants were not less astonished than appalled, at the celerity and boldness of their enemies; whom they beheld approaching to the attack, amidst the most tremendous din of trumpets, kettle-drums, and horns. Every idea of resistance seems to have been in a moment abandoned; and the governor, a chief of the name of Sheikh Bâba, hastened at the hazard of inevitable death from the weapons of the assailants, to throw himself on the moderation of the shahzâdahs who conducted these operations, intreating that they might be his intercessors for the mercy of Teymûr. This, so far as regarded the lives of his fellow citizens, he succeeded in obtaining; but it was stipulated, without alternative, that they should relinquish every article of property, and immediately remove from the island; which was accordingly delivered up to the imperial commanders, the whole of what was found upon it, without exception, being by an express decree of Teymûr, on the spot distributed to the army.

While engaged in the operations against Egrider, the son of Mûbasher Bahauder arrived from the head-quarters of Mahommed Sûltan, to announce to Teymûr, that that prince, the darling of his hopes, was languishing under the effects of some severe and alarming malady; and as this inauspicious intelligence occasioned, in the mind of the conqueror, the utmost anxiety and apprehension, a person in whose judgment he could confide was immediately dispatched, in order to bring him a faithful report of the actual situation of the favorite.

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A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 665.  
 A. D. 1403.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

shahzâdah, without disguising the slightest circumstance of danger; while he himself proceeded on his way towards Auk, or Augsheher, already mentioned. The march of the main body now leading through the cantonments of the left wing, under the orders of Shah Rokh, an opportunity was furnished to that prince of giving scope to the spirit of hospitality, in the sumptuous and magnificent entertainments provided for the reception of his august parent; and, peradventure, of disposing of a part of the splendid spoils of Asia minor, of which he must have had an ample share, in the expensive presents, which it was usual to offer at the foot of the throne, on such occasions. At the same time, and through a similar medium, the most acceptable proofs of loyalty, attachment, and zeal, were also exhibited by Mîrza Sûltan Hûseyne, and by that gallant and distinguished commander, Ameir Sûliman Shah. Another who availed himself of the opportunity that now offered, was Ameir Mahommed, prince of Karamania, who hastened from his capital of Kouniah to the imperial head quarters; and, in testimony of gratitude for his recent restoration to his hereditary states, presented on his introduction, not without a considerable sum in specie, the most splendid variety of every thing that was costly and rare, whether from the inventions of art, or the rich productions of nature. These proofs of gratitude were received with extraordinary complacency; and the same royal bounty which had given him freedom from the prisons of Bajazet, and re-established him in the inheritance of his ancestors, was, on this occasion, afresh extended towards him in the most distinguished manner—after which he was very honorably dismissed for his own country, Teymûr then resuming his march for Auksheher.

At that city on thursday the fourth of Shabaun,\* it was now announced at the imperial head quarters, that the august captive, the royal and unfortunate Bajazet, had finished his mortal career, of an asthma, and inflammation of the throat.† Teymûr evinced the utmost concern, either sincere or affected, at this irremediable event; and it was then averred that when the subjugation of the dominions of the house of Othman should have been effectually completed, it was the

\* 26th of February 1403.

† Khenauk wo Zeyk-un-nuffus. De la Croix says it was of an Apoplexy.



intention of the conqueror, to have restored his illustrious captive to the full possession of the whole of the territories, of which he had been deprived by the fate of war; in order, as it is further stated, that he might be able to resume his laudable and zealous exertions against the detested advocates of image worship—the corrupt and idolatrous christians. But, since this appeared to be at variance with what was inscribed on the tablets of an irreversible destiny, it became necessary to submit, with humble resignation, to the will of that ineffable Being who has existed from, and will continue to exist, to all eternity. Of his patience under affliction the monarch was, however, shortly to exhibit some more decided proofs, when the sorrows of death invaded the more cherished recesses of his own family.

On his arrival in the territory dependent on Auksheher, information was conveyed to Teymûr, through Daunah Khaujah, from the head quarters of Mahommed Sûltan, by which he was apprized that the medicines administered to the young prince, had failed in producing the hoped for relief; and that the ascending humours, or morbid exhalations, had attacked the brain—in other words that he was delirious. Teymûr received the account with deep and unaffected concern; and the same person was immediately sent back, with instructions to keep him apprized, by continual expresses, of the progress of his grandson's disorder, until he should himself arrive upon the spot. He encamped shortly afterwards at Auksheher, where he hastened to administer every possible consolation to the family of the departed Bajazet; bestowing upon his son Eissa Tcheleby in particular, whom we now first ascertain to have been on the spot, a Khelaut of the most costly materials, a bædric, belt, or girdle, and sword enriched with jewels, a quiver, and quiver-belt of gold, and one hundred horses of the choicest breed and superior fleetness. Last of all, he presented him with a patent under his own sign manual, being literally the impression of his hand in red ink, possibly investing him, although this is not actually stated, with the government of Anatolia. He charged him, at the same time, to take the corpse of his deceased father, which had for the present been deposited in the mausoleum of Sheikh Mahmûd Heiran at Auksheher, and convey it, with all the honors due to departed royalty, to the metropolis of;

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A D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut us-  
suffa.

Brousa; there to be laid in the sepulchre long since prepared for its reception, by Bajazet himself.

Leaving his heavy equipments and baggage at Auksheher, Teymûr now made the best of his way towards the encampment of Mahommed Sûltan. Finding, however, on his march, that two chiefs of the Durghoth Tûrkians, of the name of Khuzzer Beg and Ibrauhim, had rebelled against the imperial authority, and fortified themselves on a mountain which commanded the road, he directed the troops by whom he was accompanied, to attack and dislodge these unlicensed banditti from their posts. The mountain was accordingly invested on every side, and the Tûrkians finally hunted out with considerable slaughter; their property, women, and children, becoming as usual the prey of their assailants. In the mean time, while he was thus prosecuting his march, Doulut Khanjah, or Khoujah, the son of Eiltchy Bougha, brought further intelligence from the division of Mahommed Sûltan, announcing that the prince's malady was hourly gaining ground. This necessarily hastened the approach of Teymûr. When, however, he reached the bedside of his grandson, he found him speechless, and reduced to the last stage of debility. Overcome by excess of grief the afflicted monarch caused him, notwithstanding, to be immediately placed on a litter, and continued his march the same day; probably for the purpose of removing him to a milder or purer air. But, when they had proceeded three stages beyond Kârahessaur, [Melainocastion], and there halted to encamp, the soul of the young prince finally quitted its frail enclosure—directing its flight towards that indefinable centre point, from which we all derive our existence. This much deplored event is stated to have taken place on the eighteenth of the month of Shabaun, of the eight hundred and fifth of the hidjera\*; when the young Sûltan had about completed the nine and twentieth year of his age.†

The grief of Teymûr, on this occasion, is described to have surpassed all bounds of moderation; and the universal mourning, which extended to all orders of his court and army, bespoke the extraordinary degree in which the public at least appeared to participate in the sorrows

\* 11th of March 1403.

† De la Croix asserts that he was but nineteen, but this appears to be an error.

of their sovereign. When the first paroxysms of affliction had, however, in some measure subsided, he directed the shrouded remains of his grandson to be laid in a *Tâbout*, which in general is constructed to represent the exterior of a shrine, or ornamented sepulchre, and this was deposited in a travelling litter, or *Tukht-e-rouaun*, suspended between mules; in which state it was entrusted to the charge of *Eleiaus Khaujah*, and *Sheikh Ally Bahauder*, to be conveyed to *Aouneik*, or *Avanic*. From thence, after removing the body into a new shell, they were instructed to take it to *Sûltanah*, to be there deposited until, at a future period, it might be finally transported to *Samarkand*. In the mean time, part of the attendants were to remain in charge of the empty shell properly fastened up, at *Aouneik*.

Having acquitted himself of these proofs of affectionate regard for the person and memory of his departed grandson, *Teymûr* returned back, to rejoin the main body of his army, with the heavy baggage and impediments; which shortly afterwards broke up from the plains of *Auksheher*, and prosecuted the march to the east-ward. Time and a variety of scene and occupation operated, however, as usual, to suspend by degrees the violence of affliction; and the remonstrances of his generals produced at length from *Teymûr* an order, that the army should put off the gloomy badges of sorrow, and cease from those barbarous and melancholy clamours which had, for a period of some duration, filled every quarter with lamentation and woe.

A. H. 805  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

## CHAP. IX.

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

**I**N the mean time, the triumphant issue of his Anatolian campaign had secured, from the government of Egypt, an attention to the claims of Teymûr, very different from what had been experienced on former occasions. For Melek Faredje, who had assumed the title of Melek ul Nausserah, receiving accounts of the captivity of Bajazet, whose power had been long regarded with awe and apprehension throughout the neighboring countries of Asia, was early led to a persuasion that perseverance in hostility against one so manifestly under the guidance of heaven, as the Tcheghatâian conqueror appeared to be, must assuredly terminate in disgrace and discomfiture; and he accordingly proposed to his cabinet, without further demur, the release of Ettelmesh, so unwarrantably detained by the misguided policy of his father. With this view, the imprisoned Moghûl chief was sent for, and, in the most conciliating terms of personal esteem, and of regret for the harsh usage which he had experienced, apprized that a resolution had been adopted to include the name of Teymûr on the coinage, and in the public prayers, throughout the provinces under the authority of the Sûltan of Egypt. In conclusion, he was requested to undertake the task of mediating between the Sûltan and his victorious sovereign; and two persons of the name of Ahmed, and Auktah, were at the same time, appointed to accompany him to the imperial head quarters, authorized to subscribe to any demand that might he further insisted upon in the article of tribute. They were also charged with the conveyance of a rich and splendid Peishkesh,\* consisting of money and jewels, of costly furniture of the most finished workmanship of Alexandria, of the best tempered swords, the manufacture of Kâherah, and of other expensive and valuable particulars too numerous to mention. With these important objects the envoys left the capital of Egypt shortly afterwards, accompanied by

\* Present of homage.

Ettelmesh. The latter, however, when he gained the frontiers of Anatolia, took leave of his associates and made the best of his way to the camp of Teymûr; where he proceeded to furnish a faithful disclosure of the state of Egypt, and particularly of the extraordinary impression produced upon the Sûltan and his ministers, and indeed upon every description of the inhabitants, by the rapid success of the Teymûrian armies. The envoys were not long behind him; and, having obtained admission to the presence of Teymûr through the usual introduction, did not omit to communicate, without reserve, all that they had been instructed to explain on the part of their master.

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

Softened either by the remembrance of his recent domestic affliction, or by a submission so much more prompt and compliant, than from former experience he had been prepared to expect, Teymûr received this embassy with singular affability; and he condescended to observe that, having at an early age been bereft of a father's counsels, Melek Faredje had the greater claim for support on his imperial bounty; and that if his professions of homage and obedience were followed by a sincere and faithful performance of his engagements, there was no proof of affectionate and parental regard that would be omitted on his part, to confirm and protect him in his authority. He had, therefore, nothing further to stipulate, than to urge a continuance of his watchful care over the temporal and eternal interests of the people committed to his government; of his unremitting attention to the peace and safety of the two sanctuaries of their common faith, the sacred cities of Mekkah and Medejnah, and to secure to the merchant and to the stranger of every country, an unmolested intercourse through the provinces under his controul. The ambassadors were then dismissed, loaded with marks of distinguished favor; and together with the usual Khelauts for themselves, received, for their sovereign, a diadem set with precious stones, a royal robe and girdle most splendidly enriched with jewels of every description and variety—accompanied with repeated assurances of the continuance of that friendly disposition, which had now determined to include him among the most esteemed and faithful vassals of the Teymûrian power.

A. H. 805.  
 A. D. 1403.  
 Ruzut-us-  
 safia.

To speculate at this distance of time on the probable motives of so singular an instance of moderation, on the part of Teymûr, would be but little interesting to the reader. His mind was doubtless engaged in the contemplation of some more important object, and his views to the westward may have now terminated: and yet the wealth of Egypt had again, it is conceived, even at this period accumulated to a degree that might have excited the cupidity of abstinence, and glutted the cravings of avarice itself. In these pages it has been, moreover, seen that the injuries which he had received from the Mamlouk Sultans, not only in the unprovoked detention of his vassal, but in the repeated insults offered to his authority, in the persons of his ambassadors, were of a nature the most flagrant and aggravated. This, in justice to his own dignity, and in vindication of the violated law of nations, was an offence which it was, as he had frequently arrogated, his peculiar province to chastise. Forgiveness of injury does not appear to have been the prominent feature of his character; neither was it, perhaps, a character at which he was very ambitious of aspiring. Possibly the hand of age had by this time softened the asperities, and subdued the violence of his temper; and a slight acknowledgement of submission was thus it seems sufficient to arrest the arm of vengeance, however gross the provocation, and however inexorable in its course on other occasions.

An object towards which the attention of Teymûr appears, however, to have been more particularly directed about the present period, was the deportation, into the countries beyond the Oxus, of the Kâra-Tatârian colony, originally introduced into the territory bordering on Anatolia, eastward, under the government of Hûlâkou Khaun. The original tribe when, at a remote period, it consisted of seventy thousand families, was seated on the frontiers of Khatâi; and, having subjugated the greater part of those adjoining to it, continued for many years to maintain itself in great glory. But a state of inextinguishable hostility having long subsisted between it and those of the Moghûl race, as may be found related in detail in the annals of Tûrkestaun, the immortal Jengueiz, as soon as the decrees of providence had elevated that monarch to the supreme power over the oriental world, issued a

mandate for the entire extirpation of the male part of the hostile tribe, to the very infant at its mother's breast; the turbulent and refractory spirit of the whole, having attained to a pitch of atrocity no longer to be endured. This mandate was carried into execution with all possible rigour by the Jenguizians; but, during the reign of the great monarch just mentioned, many of his subjects, both Moghûls and others, having entered into matrimonial engagements with the Kâra-Tatârian young women, ventured to conceal the offspring of their union; until, in the process of time, the indignation of their sovereign subsiding, many of this mixed race, on their arrival at years of discretion, were exalted to the highest dignities of the state. Hence on the accession of Mangou Kaun, when that monarch determined on dispatching his brother Hôlalkou, to take possession of the Persian empire, the Kara Tataurs, were for the greater part enrolled in the army of that prince. As soon, however, as he had finally established himself on the throne of Tebreiz, finding, on experience, that the natural depravity of the tribe had been but little ameliorated by intermarriage, Hôlalkou contrived to rid himself of these same Kara Tataurs, or black Tataurs, by sending them to settle on the frontiers, between Anatolia and Armenia. Here they continued until the death of Abû Sâeid; when the disorders which succeeded to that event furnishing too favorable an opportunity for the designs of the turbulent on every side, they separated into fifty two distinct bands, each proceeding to seize upon such part of the neighboring territory as suited its convenience. And thus they remained until the time of Kauzi Bûrhaun-ud-dein; when Sûltan Bajazet, having made himself master of Sevauss, that monarch again caused them to be enrolled in the armies of the house of Othman, assigning them settlements within his own territories. In these circumstances, the charges of subsistence, and the demands of the state, being then extremely moderate under the Turkish government, the tribe arose, in the course of a few years, to such a degree of importance from their immense pastoral wealth, as well as other descriptions of property, as to have become of the highest consequence, in that part of the country which had been allotted for their residence.

However, Teymûr had no sooner ensured his final success in Anatolia, by his signal victory on the plains of Angouriah, than he

A. H. 885.  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 805.  
 A. D. 1403.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

conceived the design of transplanting this thriving and powerful colony, from the land in which they had so successfully naturalized themselves, into certain districts among the nations of Jettah, or interior Tartary; where he might avail himself of their martial habits to protect his dominions on that distant frontier, without endangering the tranquillity of his possessions more recently acquired on the borders of the Persian empire, towards Asia minor. But, as it was at that moment not exactly convenient to disclose this design, the chiefs of the tribe, when they repaired to his presence to do homage to his superior fortune, were received by the conqueror, with every mark of liberality and kindness, and with every expression of imperial favor that could encourage hope, and banish apprehension. Observing, moreover, that the Teymûrians abstained most scrupulously from molesting them in any shape, they became, in general, soon reconciled to the transfer of allegiance; and they accordingly remained in the settlements allotted to them by the former government, in a state of comparative repose and freedom from alarm.

The plan for their deportation was, however, not the less determined upon; and accordingly, when he found it expedient to halt for three days on the same ground, in order to attend to the reception of the embassy from the Sâltan of Egypt, Teymûr availed himself of the interval to make his design the subject of a consultation with the princes his sons, and his other principal generals. A proposal of the sovereign was not likely to meet with any opposition of importance in the cabinet of Teymûr; but, as the colony consisted of not much less than forty thousand powerful families, containing among them an uncommon proportion of individuals of more than ordinary intelligence and sagacity, it was thought necessary to proceed with some caution, in carrying it into execution: and as a preliminary step, Teymûr now gave directions that the whole of their settlements should be immediately approached, on every side, by detachments of the imperial troops, in such a manner as to cut off all possibility of escape; at the same time, without offering the slightest injury or violence to any of the tribe. Accordingly, Ameir Jahaun Shah with the commanders and troops of the right wing, recently under the orders of the deceased Mahommed Sâltan, proceeded immediately to the left



towards Tokaut and Amausiah ; while Ameir Sâliman Shah, with part of the left wing, [the different divisions of the army retaining it would appear the same relative designations on their departure from, as on their advance into the Turkish dominions,] took the direction to the right, towards Kayssereiah and Sevauss ; Teymûr with the main body of the army, proceeding by a central route into the plains inhabited by the Kâra Tataurians—extending, at intervals, from Amausiah, to Kaysereiah. Shah Rokh and Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne were, however, more particularly employed in the charge, with this body of the army, of blocking up the roads and passes, and thus precluding all speculations of escape by flight.

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

Having crossed by the bridge of Kersheher, and approached the boundary of the Kâra Tatârian settlements, a messenger was dispatched by Teymûr, to require the attendance of some of the principal chiefs ; two of whom, of the names of Aukhy Teberrek, or brother Teberrek, and Merowut, respectively, repaired without difficulty to the imperial presence. Here, after every expedient had been employed, by embroidered vestments, and girdles enriched with gold and jewels, and finally by a solemn oath on the part of the monarch, to reassure their confidence, Teymûr proceeded to disclose his views. And first, as if he considered it a grievous misfortune that their ancestors, at a period however remote, should have been withdrawn from the country of their fathers, and placed as exiles in a foreign land, he stated that since a gracious providence had at last reduced under his paternal government, and thus united under one head, the whole of the countries from the remoter frontiers of China to the utmost bounds of Anatolija, it was to be justly expected that they should yield to the sentiment which attests, that the love of our country, next to that of our religion, forms the most sacred principle of the mind ; after which he proposed to them without further delay, to avail themselves of the triumphant return of the imperial armies, and to accompany them, together with their families, flocks, and herds, and every other description of property, into Mawer-un-neher ; where he assured them that nothing should be omitted on his part to render them prosperous and happy, during the remainder of their lives.

The two chiefs, possibly aware that expostulation and resistance

A. H. 805. would be equally in vain, acceded with a good grace to the proposal ;  
 A. D. 1403. declaring, with many protestations, that they could not but consider  
 Rouzui-us- it as an instance of rare and singular felicity, to become enrolled by  
 suffa. any circumstance, among the vassals of so puissant and victorious a  
 monarch ; and to these protestations, Teymûr appeared to yield  
 implicit credence. Nevertheless, as a precaution not to be dispensed  
 with, he ordered that their arms should be taken from the whole of  
 the tribe, and deposited for security in the imperial stores. It was  
 afterwards arranged that the whole of the people should be distributed,  
 by troops, to the commanders of Tomauns ; and instructions were  
 moreover circulated that none should presume to purchase from them  
 either sheep, or cattle of any description, lest such a relief from  
 incumbrance might at any time induce them to form plans of escape.  
 They were, however, exempted from every charge of subsistence ;  
 and the Yourut-tcheis, or officers of the imperial armies entrusted  
 with the arrangement of quarters, were particularly directed in their  
 allotment, to assign the clearest springs, and the most luxuriant pas-  
 tures to the Kâra Tatars ; who, to the number of thirty or forty  
 thousand families, with their domestics, and an immense accumulation  
 of sheep and cattle, thus accompanied the movements of the imperial  
 armies, with no other inconvenience than was inseparable from a state  
 of restraint, and perhaps some degree of incertitude, as to the destiny  
 which ultimately awaited them.

This object dispatched, and the subjugation of the dominions of  
 the house of Othman, in the peninsula of Asia minor, being considered  
 now compleat, Teymûr resolved without further delay to conduct  
 his armies back again into Azerbâijaun and Irâk ; it being his  
 design to make a permanent arrangement of the affairs of those great  
 countries, before he should finally return to the metropolis of Samar-  
 kand. In the mean time, the queen consorts Serâi Melek Khaunum,  
 and Touman Agha, together with the princess Khaunzâdah, the  
 mother of the deceased Mahommed Sûltân, and other branches of the  
 family, were instructed to meet the imperial standard at Aouneik,  
 or Avanic—the same according to De la Croix, as Van, near the  
 northern extremity of the lake of that name. Finding, on his arrival  
 at Kayssereiah, whither it was probably necessary to deviate, in order

to avoid the files of Mount Taurus in the direct road from Kersheher, that many of the inhabitants of the adjoining territory had been impelled by their fears, to seek for safety in the caverns and subterraneous retreats in the neighborhood, he employed a part of his troops, under Ally Sûltan Towatchei, to hunt out and destroy them. In effecting this piece of service, that distinguished chieftain, as he was reconnoitering the entrance of one of the caverns, was pierced by an arrow in the royal artery,\* or vena cava, in consequence of which he instantly expired. The authors of his death were taken by the soldiers immediately afterwards, and, being placed at the disposal of his brother, were the whole of them, on the same spot, sacrificed to his vengeance. Having then prosecuted his march to some distance beyond Sevauss, Teymûr took the opportunity of dismissing Kâra Othman the Tûrkman, who appears to have been the son of Kauzi Bârhaun-ud-dein, formerly prince of the adjoining territory, to take charge of his hereditary government; after which he proceeded to the plains of Arzenjaun, where he experienced afresh the most splendid attentions from Ameir Taherten, that chief, after having accompanied the imperial stirrup a stage or two from Arzenjaun, being then also permitted to withdraw to his government with every mark of imperial favor. At Erzeroum, where he arrived shortly afterwards, the conqueror was met by his grandsons the Mirzas Olûgh Beg, Ibrauhim Sûltan, Mahommed Jahaungueir, Ayjeil, and Saud-e-Wokauss, who had, by previous instructions, hastened post from Sûltauniab, for the purpose of anticipating the embrace of their imperial grandsire.

At the castle of Aouneik, where the princesses of the imperial family awaited his arrival, Teymûr gave fresh indulgence to his sorrows for the death of Mahommed Sûltan; which was now for the first time made known to his mother, the Khaunzâdah just mentioned, whose grief for the loss of a beloved son it would, perhaps, be easier to imagine than describe. The empty shell, or coffin, prepared as it seems for the purpose, and left at Aouneik, was laid in her presence; and the lamentations to which she gave a loose, over the supposed remains of her offspring, might have produced tears of blood from a heart of stone. Fortunately the paroxysms of grief are not more obstinate in their du-

A. H. 885.  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

\* Shahreg.

A. H. 805.  
 A. D. 1403.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

ration than those of joy. The great drum, and other instruments of martial music belonging to his court, continuing to sound, and the whole Korân from first to last, having been recited for several days successively, in propitiation for the soul of the departed prince, the mourning ceremonies were finally concluded by an extraordinary distribution of alms and food to the poor; and a multitude of aged and pious persons assembled from different quarters, having greatly contributed by their expostulations and condolence to moderate and assuage his affliction, Teymûr evinced his gratitude by the most honorable treatment, and by loading them, on their departure, with accumulated proofs of his bounty and liberality.

To return once more to the more material part of the narrative, it was, perhaps, not unreasonably expected, that, in conformity with the stipulations of the treaty concluded the preceding year, Gûrguein, or Gregory, prince of Georgia, should about this period not have failed to present himself before the throne of Teymûr. But it seems that he could still venture to elude the performance of his engagements. A renewal of those scenes of spoliation and violence, which had, in part, been already inflicted upon that devoted country, was therefore determined on, as the next object towards which to convey the stream of imperial vengeance; and for that purpose, Teymûr, at the head of his whole force, right, left, and centre, proceeded immediately to the northward, to the plains of Menkoule, already adverted to on some former occasions.

By this time, sufficiently convinced of the folly and inutility of any further opposition to the power of Teymûr, of which he had long since suffered the punishment, if the attention of his puissant adversary had not been otherwise more materially employed, Sâltan Eissa prince of Mardein, now hastened, by the most humble and abject submission, to avert that vengeance which, however delayed, sooner or later could scarcely fail to overtake him. On paying into the treasury his arrears of tribute, he succeeded, through the intercession of Shah Rokh, not only in securing pardon for his offences, but in obtaining, previous to his departure, the most substantial confirmation of his peace with the conqueror, by an alliance with the imperial family, through the proposed union of his daughter with

Mirza Aba Bukker the son of Meiran Shah. Amongst other chiefs who embraced the same opportunity of presenting themselves to Teymûr, we must not omit to mention Koustendeil, the brother of Gûrguein prince of Georgia; whom an unnatural family feud had thus driven to claim the protection of the implacable enemy of his country.

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

Without accompanying our author further, in his indefatigable detail of circumstances, which would swell these memorials beyond all bounds of proportion or necessity, it will be sufficient to notice, that at the period still under consideration, the opportunity was embraced to confer upon Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, the government of Shirauz, and the territory, of old, dependent upon it; while Mirza Aba Bukker, one of the most able and active of the Teymûrian family, was selected to undertake the charge of rebuilding the dilapidated city of Baghdâd, and of restoring the imperial authority in Arabian Irâk, and the countries adjoining. The officers commanding at Wausset and Bassorah, at Diaurbekir, and Mardein, and throughout Kûrdestaun, were at the same time directed to co-operate with the young Shahzâdah, in the expulsion of Kara Yûssuf the adventurous Tûrkman, who had again contrived to make himself master of the greater part of those countries; but, by what concurrence of circumstances, for the reasons already repeatedly alleged, as well as because it could be productive of no advantage in any degree adequate to the labor, we must decline following the author, in his almost interminable digressions, to describe.

It may, nevertheless, be still expedient to notice that, having enriched himself in his course by the plunder of Kayssereiah, Kara Yussuf once more descended the Euphrates to Heit; and taking post in the neighboring desert, he there soon assembled a considerable force of his own tribe, and of the wandering Arabs of the adjoining territory. Unfortunately for Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir, who was again in possession of Baghdâd, and who was engaged in suppressing the rebellion of his own son Sûltan Tâher, that prince ventured to call in the assistance of the Tûrkman; by whom he was indeed soon enabled to chastise the perfidy of his rebellious child, the latter, in his flight from the field of battle near Hellah, perishing under the

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1403  
Rouz-ul-us  
sulla.

weight of his armour, in a river which intercepted his retreat. But discovering that the rapacious Tûrkman harboured the design of plundering his property, whose cause they were engaged to support, the Sûltan fled in the course of the same night towards Baghdâd; whither, after having extorted all he could raise from the inhabitants of Hellah, he was shortly afterwards pursued by Kâra Yûssuf. The perfidious Yûssuf appears to have obtained possession of the city without much difficulty: the unfortunate Sûltan having contrived, however, to secrete himself during the day, was conducted under cover of the ensuing night beyond the precincts of the town, by one of his faithful adherents of the name of Kâra Hussun, who actually carried him on his back for the space of five farsangs; until falling in with a solitary bullock, the Sûltan was then more conveniently mounted, and conveyed without further accident to Tekreit. Here he was very hospitably entertained, and liberally assisted, by Saurek Omar, of the Tartar tribe of Wayraut, or Oweyraut; and from thence, after having been joined by several of his officers, he finally effected his escape into Syria; in consequence of which it was that Kara Yûssuf had now obtained possession of the greater part, if not the whole of Arabian Irâk. This will sufficiently account for the animosity which henceforward subsisted between the two chiefs, and which terminated only in the death of the Sûltan, as was observed at the close of the second volume.

Having received his instructions, Mirza Abû Bukker proceeded to Arbel,\* or Arbela, where he seized upon the person of Abdullah, the governor of that place, together with several other officers accused of seditious practices; all of whom he immediately sent in irons to the imperial head quarters. Leaving his heavy equipments, the young prince then prosecuted his march without interruption to Hellah on the Euphrates; where he was joined, in concurrence with orders previously conveyed to that prince, by Mirza Rûstum, from Ouroujerd, or Verujerd, to the eastward of Nihawend. The two Mirzas after some deliberation now recrossed the Euphrates in conjunction, and on the banks of the canal of Ul-Ghaunem, below Hellah and opposite to the village of Seib, found themselves in the

\* It is Ardebeit in the manuscript, but that would be entirely out of his road.

presence of the Tûrkman chief; who had here taken post, in formidable strength, availing himself of the line of the canal as a ditch to cover his position. The whole of the force with the princes did not exceed three thousand men; nevertheless, it was immediately determined to attack the enemy, the only point in debate being with respect to the command, Aba Bukker insisting that his kinsman, as the senior, should take the superior station in the centre. This, however, Mirza Rûstum declined; and, to put an end to all debate, immediately crossed the canal to the attack. His brother Yaur Ally having, however, fallen in the action which ensued, Kâra Yûssuf felt himself, very shortly afterwards, disposed to relinquish the contest, and accordingly passing to the opposite side of the Euphrates, with a small body of his followers, directed his flight also towards the frontiers of Syria; leaving the remainder, amounting to not much less than fifteen thousand families, together with an immense booty in sheep and cattle, to the mercy of the Teymûrians. The wife of the Tûrkman chief, and mother of his two sons Eskunder and Esend, or Sepend, with the greater part of his family, were also among those who fell into the hands of the troops of Mirza Rûstum. The subjugation of all Arabian Irâk was the immediate result of this victory; and Aba Bukker was now at full leisure to attend to his charge, the rebuilding of Baghdâd, and the repairing of the numerous disorders produced by such repeated usurpations, in this rich and fertile province.

In the mean time, the Tcheghatâian army, conducted by Teymûr in person, had quitted the plains in the neighborhood of Karss,\* and entered the Georgian territory; Ameir Ibrauhim of Shirvaun, ever anxious to signalize his loyalty and devotion to the service of his lord, having already preceded with the troops of his province, in order to seize and secure the approaches into the country. On the other hand, apprized of the object with which the imperial armies were advancing, Melek Gûrguein is described to have experienced the utmost possible alarm; under the impression of which, he delayed not a moment to dispatch to the presence of Teymûr some of the most prudent and skilful agents of his court. In the most humble and submissive language these were instructed to urge, how far beneath

\* Where we are therefore to look for the plains of *Menkoule*.

A. H. 805.  
 V. D. 1403.  
 Kouzm-  
 us-  
 sufa.

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us  
suffa.

the dignity of so puissant a monarch, to engage his person in a contest with one so mean and insignificant as the prince of Georgia: that, if the object was submission to the imperial authority, he was already in sincerity of heart the most dutiful and obedient of subjects; and if merely a demand of tribute, that he was perfectly willing to engage for the punctual remittance to the imperial treasury of any annual proportion of his revenue that might be determined upon. But, that the very shadow of the imperial umbrella was to him an object so tremendously awful, that he had not yet been able to awaken sufficient resolution to approach the royal presence in person. If, however, a reasonable interval were allowed him, in order to subdue these discouraging impressions, that he would not hesitate to present himself, like the Sûltan of Mardein, and many other chiefs, under the shadow of the imperial pavilion; in the hope of being re-admitted to enjoy his portion of that favor, in which, on former occasions, he had not been thought unworthy to share.

These overtures on the part of the prince of Georgia, together with the valuable and splendid presents with which they were accompanied, were, nevertheless, disdainfully rejected by Teymûr; and the agents were sternly charged to inform the christian chief, that he was to consider himself in circumstances very different from those to whom he presumed to allude, and in whose favor a conformity of religion constituted so superior a claim. That, if he entertained any regard for his existence upon earth, he would without the smallest further delay convey himself to the head quarters of the Teymûrian armies, where he would be merely be called upon to decide between two simple alternatives—either to embrace the doctrines of the Korân, by which he would find himself re-instated in favor to a degree that should excite the envy and admiration of all mankind; or, should his better destiny fail to direct him to such a choice, to submit to the payment of the regulated tribute; by which he would at least secure a liberal dismissal to his government with the prerogatives of his power confirmed, and, what was of no slight importance, a seasonable exemption from the horrors and enormities of invasion. That he could be no stranger to the distinguished and liberal treatment experienced by the monarch of Constantinople, like himself,



a Christian, when he claimed the protection of the majesty of Teymûr; and that this ought to operate as a conclusive example for his imitation. But, at all events, that his actual presence at court was indispensable, and that no apology for further delay would longer avail him in any shape whatever; and with this final declaration the agents were permitted to take their departure.

A. H. 805.  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-suffa,

The season for collecting the harvests was, however, now arrived; and Teymûr felt himself but little disposed to permit the infidels, before his eyes, by the unmolested removal of their crops, to provide the means of successful hostility. Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, with several other distinguished officers, was therefore directed by a sudden and rapid movement to enter the Georgian territory. This service was carried into immediate and successful execution, and the troops of the enemy having been dispersed without difficulty, Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein remained in the country, to cover the operation; while the Teymûrians were employed in securing and carrying off the most ample supply of grain and forage. After which, he returned without the smallest loss, to rejoin the main body of the army.

Within the Georgian frontier, some distance in advance of the present position of the imperial armies, and possibly some where in the line from Karss to Teflis, there lay, it seems, in the interval between two deep and intricate defiles, or vallies, a high mountain, on the very summit or table land of which stood an insulated rock, terminating on all sides in a vast precipice one hundred and fifty cubits in depth, excepting on the south side; where by an inaccessible ridge it communicates with another rock, by which it is overlooked. To the principal rock there was no ascent, otherwise than by a single spiral foot-path winding up the precipice; at the same time, that the chasms and inequalities of the mountain at its base, denied all means of lodgment, or encampment, at least for any body of troops adequate to the purposes of attack.

This insulated rock was that on which the Georgians had chosen to erect the fortress of Kûrtein, sparing neither art, expence, nor labor, to render it impregnable. A strong gateway protected the only entrance, and several deep and capacious cisterns, excavated in the rock, served to retain an abundant supply of rain-water for the

A. H. 806.  
 A. D. 1413  
 Rouz t us-  
 suffa.

numerous garrison ; which was, at this period, commanded by a warlike chief of the name of Nezaul, or perhaps Teraul, assisted by thirty distinguished Oznawers, or Georgian captains so designated, as formerly explained. They were all, at the same time, supplied in sufficient abundance, with sheep and hogs; and they had provided, moreover, in jars without number, ample store of the best wine of the country, of the deepest blush of the ruby. The importance of this place had early arrested the attention of Teymûr; but as it stood far within the territory of the enemy, and any smaller body of troops would be exposed to the utmost hazard of being cut off by superior force, the most experienced of the Moghûl generals did not hesitate to pronounce any attempt at the reduction of it, as an undertaking of the highest rashness. The towering genius of their sovereign disdained, however, to recoil from any enterprize, through a consideration of difficulty, or danger, of whatever magnitude; and he accordingly determined to prosecute the design in person, not without some expectation that his presence might have the effect, in some degree, of intimidating the enemy into early submission.

In concurrence with this resolution Teymûr, on the fourteenth day of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and sixth of the hidjerah,\* displayed his victorious standard before this impregnable rock. The garrison, by the transmission of some presents of trifling value, affected at first to greet the arrival of the Tcheghatâian monarch with respect; but, speedily recollecting that the experience of age is not, like childhood, to be amused with almonds and raisins, they soon betrayed the determined hostility of their designs, by volleys of stones and arrows discharged without intermission upon the troops below, as they advanced to take post for the attack. Finding that the terror of his presence had failed to produce the effect which he had hoped for, he proceeded to avail himself of the resources which he possessed, and in which he was never yet deceived, in his own unrivalled talents, and the irresistible valour of his armies. In order to complete the investiture of the place, and to cut off all intercourse from without, the Ameirs and Nûyans were directed to take post with their divisions on every point on which it was in any

\* 2nd of August A. D. 1403.

way accessible. Shah Melek, in particular, received orders to construct in front of the gateway, a strong and spacious redoubt or counterfort, while two other works of a similar description were raised by other commanders on opposite sides of the place; designed for the lodgment of a body of troops, to continue the blockade, and confine the garrison to their works, should the reduction of this stronghold fail to be accomplished at so early a period as the besiegers were disposed to expect. At the expiration of three days the work assigned to the execution of Shah Melek was completed, of a magnitude sufficient for the reception of a garrison of three thousand men. Teymûr then removed his head quarters from the front to the rear of the fortress; taking up his ground on a spot where it was conceived that his warlike machines might be planted, to work with effect against the defences of the place. Instructions were issued, at the same time, to erect against this part of the rock a *Meljour*, agger, or cavalier of stone and timber, of a sufficient elevation to overlook and command the works of the enemy. In the mean time, the catapultæ, and other warlike engines of the besiegers, had been planted at such a distance as to produce no other effect, than to increase the fancied security, and to provoke the derision of the garrison.

When, however, affairs had continued in this train for about a week, a certain native of Mekreit, in Eastern Tartary, of the name of Begtchek, accustomed to climb the steepest precipices in search of wild fowl, on the night of the twenty second of the month,\* secretly explored his way to the summit of the rock which communicated, from the south, with the fortress of Kûrtein; and having proceeded to the very foot of the wall of the place, and brought away a goat which he killed on the top of the same rock, in order to indicate the path by which he might again be able to approach, descended to the bottom without discovery, and returned to camp. Next morning he did not omit to report, to Teymûr, his adventure of the preceding night; on which, having caused a ladder of ropes of raw silk and hemp, with the steps of wood, to be provided for the purpose, the Tcheghatâian monarch directed the just mentioned Begtchek, accom-

\* 10th of August.

A. H. 806.  
 A. D. 1403.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

panied by three of his countrymen, on Sunday night of the twenty third of Mohurrim, again to ascend the rock by a narrow and dangerous ledge, or perhaps arch, taking with them a long cord with which to draw up the ladder. The rock was again ascended by these active and adventurous Moghûls, without either discovery or obstacle; and having dropped the end of the cord from the summit, they easily drew up the ladder of ropes, as they had been instructed to do, and securely fastened it to the trunk of a tree that grew out of the rock, as if there planted by the hand of destiny, for the express purpose of promoting the design of Teymâr. Ameir Shah Melek then approached the foot of the rock, leading a detachment of fifty Tûrkmauns and Khorassaunies, all enrolled for the service in the presence of their sovereign, to the ladder; which they all successively ascended, making their way good to the summit, without giving the slightest alarm to the enemy.

At day break the following morning, observing the Georgians in motion still unconscious of their danger, one of the Khorassaunies, led by an impulse which he could not controul, suddenly and with a loud voice proclaimed the Tekbeir; and a trumpeter of the name of Mahmûd, belonging also to the division of Shah Rokh, immediately sounding his trumpet on the rock above them, the astonished garrison became apprized of what, to this moment, had never been within the range of their conceptions. In the utmost alarm they rushed, however, from every side to repel the danger. Teymâr on his part, in expectation of the crisis, had mounted his horse, and passing through the intervening hollow, had taken his station opposite to the rock on which his adventurous warriors had lodged themselves: the whole army advancing, at the same time, with loud cries, to the sound of their horns and kettle-drums, in order to support the attack, and encourage the assailants. As the approach from the rock to the fort lay along the summit of a narrow ridge, which did not admit of the advance of more than three abreast, one of the warriors devotedly stepped forward, covering himself with his shield; while two of his associates followed close behind, keeping up a discharge from their bows in order to check the attempts of the enemy. But the soldier who bore the shield receiving an arrow through the eye, and being compelled

through the anguish of his wound to drop his defensive armour and draw back, the Georgians were encouraged to advance and carry off the shield. Another warrior, a native of Subbuzwaur, animated by the fervor of religious zeal, next stepped forward sword in hand; but he also, after exhibiting some very conspicuous proofs of courage, was finally compelled to retire with ten or a dozen wounds on different parts of his person. A Turk, or Tartar, of the name of Mahmûd, armed with a mace at last, however, opposing himself to the Georgians, and having broke the legs of one of their Oznawers, or captains, on whose courage they appeared to repose particular confidence; while others of the fifty who had scaled the rock, now rushing forwards to attack the gate, possibly from within, and the troops from without hastening at the same time to their assistance, it was soon broke open; and a fortress, of the strength of which, some estimate may be formed from the preceding statements, was thus in an instant laid at the mercy of an overwhelming superior force. The Georgians immediately called for quarter, but in vain. The governor with some few of the principal officers, bound neck and heels, were conveyed to the presence of Teymûr; but the remainder of the men were wholly put to the sword, and the women and children driven into captivity. As a peculiar mark of imperial favor, the wife of the governor was, however, bestowed upon Ibrauhim prince of Shirvauu. Teymûr then gave orders, that the warlike machines, which had probably, been constructed on the spot, should be immediately burnt, together with the Meljour, or cavalier of stone and timber; after which, he quitted the place, and returned to his camp, where he most liberally rewarded the adventurous Begtchek and his associates, through whose daring enterprize and contempt of danger, he had obtained possession of this impregnable post. The government of Kûrtein was finally conferred upon Mahommed Tûraun a Khorassaunian chief of some respectability, and a strong garrison of his countrymen was placed under his orders; with instructions to employ the resources of the surrounding districts for their support, and to prevent the Georgians from the commission of any further acts of violence and aggression against the territory of the Mûssulmans.

A. H. 806.  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 806.  
 A. D. 1403.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

Among other matters of inferior importance which occurred during the period under consideration, we may be permitted to notice the death of Sheikh Mahmūd Zengui Ajem, the author of a work entitled the *Joush Kheroush*, [agitation and clamour], recording the exploits of Teymūr. This person had accompanied the imperial agents from Kermaun; and in passing the bridge on the Kûrr in the neighborhood of Teflis, had fallen over and been drowned in the river. Hence it may be inferred that the scene of operations, and the fortress of Kûrtein, lay in the territory to the left, or north-eastward, of the Kûrr; but on what particular spot it would be in vain to conjecture.

After the reduction of Kûrtein, Teymūr, on consultation with his generals, determined on extending his vindictive depredations to Anjauz, or Abkhauz, on the remoter limits of Georgia, towards the north. Accordingly, a numerous body of troops was dispatched in advance, under the Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, Shah Melek, and other distinguished commanders; who apparently, without meeting any other obstacle than what occurred in the wide-spread forests of the country, through which it was found necessary to cut their way, succeeded in penetrating through the interior of that difficult province, marking their progress with the customary scenes of havoc, massacre, and conflagration. Nearly seven hundred towns, hamlets, and monasteries, every church built of stone, and perhaps those of less solid materials were not exempted, were here levelled to the ground by the ferocious zeal of these enlightened reformers. The persecuted natives were hunted to their retreats, in the caverns formed along the precipitous sides of the mountains, dislodged, and finally slaughtered, by the novel species of attack formerly described—wooden coffers, or caissons, charged with armed warriors, and let down by ropes from above to a level with the entrance. Hence, after having executed this service of desolation to the very trees and shrubs, which when other means of destruction failed, they either stripped of their bark or scorched with fire, they returned, on the fourteenth of the former Rebbeia,\* to rejoin the main body of the army.

In the mean time, while the Tcheghataïan monarch was employed in exercising his troops, preparatory to future hostilities, in the

\* 30th of September.

less serious occupations of the chase, certain Georgian captives in his camp, who had, by some means or other, been suffered to escape the fury of military execution, availed themselves of an opportunity to apprise their prince, of the total destruction which awaited their common country, at the very next movement of the invaders, unless, by some expedient or other, he could contrive to disarm the vengeance, and conciliate the mercy of Teymûr; and very shortly afterwards, a deputation from the Georgian chief accordingly arrived to solicit, in behalf of their master, the intercession of some of the principal Ameirs of the imperial court. Teymûr continued, however, inaccessible to every intreaty, until the Mûfties, and teachers of the law, were finally prevailed upon to remind him that, by the express ordinances of his religion, he was forbidden either to slaughter, or pillage, or exercise any species of violence towards these people, when once they should have consented to become tributary, and engaged no longer to molest, or commit hostility against, the advocates of the true faith. It was then only that Teymûr, in concurrence with this solemn declaration of the oracles of the law, condescended to signify his compliance with the solicitations in behalf of Melek Gûrguein; and that Ameir Sheikh Ibrauhim, who had been his most zealous advocate, was authorized to announce the success of his mediation to the agents of that prince, who had, in the painful incertitude between hope and despair, been long anxiously awaiting their permission to depart.

At the expiration of a few days the agents returned, bringing, from their master, a thousand pieces of gold struck in the name of the Tcheghatâian conqueror, together with one thousand excellent horses, and a vast variety of the most curious and costly articles of manufacture and merchandise, of gold and silver, and lastly, with a ruby of the most perfect water and beauty, of the weight of eighteen methkauls, or about 432 carats—equivalent to three ounces and a half. Of all these, which indicated a degree of opulence that we should not have expected at this period to find among the vallies of Mt. Caucasus, they made an humble offering in the presence of Teymûr; engaging at the same time, on the part of their master, for the punctual payment of the tribute, for which he was now to consider himself responsible to the imperial treasury.

A. H. 806.  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 806:  
A. D. 1403.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

The treaty with Melek Gûrguein thus satisfactorily concluded, Tey-  
mûr hastened to withdraw his armies from the country, and in several  
marches returned to Teflis; not omitting, however, to perpetuate the re-  
collection of his immitigable hatred of christianity, by the destruction  
of every monastery, and every church, throughout the districts adjoining  
to his march. He now repassed the Kûrr; and, having proceeded  
two stages, determined to quit his heavy baggage and make the best  
of his way to Kârabaugh; in order to carry into execution the design,  
which he had long had in contemplation, of rebuilding the town of  
Beylekaun. In the neighborhood of the former place, he accordingly  
encamped shortly afterwards; and being joined at the expiration of  
a fortnight, by the remainder of the army, and the heavy equipments,  
he was enabled, without further delay, to proceed in the execution  
of his design. Of the old town of Beylekaun, which had long lain in  
ruins, there remained not at this period one brick upon another in its  
proper place; and the imperial surveyors and architects had been em-  
ployed, the very moment of their arrival, to trace out a plan for its re-  
construction in all its parts, comprising a spacious rampart and  
ditch, with numerous squares, or market places, caravanserais, and  
baths, and indeed every thing else suited to the convenience of an  
extensive population—all distinctly measured off by line, and allotted  
in regular proportions to the several Shahzâdahs, and principal Ameirs,  
who undertook as usual, to superintend and carry the whole into  
execution, through the exertion of their respective divisions. It is  
almost incredible, although there cannot be any reason to doubt the  
fact as here related, that under every disadvantage of severe cold and  
incessant rains, a work of this magnitude should have been complet-  
ed in the short space of one month, including every description of  
building above enumerated, and all of burnt brick; a great proportion  
of which might, however, have been furnished by the ruins of the  
old town. In the mean time, the walls are stated at two thousand  
four hundred of the royal, or larger cubits,\* in circumference, fifteen  
cubits in height,† and eleven cubits‡ in the width of the rampart;  
and the ditch at thirty cubits broad, and twenty cubits in depth. On  
the ramparts were constructed lodgments, or barracks, for the accom-

\* About 5600 feet, at 28 inches to the guz. † 35 feet. ‡ 25 feet 8 inches.



modation of the garrison ; on each of the four angles of the wall was erected a lofty and spacious tower, or bastion ; and above the gates in particular were formed open battlements, behind which were planted machines for the discharge of stones, and other means of offence, in case of attack. And finally, not less to ensure a constant supply of water to the inhabitants, than the means of irrigation for the culture of the adjoining districts, the wisdom of Teymûr produced a mandate for the formation of a canal, fifteen cubits broad and six farsangs\* in length, in order to conduct the waters of the Araxes to the town ; a work which was also executed by the troops under the superintendance of the Shahzâdahs, with that celerity and zeal which might be expected from the energies of disciplined veterans, when ably directed towards whatever object.

A. H. 806.  
A. D. 1493.  
Rouzut-us-  
su fîa.

He further signalized his residence at Beylekaun, on this occasion, by some laudable acts of retributive justice against the rapacious agents of his government in various quarters ; and in particular by compelling a certain Moulana Kâtib-ud-dein Kerremi, probably Kouummy, recently employed in the collections of Farss, to refund to the inhabitants of that province the sum of three hundred thousand dinaurs,\* extorted from them, under different pretexts, when he quitted Shirauz in order to repair to court. His subordinate agent, Arghûn, was at the same time suspended by the neck, for those arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of which he had been guilty under the authority of his superior.

Mirza Omar the son of Meiran Shah, who had been ordered from Samarkand for the purpose of being invested with the government of Azerbâijaun, is stated to have arrived at the imperial head quarters, while at Beylekaun, on the first of the former Jummaudy of the year 806;† and it was, therefore, subsequent to that period, after having completed the reconstruction of Beylekaun, that Teymûr removed to the winter quarters of Kârabaugh ; where he lodged his troops in cantonments of huts [Kouria] previously erected for their reception.

The most remarkable circumstance that seems to have occurred

\* About 21 miles.

† About £137500, at the lowest computation.

\* 15th of November.

A. H. 806.  
 A. D. 1403  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

during the winter of eight hundred and six, was the rebellion of Eskunder Sheikhy, who had formerly been dismissed to take possession of the territory of Feyrouzkouh, and Demawund; but who was now announced to have set at nought his innumerable obligations to Teymûr, and to have openly thrown off his allegiance. This unexpected event is described to have produced considerable irritation in the mind of the Tcheghatâian monarch; and Mirza Rûstum the son of Omar Sheik, accompanied by Ameir Sûliman Shah, was directed to proceed immediately to Rây; with instructions, should the intelligence prove true, to collect the troops from Koumm, Kashaun, and Dergûzein, and to proceed in quest of, and inflict a just and severe chastisement on that perfidious rebel. Another circumstance which it becomes necessary to mention, and which, however an oriental writer may attempt to disguise it in the language of metaphor, reflects but little credit on the vaunted magnanimity of his hero, is the death of Nûr-ul-werd, [the splendor of the rose], the son of Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd; who was brought, about this period, from Irâk Arab, and in the bloom of youth, being not yet more than eighteen years of age, torn up by the roots, and, cruelly sacrificed to the fury of imperial vengeance in the very height of the festivities which were introduced to soften the rigors of winter.

The petty chiefs who ruled in the province of Guilân, although they had felt it prudent to transmit to the court of Teymûr some trifling and insignificant presents, had, however, hitherto declined to make their personal submission to the conqueror. A detachment of the imperial troops had therefore been directed to take post, during the winter, in the forests which extend for the greater part along the boundaries of that province. They were followed, in due time, by Shah Rokh, and his son Ibrauhim Sûltan, together with several divisions of the army, to Ghuzzelniaujê, where they remained in considerable force. Alarmed at the approach of the Teymûrians, the Guilauny rulers hastened to avert the storm, by dispatching their agents with offers to submit to the payment of a large sum of money, by way of tribute; and such offers being immediately transmitted to court, by Shah Rokh, they were, without much difficulty, acceded to, by Teymûr. The proper officers proceeded in consequence into

Guilân, in order to levy the stipulated tribute; and several of the most respectable native chiefs of the province hastened, shortly afterwards, to the presence to do homage in the usual forms to the imperial authority, and were very favorably and honorably received by the Tcheghatâian monarch. Among others was Seyud Rezza Keya, for whom, in consideration of his illustrious descent from the prophet, Teymûr evinced a disposition to exhibit the most distinguished preference; and, with this view, the imperial agents were instructed, in the tribute, which on the whole of the province was fixed at fifteen thousand statute Maunns\* of raw silk, seven thousand horses, and three thousand dinaurs in specie, to abate in the proportion of one moiety, from what might be due from the districts of the Seyud, as well as from those belonging to Ameir Mahommed of Resht: and to reserve from all the other districts a third part, for the use of the same Seyud, in order to enable him to support a more splendid establishment than his brother chiefs. Before he broke up from his winter quarters at Kârabaugh, on this occasion, Teymûr further resolved to attest his paternal regard for Mirza Eskunder the son of Omar Sheikh, by bestowing upon that prince the government of Hamadaun, Nihawend, and Veroujerd, together with the territory of Lerr Koutchek, or the lesser Lerr, along the western acclivities of the mountains of Irâk-Ajem.

One of the first objects that seems to have occupied the attention of Teymûr, on the return of spring, was to provide that all classes of the race of Hûlâukou, whose influence in the province of Azerbâijaun was not yet by any means entirely extinguished, should from every family convey either a son, a brother, or a wife, to reside at Samarkand, as pledges for the fidelity of the remainder. This measure of precaution executed, and a period of some days having been devoted to the pleasures of a royal hunting match on the plains of Aktaum, nothing of importance was now left to detain the Tcheghatâian monarch any longer in this quarter; and he accordingly determined to carry into execution, without further delay, the design which he had for some

\* According to Richardson, the Maunn-e-shâhy, or Royal Maunn, was 11 ½ lb Amsterdam. The smallest Hindostauny Maunn is equal to 28 lbs; at the former calculation this would amount to about 85 tons.

A. H. 806.  
A. D. 1404.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 806. time had in contemplation, of revisiting the metropolis of the empire.  
 A. D. 1404. For this purpose, on the fourteenth of the month of Ramzaun, of the  
 Rouzut-us- eight hundred and sixth of the hijjerah,\* he quitted the cantonments  
 suffa. of Kârabaugh; and a temporary bridge having been thrown across the

Aras, or Araxes, he proceeded to pass that river to the right, or southern bank; where, on the meadows in the neighborhood of Niammetabad, one of the towns on the canal of Berlas excavated by himself at a former period, he shortly afterwards encamped. At this station he was joined by Shah Rokh from Ghuzzelniauje.

In the mean time, as it had been long since determined upon to invest Omar, the son of Meiran Shah, with the government of Azerbâijaun, and the provinces formerly dependent upon it to the frontiers of Natolia and Syria, letters patent to that effect under the imperial Altumgha, or sign manual, accompanied by an ordinance enjoining the shahzâdahs in the direction of the provinces of Farss, and both the Iraks, notwithstanding that his brother Aba Bukker was one year older than himself, to be in all cases obedient to his authority, were now formally delivered to him, in the presence of a numerous and splendid assembly of the Ameirs of the empire. The troops attached to his father's government were, at the same time, placed under his orders, and the able and gallant Ameir Jahaun Shah, and many other distinguished captains were nominated to compose his court, and to fill the different employments under his authority: but, with respect to Ameir Jahaun Shah in particular, the prince was expressly admonished, in all his undertakings, to yield undeviating attention to the judgment and experience of that veteran chief. The shahzâdah was then dismissed for the summer quarters of Allatauk, or Allahtaug, accompanied by many of the vassal princes of the provinces adjoining to his government; and among others by Ameir Sheikh Ibrauhim of Shirvaun, Sûltan Eissa of Mardein, and Kous-tendeil the Georgian, the brother of Melek Gûrguein formerly mentioned.

From the plains of Niammetabad, Teymûr now proceeded on his march, encamping next at the station of Jâi-belawerd, on the banks of the river Oghlauk, or Oghlûk; where he remained to the conclusion

\* 25th of March 1404.

of the month of Ramzaun—there discharging the customary ceremonies of the Eid-ul-fetrah, and compensating for the rigorous abstinences of the preceding month, by a display of his munificence, and by a royal and splendid entertainment given to his court and army.

A. H. 606.  
A. D. 1404.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

It has already appeared that Mirza Rûstum the son of Omar Sheikh, and Ameir Sûliman Shah were dispatched at no distant period to examine into, and to check the turbulent spirit recently displayed in the conduct of Eskunder Sheikhy. On their arrival at Rey, the Shahzadah and his associate found the intelligence confirmed, that the rebel had thrown off the mask of allegiance; and after placing the strong castle of Feyrouzkouh in a respectable state of defence, with a garrison composed of his own relatives, had himself withdrawn to the hills and forests of Jelladoun, or Jellâoun, and Rûstumdaur. Having remained at Tehraun of Rey for the space of twenty days, and succeeded in collecting together about two thousand of the troops of the adjoining territory, the shahzâdah and his coadjutor boldly entered the passes of Rûstumdaur, in quest of the insurgent. When, after a short siege, they had made themselves masters of the fortress of Nour, Melek Keyomars, one of the native princes, presented himself in the camp of the Teymûrians; and, in conformity with the maxim that all war is a system of deceit, and that in war therefore every species of stratagem is fair, immediately entered into a collusion, sufficiently simple, with them, by which he agreed that they should seize his person, and deliver him up to the rebel Eskunder, with whom he had long been at variance. This project was carried into execution without delay, Keyomars being conducted immediately to the advanced posts of his adversary, with an assurance conveyed to the latter, from the Teymûrian generals, that he might without the smallest risk of danger return to his allegiance; and that his early submission on this occasion would be received, not only as an atonement for his offences, but as an undoubted proof of the zeal and sincerity of his former attachment.

Conscious, however, that he had offended beyond all reasonable hope of forgiveness; Eskunder eluded the snare; and having, without much difficulty, effected a reconciliation, and concluded, what we

A. H. 806.  
 A. D. 1404.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

were not precisely prepared to expect, an alliance with his recently mortal foe, he then retreated further within the forests and defiles of the country. Of these circumstances Teymûr received intelligence in the commencement of Shavaul,\* while he continued still encamped on the Oghlûk river: in consequence of which orders were immediately dispatched to Ameir Mûzraub in Khorassaun, directing him to proceed without delay, at the head of the troops of the province, by the route of Amûl and Saury, to attack the insurgent from that side. On the seventh of Shavaul,† an officer from Khaleil Sûltan the son of Meiran Shah, arrived with satisfactory accounts of the state of affairs at Samarkand; and shortly afterwards, Teymûr removed his head quarters to the territory of Ardebeil. From thence he dispatched the Ameirs Shah Melek and Peir Ally Selduz, to Rey, with instructions to raise a body of troops from among the Khelege, and Arab tribes, settled about Komm, Kashaun, and Sawah, and other places in the vicinity. At the same time, Mirza Eskunder was directed to join his brother Rûstum, and the Ameir Sûliman Shah, in the operations now carrying on for the subjugation of the rebel Eskunder Sheikhy.

Passing by Ardebeil and Miaunah, Teymûr soon afterwards encamped at the station of Serjem, or Sertchem; to which place he was followed by Douldâi, the governor of Aouneik, an old and faithful servant, whom, in consideration of his long tried zeal and unshaken attachment, he most affectionately embraced. To this personage he expressly intimated that the present might be their last interview in this world; and he therefore, with more than ordinary seriousness, enjoined him to be vigilant in his attention to the state of affairs on the neighboring frontiers of Armenia and Kûrdestaun. From Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd he alleged, however, that he did not conceive there was any thing further to apprehend; but against the enterprising and ambitious Kâra Yûssuf, he contended that the most vigilant precautions were indispensably necessary, which he therefore charged his vassal, on his allegiance, never to lose sight of. After this he dismissed him to his government. Teymûr then prosecuted his march to Sûltauniah, where he arrived on the twentieth of the month of Shavaul.‡ Two days afterwards he quitted Sûltauniah; and in

\* About the 11th of April.

† 17th of April.

‡ 30th of April.

several stages conducted his troops to the plains in the neighborhood of Kazvein. Here he was joined by his grandson Aba Bukker, from Ardebeil, [rather from Arbeil, or Arbeta] having travelled post from thence, in the short space of nine days.\* During his visit on this occasion it was that, through the intercession of Serâi Melek Kha unum, and the veteran Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, the young prince obtained his grandsire's permission that Meiran Shah should thenceforward take up his residence with him at Baghdâd. A donation of four hundred thousand kopek dinaurs,† with one hundred horses, and several other articles of rarity and value, was at the same time bestowed upon Meiran Shah; who was then permitted to return to Sûltauniah.

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suffa.

Although, at a period so long subsequent, the minuteness of such a detail might be irksome to the generality of readers, yet there are doubtless not a few to whom it would be still acceptable—whom it would still gratify to be apprized of the most trifling circumstance that distinguished the concluding year of the life of this celebrated conqueror, at whose very name it would be useless to deny that a great part of the habitable world so long trembled in dismay and affright.

From Kazvein, or Casbin, Teymûr continued his march to the station of Sougbulauk, where his regard for Mirza Aba Bukker was afresh displayed, in a donation of one hundred thousand kopek dinaurs, accompanied with a present of two hundred horses, and one hundred coats of mail, or perhaps cuirasses. The village of Dejeil, dependent on the city of Baghdâd, was conferred at the same time, in perpetual fee, upon Shâhy Melek the daughter of Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein, and consort of Aba Bukker. The young prince was then dispatched to join Ameir Sûliman Shah; with whom he was instructed to unite his exertions, in order to quell the rebellion of that audacious traitor Eskunder Sheikhy. Aba Bukker proceeded accordingly, and after several marches came up with the imperial troops under the Mirzas Rûstum and Eskunder, and Ameir Sûliman, at a station

\* It does not, however, appear to be more than three hundred miles, across the mountains of Kârdestaun.

† Of seven livres each, according to De la Croix.

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 suffa.

called Kejoud, where they had taken post; strengthening their position with a ditch, and abbatis, or branches of trees with the ends sharpened and pointed outwards, and omitting no precaution to guard against the designs of an enterprising and active enemy. Here they remained for a period of twenty days, expecting further reinforcements; instead of which, at the expiration of that period, they received fresh orders from Teymûr, to proceed without further delay in quest of the insurgent chief. These orders they hastened to carry into execution; but, as their march lay through a deep and gloomy forest, their progress was unavoidably slow, since it depended on the labour of the Yessauki, or pioneers, of the army, employed to cut down the trees for their passage; and not only that, but to lay poles and planks, over the hollows and ditches rendered otherwise impracticable by the enemy.

In the mean time, quitting the station of Sougbulauk, Teymûr proceeded towards Rey; in the territory of which he displayed his standard on the first of Zilkaudah,\* encamping immediately afterwards on the plains of Saurok-kemmesh, in the neighborhood of that city. Here he determined to send forward the greater part of his cattle and superfluous baggage, by the way of Khowaur, or Khover, and Bèstaum, for Samarkand. From thence also, he permitted the consort of Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, with her children, to take her departure for Gheznîn and Kabûl; both included under her husband's government. Shums-ud-deia Abbas, and the other Ameirs employed in escorting the Kâra-Tatarian tribes, and the hostages from Azerbâijaun belonging to the race of Hûlaukou were, at the same time, directed to proceed by the route of Khowaur, and Semnaun, also on their way into Transoxiana. Ameir Shah Melek, and Peir Ally Seldûz, who had been formerly dispatched to Rey, in order to collect together the troops of the neighboring districts, now joined the imperial head quarters. Not long afterwards, as he was passing the ruins of Gûlkhendaun, on the skirts of Demawend, Teymûr directed that fortress to be immediately rebuilt of brick and mortar; after which, leaving the celebrated mountain just mentioned behind him, he proceeded to Feyrouzkouh.

\* 10th of May.



To this mountain-fortress, one of the strongest in the Persian empire, Teymûr immediately laid siege, and in the short space of two days, succeeded in making himself master of it; the garrison having been terrified into surrender by one of those instances, of daring spirit in the imperial troops, so frequently recorded in these pages.\* The son of the rebel Eskunder, with a great part of his family, here fell into the hands of the conqueror.

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Leaving a competent garrison under an officer of the name of Zengui Touny, for the defence of Feyrouzkouh, Teymûr, on the day subsequent † to that on which he obtained possession, conducted his army to encamp in a fair valley, [mûrghzaur] at the distance of half a farsang from the fort. From thence the consorts Serâi Melek Khaunem, and Tomaun Aga, with those illustrious off-shoots of the imperial stock, the Mirzas Olûgh Beg, and Ibrauhim Sûltan, sons of Shah Rokh, Saud-e-Wokauss the son of Mahommed Sûltan, and Eyjel the son of Meiran Shah, were directed to proceed, by the route of Sûltan Meydaun, immediately towards Samarkand. At this very juncture, advices reached him that the Kâra-Tatarian families, whom he appeared so solicitous to convey to the country of their forefathers, notwithstanding all his precautions had risen on their conductors, in the neighborhood of Damaghaun, and effected their escape in great numbers into the forests of Mazanderaun, and towards the shores of the Caspian. Those who made for that coast were, however, in part overtaken by Ameir Beyan Koutchin, at the head of five hundred cavalry; and such as escaped immediate slaughter, to the number of two thousand families who fell into the hands of their pursuers, were compelled to embrace their destiny in the remote wilds of Tartary.

Intent, however, at this moment above all things, on the prosecution of his vengeance against the rebel Eskunder, Teymûr, after taking leave of Shah Rokh who was labouring under a fit of sickness, and whom he therefore permitted to withdraw to Herât, directed his march towards Jellâou, or Tchelaô; described to have been the principal

\* An officer in the service of Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan, accompanied by Mahommed Azad, and other brave warriors, under cover of the night, found means to gain the foot of the walls; from which no exertions of the enemy availed to dislodge him.

† 20th of May.

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 A. D. 1404.  
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 suffa.

place of residence of the rebel. In the course of several days march, during which the troops surmounted a variety of obstacles in the steep hills and protracted defiles of Rôstumdaur, they at last gained the summit of Mount Jellâou; from whence the insurgent had, however, previously effected his retreat through innumerable difficulties to the Jehennum-derrah, or pass of hell, one of the most formidable and inaccessible, in a country where such positions are not unfrequent. From the station on Mt. Jellâou, after a repose of one day, the imperial troops continued the pursuit.

The direction which the march now took, led the troops through a long and deep defile overgrown with wood, impervious to the rays of the sun; and being immersed in perpetual fog, clouds, and frequent rain, the soil was reduced to one entire mass of mire and clay. The valley was, at the same time, divided in the middle by a broad and turbid stream, impassable either on horseback, or on foot; and the only bridge had been destroyed by the rebel. It was from these circumstances, and the indications of unseen danger, perhaps, by which it was in all directions environed, that the defile had obtained the peculiar appellation by which it was distinguished—the pass of hell. But the spirit of Teymûr, and of his invincible squadrons, was not to be foiled by any obstacles assailable by human prowess. A new bridge was expeditiously thrown across the stream. Several divisions, under some of the most distinguished commanders, instantly passed to the opposite bank, and proceeded to cut their way through the forest in pursuit of the enemy; and the Tcheghatayan monarch in person followed, shortly afterwards, and at the distance of one stage from the spot where he had effected the passage of the river, pitched his tents on the summit of a rising ground, which, as it was fortunately bare of wood, furnished a tolerable view of the surrounding country.

Of the divisions employed in the pursuit of Eskunder, that which was placed under the orders of Derrya Koutchin, Shah Melek Berlas, Sudder Berlas, and Sheikh Derveish Illauhy, in particular, conducted by some native guides, and in the midst of a forest on the caspian shore, succeeded at last in coming up with the rebel. At this crisis, of the whole division, not more than twenty men remained in a body;

and Eskunder, encouraged by the disparity of his pursuers, at the head of thirty horse and two hundred foot, boldly quitted his retreat to attack them. On the other hand, not less dismayed on perceiving the obvious disproportion of the imperial detachment, than by a perfect knowledge of the undaunted courage of Eskunder, which he had witnessed in many a perilous conflict, Sheikh Derveish Illauhy could not be withheld from deserting his associates, in the hour of danger. The courage of Eskunder, it might indeed be his boast to have derived, by inheritance, from the most illustrious warriors of ancient times; since it is described as an established fact among the oriental historians, that he was lineally descended from Pezhen, the son of Keyou, and grandson of Kouderz, or Gouderz—the mother of Pezhen being Baunú Keshasp, the daughter of the renowned Rústum Zaul, all of them most distinguished characters in Ferdoussi's romantic story. The remainder of the imperial detachment, small as they were in number, maintained their ground, nevertheless, with unshaken firmness, repulsing their assailants in repeated onsets, by their steady and unerring skill in the management of their bows. The rebel, whose valour is again acknowledged, when engaged in a loyal cause, never to have receded before the enemy, was now again compelled to bury himself in the mazes of the forest; leaving his pursuers in a state of perfect ignorance, as to the direction in which he had contrived to escape.

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suuffa.

Joined by reinforcements the Teymûrians proceeded, without opposition, to pillage the camp of Eskunder, in which they found considerable booty; and having taken up their quarters for the night on the same spot, they were further strengthened by the arrival of Ameir Sounjek, belonging to the troops formerly advanced, under the orders of Mirzas Rústum and Aba Bukker, and Ameir Sûliman Shah. Then taking the direction to the left hand in quest of the fugitive, they unexpectedly came upon his cousin-german Lohorasp, together with Ameir Ally, another of his sons, many of his women and other individuals of his family, all of whom they now secured. Their numbers were then further augmented by the junction of Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, and Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, together with seventy of the light cavalry; and they then continued the pursuit,

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with redoubled activity and eagerness, through the woods, until about the hour of noon, when they again came up with the fugitive chief; who was still accompanied by fifty horse, and two hundred of his followers on foot. Driven to despair he stood, nevertheless, prepared to combat for existence like a man. In these circumstances, Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne advanced to attack him; but suddenly drawing off in pretended dismay, Eskunder, deceived by the stratagem, imprudently quitted his advantageous position in the woods, and fell into the snare thus laid for him. Sûltan Hûseyne, when they least expected it, wheeled round upon his pursuers, and put the greater part of the infantry to the sword. Eskunder himself contrived, however, to escape the slaughter, finally taking the direction which leads towards Guilân. What subsequently became of him is matter of conjecture, some writers stating that he perished under complicated distress and hardships, in his flight towards Guilân; while others represent that he finally escaped, and saved himself under the disguise of a religious habit. The former circumstance is, however, recommended as best entitled to our belief.

Here relinquishing the pursuit, Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne returned towards the Caspian shore; where he found the Teymûrians now assembled in force, under the Mirzas Rûstum, Aba Bukker, and Eskunder, and the Ameirs Suliman Shah, and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and still engaged in fruitless endeavours to explore the retreat of the rebel. With the same view, the whole again proceeded together, along the coast, towards Guilân, for the distance of five farsangs, or about eighteen miles; when they found it expedient to encamp. At length, since no trace of the fugitive Eskunder could be further discovered in this region of Cimmerian darkness, they came to a resolution to abandon their bootless errand altogether, and return to join the imperial head-quarters. By this, however, they exposed themselves, on their arrival, to the severest expression of displeasure, on the part of Teymûr; by whom they were immediately ordered back towards Guilân, to resume their pursuit of the insurgent, under the direction of the veteran Shah Melek. Accordingly they trod back their steps, with no very forward zeal to the service, and for the period of a day and a night, amidst sloughs, morasses, and rice fields, once more pro-

ceeded to explore these gloomy forests. During the whole of this time, as if, according to our original, heaven itself were disposed to weep without measure over the fate of the rebel Eskunder, the clouds descended in a deluge of rain; while the Shahzâdahs, in common with their troops, exhausted with fatigue and exertion, continued to traverse the howling wilderness, without being able to discover a single spot on which to pitch their tents. From this state of distress and embarrassment they were, however, at last most seasonably relieved by an order of recal; of which they hastened to avail themselves without a moment's delay.

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Concluding that his presence among these inhospitable forests, could be productive of no further advantage, Teymûr finally decamped from the hill on which he had taken post; and recrossing by the bridge which had been thrown over the river of the Jehennum-derrah, proceeded to the neighborhood of Nour, one of the fortresses of Rûstumdaur already mentioned. Here some of the imperial detachments delivered into his hands the son and nephew of Eskunder Sheikhy, with divers others of the family and clientage of the rebel; all of whom, and it seems to be recorded as an act of singular clemency, the conqueror suffered to remain alive. In the evening of the same day, a messenger from the Mirzas Aba Bukker and Sûltan Hûseyne conveyed intelligence, that on their arrival on the banks of the river in the Jehennum-derrah, they found that the bridge had been either destroyed by the enemy, or carried away by the torrent; and that the stream was impassable, without a bridge, which they had not the means of constructing. In this dilemma, thirty watermen of the Jeyhûn, under the direction of Mahommed Azaud and Towukkel Bawertchei, were immediately dispatched to the assistance of the shahzâdahs; and having reconstructed a bridge of some description or other, enabled them to cross without further difficulty, and soon afterwards to re-join the imperial encampment. On the day following, the imperial standard was again in motion towards the fortress of Harny, or perhaps Harsy, still in the direction of Guilân, to the north-west; and proceeding to the plains of Kallan, or perhaps Kellar-desht, Teymûr there remained stationary for several days. During this interval of repose, Ameir Gheyauth-ud-dein, the son of Seyud Kemmaul-ud-dein Ally, who

A. H. 806. had been long at variance with Eskunder Sheikhy, now received from  
 A. D. 1404. Teymûr, with other proofs of favor, the government of Saury, with the  
 Rouzut-us-suffa. several districts dependent upon that place.

Finding, at last, that all his endeavors to seize the person of the rebel Eskunder proved unavailing, and, like the fountain of the water of life, that he had left no trace behind him but the name, while the greater part of his kindred and adherents were effectually in the custody of the imperial troops, Teymûr resolved to waste his exertions no further in the fruitless research, and to prosecute his march, without further delay, for the banks of the Oxus. Previous to his departure on this occasion, the Ameir Sâeid Berlas and some other distinguished officers were directed to accompany Mirza Râstum, to his government of Isfahaun; while Mirza Aba Bukker received orders to proceed towards Baghdâd, accompanied by Ameir Sounjek; and Mirza Eskunder, another of the sons of Omar Sheik, was dispatched for Hamâdaun. At the same time, Seyud Ezz-ud-dein and Seyud Ally received their dismissal; the former for the district of Hazaurguzzy, and the latter for his government of Ammûl, or Amol, in Mazanderaun.

These preliminaries dispatched, Teymûr broke up from the plains of Kallan-desht, [so clearly in the manuscript—the great plain] and returned towards Demâwend; in the neighborhood of which, after a march of several days, he took up his abode in the Koushek, or Kiosk, of Arghûn—a summer palace erected, by the emperor Arghûn Khaun, at the foot of that celebrated mountain. From thence, attended by the nobles of his court and those particularly attached to his household, he hastened once more to Feyrouzkouh, the government of which, together with that of Rey, he now conferred upon the gallant Ameir Sûliman Shah; Beyan Koutchin who, at present, superintended the affairs of Rey, being directed to take charge of the fortress of Gûlkhendaun, recently rebuilt at the foot of Demâwend. This was, according to De la Croix, about the twenty second of Zilhudje.\*

From Feyrouzkouh, Teymûr appears to have continued his march by Sûltan Meydaun, to Bestaum, where, according to the same De la Croix, he arrived on the twenty fourth of the month; and from thence,

\* 30th of June.

† 2d of July.

after visiting Sâltan Bayezid Bestaumy, a celebrated doctor of that age, and receiving the homage of Peir Padshah, whom he had, at a former period, constituted governor of Asterabad, he proceeded further to the small town of Jeghdâd, or perhaps Jaghaz: At this place, Hussun Souffy presented himself with a message from Shah Rokh, at Herât, requesting to know his father's pleasure as to the spot where he should meet him, on his passage through Khorassaun; and the messenger was directed to return post, and inform the prince, that his father expected to see him on the banks of the river of Joghjeran, as far as we can judge, to the eastward of the town of Jaum. Teymûr then prosecuted his march to Neyshapûr; and from thence, on wednesday the first of Mohurrem, of the year eight hundred and seven,\* proceeded to the town of Aishekabad.

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Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

On friday, the third of the same month, he pitched his tents near the town of Jaum, where he proceeded to visit the shrine of Sheikh Ahmed Zendah Peil; a celebrated Peir, or religious superior, of that place, the aid of whose sainted spirit he there invoked. Mounting his horse, he then hastened to the bank of the Jogjeran, or perhaps Joucoudgeran as in *De la Croix*, where, according to appointment, Shah Rokh repaired to meet him, with a display of presents of the utmost cost and splendor; all of which, with characteristic liberality, the monarch immediately distributed among the members of his court, and the officers of his household. During the period in which he remained encamped on this river, Auk Bouga and Kâra Bouga, both of the family of the unfortunate Jouny Gurbauny, who had availed themselves of the absence of Teymûr to revolt against the imperial authority, and whose persons had been subsequently seized by Ameir Hindû Shah, were, by that commander, placed at the mercy of their offended sovereign; and on competent proof of their guilt, they were both hanged at the entrance of a caravanserai in the neighborhood. Teymûr now accelerated his progress; and, dismissing Shah Rokh for Herât, made the best of his way to Kerlan, or Korlan: where he was met by Temûr Khoujah Aukbouga, who had hastened thus far from Samarkand to attend the orders of his master.

Encamping shortly afterwards on the Mûrghaub, which is the river

\* 9th of July.

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A. D. 1404.  
Rouzat-us-  
suffa.

of Merû, a complaint of malpractices against the magistrate who had been deputed to preside over them was laid before Teymûr, by the inhabitants of Tchitchektou, a town somewhere in the vicinity; in consequence of which the accused was condemned, without ceremony, to be on the spot suspended by the heels, and there left to perish amid the scoffs and insults of his accusers. In the mean time, by the constant arrival of the governors and principal magistrates of the different towns and districts in the neighborhood of his course, and the presents indispensably laid at the foot of the throne, and as unreservedly distributed to those around him, the whole of the imperial retinue were enabled to remount themselves on fresh horses; and to continue their march with facility, and without, in the smallest degree, retarding the expedition with which their master was disposed to prosecute his journey.

In a few stages more, passing by Endekhoud, and some other places mentioned in detail in De la Croix's translation, Teymûr presented himself in the environs of the city of Bâlkh, encamping in the village, perhaps the suburb, of Adeinah-Mesjid. After receiving the homage of the principal inhabitants of Bâlkh, he continued his progress, without further delay, by the station of Siahguerd; and, crossing the Jeyhûn near Termed, took up his residence in that city, in the mansion of the Khaunzâdah Allâ-ul-Mûlk; who entertained the monarch in a manner not unworthy of his own distinguished hospitality, and of the exalted rank of his imperial guest. From Termed, through the pass of *Koluga*,\* and by the stations of *Shekaldalic*,† and *Doulbrji*,‡ Teymûr pursued his march to his country residence of Aukserâi, or the white palace, in the neighborhood of Kesh. Here he does not, however, appear to have continued longer than was necessary to visit the shrine of Sheikh Shums-ud-dein Kolaur, and the tombs of his father, and others of his family reposing in the silence of the grave, near that his native city. Having attested his regard for the memory of the illustrious dead, he then proceeded across the range of mountains to the north-ward of Kesh, by the Tukht-e-karatchah, or black palace, formerly erected.

\* † ‡ the places in Italics are enumerated from De la Croix.



by his orders, and in the course of a few days,\* reached the gardens of Kâratoupa† in the neighborhood of Samarkand; where, in the palace of Jahaun-nemmâi, he now took up his abode, as it would appear, some time previous to the conclusion of the month of Mohurrem.

Immediately on his arrival his great-grandson Mirza Keydou, the son of Peir Mahommed Jahaungueir, yet a child of about eight years of age, accompanied by Khaujeh Yûssuf and Arghûn Shah, hastened to the presence of his august progenitor; and he was soon followed by the princess Towukkel Khaunum, and other ladies of the imperial family, succeeded by a numerous train of the nobles of the metropolis. Others of the principal inhabitants also repaired in crowds to offer their congratulations on the safe return of their victorious sovereign. Removing, shortly afterwards, from the palace of Jahaun-nemmâi to that in the Baugh-e-tchenaur, or garden of plane trees, Teymûr, from the latter place, made his entry into Samarkand on this occasion; proceeding immediately to the college of his departed grandson, Mahommed Sûltan—a structure which he had not before had an opportunity of visiting since its completion. He then returned to the Baugh-e-tchenaur; where a sumptuous banquet had been prepared for his entertainment, and that of his triumphant train. In the mean time, that part of the imperial family which had been sent forward from Feyrouzkouh, by the more direct route of Bawerd, or Abiwerd, Makhah, and Merû, were not yet arrived; and a messenger was accordingly dispatched to hasten their journey. The lapse of a few days, however, brought these also to the capital of the empire; the princess Serâi Melek Khaunum taking up her residence in the garden of plane trees, and Touman Aga in the Baugh-e-beshisht, or garden of paradise.

Soon after his return, Teymûr was seized by one of those attacks, which not unfrequently succeed to any sudden change from violent motion in the field, to perfect domestic repose. During his illness he appears to have resided altogether with the princess Touman Aga, in the Baugh-e-beshisht. Recovering, however, in the course of a

\* The direct distance between Kesh and Samarkand, does not, by the map, appear to exceed thirty miles; the whole distance from Termed to Samarkand not being more than two degrees of latitude.

† Blackheath, perhaps.

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suffa.



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week, he removed, as soon as it appeared that his health was perfectly re-established, to the Baugh-e-shamaul; the spacious gardens, as the name implies, on the north side of the city, where he gave a most splendid entertainment, on the birth of a son to his daughter the princess Beggisy Sultaun. When he had terminated this circuit of pleasure round his fair metropolis, by a visit to the Baugh-e-belend, or garden on the heights perhaps, he finally entered the city, and took up his abode in the palace of the late Mahommed Sultaun; his attention being now directed to raise a superb mausoleum to the memory of that prince, in the shape of a dome, or portico, contiguous to the college already mentioned. In the short space of a few weeks the work was completed by the imperial architects; being entirely of white sculptured marble inlaid with gold, and azure, or lapis lazuli. According to De la Croix, it was only the cincture of the dome that received this beautiful decoration; but we are disposed to think that the whole of the interior, or concave of the dome, might have been wrought in this species of mosaic, not unfrequent in the east. A number of the surrounding habitations were at the same time removed; and a beautiful garden created on the spot furnished an elegant retreat, for those inclined to visit this splendid monument to the illustrious departed.

Previous to his setting out on the expedition into western Persia and the peninsula of Anatolia, Teymur had given directions that the new metropolitan mosque, or Jumma-mesjeid, built on his return from India, should be surrounded, during his absence, by a spacious gallery, or corridor. Perceiving, however, when he came back from the recent expedition, that this work had been finished on a scale infinitely too contracted to correspond with his own magnificent design, he severely reprov'd the architect, Khaujah Ahmed Dâoud, for so grossly misapprehending his instructions; and, ordering the gallery to be immediately thrown down and removed, he caused a more lofty and extensive colonnade to be erected in its stead.

Amidst these minor occupations he did not, however, neglect the more important concerns of his government. He redressed the grievances of his people, upon those unprincipled and rapacious functionaries, who had dared to abuse his authority to their injury; and, in

particular, he caused Mahommed Dâoud and Mahmûd Jelled, the two chief secretaries of the exchequer who had been entrusted, during his absence, with the important duties of the Vizzauret, or prime ministry, to be ignominiously suspended by the neck, in the presence of the great diet of the states of the empire, convened some time afterwards on the plains of Kaun-e-gûll. It was at this period, also, that he received an embassy from Eydekou, the sovereign of Keptchawk, accompanied by a noble present, comprizing many articles of singular curiosity; among which is described, in particular, a Shongaur, or Shonkar, or white falcon, or some bird of prey of that species, extremely rare and highly valued in the east.

But what it would have been inexcusable to omit, is the presence, on this occasion, of an ambassador from the Hâkem of Afrenje; that is from the ruler of some one or other of the European powers: for it seems at all times to have been repugnant to the arrogant pretensions of the oriental writers, to concede the title of king to the chief magistrate of any European state.\* Be this as it may, the ambassador is here noticed as bearing from his master, an endless variety of the most rare and costly productions of art, for the acceptance of the Tcheghatâian monarch; among which are, in particular, described some figured curtains, or pieces of tapestry, so exquisitely wrought as in the judgment of the historian, to have infinitely surpassed the invention of Mâni himself, the most exquisite of painters, to imitate, much more to excel. From the preface of De la Croix's work we, however, learn, that this ambassador was no other than Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, dispatched by Henry III<sup>d</sup> king of Castile, to the court of Teymûr; who left Madrid, accompanied by the Tartarian ambassador and two colleagues, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May, A. D. 1403, and returned into Spain, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March 1406.

In the mean time, in consequence of instructions recently given, another spacious garden, each of the four sides of which extended fifteen hundred statute cubits† in length, had been enclosed south of

\* At a more recent period, that arrogant and bigoted upstart *Tippoo Sultaun* could find no other title to bestow upon the king of Great Britain, than that of the *English Rajah*! a designation held in common by the most paltry of the petty sovereigns of *Indûstaun*.

† About 3500 feet.

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the Baugh-e-shamaul; and in the centre of the new garden, the architects, and other ingenious workmen whom he had transported from Damascus, were now employed by Teymûr, in the erection of another royal palace, which was soon completed with such singular skill and ability, as to surpass, a thousand fold, the boasted palace of Khournek, constructed for the education of the celebrated Behram Gour.\* The singular delicacy exhibited in all sorts of marble sculpture in the ornamental parts of the palaces and villas at Damascus, and in the neighborhood, and the wonderful contrivance with which the salubrious streams and springs of the country were brought to contribute to the use, recreation, and delight of the inhabitants, in a variety of shapes, had, it seems, long attracted the admiration of the world; and the unrivalled skill of the workmen by whom all this could be executed must have been universally acknowledged, whether for their masterly performances in sculpture, inlaying, or mosaic, and other branches of decorative architecture, or for their extraordinary taste and management in the construction and disposition of every species of waterwork. In sculpture and tessellated work, or mosaic, they are indeed represented as capable of executing with equal minuteness and delicacy in the marble floors and partitions, the same designs produced in ivory and ebony, by the most elaborate skill of the engraver. The new palace of Teymûr is described, at all events, as far loftier, and more extensive than any that had been hitherto constructed by his orders; and the workmen had produced such admirable specimens of taste and ability in design, and skill in execution, in the marble decorations of its several parts, as to furnish ample proof of the superior proficiency of their countrymen, in that particular branch of their art; and not less by the numerous fountains, jet d'eau, and other waterworks, by which they contrived to surround this enchanting abode with all the freshness and verdure of perpetual spring. And last of all, according to De la Croix, the exterior of the walls was entirely sheathed, or overlaid, in porcelain of Kashaun, by the

\* This was erected for Niauman the son of Amrû-ul-Keyss, prince of Heirah, by a Grecian architect of the name of Senmaur, as a place for the education of Behram Gour. The artist was thrown headlong from the pinnacles of his work, lest he might surpass his performance, in favor of any other prince.

workmen of Farss and Irák, which gave the finishing stroke to the beauty of this superb pavilion.

The whole being completed, Teymûr experienced equal delight and satisfaction, in the survey of this exquisite production of the united skill of sculpture and architecture; and having given orders that a sumptuous banquet should be prepared upon the spot, he proceeded with no less elegance than splendor, to entertain the nobility and generals of his court and army—not even the European ambassadors being excluded from the hospitalities of the day. For, with characteristic insolence our author observes, it is an established maxim, that, “every revel must have its rustic.”

As soon as he should be at leisure from the subjugation of Syria, and the peninsula of Asia minor, it had been long in the contemplation of Teymûr to add to his other conquests, that of the stupendous monarchy of China; in order, as it is alleged, by the demolition of idols, and the extirpation of their worship, to expiate, in some degree, the unavoidable excesses in which the ministers of his vengeance must have been implicated, in the course of his victorious career; or, in plain language, to atone for his numerous spoliations in the west, by the unprovoked invasion of a remote, and peaceable territory, in the east. But, as the ensuring of the perpetuation of the human species constitutes one of the most important obligations of society, he conceived it might be advisable to solemnize the nuptials of several of the princes of his family, before he proceeded on this distant and arduous enterprise. With this view, as well as to promote the ultimate design of the expedition, he determined to assemble a Koureltâi, or general diet of the states of the empire; and messengers were, accordingly, dispatched to every quarter, requiring the attendance at this august assembly, of the most powerful chiefs, principal nobility, and generals of the armies, throughout the wide extent of his vast dominions.

On this occasion, two of the princes of the blood of Jengueiz, Tâeizy Oghlan, and Baush Temûr Oghlan, are described to have been pressingly urgent with Teymûr, on no consideration to exempt the Mirzas Shah Rokh, and Peir Mahommed Jahangueir, from among those whose presence was indispensably required to grace the illustrious assembly. To these he is said to have replied, that so far as

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A. H. 807. related to his grandson Peir Mahommed, at this period residing in  
 A. D. 1404. Gheznein, there could be no particular objection to his leaving his  
 Rouzut-us- government for such a purpose; but with respect to Shah Rokh,  
 suffa. that the case was extremely different, since the tranquillity and  
 allegiance, not only of his own province, but of those of Azerbâi-  
 jaun and Irâk Ajem, rested in a great measure, if not entirely, upon  
 his personal residence at the seat of his government. A messenger  
 was accordingly dispatched with a summons to Peir Mahommed; the  
 beautiful meadows, or plains of Kaun-e-gûll, being fixed upon for  
 the scene of this proud display of might and magnificence.

On sunday the first day of the former Rebbeia, of the eight hun-  
 dred and seventh of the hidjerah,\* Teymûr proceeded to the spot;  
 his accommodation having been provided for, within four immense  
 Seraperdahs, or cotton inclosures, containing in particular one vast  
 Khergâh, or pavilion of state, divided into a great variety of superb  
 apartments, and a Dowazdah-pâi, or Baurgah, or hall of audience,  
 supported; as the name implies, on twelve pillars of embossed, or  
 sculptured silver; the exterior of this vast pavilion being of broad  
 cloth of seven different colours, in reference to the seven climates,  
 and the interior, of European velvet, of every possible shade and  
 variety, from the refreshing green of the emerald to the radiant blaze  
 of the ruby. The floor was bespread with gold embroidered carpets,  
 of the most costly manufacture, and the tent cords were of silk of  
 various colours; an immense number of tent pitchers, and workmen  
 of that class, having been employed for a whole week in arranging  
 this stupendous moveable fabric, and completing the innumerable  
 decorations. The superb pavilion is described to have been calcula-  
 ted for the reception of ten, or even twelve thousand persons at a  
 time. Other tents of various descriptions, with similar accommoda-  
 tions, on a smaller scale, were provided for the princes of the blood,  
 the ladies of the imperial family, and the nobles of the court.

The concourse of individuals, from all parts of the empire, that  
 met together, shortly afterwards, on this highly decorated spot, is  
 described to have been of a magnitude to excite the astonishment of  
 every age. Among those considered most worthy of our notice, was

\* 6th of September.

Monguly Boughâi Haujeb, the envoy of Melek Faredje Sûltan of Egypt, eminently distinguished for his endowments in every branch of oriental knowledge; who conveyed from his master the most splendid present in specie and jewels, and in the most beautiful variety of all that was rare and costly, in manufacture and workmanship. Among the curiosities of nature, which he also presented from his master, are mentioned, in particular, a Zeraufah, or Camelopard, and nine Shuttourmûrgs, ostriches, or camelbirds, which is the literal signification of the term. The Mirzas Khaleil Sûltan son of Meiran Shah, from the frontiers of Tûrkestaun, and Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueir, from Gheznein; also made their appearance at the diet; the latter prince re-awakening in the bosom of Teymûr his affliction for the loss of his brother, the much lamented Mahommed Sûltan.

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It would, however, be tedious further to enumerate the circumstances of this gorgeous display of oriental pomp; the reader will find them detailed, with sufficient minuteness and fidelity, in De la Croix's history of Teymûr, or Timur Bec. We shall, in the mean time, proceed to state that as soon as the astrologers had selected the auspicious moment, the Tcheghatâian monarch hastened to solemnize the nuptials of the Mirzas Olûgh Beg and Ibrauhim Sûltan, the sons of Shah Rokh, Ayjel the son of Meiran Shah, and Ahmed, Seidy Ahmed, and Baykera, all three sons of the departed Omar Sheikh, each respectively with a princess of the imperial family; the ceremony being performed by Sheikh Shums-ud-dein Mahommed Jezery, and the mutual pledges of fidelity registered by Moulana Salah-ed-dein Yûssuf, the chief Kauzy of Samarkand. During the solemnization, Teymûr appeared in imperial pomp seated on the throne, surrounded by the ladies of his family, all disposed in regular order. The Princes of the blood, principal Ameirs, and generals of the army, with the Seyuds, and others of superior rank, took their seats according to gradation in the pavilion of twelve pillars recently described; while the commanders of thousands, with the inferior classes, arranged themselves at the distance of a bow-shot off, in the Sâoury-Mehel, another species of tents set apart for their accommodation. The state Yessâowels, exempts, or silver sticks, in embroidered vestments, and mounted on richly caparisoned horses, their

A. H. 807. saddles ornamented with gold and jewels, attended in every direction  
 A. D. 1404. to preserve regularity, and to promote the general convenience. And  
 Rouzut-us, last of all, a number of elephants in superb housings, bearing stately  
 sufa. thrones, or litters on their backs, stood at convenient intervals to  
 add to the grandeur of the scene.

Of the costly vases enriched with precious stones, the gorgeous services and variety of utensils of every description, in gold and silver, displayed in the course of the entertainments which followed the splendid ceremony, in quick succession, the number and value surpassed all calculation; and the articles for the supply of the innumerable guests, both in eatables and drinkables, are described to have been in such enormous abundance, that the sensations of hunger and thirst might well be said, for a time, to have been entirely forgotten. For many successive days and nights was the festive scene protracted, during which the prince and peasant, great and small, rich and poor, indulged without distinction or restraint, in all the gratifications that boisterous mirth, and wine, and music, may be supposed capable of affording. At the conclusion of the feast, Teymûr caused the most splendid dresses to be distributed to the several ambassadors from Syria and Egypt, from Europe, from the different powers of Hindûstau, and from the boundless regions of Keptchawk, as well as to the whole of the Ameirs of the court, the generals and principal officers of the army, and the numerous individuals of his household. And when all had been dispatched that related to the pomp and display of these superb carousals, Teymûr, with no less application than usual, resumed the more serious concerns of his government; neither did he omit in the seclusion of his cabinet to offer up his sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to that *Almighty being*, who had ordained that so many stupendous events should terminate, with such unchanging uniformity, to the advancement of his designs for the subjugation of the world.

He now began to enter with more decided spirit on his preparations for the expedition against the empire of China; and his leading step was the employment of the imperial Towatcheis, to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the numerical strength of every separate corps, and division in his armies, with orders, after making such



augmentations as they found requisite, to enregister the whole for his inspection. They were further instructed, when every other arrangement was complete, to deliver to each of the principal Ameirs, a Tûikaul, or Tûtikaul, or chart of regulations possibly, indicating the nature of the equipments they were to provide, and the disposition in which they were to present themselves at the general rendezvous. These arrangements in train, Teymûr quitted the plains of Kaun-e-gûll, and returned to the metropolis; where he took up his abode for the present in the college of Serâi Melek Khaunum. From thence he now permitted Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Jahan-gueir and his retinue, to proceed, loaded with favors, by way of Herât and Kandahaur, towards Gheznein, accompanied by Seidy Ahmed the son of Omar Sheikh; the mother of that young prince having been married, it seems, to Peir Mahommed, some time after the death of her former husband. The ambassador of Egypt was dismissed about the same time, after having experienced the most favorable reception, with an epistle to his master, not more than seventy cubits long and three cubits broad; all written in letters of gold, by Moulana Sheikh Mahommed the Tebrizian, the most skilful penman of that age. The Sûltan of Egypt had, it would appear, on this occasion announced by his ambassador, that he had recently seized and imprisoned both the fugitives, Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, and his treacherous ally the Tûrkman Kâra Yûssuf; whom he was ready to dispose of in any manner that might be intimated to him by the imperial will of Teymûr. In reply to this he was informed, with respect to Sûltan Ahmed in particular, that he was immediately to convey him in irons to the presence, where there can be little doubt of the fate which awaited him; but with regard to the Tûrkman chief, obnoxious as he had proved, and contradictory as this may appear to the opinion recently expressed of his character and designs, Melek Faredje was apprized, that he might set him at large without further delay. The letter was accompanied by a variety of presents of the most superb and costly description, either of which might, in the language of the east, be estimated at the revenue of a kingdom. The European ambassadors, together with those of Keptchawk and other foreign states, were also permitted to depart for their respective

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countries, after having shared most liberally in the bounty of this puissant monarch. We learn, however, from De la Croix's work, that although the Spanish ambassadors were dismissed at the same time with those of the Sûltan of Egypt, they were excluded from the honors of an audience of leave; Teymûr being reported as seriously indisposed. In consequence of which it is stated, in the relation of the Spanish embassy through mistake, that he was actually dead. Among other departures from court, which occurred at this conjuncture, it has been also considered of importance to notice those of the princess Melket Aga for Herât, and of the princess imperial Beggisy Sûltan, the daughter of Teymûr, for Hamadaun the government of her husband,\* Mirza Eskûnder.

It was at the same period that the government of Taushkent, Seiraum, Yengui,† and Asheirah, with the territory of Jettah to the borders of Khatâi, was bestowed upon Mirza Olûgh Beg; while that of Andegaun, Aukseiket, Terauz, and Kashghâr, to the confines of Khoten, was conferred on Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan—both sons of Shah Rokh, and neither of them at this crisis, more than eleven years of age. The Ameirs Peir Mahommed Toghâi Bouga, Sheikh Behloul, Beyan Temûr Auk Bouga, and Mahommed Azaud, proceeded at the same time to different quarters, in order to conduct the troops of the empire, to Taushkent, on the right, or eastern bank of the Seyhûn; which had been fixed upon for the general rendezvous of the army intended for the Chinese expedition.

These arrangements dispatched, Teymûr changed his place of residence from the college of Serâi Melek Khaunum to the Gougserâi, or blue palace, formerly erected by his orders. Here Ameir Berendek was employed by his orders to make the most careful inspection of the rolls of his army; for the purpose of ascertaining the precise number of effective troops that he should be able to devote to the important expedition, towards which all his views were now directed; and that chief is accordingly stated to have exhibited a report, in which conformably with the resolutions already adopted at Kaun-e-gûll, the number of fighting-men drawn from the several provinces of Mawer-un-neher, Khaurezm, Tûrkestân, Balkh,

\* The aunt, and the nephew.

† Probably the place called Yessy.

and Puddukhshaun, Mazanderaun, and Khorassaun, including the Kâra-Tatarian tribes transplanted from Anatolia, amounted altogether to two hundred thousand horse and foot, in every respect completely equipped and disciplined for battle. This is confirmed by the statements in the Zuffer-nâmah of the Yezdian. The author of the Rouzut-us-suffa, however, remarks that he had frequently heard one of his patrons, Mirza Sûltan Ahmed, assert that the register of Teymûr's armies, and their equipments, was in his possession; and that, at the period of the intended expedition, the troops in the immediate pay of that monarch alone amounted to three hundred and eighty two thousand men; adding, that the whole force of the empire, at the same period, did not amount altogether to less than eight hundred thousand horse and foot.

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However this may have been, the Mirzas Khaleil Sûltan son of Meiran Shah, and Ahmed the son of Omar Sheikh, with the Ameirs Khodadaud ul Hûseyny, and Shums-ud-dein Abbas, and other distinguished commanders, were now directed, with the divisions and squadrons under their orders, to take up their winter quarters at Taushkent, Shahrokhia, and Seiraun, on the right bank of the Seyhûn, or Jaxartes; while Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne and other Ameirs, with their divisions of the left wing, proceeded far more to the northward, to pass the winter at Yessy, or Yassi, and Sabraun. In this place we are informed, that Shahrokhia was the city anciently known by the name of Finauket; which having been destroyed, during the invasion of Transoxiana by the troops of Jengueiz, so completely, that not one brick lay upon another, it had been rebuilt, in the course of the seven hundred and ninety fourth of the hidjerah, by the direction of Teymûr, and then received the designation of Shahrokhia, in honor of the fourth son of that monarch.

But to proceed in the narrative, having authorized Ameir Arghûn Shah to take charge of the government of Samarkand, during his absence, and consigned the imperial treasury to the care of Sheikh Tchehrah, Teymûr, on the twenty third of the former Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and seventh of the hidjerah,\* the sun being then in the middle of Sagittarius, caused his standard to be advanced

\* 26th of November.

A. H. 807. towards the winter quarters of Aðksulaut; encamping soon afterwards  
 A. D. 1404. at the station of Kârabulauk, where he was joined by the divisions  
 Rouzut-us- of the imperial army, that were hastening to the place of general  
 suffa. rendezvous on the Seyhûn. From thence he proceeded by the route  
 of Eylan-outy, and in several days march further to Tablik, or perhaps  
 Tambic; where he was encountered by the severity of winter, in all  
 its rigor of snow, rain, and wind, accompanied by the most piercing  
 cold. In these circumstances, it became expedient to make the best  
 of his way to the cantonments of Auksûlaut; accommodations having  
 been already prepared for his reception at that place, as well as for  
 the princes of his blood, the generals, and indeed for the whole of the  
 troops. The sun was now in the frigid mansions of Capricorn,\* and  
 the severity of the cold had increased to such a degree as to surpass  
 all former experience.

In conformity with the instructions which had been conveyed to  
 them, the Mirzas Khaleil Sûltan, and Sûltan Hûsseyne, had conducted  
 the troops under their orders, the former to Taushkent, and the  
 latter to Yessy and Sabraun. But here, as a circumstance in some-  
 shape or other material to the sequel, the author has thought it expe-  
 dient to suspend the narrative of public events, in order to introduce  
 the subject of a violent passion which one of these princes, Mirza  
 Khaleil Sûltan, had contracted for Shaud, or Shaudy Melek, a con-  
 cubine, or supplementary wife, formerly in the haram of the late  
 Hadjy Seyf-ud-dein. The prince was already regularly espoused to  
 Jahaun Sûltan, the daughter of Mirza Ally, sister's son of Teymûr;  
 but, taking advantage of the recent absence of the imperial court, he  
 had rashly proceeded to include the object of his irregular passion  
 among his lawful wives. In consequence of this, on his return to  
 Samarkand, the abridgment of her conjugal rights was made the sub-  
 ject of heavy complaint to her imperial relative, by the neglected Ja-  
 haun Sûltan; and a mandate had been immediately issued to bring her  
 odious rival to the presence of Teymûr. Mirza Khaleil had, however,  
 contrived in the mean time, to place his favorite beyond the reach of  
 discovery; by which the anger of Teymûr was so seriously excited,  
 that sentence of death was passed against her, wherever she might be.

\* Jâdy.

found. The execution of this sanguinary decree was, however, suspended for the time, through the intercession of Mirza Peir Mahomed the son of Jahangueir. But it was no sooner communicated to Teymûr, on his arrival at Auksulaut on this occasion, that the obnoxious female was at this moment in the train of her lover at Taushkent, than Ameir Beraut was directed to proceed immediately to that place, in order to seize her person, and convey her to the presence. This was accordingly done; and an order was issued, afresh, that she should be borne to execution without delay. Again, however, her pitying angel interposed in her behalf, in the person of Serâi Melek Khanum, who succeeded, with the aid of Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Ameir Shah Melek, in persuading the angry monarch that the lady was pregnant; and that it would be inexpedient, if not unjust, to involve the unconscious and unoffending infant in the punishment of its mother. The latter was, therefore, consigned to the care of Nûyan, perhaps Bûyan Aga, until the period of her delivery; when proper measures were to be adopted for the education of the child, and the mother further given over to one of the attendants of the imperial household.

Ameir Berendek had been dispatched in the mean time to Taushkent, in order to expedite the supplies of the army; and the number of carts, and other descriptions of conveyances with the various articles of consumption, which thronged the roads from every quarter, was so prodigious as to ensure inexhaustible abundance. Immense convoys of horses, and other descriptions of cattle, loaded with the produce of different countries, were also continually arriving at the imperial head quarters, and with the customary uncircumscribed liberality, distributed by the sovereign among the princes of his blood, the principal generals, and in short, to every class of individuals who followed in his train. At this crisis, indeed, the majesty and grandeur of the monarch, and the fortune of the satellites of his power, appear to have attained to that climax of human felicity, beyond which it is impossible to ascend higher. Men, therefore, of superior discernment, accustomed to look forward beyond the present moment, began to apprehend some further proof of the truth of the maxim which indicates that no human perfection is exempt from decay; and

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to feel the most alarming disquietude, lest that fortune which had continued so long triumphant was, at last, about to experience some awful circumstance of decline.

Although the sun was still lingering in the latter degrees of Capricorn, and the severity of the cold produced many a sigh for the scorching heat of the dog days,\* yet, such was the impatience of Teymûr's zeal for the coercion of the idolaters, that he could no longer wait until the rigors of the season should have abated; and having, therefore, made himself acquainted with the state of the roads and other circumstances of the country through which he was to pass, he accordingly set his troops in motion for Otraur. In the mean time, orders had been dispatched to the Mirzas Khaleil Sûltan, and Ahmed the son of Omar Sheikh, with the Ameirs, and divisions of the army at Taushkent, Seiraum, and Shahrokhia, to break up from their winter quarters, and repair towards the place of rendezvous, as soon as the sun should have approached the middle of the sign Pisces; similar instructions being conveyed to Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, and the troops cantoned at Yessy, and Sabraun, on the frontiers of Keptchawk, to break up for the general rendezvous, at the commencement of the spring.

Teymûr, with the troops immediately under his orders, now proceeded in several marches to the Seyhûn, on the right bank of which he soon afterwards encamped, having crossed that river on the ice; both the Jeyhûn and Seyhûn being this year so completely frozen over, from the period at which the sun entered Sagittarius to that at which he quitted Pisces, that wheel-carriages of every description passed in perfect safety—the Seyhûn, in particular, being frozen to the depth of three cubits. On the twelfth day of Rûdjub,† he entered Otraur,‡ and took up his residence in the dwelling of Beirdy Beg; the shahzâdahs, and other members of his court, being accommodated at the same time, in various parts of the city. At this crisis a very simple accident occurred, which, although at any other period it might have passed without notice, was now converted into an omen of most fearful prognostication. On the very day on which he took possession,

\* The original says, "for the flames of hell." † 13th of January, 1405.

‡ 80 farsangs of three kôsse each from Samarkand. Abûl Fazzel.

the corner of the roof of the house which was selected for the abode of Teymûr, was set fire to, by some sparks from an adjoining chimney; and although this was extinguished without any great difficulty, it contributed, in an extraordinary degree, to augment the apprehensions which had already seized the minds of many men, in consequence of some frightful *dreams*. Teymûr was, however, not to be deterred from his purpose by superstitious fears; and Moussa Rekmaul proceeded without delay, by his orders, to examine whether the passage by Erdepûll were practicable. That chief returned soon afterwards with a report to the contrary; while another person, who had been dispatched for the same purpose towards Seirâum, came back to state, that the snow had accumulated two spears-length in depth, among the ridges of Kolaun.

While the efforts of Teymûr's zeal were thus involuntarily suspended, through the inclemencies of the season, Kâra Khaujâh, or Khoujah, the envoy of Tokhtemesh Khaun, who had long wandered without authority through the wilds of northern Tartary, presented himself at the imperial court in behalf of his master, and was introduced with extraordinary solemnity; Teymûr receiving him seated on the throne, with the princes Tâeizy Oghlan, Baush Temûr Oghlan, and Tchegher Oghlan, of the race of Jengueiz, on his right, and the Shahzâdahs Olûgh Beg, and Ibrauhim Sûltan, on his left hand. In the name of Tokhtemesh the agent proceeded to state, that by a protracted period of suffering in the solitudes of the desert, under every circumstance of privation, alarm, and distress, he trusted that he had sufficiently atoned for his disobedience and ingratitude, and that he had thus discharged the full penalty of his guilt. Provided, therefore, the imperial clemency might be extended in oblivion of the past, he was authorized to engage for the future, that his master should prove an example of fidelity and devotion, for the remainder of his days. With a compassion for the distresses of an unfortunate prince, proceeding not less, peradventure, from his indignation at the recent refractory conduct of the monarch whom, to his prejudice, he had raised to the throne of Keptchawk, Teymûr evinced considerable kindness for the Khaujâh, who was among the oldest and most faithful retainers of his master's court, and expressly assured him that,

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suffa.

when he should return from the important expedition, which at present so deeply engaged his attention, he hoped to purify the regions of Keptehauk, and the patrimony of Jûjy Khaun, from the agitations of all those pestilent animosities by which the land had been so long afflicted, and finally to re-establish the illustrious fugitive on the throne, from which he had been so untowardly extruded.

Teymûr had, indeed, fully resolved to take his departure from Otraur, in the course of a few days, on his march towards the Chinese frontier; and with that view it was his design, as an immediate preliminary, to dismiss the princesses, and such other branches of the imperial family as had thus far accompanied him, from motives of respect and affection, on their return to Samarkand; at the same time, that he permitted the ambassador of Tokhtemesh, loaded with proofs of his kindness, and an abundant assortment of the most costly productions, to proceed to the presence of his master. But all these arrangements, however skilfully concerted in the contemplation of human wisdom, were destined to be very suddenly overruled by the decrees of an eternal providence, by which it had been long since otherwise pre-ordained.

As a poet and moralist the author here pauses to remark, that were a human being to exalt himself so high as to make the firmament his foot-stool, or to take the moon for his pillow; yet, in the sequel, must he submit to lay his head in the lowly chamber of the dust; for what son of earth ever became an inmate under the blue expanse beneath which we inhabit, at whose door the angel of death hath not finally claimed admission? or, for what child of mere mortality hath nature ever found its cradle, for whom she hath not ultimately provided its coffin? Alas! the fairest flower of the garden blooms but to perish, and the most fragrant herb of nature's growth, but to wither before the thrilling blast of autumn. The tall and graceful cypress, nay the stateliest tree that towers above the forest, is it not equally doomed to fall either through the silent lapse of time, or the fury of the storm? We may venture to add from De la Croix's translation, what is there cited as a passage from the Korân, "that when God created the world for the service of man, he created man for his own



A. H. 807.  
 A. D. 1405.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 s-uffa.

glory." Hence we are to learn, that the dignity of the human soul is of a nature too refined and exalted to be forever attached to this natural body; and that a substance so pure and excellent cannot possibly find permanent felicity, elsewhere than in being reunited to that eternal spirit which created, and gave it immortality. At all events, the crisis now approached in which, all puissant and prosperous as he had hitherto proved, Teymûr himself was to be finally instructed, and the world by his example, that no human power can be invulnerable to the stroke of death.

In these circumstances, while detained at Otrauras already described, by the severity of the weather and the impracticable state of the roads, Teymûr, on the tenth of the month of Shabaun in the eight hundred and seventh of the hidjerah,\* was attacked by a paroxysm of fever and ague; during which he expressed, without cessation, his unfeigned penitence for all his offences, whether of error or design. His complaint continued, in the mean time, to gain ground upon him every hour; and being aggravated, moreover, by the accession of other ailments still more serious and malignant, the prescriptions designed for his relief in the one case, produced the most unfavorable effects in the others. It was therefore soon discovered that the aid of medicine was unavailing, although that medicine was administered by Moulana Fazel-ullah, the most celebrated and skilful physician of the age in which he lived.

When, on the other hand, he became sensible that his disorder was incurable, and that his speedy departure for another state of existence was without alternative, Teymûr, humbly relying on the aid of a compassionate and beneficent being to wean him, with sufficient gentleness, from the ties of human affection, proceeded to assemble in his sick chamber, the princesses of his family, and the most distinguished members of his court; in order to make a formal and final arrangement of the concerns of his mighty empire. In their presence, accordingly, he directed his secretaries, while his intellects remained unimpaired, and a moment was yet left him to devote to the cares of humanity, to commit to writing the following last and solemn declaration.

\* 10th of February, 1405.

A. H. 807.

A. D. 1405.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

“I pronounce my grandson Peir Mahommed the son of Jahangueit,  
 “ absolute heir and successor to my throne, and to the imperial dignity.  
 “ To him, therefore, it behoves you all to submit yourselves with zeal  
 “ and fidelity; cautiously abstaining from those contentious animosities,  
 “ which must compromise the peace and welfare of so many nations,  
 “ and finally subvert to the foundations, that superb fabric of government,  
 “ which it has cost me so many years of painful exertion to erect. I demand  
 “ that all present shall pledge themselves to conform to this arrangement,  
 “ under the most solemn engagements of our common faith; and that the  
 “ generals of the troops that are absent shall bind themselves under the same  
 “ solemn obligation, not to defeat the object of these my last commands.”

The Ameirs Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Shah Melek, together with the whole of the nobility and principal officers of the household now assembled round his pillow, with the tears streaming from their eyes, and invoking every blessing upon his head, protested that every day of their lives would be freely sacrificed to the preservation of a single moment in the life of their venerated sovereign.—That so far from connteracting in any shape his just designs for the arrangement of the succession, and they should consider any such ungrateful and refractory demeanor on their part as exposing themselves to everlasting reproach and infamy, they were on the contrary prepared, while a spark of vital principle continued to animate their frames, to hold stedfastly within the circle of their allegiance to his authority, and to sacrifice every minor concern to the advancement of his glory. In the mean time, they besought his attention to the necessity of requiring the immediate presence of Khaleil Sûltan, and of the generals who were absent; in order that that they might learn from himself the nature of his arrangements in favor of Mirza Peir Mahommed. All which, for obvious reasons, they could not conscientiously forbear to intimate as likely to produce the most material and important result on the future destinies of his people.

Teymûr observed, in reply, that he distinctly perceived the symptoms of approaching dissolution; and that the few fleeting moments of life that remained were far too short to admit of the possibility of the interview, which they seemed disposed to invest with such material im-

portance. Heaven be praised, he said for his own part, that he had nothing left to wish for, in this world, but the opportunity of consoling his eyes, for the last time, with the sight of his darling son Shah Rokh. But this was, it seems, an indulgence which he was not destined to enjoy. Then turning to the princes of his family who were present in the chamber, he proceeded to impress upon their minds the counsels of wisdom and experience, which he was so transcendently qualified to bestow; pointing out to them, in particular, the inestimable advantages of fraternal union, and warning them above all things against the fatal evils of domestic strife. Having apparently concluded what he had to say, his disorder seemed to return upon him with increasing violence, and he swooned away. Coming, however, a little to himself, he indicated his wish that Moulana Heybet-ullah, from among the many who were employed without in reciting the chapters of the Koràn, should alone enter the chamber; and the dying monarch soon afterwards surrendered his soul to his creator, continuing to repeat some particular passages of the sacred volume, and to attest the eternal unity of the supreme Being, to the last moment of existence.

The death of Teymùr is ascertained with sufficient accuracy to have taken place on the seventeenth of the month of Shabaun, of the eight hundred and seventh of the hidjerah,\* the year of his dissolution being contained in the letters numerically applied of the words "*wedda-e-sheheryaury*," adieu to royalty—the Persian characters of which making altogether the number 807. Had he lived to the succeeding month of April, he would have exactly completed his sixty ninth year; and he is said to have exercised the sovereignty without controul, reckoning from the eighth of April A. D. 1370, for a period of six and thirty lunar years; or more exactly, of four and thirty solar years, ten months, and eight or nine days. With six and thirty sons, grandsons, and great grandsons, whom he left to perpetuate his race, he left also the character of having been one of the most renowned monarchs recorded in the page of history. And, sooth to say, so long as a dauntless courage nurtured in the vicissitudes of danger, distress, and hardship—so long as un-

A. H. 807.  
A. D. 1405.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

\* Corresponding with the 17th of February, A. D. 1405.

A. H. 807.  
A. D. 1415.  
Rou/nt us-  
suffa.

rivalled talents and experience in the trade of war and desolation, however combined with the most wanton prodigality in human blood, shall be held up to the astonishment and admiration of the world, the name of Teymûr will continue to retain its place among those of the most illustrious conquerors, either of ancient or of modern times.

We cannot, perhaps, close this chapter to better effect, than by exhibiting, from the *Kholausset-ul akhbaur*, collated with Mr. De la Croix's version of Sheref-ud-dein's history, the subjoined account of the male line of Teymûr's family, who were living at the period of that illustrious monarch's death; and many of whom will be again introduced to the reader in the course of the succeeding pages.

Of the children of Gheyauth-ud-dein Mirza Jahangueir, who died A. D. 1375, there were, then, living eleven sons and grandsons; 1 Mahommed Jahangueir, nine years of age; 2 Saud-e-Wokauss, six years of age; 3 Yaheya, five years of age—these three were the sons of the late Mahommed Sûltan. 4 Mirza Peir Mahommed, son of Jahangueir, twenty-nine years of age, with seven sons—1 Keydou, nine years of age; 2 Khaled, seven years of age; 3 Bouzenjer; 4 Saud-e-Wokauss; 5 Sunjur; 6 Keysser; 7 Jahangueir.

Of the progeny of Omar Sheikh, who fell, as we have formerly seen, in A. D. 1394, before the castle of Khermautù, there survived sons and grandsons, nine; namely, 1 Peir Mahommed, twenty-six years of age; and 2, one son whose name was Omar Sheikh, after that of his grandfather; the latter was seven years of age; 3 Rûstum, four and twenty years of age, with two sons—4 Othmaun, six years of age; and, 5 Sûltan Ally, one year old; 6 Eskunder, the son of Omar Sheikh, one and twenty years of age; 7 Ahmed, the son of Omar Sheikh, eighteen years of age; 8 Sidy Ahmed, eighteen years of age; and 9thly Baykera, twelve years of age.

Jullaul-ud-dein Meiran Shah, thirty-eight years of age, with seven sons and grandsons; 1 Aba Bukker, twenty-three years of age, and his two sons, 2 Aylengur, nine years of age, and, 3 Othmaun Tchêleby, four years of age; 4 Omar, the son of Meiran Shah, twenty-two

years of age; 5 Khaleil Sûltan, twenty-one years of age;\* 6 Ayjel, ten years of age; 7 Seyûrghetmesh, six years of age.

Shah Rokh, eight and twenty years of age, with seven sons—1 Olûgh Beg, eleven years of age; 2 Ibrauhim Sûltan, eleven years of age; 3 Baysungur, eight years of age; 4 Seyûrghetmesh, six years of age; 5 Mahommed Jouky, three years of age; 6 Jaun Oghlan, two years of age; and 7th Yaurûi, one year old.†

In addition to the above, we must take into our account the Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, twenty-five years of age, the son of Teymûr's daughter Aukia Beggy, or Tajy Khaun, by Ameir Mahommed Beg, the son of Ameir Moussa; as also one daughter, Sûltan Bukht Begum, and sixteen grand-daughters.

Here it becomes necessary to observe, that in order to confine the narrative to the limits prescribed at the commencement of this undertaking, we are constrained, with some reluctance, to recur to the abridged statements of the Kholausset-ul-akhbaur; since, were we to persevere in wading through the inexhaustible materials of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, so far from redeeming our pledge of bringing the subject to a conclusion with the third, it would irresistibly bear us along through many a tedious page, to the end of a fourth volume; and this must be the author's apology, for the conciseness which will be seen to pervade some of the succeeding chapters.

\* There is here a most important omission, for *Sûltan Mahommed Mirza*, stated to be the 6th of the sons of Meiran Shah, was the lineal progenitor of that branch of the house of Teymûr which mounted the throne of Hindûstaun.

† The age is given from De la Croix, collated with the Rouzut-us-suffâ.



# CHRONOLOGICAL RETROSPECT

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF

*Mahommedan History,*

*&c.*

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## CHAP. X.

AS soon as it was consistent with prudence to divulge the important secret, the Ameirs Shah Melek and Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein dispatched, in every direction, to announce to the different branches of the imperial family, the awful and afflicting event which had just taken place; while they omitted no precaution to secure the general tranquillity of the empire from disturbance. At the same time, they proceeded with tristful solemnity to discharge the last sacred duties to the remains of their departed sovereign; which were now conveyed, under the direction of Khanjah Yûssuf, and Ally Koutchin, towards Samarkand. At that metropolis, having received instructions to proceed with the utmost expedition, these persons accordingly arrived on the night of the twenty-second of Shabaun;\* and it must be acknowledged that their progress on this occasion exhibited rather the celerity of a forced march, than the solemnity of a funeral procession, since they accomplished a journey of eighty-six farsangs, or about 300 miles in the short space of five days; having left the vicinity of Otraur on the 18th of the month. Shortly after their arrival, they committed their sacred deposit, with the usual ceremonies, to its final repose, in the Gûmbuz, vaulted structure, or mausoleum, long since erected for its reception.

Immediately after the remains of the departed monarch had been conveyed on the road to Samarkand, Mirza Ibrahim Sûltan, † and the Ameirs,

\* 22d of February, A. D. 1405.

† The second son of Shah Rokh.

A. H. 807.  
A. D. 1405.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

A. H. 807.  
A. D. 1405.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

and generals on the spot, hastened to put the troops in motion, with the object of carrying into execution the design against the dominions of the Chinese Empire; and having marched, accordingly, to the distance of about one farsang to the eastward of Otraur, they there encamped. But the intelligence of his grandfather's death was no sooner communicated to Mirza Sultán Hússeyne, with the troops at Yassy and Sabraun, than he caused an immediate and general dispersion of the army under his orders; and with one thousand men only, each provided with a spare horse, made the best of his way towards Samarkand, in order to seize that city, and secure the throne for himself. This piece of information necessarily produced a change in the measures of Ibrauhim Sultán and the Ameirs who commanded in the neighborhood of Otraur; and they resolved without delay to return towards the metropolis, at the same time, forwarding a dispatch to apprise Mirza Khaleil Sultán, the son of Meiran Shah, of the ambitious projects of his kinsman. Not less obnoxious, however, to the seductions of ambition than his competitors, this prince had also been prevailed upon by the arguments of Khodadaud ul Hússeyne, and the other Ameirs of his division, to aspire to the sovereign dignity; and, with equal resolution to assert his claims, like them proceeded immediately towards Samarkand.

On the other hand, when the designs of Khaleil Sultán became known to the Ameirs Shah Melek and Sheikh Núr-ud-dein, they conveyed repeated messages to explain to that prince and to the chiefs who supported his claims, that, by the dying instructions of their departed sovereign, the throne of Samarkand had been allotted to *Mirza Peir Mahommed* the son of Jahangueir; and that it behoved them to beware how they presumed to set aside that allotment—without, however, producing the slightest effect. The Mirzas Olugh Beg, and Ibrauhim Sultán, neither of whom were at this period more than eleven years of age, together with the princes belonging to the family of Teymúr, and the Ameirs Shah Melek and Sheikh Núr-ud-dein, at the same time, continued their march; but when they reached the station of Karjek, or Karajek, it was on consultation agreed upon, that Ameir Shah Melek should proceed alone to Samarkand. On his arrival in the neighborhood, that gallant chief, however, found the gates of the metropolis closed against him, by the governor Arghún Shah; who had been seduced, by the promises of Khaleil Sultán, to declare for the authority of that prince, against the claims of any other person whatever. Thus, after exerting all his influence, in vain, to prevail upon Arghún Shah to admit him within the gates of the city, Shah Melek had no other alternative than to return to the princes Olugh Beg and Ibrauhim, whom he found encamped with the army, on the plains of Allyabad. Nevertheless, it was determined to make still one effort to gain over the governor of Samarkand; and the veteran Sheikh Núr-ud-dein was now dispatched to try whether his counsels might not yet have the effect of inducing him to recede from his resolution. But Arghún Shah proved equally inflexible to the persuasions of friendship and to the arguments of reason; and Sheikh Núr-ud-dein, like his precursor, was constrained to rejoin his associates without success.



In the mean time, Rûstum Toghâi Bouga presented himself, from the army of Khaleil Sûltan, to announce that the whole of the Ameirs of that army, and their followers, had solemnly renewed their pledge of allegiance to that prince; and that they were on their march immediately for Samarkand. On this intelligence, the princes of the imperial family were advised to throw themselves at all hazards, and without further delay, into that metropolis; while Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, and Shah Melek, with the young Mirzas Olûgh Beg and Ibrauhim Sûltan, and most of the cabinet ministers, and officers of the household, of the late sovereign, drew off towards Bokhâra; and reaching the city in the course of the succeeding month of Ramzaun,\* there proceeded, with all diligence, to place the walls and towers, and other fortifications, in a competent state of defence.

It would appear, that when the army at Taushkent were known to have undertaken the elevation of Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, while his father was yet living, to the imperial dignity, the other shahzâdahs did not hesitate equally to consider that the provisions of Teymûr's will must cease to have effect; and that prince shortly afterwards actually took his departure, from the territory on the Seyhûn, in triumph for Samarkand, the principal inhabitants hastening to join him from all parts of the country. On the banks of the Kouhek river, Arghûn Shah proceeded to present him with the keys of the city and castle of Samarkand, which he entered a short time afterwards; placing the imperial diadem on his brows, on the sixteenth of the month of Ramzaun, of the 807th of the hidjerah.† Disregarding the dictates of his grandfather's will, altogether, he caused the young Mirza Mahommed Jahangueir, the son of the deceased Mahommed Sûltan, and brother's son to the declared successor, Mirza Peir Mahommed, to be seated on the throne of Tcheghatâi; the name of that young prince being exhibited, according to custom, at the head of all letters patent, and decrees of the government. The gates of the treasury were then thrown open, and its contents distributed, with a prodigality which acknowledged neither bounds nor discrimination. Some days were, however, devoted to propitiate the soul of the departed conqueror, by a liberal distribution of food to the distressed and indigent; and the poets and men of genius, who had in any shape recorded the praises of the hero, were, at the same time, most bountifully remunerated, for the exertion of their talents on a subject so abundantly fertile in materials for panegyric.

It is not to be forgotten that, at the period under consideration, the city of Samarkand surpassed all places in the world, in the number of men of science, genius, and literature, as well as of the most skilful proficient in every branch of the arts, who resided within the circumference of its walls; and with regard to all that constitutes wealth and splendor, to specie in gold and silver, jewels of every description, to the most beautiful articles of manufacture in every form and fabric, to all kinds of arms offensive and defensive, and furniture for war in all its departments—to all that was necessary to the support and display of imperial grandeur, this renowned

\* March 1405.

† 16th of March, 1405.

A. H. 807.  
A. D. 1405.  
Khoiaussat-ul-  
akhbaur.

metropolis is said to have contained within its bosom, far more than the human mind is capable of framing an estimate. Yet, though all this superb inheritance had dropped, as it were, into the lap of Khaleil Sûltan, almost without an exertion, and with the concurrence of every individual in the place, whether civil or military, could not that prince contrive to preserve his power within the territory of Samarkand—much less to extend it over the neighboring provinces—beyond the contracted period of four short and fleeting years. But, he was the slave of an unhappy passion for Shaud Melek, a woman of depraved, intriguing, and artful disposition; and to this infatuated predilection has been entirely ascribed, the early subversion of his authority. He had, as we have already noticed, clandestinely united himself to the object of his passion, some time previous to the death of his illustrious grandsire, and continued his intercourse with her under the perpetual terror of discovery. But the moment he attained to the sovereign authority, on the death of Teymûr, he instantly threw off all restraint, and consigned to the discretion of his mistress, the absolute controul of every concern of his government. Misled by the insidious counsels of this woman, in the first place, he presumed to insult the memory of his imperial grandfather, by causing several of the princesses of his haram, to be forcibly married to men of ignoble birth, and inferior origin; but, what had a tendency infinitely more decisive in hastening the subversion of his power, he was encouraged by her influence to yield to a disposition already too prodigal of expence; and, in the course of a very short time, to dissipate the inestimable produce of the mines of the earth, and of the chambers of the ocean, accumulated in the imperial treasury of Samarkand, among the basest profligates, and the very dregs of society. Hence, the minds of the nobility and principal officers of his court, and of the generality of his subjects, became equally disgusted with the government of the infatuated shahzâdah: the province of Mawur-un-neher soon became a prey to the most violent commotions; and the wretched Khaifeil was compelled to seek an asylum with his uncle Shah Rokh, under whose protection he finally quitted this world and its calamities, in the territory of Rey, as will be briefly noticed hereafter.

We shall now be permitted to direct the attention of our readers to the contemplation of, we trust, a more consoling picture; a system of moderation crowned with success, in the example of a just and prudent prince, promoting his own substantial glory in the welfare of his people, and deservedly blessed with a prosperous and protracted reign of almost half a century.

• When the death of Teymûr was announced to Shah Rokh at Herât, that prince, after discharging the tribute of mourning due from filial piety, and to the memory of the illustrious dead, proceeded, with the concurrence of the nobles of his province, to seat himself on the throne of sovereign power. This event took place during the month of Ramzaun, of the year eight hundred and seven;\* and the authority of Shah Rokh was immediately acknowledged by every chief throughout the

\* March 1405.

three provinces of Khorassaun, Seiestaun, and Mazanderaun; the coinage and public prayers being pronounced and circulated in his name, with unanimous approbation, through each of those important provinces. Thus confirmed in his authority in that part of the empire of his father, Shah Rokh, on whom the oriental writers henceforward generally confer the title of Khâgan-e-Sâeid, *the august Khâgan*, leaving Ameir Mûzraub the son of Jaukou, or Tchaukou, together with the Ameirs Hussun Souffy Terkhan and Alleikah Koukeltaush, to take charge of Khorassaun during his absence, directed his course towards the territory beyond the Oxus. At the station of Derrahzen-gui, however, being met by Séyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, with advices from Samarkand announcing the accession of Khaleil Sûltan, he determined, on consultation with his principal officers, to send Ameir Jullaul-ud-dein Feyrouz, the son of Arghûn Shah, back to Herât, for the purpose of putting the walls and towers of that city in a state of defence; while Seyud Khaujah proceeded, with a similar object in view, towards the ancient city of Touss, in order to repair the fortifications of the castle; and these prudent precautions dispatched, Shah Rokh continued his march for the Oxus.

Having encamped shortly afterwards near Lungur, the mausoleum, or perhaps anchoring place, of the sheikhzâdah Bayezid, he was unexpectedly joined by his nephew Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne; who had failed in his designs on Samarkand, and who now sought the protection of his uncle. On the banks of the Oxus, again, he was met by Ameir Shah Melek from Bokhâra, with intelligence that the princes Olâgh Beg and Ibrauhim Sûltan were safely lodged in that city: and much about the same crisis, by the agent of Khaleil Sûltan himself, with many protestations of duty and allegiance from his master, declaring that he had no other object in taking possession of Samarkand, than to retain the government as the lieutenant of his uncle. The sincerity of these professions was so little doubted, that Shah Rokh returned immediately towards Herât; dispatching Shah Melek to bring away the young princes his sons from Bokhâra. On his arrival at Endek-houd, he was destined to receive abundant proof, that the instability of character, and propensity to change, of his kinsman Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, was by no means altered; that prince now forsaking his

A. H. 807.

A. D. 1405.

Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

A. H. 807.  
 A. D. 1405.  
 Kholausset-ül-  
 akhbaur.

standard, and flying in quest of some fresh object of ambition. In the mean time, the Ameirs at Bokhâra, obtaining intelligence that Khaleil Sûltan was approaching at the head of a large force from Samarkand, and that he was already encamped on one of the intervening rivers, at no very great distance from Bokhâra, immediately quitted that city in some degree of consternation; and crossing the Amûiah, or lower Oxus, with the two young princes in charge, shortly afterwards conducted them in safety to the camp of their father.

In these circumstances, Shah Rokh conceived it advisable to enter into a negociation with Khaleil Sûltan; and the discreet and loyal Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein was accordingly dispatched, to propose a formal accommodation with that prince. This, after considerable difficulty, was, however, at last accomplished, through the persevering diligence, and indefatigable zeal, of that able and warlike chief; it being finally settled that Khaleil Sûltan should convey a moiety of the treasures of his renowned grandsire, to his declared and acknowledged successor, Mirza Peir Mahommed, and remain satisfied with the sovereign power which he had assumed over Transoxiana. Such, in substance, appears to have been the nature of the stipulations to which Shah Rokh, on his part, now readily acceded; that monarch upon this continuing his march without further delay towards Herât. In the mean time, while he was thus proceeding on his return, Ameir Sûliman Shah, who had been invested by his departed master with the government of Feyrouzkouh, and the adjoining territory of Rûstumdaur, and who had recently fled in dismay from his government, at the approach of the troops of Meiran Shah, embraced the present opportunity of claiming the protection of Shah Rokh; by whom he was left to recover from the fatigues of his flight at Endekhoud, and Sheberghaun—the shah reaching his capital of Herât, on the twentieth of Zilkaudah, of the eight hundred and seventh of the hidjerah.\*

When he withdrew himself from the protection of Shah Rokh, Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne had, it seems, proceeded immediately across the Jeyhûn, to join the party of Khaleil Sûltan; who admitted him, without hesitation, among the most confidential adherents of his government, and further employed him, in conjunction with several

\* 26th of May 1405.

other distinguished commanders, at the head of a division of his troops, higher up on the river just mentioned, in order to watch the motions of Mirza Peir Mahommed; the latter prince having, by this time, quitted Kabûl, and established his authority at Bâlkh. In this situation, yielding again to the suggestions of an ungovernable ambition, over which the ties of gratitude and the sense of obligation appear to have but little influence, Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne did not scruple to put to death the Ameirs Temûr Khaujâh the son of Auk Bouga, and Khaujâh Yâssuf, two of the most distinguished officers associated in his command, and, after bringing the other Ameirs to concur in his views, to direct his march immediately for Samarkand. On the 8th of Mohurrem of the year eight hundred and eight,\* he was, however, met by Khaleil Sûltan at the head of his army, in the neighborhood of Kesh; where, in the battle which ensued, he was easily and ingloriously defeated, in consequence of the treachery, or defection, against which he should have been prepared, of some of the chiefs who had embraced his party. He now fled to the territory of Endekhoud and Sheberghaun, where he experienced a friendly reception from Ameir Sûliman Shah; but being unexpectedly attacked, some time afterwards, by Mirza Peir Mahommed from Bâlkh, he was compelled, together with his friend, to fly to Herât, and once more to claim the protection of Shah Rokh. This terminated the career of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, who was shortly afterwards put to death by order of his kinsman; Ameir Sûliman Shah having been previously sent off to Touss, through some considerations of state policy. But, whatever these considerations might have been, Ameir Sûliman was no sooner apprized of the death of Mirza Sûltan Hûsseyne, than openly proceeding to hostilities, he threw himself into the strong fortress of Kulaut; where he prepared to defend himself against the authority of his protector. Shah Rokh, however, hastened without delay to defeat the designs of the revolter; who no sooner discovered that the offended monarch was encamped in his neighborhood, than abandoning his impregnable position, he fled with all his might towards Samarkand. Shah Rokh then returned in triumph to Herât; from whence the young Mirza Olûgh Beg, accompanied by the experienced Shah Melek, was now dispatched

A. H. 808,  
A. D. 1405.  
Kholâ'issat-ul-  
aklbaur.

\* 5th July 1405.

A. H. 808. to take charge of the government of Endekhoud and Sheberghaun; his  
 A. D. 1405. royal parent proceeding shortly afterwards himself to pass the spring  
 Kholausset-ul- season at the summer quarters of Baudgheiss.  
 akhbaur.

During the period in which Olugh Beg and his preceptor Shah Melek were thus employed in conducting the government of Endekhoud, an agent was dispatched by Mirza Peir Mahommed, to request that Shah Melek might be permitted to repair to Balkh; in order to hold a conference with him, on a subject of material importance to the interests of the parties concerned. In compliance with this request, Shah Melek proceeded immediately to that ancient capital; where an arrangement was concerted, without much difficulty, for an attack upon the dominions of Khaleil Sultan: and the young Mirza having been easily led to concur in the design, the whole force of the two governments, in this quarter, proceeded shortly afterwards across the Oxus. Khaleil Sultan, on his side, was not on this occasion deficient in promptitude to oppose the invaders, whom, in an action which took place not far from the station of Nessel, he entirely defeated; Mirza Olugh Beg, and his preceptor, being compelled to recross the Oxus with disgrace, and Peir Mahommed in no very agreeable plight to return to Balkh. As soon as intelligence of this unlooked for discomfiture was conveyed to Shah Rokh, he hastened at the head of his troops towards the Oxus, in order to repair the disgrace; and being met on his march by Olugh Beg and his associate, received from them a circumstantial report of the unfortunate issue of their expedition. Not long afterwards, an envoy from Khaleil Sultan also presented himself, and stated in behalf of his master, that since Mirza Peir Mahommed had crossed the Oxus, and carried hostilities into the territory subject to his authority, he conceived that he had no other alternative than to employ the means in his power to repel the aggression. For the residue, that he was still disposed to abide by the stipulations of the treaty recently concluded with Shah Rokh. To these apologies and explanations the Shah found it most convenient to lend an indulgent ear, and from the station of Aylaur, returned again towards Herat.

In the mean time, offended by the imperious and haughty demeanour of some of the Ameirs of the court of Shah Rokh, the veteran Shah

Melek suddenly withdrew to Bâkh; and soon afterwards, without the slightest apparent cause, Seyud Khaujah the son of Sheikh Ally Bahauder, who had received the dignity of Ameir-ul-oomra, at the hour of evening prayer, on the 1st day of Zilhudje of the eight hundred and eighth of the hidjerah,\* abruptly quitted his residence in the neighborhood of Herât, and proceeded in the direction of Jaum, accompanied by several misguided persons, whom he had prevailed upon to concur in his selfish views of independent ambition. Being, however, the very same night closely pursued by Shah Rokh in person, the insurgents were overtaken in the forenoon of the following day; and becoming terrified by the immediate presence of the monarch, threw themselves without hesitation upon his mercy. After condescending to pardon this offence against his authority, Shah Rokh returned towards Herât, accompanied by Seyud Khaujah and his followers; but on reaching the Pâll-e-salaur, a bridge, or aqueduct in the neighborhood, the Shah, conceiving that he might now venture to proceed into the city leaving the malcontents without, Seyud Khaujah availed himself, without compunction, of the opportunity thus offered to evince the unabated hostility of his designs; and immediately withdrawing towards Tôuss, proceeded from thence shortly afterwards to Kûlaut, of which important fortress he appears, by some means or other, to have obtained possession.

A. H. 808:  
A. D. 1406. \*  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

On the twenty third of Zilhudje,† Shah Rokh proceeded from Herât, in quest of his rebellious vassal; whom, on his arrival at Mûsh-hed; he found to have abandoned Kûlaut, retiring from thence towards Asterabad. Thither also Shah Rokh now bent his course in pursuit of him. At Ghuzzelniauje of Jennoushaun, or, more probably perhaps, Khaboushaun, he was joined rather unexpectedly by Ameir Shah Melek from Bâkh, whom, notwithstanding his recent discontents, he received with distinguished kindness. Prosecuting his march to Semelgaun, Shah Rokh here halted for some days; and at this place he was joined by his nephew Omar, the son of Meiran Shah, who also experienced from him the most generous and hospitable reception.

In order to account for the appearance of shahzâdah Omar, who

\* 19th May 1406. † 10th of June.

**A. H. 808.** was the second son of Meiran Shah, on this occasion, the narrative  
**A. D. 1406.** must again revert to the period of the death of Teymûr; in conse-  
**Mholausset-ul-**quence of which event, this prince also conceived it not beyond his  
**akhbaur.** pretensions to aspire to the sovereign dignity, in opposition to the  
superior claims of his father, and elder brother Abâ Bukker, both then  
residing at Baghdâd: although he might have urged the most plausible  
grounds for his pretensions, in the recent nomination by his departed  
grandsire, particularly, to the government of Azerbâijaun. But, how-  
ever he might have been impelled, the coinage was immediately  
struck; the public prayers were pronounced, and all the other func-  
tions of royalty conducted in his name, throughout the whole of that  
interesting and powerful province. At this conjuncture also, for it  
would seem that the unquiet and turbulent spirits, hitherto kept in  
subjection by the master mind of Teymûr, were in all quarters turned  
loose upon the world immediately on the demise of that great con-  
queror, Ameir Jahaun Shah the son of Tchaukou, led astray by the  
counsels of ambition, boldly opposed the authority of Mirza Omar,  
in behalf of himself; and having put many of the principal officers of  
his court to death, proceeded on the morning of the twenty second  
of Ramzaun, of the year eight hundred and seven,\* to attack the head  
quarters of the shahzâdah himself. Mirza Omar standing, however,  
resolutely on his defence, and opposing his household born slaves and  
domestics to the exertions of the assailants, until gradually supported  
by the rest of his troops, at last succeeded in repelling this unlooked  
for violence, Ameir Jahaun Shah saving himself for the moment by  
a precipitate retreat; but being closely pursued by Omar Tâban, on  
the part of the shahzâdah, the unfortunate Ameir was overtaken in  
the course of the same day, and immediately put to death, although,  
as it is alleged, without the concurrence of the Shahzâdah.

Much about the same time, Mirza Aba Bukker, conceiving a de-  
sire to pass the summer at Hamadaun, had dispatched an agent from  
Baghdâd, to request the permission of Mirza Omar for that purpose.  
The latter sent to inform him in reply, that it was his anxious wish  
that his kind brother would without further delay or ceremony repair  
to visit him; in order that they might in conjunction adopt such mea-

\* 22nd March 1405.



asures as were best calculated to promote and secure the general welfare of the country. Deceived by these professions, Aba Bukker attended by about two hundred horse, imprudently proceeded to the court of his brother; by whom he was immediately seized, and his person confined to the castle of Kehlfeh, one of the strongest places in Irâk Ajem. The imprisonment of his eldest son was no sooner made known to Meiran Shah, than, in order to favor his escape, he resolved on marching towards the frontiers of Khorassaun. In the mean time, not long after the perfidious seizure of his brother, Mirza Omar had engaged in hostilities with Ameir Sheikh Ibrauhim, prince of Shirvaun, and was now encamped on the banks of the Kûrr; the Shirvanian having taken post at the head of his troops on the opposite side of the same river. After a few day's confinement, during which, according to the author of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, he defeated an attempt to destroy him, by putting to death the two assassins employed for that purpose by his brother, Mirza Aba Bukker, however, contrived to gain over his guards, together with the governor of the castle; and having thus effected his deliverance proceeded without delay to join his father, at this period arrived at Kalpoush in the territory of Mazanderaun. The father and son then returned together, and shortly afterwards made themselves masters of the citadel of Sâltauniah, together with the family, and much of the property, of Mirza Omar and his followers.

As soon as the capture of Sâltauniah became known in the camp of Mirza Omar, the greater part of the troops of that prince, whose fortune was already in the wane, immediately forsook him, and went over to Meiran Shah; leaving their former master to conclude a hasty accommodation with the prince of Shirvaun. Aba Bukker now caused his father to be publicly seated on the throne of Azerbâijaun; and Irâk; although, in the sequel, he assumed to himself all the functions of the royal authority, including the honors even of the Khotbah and Sikkâh, which might without any great inconvenience have been dispensed with; in favor of a very indulgent parent. After this Aba Bukker proceeded against Tebreiz, which was abandoned at his approach by Shahzâdah Omar, who now sought an asylum with his kinsmen the sons of Omar Sheikh; but hostilities ensuing shortly;

A. H. 808.

A. D. 1406.

Kholausset-ul-  
akhabaur.

A. H. 808. afterwards between the brothers, he took the final resolution of with-  
 A. D. 1409. drawing into Khorassaun : and it was in pursuance of this resolution  
 Kholausset-ul- that he joined Shah Rokh at the summer-station of Semelgaun, in  
 akhbaur. the manner just related.

Not long after he had thus given his protection to Mirza Omar, Shah Rokh resumed his march towards Asterabad. At the station of Seiahbelæi,\* or the black mischief, not far from that place, he found himself opposed by a very numerous and formidable army, under the malcontent Seyud Khaujah, aided by Peir Padshah, who had been for years maintained in the government of Mazanderaun, by the friendship of Teymûr. A severe action immediately ensued, in which, however, Shah Rokh was finally victorious; Peir Padshah flying into Khaurezm, and Seyud Khaujah in the utmost distress towards the territory of Shirauz. In consequence of this victory the whole of Mazanderaun, together with the districts of Saury and Hazaurjereib, submitted to the authority of Shah Rokh, without further exertion. The government of the province was then conferred upon Mirza Omar, the son of Meiran Shah; after which Shah Rokh returned towards Herât, where he arrived on the 4th of the former Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and ninth of the hidjerah.†

During the month of Ramzaun of the same year, and on the 4th day of that month,‡ according to the statement of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, Mirza Peir Mahommed, the son of Jahangueir, was basely assassinated by Peir Ally Tauz, a man whom he had raised from obscurity to the highest dignities under his government. An account of this nefarious transaction was brought to Herât by Mirza Seyud Ahmed Meirek, one of the sons of Omar Sheik, who resided at this period at Sheberghaun; and Shah Rokh, after exhibiting the most unaffected marks of regret and indignation, delayed not to dispatch a sufficient force under the Ameirs Mûzraub, Hussun Souffy Terkhan and Noushirvaun, towards Balkh, to avenge the death of his murdered kinsman. But, at the moment he was about to follow in person to prosecute this object of his just vengeance, he received unexpected intelligence that Mirza Omar, the man whom he had so recently

\* According to the Rouzut-us-suffâ, it is Sepahbelaud, but it is not material which.

† 16th of October 1406.

‡ 11th of February 1407.

and generously established in the government of Mazanderaun, had passed the Gûrgan river, and was advancing with rapid strides to invade the province of Khorassaun. His attention was therefore, in the first instance, necessarily required to repel this unprovoked and ungrateful aggression, and he accordingly hastened to meet the invader; whom, on the 9th day of the month of Zilkaudah,\* he attacked and finally defeated, in the neighborhood of the town of Yezdûiah. Mirza Omar, although his troops were in other respects totally dispersed, however, with a few followers, effected his escape from the field of battle; but not many days afterwards, on the banks of the Mûrghaub, he was intercepted, and taken, after receiving a wound in the head, by some of the retainers of Ameir Mûzraub; by whom he was conveyed in bonds immediately to the army of Shah Rokh, then on his return towards Herât. Regarding the fate of his misguided kinsman with compassion, Shah Rokh sent him on before towards the capital; but on reaching the Tenghouz-rebaut, a caravanserâi in the neighborhood, the unfortunate prince expired of his wound; and his remains were committed to the grave close by the mausoleum of Imaum Fakher-ud-dein Rauzy, on the twentieth of the same month of Zilkaudah.† Shah Rokh re-entered his capital, on this occasion, in the beginning of Zilhudje.‡

Towards the middle of the same month, Shah Rokh repaired to the summer quarters of Baudgheiss; but, on the nineteenth of Mohurrem of the eight hundred and tenth of the hidjerah,§ resuming his designs against the traitor Peir Ally Tauz, he once more put his troops in motion for Balkh. At the station of Khaujâh-doukah, intelligence reached him that Peir Ally had taken to flight; in consequence of which he detached Ameir Seyud Meirek, immediately, in pursuit of the assassin, and advanced without further delay to Balkh. On reaching that ancient capital, the first object of Shah Rokh was to put the adjoining fortress of Hindwaun in a state of repair; after which, appointing the Ameirs Mûzraub and Towukkel Berlas, afresh, to prosecute the operations on foot against Peir Ally Tauz, and his party, and placing the government in the hands of Mirza Keydou, the eldest

\* 15th of April, 1407.

† 28th of April.

‡ Beginning of May.

§ 25th of June.

A. H. 810.  
A. D. 1407.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhibaur.

son of the departed Peir Mahommed, he again returned into Kho-rassaun, and reached his capital on the 11th of the latter Rebbeia.\*

In the mean time, the chiefs employed to crush the designs of Peir Ally Tauz, shortly afterwards, came up with and defeated the party of the traitor; after which they appear to have returned to Balkh. Having re-assembled his scattered force, the rebel now ventured at its head to direct his course towards the same city; but conceived it prudent to retire again, immediately on the approach of Mirza Keydou with the troops of his government. In these circumstances, entering into a consultation together, the followers of Peir Ally came to a resolution that so long as they submitted to be governed by this ungrateful traitor, and to support him in his rash designs against the several branches of the imperial family, they had nothing to look for but an endless succession of fatiguing marches, distress, and hardship; and they proceeded without further ceremony, to strike off his head, which they immediately transmitted to the court of Shah Rokh—thus at once relieving a considerable portion of mankind from the grievous train of oppressions, to which they had for some time been exposed.

Previous to the conclusion of the year, the presence of Shah Rokh was again required in Mazanderaun, in order to oppose the designs of Peir Padshah; who had invaded that country with a body of troops, whom he had raised in Khaurezm for the purpose of reinstating himself in his government. Proceeding by the route of Beshertou, or Meshertou, Jaum, Mûsh-hed, Raudegaun, Jourjan, and Khoujah Kûmber, Shah Rokh received intelligence at the latter place, that Peir Padshah, on the mere report of his approach, had raised the siege of Asterabad, and retired with precipitation towards Rûstumdaur. In consequence of this, the Shah encamped shortly afterwards in the neighborhood of Asterabad, and appears to have restored his authority throughout the province without further difficulty. The government of Mazanderaun was now conferred upon Olûgh Beg, in addition to certain districts in Khorassaun already under his management; and these arrangements dispatched, Shah Rokh proceeded on his return to Herât, where he arrived on the ninth of Zilkaudah, of the year eight hundred and ten.†

\* 14th of September.

† 5th of April 1408.

The shah was, however, now assailed in his authority, by a formidable combination among his own nobles; at the head of which appeared the Ameir Jahaun Melek, the associate of his earliest years, and whom, on the defection of Seyud Khaujah, he had advanced to the highest dignities of his government. To him were joined Ameir Hussun Jandaür, and his son Yûssuf Khaleil, together with Saadet the son of Teymûr Taush, and many more of the same class; one of their alleged grievances being a moderate contribution levied upon their stipends, for the service of the state, by Gheyauth-ud-dein Sa-laur the Semnaunian, who held the office of minister of finance. Happily, this rebellion was soon suppressed, and its authors brought to the punishment they deserved; but not before they had been defeated in a conflict near Herât, in which Ameir Mûzraub, one of Shah Rokh's principal generals, was severely wounded.

It will be in the recollection of the reader, that when Teymûr had succeeded in extending his conquests over the Asiatic part of the dominions of the house of Othman, Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, and Kara Yûssuf the Tûrkomaun, both fled for protection to the court of Melek Faredje Sûltan of Egypt; and that, at a subsequent period, the latter wrote to the Conqueror to intimate that the fugitives were at his disposal. To this, as hath been already stated, Teymûr replied, that if the Egyptian was sincere in his professions of amity, he would immediately dispatch Sûltan Ahmed in irons to his presence; but with regard to the Tûrkomaun, from some change of circumstances, unexplained, that he might set him at large whenever he thought it convenient. On this, the two royal fugitives were both imprisoned in two separate towers of the castle of Cairo; in which having, nevertheless, contrived to open a correspondence together, after deploring their former animosities, to which alone they ascribed the cruel reverses to which they had been exposed, they entered into mutual engagements, provided it was their good fortune to escape the present danger, to maintain ever afterwards an intercourse of the strictest friendship; and it was, at the same time, expressly stipulated that Baghdâd, with all its dependencies, should belong to Sûltan Ahmed, and Tebreiz to the Tûrkomaun. The death of Teymûr was, however, no sooner announced in Egypt, than the behavior of Melek Faredje,

A. H. 810.

A. D. 1408.

Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

A. H. 810.  
A. D. 1408.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akbbaur.

towards the illustrious exiles became totally changed, and he proceeded to treat them with the most liberal proofs of kindness and hospitality. In this, it is further alleged, that he was not without a more selfish motive, expecting to derive from their counsels considerable assistance in suppressing the spirit of disaffection, and discontent, which had about this time made its appearance among the subjects of his government. Nevertheless, observing that the Tûrkomauns hastened, in great numbers, to join the standard of their chief, as soon as he appeared at large, Melek Faredje became shortly afterwards alarmed, lest Kâra Yûssuf might ultimately be impelled to conspire against the authority of his benefactor. This jealousy was soon discovered by the wary Tûrkomaun, and he one day suddenly quitted the territory of the Nile, without giving his protector any intelligence of his design; and having succeeded in cutting his way, at the head of his countrymen, through the Syrian frontier, and making good his retreat through the province of Irâk Arab, he finally took possession without difficulty of the whole province of Diaurbekir.

Finding that the violent departure of his associate had exposed him to similar suspicions on the part of the Egyptian, Sûltan Ahmed, not long afterwards, also contrived, in the disguise of a dervais, to effect his escape from Cairo; and, after experiencing considerable hardship, finally reached Hellah on the Euphrates in perfect safety. At that place, he was soon joined by a sufficient number of the turbulent and licentious inhabitants of the neighboring districts; which produced so great an alarm in the metropolis of Baghdâd, that Doulut Khoujah Aynauk, who at this period held the government under the authority of Mirza Omar the son of Meiran Shah, immediately abandoned the place in consternation, and withdrew into Azerbâijaun. Seven days afterwards, Sûltan Ahmed entered the city with a few followers, and once more re-established his authority over Arabian Irâk. From thence, towards the close of the eight hundred and eighth of the hidjerah,\* while Mirza Aba Bukker the son of Meiran Shah, after the expulsion of his brother, was employed in besieging Isfahaun, and Sheikh Ibrauhim of Shirvaun had taken possession of Tebreiz, Sûltan Ahmed proceeded immediately into Azerbâijaun; and in the

\* Spring of 1408.

latter part of Mohurrem of the following year,\* he entered the metropolis of Tebreiz without resistance, the prince of Shirvaun having abandoned the place on his approach. Devoting himself, however, as is here alleged, to indulgences, and debaucheries, utterly inconsistent with his age and dignity; and Mirza Aba Bukker, after the reduction of Isfahaun, returning with rapid steps to repossess himself of the capital of his government, the Sùltan gave way to an impression of terror, and again withdrew with precipitation towards Baghdâd. Mirza Aba Bukker appears to have re-entered Tebreiz, on this occasion, on the eighth of the former Rebbeia, of the year just mentioned;† and finding that the city had been nearly depopulated, through the ruinous violence of contending chiefs, he prudently determined, by the revival of a system of moderation and justice, to encourage the return of the dispersed and persecuted inhabitants.

A. H. 810.  
A. D. 1408.  
Kholâsset-ul-  
akhbaur.

At a subsequent period, when these flattering prospects of the re-establishment of a just and prudent government, had in some measure replaced the capital in a state of prosperity, the province of Azerbâijaun was afresh invaded by the warlike and enterprising Kâra Yûssuf; of whose proceedings on the occasion, we cannot, in this place, omit to avail ourselves of the detail furnished in the more ample relation of the Rouzut-us-suffâ.

When, towards the conclusion of the eight hundred and tenth of the hidjerah,‡ Mirza Aba Bukker had been defeated, in several sanguinary conflicts on the banks of the river Araxes, by the warlike Tûrk-omaun, the vanquished prince finally fled to Sùltauniah, which remained in possession of the agents of his authority; and here, by collecting together the troops from Hamadaun, Dergûzein, Kazvein, and other neighboring districts, he, in a short time, succeeded in recruiting his army to a state, in point of number and equipment, as powerful and effective as ever. Finding, moreover, that Norouz and Abdurrahman, two chiefs of the Jauny Garbauny tribe, with five thousand followers, who had withdrawn through some discontent or other from the service of his brother Khaleil Sùltan, in Transoxiana,

Rouzut-us-  
suffâ.

\* July 1406.

† 22nd of August 1406.

‡ Spring of 1408. From what follows we are disposed to think that this date is erroneous, and that it should have been twelve months earlier.

A. H. 810. were about this crisis arrived in the territory of Irâk Ajem, Aba-  
 A. D. 1408. Bukker immediately opened a negociation with these chiefs; and  
 Rouzut us- ultimately engaged them, as soon as the season for action should  
 suffa. return, to join him in the design of repelling the Tûrkomauns from  
 their usurpations in Azerbâijaun. Early the ensuing spring, accord-  
 ingly, Aba Bukker, accompanied by his father Meiran Shah, at the  
 head of a numerous and formidable army proceeded towards Tebreiz,  
 and soon afterwards encamped at Meraughah.

Kâra Yûssuf, on the other hand, as soon as he became apprized of  
 the march of the Tcheghatayan princes, hastened to assemble in his  
 presence the nobles of Azerbâijaun, who attached themselves to his  
 authority; and declared to them, with affected humility, that a Tûr-  
 komaun by habit and inclination, he was perfectly satisfied with  
 Allatag, or Allahtauk, for his summer, and the rich vallies of Di-  
 aurbekir, for his winter quarters, without aspiring to the pomp of  
 sovereign power which was entirely foreign to his pursuits. Then,  
 to sound their intentions with respect to Aba Bukker, he proceeded  
 to observe, that as the grandson of Teymûr, it was but reasonable to  
 conclude that the ties of gratitude, and the recollection of past bene-  
 fits, received from him and from his family, should yet retain a pow-  
 erful influence over their minds in his favor. If therefore, they found  
 themselves in any way disposed to concur in the designs of that  
 young prince, it could not in any shape excite surprise, neither should  
 he conceive the slightest offence at such a circumstance. They were,  
 it was sufficiently obvious, all connected either by the ties of friend-  
 ship, or consanguinity; and he had no hesitation in recommending  
 that they should immediately proceed to join the prince. For his  
 own part, that he was perfectly reconciled, and should return without  
 the slightest repugnance to that condition, from which he had been  
 originally withdrawn more by a concurrence of events than by any  
 inclination of his own.

With united voice, the Ameirs of Irâk, and Azerbâijaun, loudly  
 remonstrated against this mode of reasoning; protesting that while  
 they had life nothing should induce them to separate from the Tûr-  
 komaun chief. And, as the last proof of their sincerity, they now  
 offered to combat in the very foremost ranks in support of his autho-



rity. With respect to what had been alleged regarding the claims which Mirza Aba Bukker and his brother possessed upon their gratitude, they acknowledged that he had most truly spoken; but that this same Mirza Aba Bukker had expelled his own brother Omar from the government in which, with every circumstance that ought to have given it permanence, he had been established by the choice of his august grandsire. That he had, moreover, cancelled every obligation on their part, by cutting off the prime nobility of the country, and by bestowing the most illustrious and honorable of their women, on the very dregs of the people. From him, therefore, they had nothing to expect but the very worst species of violence and injustice. Neither could they omit to state, that the men whom he had selected for the highest and most important offices of his government, were such as they had never been accustomed to hold in the smallest esteem; being equally unskilled in the art of war, and in the most ordinary maxims of domestic policy. And, in conformity with the opinions thus freely expressed, the nobles of Irâk, including Ameir Bostaum, and his brothers Maussoum and Munsûr, together with Jullaul-ud-dein and his brother Yadgaur Shah, Jauleik, Alleikah, and Peir Ally the head of the tribe of Seldûz, and many others assembled on this occasion, now proceeded to ratify their engagement, of strict and inviolable union with the Tûrkomaun chief, under the most solemn oaths; and Kâra Yûssuf, rejoiced to the last degree at these assurances, no longer delayed his preparations for battle; and encamping shortly afterwards at the station of Shumb-e-Ghazan, he was there successively joined by numerous bodies of armed men from all quarters.

On the twenty-sixth of Zilkaudah, then, of the eight hundred and tenth of the hidjerah,\* the hostile squadrons having approached to a convenient distance for battle, Kâra Yûssuf on his part, from a belief that Aba Bukker with the best of his troops, would attempt to force the centre of his army, declined his proper station; and took post with another division, prepared to convey support, should the designs of the Mirza prove to be such as had been foreseen. The views of Aba Bukker were, however, not directed towards the centre,

A. H. 816.  
 A. D. 1408.  
 Rouzut-us-suffa.

\* 22nd of April 1408.

A. H. 810.  
 A. D. 1408.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 sufa.

but upon the right wing of his adversary, under the command of Teizek, the Jullaul-ud-dein abovementioned probably, and his brother Yadgaur Shah ; whom, at the head of a chosen body of cavalry, he accordingly attacked with his usual gallantry and impetuosity. The attack was sustained at first with equal courage and firmness, and with considerable mutual slaughter; until, compelled at last to give way, Teizek fled in confusion from the field of battle, eagerly pursued by Aba Bukker; and, being soon overtaken, his head was immediately struck off, and presented to that prince, by his soldiers, attached to the point of a lance. But while Aba Bukker was thus incautiously engaged in a distant pursuit, Bostaum and the other Ameirs, who commanded in the left wing of Kâra Yûssuf's troops, availed themselves of his absence to attack the opposite wing of their adversaries; which, either through the cowardice or misconduct of the officers in command, instantly gave way ; and the troops of the Jauny Gorbauny tribe, perceiving these proofs of weakness or treason, which seemed to prevail through the army, embraced the first convenient opening to withdraw from the field.

Thus abridged of both its wings, the centre of Aba Bukker's troops was exposed, without support, to the attack of a formidable body of Tûrkomauns, who immediately advanced to assail it. Bâba Hadjy made, however for some time, a brave resistance, at the head of the vanguard; but finding himself hard pressed by superior numbers, and no movement from the main body to sustain him, he was at last compelled, though reluctantly, to retire upon the centre. In the meantime, the Ameirs of Irâk in the cause of Kâra Yûssuf, having dispersed every thing in their front, now appeared in the rear of Aba Bukker's centre, where Meiran Shah commanded in person. The whole was immediately thrown into irretrievable confusion, and the troops dispersed in the utmost disorder and consternation. In these appalling circumstances, a slave belonging to Ameir Moussa, an officer in the service of the Tûrkomaun chief, singled out the person of Meiran Shah ; and having severely wounded, and dismounted him from his horse, proceeded to strip him of his robes and armour. After which, conceiving that the wound he had inflicted must in all likelihood prove mortal, he, without further consideration than that

of putting a period to his sufferings, struck off the head of that unfortunate prince, and left the body, thus naked on the field, still ignorant of the rank and importance of his illustrious victim. The women belonging to the haram of Mirza Aba Bukker fell into the hands of the Tûrkomaun troops, and being conducted to the presence of Kâra Yûssuf, they wêre by him treated with the most scrupulous decorum, and immediately lodged among the ladies of his own family. The slave who presented the head of the slaughtered Meiran Shah, to the Tûrkoman chief, was instantly put to death by his orders ; and the head and body both decently buried, with the usual ceremonies, at Sûrkhaub. The bones of this unfortunate prince were, however, at a subsequent period taken up, by a person of the name of Shums Ghoury, and conveyed to the territory beyond the Oxus; where they were deposited in the Mausoleum of the family at Kêsh.

A. H. 870.  
A. D. 1408.  
Rouzat-us-  
suffa.

About three hours after the defeat and dispersion of the right wing and centre of his army, Mirza Aba Bukker, with about three hundred of his followers, returned from his improvident pursuit of Teizek to the field of battle, and perceiving not a living vestige of those whom he had so recently left in all the pomp and pride of martial array, necessarily directed his course in quest of them; the Tûrkomaun, with singular forbearance, giving orders that not a man should stir in pursuit of him. In truth, the conquerors had possessed themselves of a prodigious booty, among the articles of which we find particularized, one thousand skins of sables, which they ignorantly sold at a price infinitely below the value. All the prisoners who fell into the hands of the Tûrkomauns were, at the same time, set at large, with sufficient means for their support; and Kâra Yûssuf himself, while he nobly abstained from appropriating any thing to his own use, gave to every one of his followers the hope of further bounty. The materials of royalty having, however, thus accumulated in the hands of the Tûrkomauns, to a magnitude beyond all ordinary calculation, their chief resolved at last, with the power, to assume the name and dignity of a great king; and with these designs, Kâra Yûssuf and his victorious squadrons directed their march for the summer quarters of Allahtauk: Ameir Bostaum, in consequence of his distinguished exertions in the

A. H. 810. late battle, being advanced to the most exalted honors under the authority of his patron.

A. D. 1408.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

On his arrival at Allahtauk, the warlike Tûrkomaun proceeded to deliberate further with his followers, on the expediency of assuming the honors of the mosque and mint, [Khotbah and sikkah,] being himself disposed to raise his son, Peir Bedauk, to the throne; from which, it is alleged, that he was only prevented by an unwillingness to give offence both at home and abroad. This mode of reasoning does not, however, come exactly home to our comprehension; since we should rather conclude, that the assumption of the royal authority in the person of his son, was less calculated to excite jealousy, than immediately in himself. In the mean time, he dispatched, to the different neighboring powers, messengers conveying, together with intelligence of his victory, some of the most beautiful articles from among the valuable booty taken in the camp of Aba Bukker. To Sûltan Ahmed at Baghdâd, he thought fit, however, on this occasion, to send a person in his most intimate confidence, accompanied by a separate messenger from his son, each charged with letters and suitable presents for that monarch. The agents of both father and son, were received with distinguished honors on their arrival at Baghdâd; and after a reasonable interval, dismissed, loaded with favors, and bearing an adequate return of presents, for their respective lords; the messenger of Peir Bedauk being charged, in particular, with a royal umbrella, and other emblems of sovereign power, together with a letter conceived in terms of peculiar kindness and affection; the Sûltan addressing him afresh by the endearing appellation of "Son," having long since adopted him in that relation, at the period when he entered into his engagements with the Tûrkomaun; during their imprisonment in the castle of Kaherah.

These indications of paternal solicitude from the Sûltan of Baghdâd, in behalf of his son, were received with undisguised satisfaction on the part of Kâra Yûssuf; and the secretaries of his government were immediately instructed to address all ordinances, and letters patent, and official papers under the royal authority, in the following form: "Peir Bedauk Khaun Bahauder *Yerleigheid*, Eben Abû Nasser Yûssuf Bahauder, *souz-o-meiz*." Of the words in italics, we do not

pretend to give the precise signification. Yerleigh is, however, a term well known to signify, a mandate; but of the termination with which it is accompanied, and standing in the order in which it here appears, it is not easy to speak decisively. Had it been placed last in the sentence, it would have clearly implied "you are required." With respect to the phrase, Souz-o-meiz, we must labour under equal uncertainty; but in Richardson, *Souz-o-sauze*, a word of similar sound and construction, is made to signify, "inflamed with passion, love, &c." Does the warlike Törkomaun mean to designate himself the "conflagrator and disturber?" However this may have been, on the first occasion that brought the son to the presence of his father, the latter took him by the hand, and seated him immediately on the throne, placing himself on his knees directly at the foot, as prime minister under the authority of his son. At the same time, all those in the service of Kâra Yûssuf, who possessed either father or brother, were immediately enrolled among the stipendiaries of Peir Bedauk Khaun; and wherever there remained a district not already assigned in fee, by the letters patent of the father, the same was now formally transferred to the exchequer of the son. And it is but justice to observe, continues our author, that this same Peir Bedauk was not less distinguished for the elegance of his person, than for the amiable and benevolent qualities of his mind; and to acknowledge, that for the short period during which he remained to inhabit this frail tenement of earth, so far from exerting himself to the injury of any human being, his whole life was devoted to acts of clemency towards his fellow creatures, to a scrupulous forbearance to aggravate towards others, and to exhibit in himself an example of patient endurance under, the evils of human destiny. If such indeed were the character of this prince, it is not surprising that the report of his accession to power should have diffused universal satisfaction; and he accordingly received numerous deputations from the neighboring states to felicitate him on the occasion; and, in particular, from the princes of Guilân, Mazanderaun, the *Kâly* of Georgia, the different independent chiefs of Kûrdestaun, and the rulers of Hussun-Keyfa, and Mardain. Kâra Yûssuf, however, undertook, by a particular communication from himself, to announce to Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, that

A. H. 816.

A. D. 1408.

Rouzat-us-suffa.

A. H. 810.  
A. D. 1408.  
Rouzat-us-  
suffa.

in consequence of his recent acknowledgment of the adoption of Peir Bedauk, and his transmission of the umbrella and other insignia of sovereign power, he had not hesitated, in conformity with such manifest indications of his pleasure, to place his adopted son on the throne of Azerbâijaun; while he should continue on his part, as formerly, to conduct the affairs of the army, the general administration of the government, and to oppose on all sides the hostile attempts of their enemies, whenever occasion should require it. But, without enlarging further on the subject, it would appear that through the exertions of Ameir Bostaum in particular, and of the other native chiefs of the province, for the Tûrkomauns honestly disclaimed all knowledge of that branch of the art of war, which relates to the reduction of fortified places, Kâra Yâssuf, by the capture of Sûltauniah, Derghûzein, and Hamadaun, not long afterwards extended his conquest over the whole of Irâk Ajem.

Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

In the mean time, having abandoned the country altogether, Mirza Aba Bukker made the best of his way, through Yezd, into the province of Kermaun; on his approach towards the capital of which, Sûltan Aweiss the son of Eydekou Berlas, the governor, conceived it his duty to meet the illustrious fugitive at a considerable distance, and to conduct him with every circumstance of respect into the city of the same name. No distant period was, however, suffered to elapse before Aba Bukker began to harbour designs against the government; but Sûltan Aweiss, at the very same crisis, having concerted a plan to seize the person of his guest, proceeded late one evening to carry it into execution, by entirely surrounding the palace which had been assigned for his residence; where he compelled him on the spot to subscribe to an engagement, by which he pledged himself to quit the province immediately, without producing any further disturbance—provided the people of Kermaun abstained from offering any personal violence to himself or his followers. Aba Bukker was accordingly permitted to withdraw into the adjoining province of Seiestaun; where he succeeded in contracting a very close and intimate friendship with Shah Kâtûd-dein, the ruler of the province. Unfortunately for the latter, this circumstance did not escape the attention of Shah Rokh, who immediately marched his troops against Ferah;

and, in a short time, became master of the whole of Seiestaun, in addition to the extensive territory already under his authority. Upon this, the unfortunate Aba Bukker was again persuaded to enter Kermaun; where, after sustaining repeated conflicts with Sùltan Aweiss, he was at last killed in a battle with that chieftain, in the neighborhood of the town of Jireft, towards the latter part of the month of Rudjub, of the eight hundred and eleventh of the hidjerah.\*

A. H. 811.  
A. D. 1409.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

At the period of Teymûr's death, it becomes now further necessary to recollect that Mirza Peir Mahommed the son of Omar Sheikh, held the government of Shirauz, and his brothers Rûstum and Eskunder, those of Isfahaun and Hamadaun respectively. On intelligence of the close of his grandfather's eventful career, however, Peir Mahommed, influenced by the circumstance of his mother Melket Agha having become one of the wives of Shah Rokh, resolved with the advice of his council, to pronounce the Khotbah, and regulate the mint, in the name of that monarch; immediately dispatching into Khorassaun to acquaint him, that both he and his brothers had equally bound themselves to be obedient to his authority. Shah Rokh, on his part, received the communication with reasonable complacency, and dismissed the messengers with abundant proofs of his bounty. Subsequent to this, when it was announced that Omar the son of Meiran Shah had put Ameir Jahaun Shah to death, and imprisoned his brother Aba Bukker, as already related, Mirza Eskunder, at Hamadaun, became alarmed lest these measures of violence should be at last extended to himself; and he accordingly withdrew from Hamadaun, to take the protection of his brother at Shirauz, who received him with fraternal kindness, and conferred upon him the government of Yezd. From this time to the eight hundred and ninth of the hidjerah, the best intelligence subsisted between the brothers; but at that period this auspicious intercourse was wickedly interrupted, through the malevolent exertions of the turbulent and evil disposed: and in consequence of the hostility thus excited, Mirza Peir Mahommed caused the person of Eskunder to be seized, and he was immediately conveyed as a prisoner towards Khorassaun. In the neighborhood

\* Beginning of December A. D. 1408.

A. H. 811.  
A. D. 1409.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

of Tebbes, or Tabess, the prince, however, contrived to break his fetters; and flying immediately to Isfahaun, was there admitted to the kindest hospitality, by his brother Mirza Rûstum. Shortly afterwards, the two brothers proceeded in conjunction towards Shirauz; and having defeated Peir Mahommed, who did not in the least demur to meet and give them battle, they pursued him to the gates of his capital, to which they immediately laid siege. Finding, however, at the expiration of forty days, that they had made but little progress towards the reduction of Shirauz, they employed their troops in the pillage of the neighboring parched and sandy districts, the Gurrum-seyers, and then returned to Isfahaun.

In the course of the following year, the eight hundred and tenth of the hidjerah, Mirza Peir Mahommed in his turn, at the head of a very numerous army, proceeded towards Isfahaun; Mirza Rûstum having encamped to oppose him at the station of Kundemaun, or perhaps Gundemaun. In the conflict which ensued the troops of Isfahaun were, however, totally defeated, and Mirza Rûstum, and his brother Eskunder, were now compelled to fly towards Khorassaun. Peir Mahommed then established his son Omar Sheikh in the government of Isfahaun, and returned in triumph to Shirauz. On the other hand, Mirza Rûstum proceeded without interruption into Khorassaun, where he experienced a favorable reception from Shah Rokh, and was honorably provided for in the court of that prince; while his brother Eskunder, less fortunate in his decision, continued his flight towards Sheberghaun and Balkh. His progress was interrupted by some troops dispatched against him by Mirza Keydou, at this period in possession of the government of Balkh; and he was compelled to take the direction of Endekhoud, where he was treated with respect, and suitably accommodated, by Seyud Ahmed Terkhan, then in charge of the place. The Seyud thought it advisable immediately to report his arrival to Shah Rokh, and that prince, with singular good nature, instantly dispatched a person to intercede in behalf of his unfortunate brother, with Peir Mahommed in Farss; at the sametime conveying his instructions to Seyud Ahmed at Endekhoud, not to offer the slightest molestation to Mirza Eskunder, but to permit him to depart whenever he indicated a desire so to do. Relying upon a brother's



compassion, Mirza Eskunder chose the alternative of returning into Farss; and accordingly, about the hour of evening prayer on the 26th of Ramzaun, of the eight hundred and eleventh of the hidjerah,\* he entered Shirauz on foot—Peir Mahommed sending for him the very moment he was apprized of his arrival, and bestowing upon him all those marks of kindness that could in any shape contribute to restore his confidence, or console him under the sense of his misfortunes.

A. H. 811.  
A. D. 1409.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

This was the situation of affairs in Farss when, some time in the course of the year eight hundred and twelve,† accompanied by his reclaimed brother Eskunder, Peir Mahommed left Shirauz with the design of reducing the province of Kermaun; but on his arrival at the station of Doutchah, the two wells, he there perished from a conspiracy formed against him by Hússeyne Sherbetdaur, his butler, whom from an humble compounder of medicines, he had raised to the highest dignities of his government: for ambition and treason have been too frequently fellow travellers. In the silence of midnight, the traitor followed by his accomplices, among whom appear to have been included the greater part of the army, entirely surrounded the tent of his benefactor, and most basely put him to death, being at this period in the very flower of his age, his one and thirtieth year. Mirza Eskunder being, however, timely apprized of the fate of his brother, hastened back to Shirauz; where the Ameirs, and principal natives of the province, united to invest him with the royal authority, and with him proceeded to secure the city, and to place the fortifications in a state of defence. When, on the other hand, the traitor Hússeyne discovered that Eskunder had escaped him, he immediately followed at the head of the army which had espoused his cause, and for one whole day, by repeated attacks on different points, endeavoured to make himself master of the city. Perceiving, however, at nightfall, that the chiefs in his interest evinced a disposition favorable to Mirza Eskunder, the traitor thought it prudent, the very next morning, to make a precipitate retreat towards Kermaun; in the course of which he fell into the hands of Ameir Sedeik, an officer in the service of the late Peir Mahommed, by whom he was immediately secured and conveyed towards Shirauz. At the tomb of Sheikh Saady in the

\* 11th of February 1409.

† Commencing the 15th of May A. D. 1409.

A. H. 811.  
A. D. 1409.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhibaur.

neighborhood of that city, with his beard and mustachios half shaved he was mounted on a sorry bullock, and from thence conducted to the gates of the town, through the streets of which he was for some time paraded in this disgraceful guise; after which he was led to the presence of Mirza Eskunder. To the demand of that prince, as to what motive it was that could have impelled him to become the butcher of his benefactor, the traitor coolly replied that if his conduct towards the deceased had been that of a villain, the result, at least, did not appear with unwelcome advantages to the surviving brother. At this the indignation of the <sup>king</sup> khalzâdah was excited to such a degree, that he drew his dirk and instantly scooped the right eye of the assassin from the socket; after which the attendants were directed to beat him to death with their maces.

While these events were passing at Shirauz, an insurrection was excited at Isfahaun by Sûltan Miatassem the son of Zeyne-ul-aubbeidein, son of Shah Shujia, of the race of Mûzuffer; which rendered the presence of Mirza Eskunder immediately necessary in that quarter. In an action to which he was brought by his antagonist, shortly afterwards, the insurgent was, however, totally defeated; and in his endeavor to escape by flight, was finally overtaken and put to death by a soldier of the successful party, by the side of a river at some distance from the field of battle. Eskunder then returned, more confident from his victory, to Shirauz. Subsequent to this period, Mirza Rûstum, with the concurrence of his uncle Shah Rokh, proceeded to invade the territory of Isfahaun, where he became engaged in repeated conflicts with his brother Eskunder; but being frustrated in all his attempts, he was finally compelled, once more, to fly for safety into Khorassaun; where, in the course of the eight hundred and fourteenth of the hidjerah,\* he was again hospitably received at the court of Herât. Thus absolutely master of both Farss and Irâk, Mirza Eskunder now fixed the seat of his government at Isfahaun.

We are now, for the last time, to speak of Sûltan Ahned Jullâeir of Baghdâd; who, without any very distinguished claims to attention, has been so often brought to the notice of the reader, in his perusal of these pages. Towards the conclusion of the eight hundred

\* Commencing 24th of April A. D. 1411.

and twelfth of the hidjerah, when the whole of Azerbâijaun had been finally subjugated to the authority of Kâra Yûssuf, the presence of the latter was required towards the north-western frontier of his dominions, by some hostile indications on the part of his rival Kâra Othmaun, and by the solicitation of Ameir Taherten, the prince of Erzenjaun, to defend him against the aggressions of the same chief. This was an opportunity which Sûltan Ahmed, notwithstanding his engagements, conceived too favorable to his interests to be neglected; and he accordingly took his departure for Azerbâijaun some time in the month of Mohurrim, of the year 813;\* and he appeared, not long afterwards, in great force before the metropolis of Tebreiz, which he entered without opposition, and with unusual pomp, on the first day of the former Rebbeia, of the same year.†

A. H. 811-12.  
A. D. 1409.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

As soon as this unwelcome intelligence reached Kâra Yûssuf at Erzenjaun, only two days after he had taken possession of the place for himself, he summoned a council of his principal officers; with whom he entered into deliberation, as to the measures which he ought to adopt on such an emergency. The result was a determination to proceed to immediate hostilities against the Sûltan, and a solemn pledge on the part of all his Ameirs, to continue faithful in their attachment to the authority of their chief. An order of march was then concerted, by which the whole army were to reach the neighborhood of Tebreiz, in forty menzels, or days journey, according to which the troops were immediately put in motion from Erzenjaun. About the period agreed upon, they arrived on the plains near Shumb-e-Ghâzan, at the distance of two farsangs‡ from Tebreiz; where Sûltan Ahmed was already encamped, with a resolution to give battle. On Friday the 28th of the latter Rebbeia,§ the warlike Tûrkomaun drew out his troops for the conflict, and proceeded in battle array towards Shumb-e-Ghâzan; from whence, in equal preparation, the Sûltan advanced to meet him. A most severe and obstinate conflict immediately ensued, in which, however, after dreadful mutual slaughter, victory finally declared for the Tûrkomauns; the troops of the Sûltan being totally defeated, and dispersing in consequence in every direction. Finding himself thus alone on the field of battle, Sûltan Ah-

\* May 1410. † 3rd July. ‡ About 7 miles. § 29th of August 1410.

A. H. 811-12.  
 A. D. 1409-1410.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

med was, at last, constrained to follow the example of his army. He was in his flight soon overtaken by an ordinary Târkomau, who, however, ignorant of his quality, was content with beating him off his horse; and who, after plundering him of his rich armour and apparel, left him to his fate.

Sûltan Ahmed then made for the opening in a garden-wall, intended for the outlet of a water-course, where he seated himself down, in the utmost perturbation of mind, until he could ascertain whether he was pursued by any one. It chanced that an old shoemaker, who had left the city and mounted a walnut tree, in order to view the occurrences of the battle, observing a person thus withdrawing from the field alone, immediately recognized the Sûltan's horse, and was at no great loss to identify his rider. Descending from his post on the tree, he approached the place of the Sûltan's concealment; and calling to him by his royal title, proceeded to condole with him on the deplorable situation to which he found him reduced. The Sûltan admonished him to be silent, and not to add shame to the sorrows which already weighed down his head. After this, he ventured to add that he had yet many zealous friends in Tebreiz; and that as soon as night came, he should enter the town, and from them receive both money and the means of conveyance from the scene of danger. In the mean time, that any assistance which he could render would not be forgotten; and that the moment he returned to Baghdâd, he proposed to settle upon him the lordship of Yakoubiah in perpetual fee. To this he bound himself by a solemn promise; after which the shoemaker returned to his habitation in the city. Unfortunately for Sûltan Ahmed, the man had for his wife an old woman who professed to deal in magic; and her husband had no sooner related to her the circumstances of his interview with the Sûltan, than she affected to apply to the mysteries of her art; which having consulted, she proceeded to observe to her husband, that the distance between Tebreiz and Baghdâd, would cost him many a tedious and wearisome day's journey; neither, from what appeared at present, could such a journey, to any reasonable certainty, be productive of any of those advantages to them, with which he seemed disposed to flatter himself. At the same time, it was not to be supposed but that, as soon as night came, the Sûltan

would be surrounded by a multitude of powerful friends, and that a person in his humble station, would scarcely have a chance of approaching him again. Thus this noble prize would slip through their fingers, and repentance would avail but little to their consolation. She therefore advised her husband to hasten, without a moment's further delay, to the presence of Kâra Yûssuf, to acquaint him with all he knew; and, she doubted not, that the result would be an abundant remuneration for all their disappointments.

In compliance with the suggestions of this hag, the shoemaker repaired to the camp of Kâra Yûssuf; where he found them employed in interrogating the grooms and equerries of the Sûltan, as to the number of horses which their master had brought into the field, the number he had carried off with him, and how many had fallen into the hands of the victors. The shoemaker made his way, without obstacle, to the presence of the Tûrkomaun chief; announced to him, that Sûltan Ahmed lay concealed at no great distance off, and that if it was his pleasure, he would immediately conduct a party to the spot. For a moment, Kâra Yûssuf disbelieved his statement, affirming that the Sûltan must, by that time, have conveyed himself many farsangs on his retreat; but the man persisting in his allegation, and demanding that some proper person might be sent with him in order to take charge of the royal fugitive, his request was at length complied with, and four confidential officers accompanied him accordingly to the spot which he had indicated. The unhappy monarch was immediately dragged from his concealment; and as he was bareheaded and almost naked, they threw upon him a common coarse tunic, and covering his head with a tattered turban, they mounted him behind Beirdy Sheirtchei, one of the party, and in this manner he was conducted to the presence of Kâra Yûssuf. The Tûrkomaun chief arose to meet the Sûltan the moment he came in view; and, having seated him by his side, proceeded to upbraid him, in bitter terms, for the total disregard which he had evinced for the most solemn engagements; in consequence of which it was, he alleged, henceforward impossible to place the smallest reliance on his word. For how repeatedly had he pledged himself upon the sacred volume of the law, and by the mighty name of the most high, to abstain from every design hostile to the

A. H. 812-18.  
A. D. 1409-1410.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 812-13.  
 A. D. 1409-1410.  
 Rouzul-us-  
 suffa.

Türkoman, or the country under his authority, and yet sought every occasion to violate his pledge? He then entered into a recapitulation of all the provocations which he had received at his hands, from the earliest period of their intercourse to the present moment; after which he sternly directed him to quit his seat and take his place among the very lowest of the assembly, even on the spot where they deposited their sandals.

Peir Bedauk now entered the pavilion, immediately seating himself on the throne; on which, the whole of the Ameirs and principal officers called aloud to the Sûltan, that his power was transferred to Peir Bedauk Khaun. A paper was then drawn up in letters of gold, by which, in a few short lines, the province of Azerbâjjaun was formally ceded to the same Peir Bedauk Khaun; and to this, whether willing or unwilling, they compelled the Sûltan to affix his signature. They next proceeded to allege as an accusation against the Sûltan, that he had presumed with a superior force to invade the same province of Azerbâjjaun, and to wrest it from the hands of Shah Mahommed, another of the sons of Kâra Yûssuf; when it was notorious to the world that it had been conferred upon him by the unanimous concurrence of all the native Ameirs.\* As an atonement for this act of alleged usurpation, they therefore now called upon him to make an immediate transfer of his remaining government of Baghdad, to the same Shah Mahommed; and to that effect a second paper was drawn up on the spot, and ratified under his sign manual, by which his lieutenants at Baghdâd, Heit, and Tekreit, were charged to deliver up the keys of those fortresses, and of all his treasures, to Gheyauth-ud-dein Shah Mahommed; on whom he was made to bestow the appellation of a beloved son, and to whom he acknowledged to have resigned his capital of Baghdâd, with all its dependencies, in full and absolute sovereignty.

When the unfortunate monarch had made a conclusion of these mortifying transfers of power, and had nothing further to concede, Shah Mahommed was, invested, on the spot, with the government of Baghdâd, by his father and the Ameirs of his court; the chiefs of the

\* This declaration, by the way, implied pretensions, which we should little expect to find advanced by the vassals of a despotic monarchy.

Aweyraut and Arab tribes, and other prisoners taken in the late battle, being immediately set at large, and permitted to accompany their new governor to take possession of his capital. In the mean time, to relieve the Sûltan from any apprehension of personal danger, Kâra Yûssuf proceeded to assure him, that however, in repeated violation of his engagements, he had not scrupled to seek both his life and dominions, yet that he might set his mind at ease; for on his part, he had resolved not to offer the slightest injury to his person. Far different was the language with which the Sûltan was addressed by Bostaum, who sternly upbraided him with having brought destruction upon the family, and butchered the posterity, of Sûltan Aweiss, together with the best part of the nobles of his court. From him, therefore, as they had never hitherto experienced ought but evil, so neither for the future was it reasonable to expect any good at his hands: and they would accordingly take care that Ameir Yûssuf should no longer be the dupe of his artful practices. Then, starting on his feet, he unclasped the scimitar from his waist, and flung it towards Kâra Yûssuf, declaring that the existence of this man had already been the cause of too much mischief; but, that if suffered any longer to breathe upon earth, the evils of which he would be the occasion would be a thousand-fold more destructive, than any thing to which they had hitherto been witness. Common prudence, therefore, as well as the general interests of humanity, demanded that he should immediately be put out of the way. The other Ameirs of Irâk concurred, at the same time, in pronouncing that mercy to Sûltan Ahmed would be entirely incompatible with the public safety. The conscientious Tûrkomaun persisted, however, in maintaining that, under God's providence, though a thousand such as Sûltan Ahmed were present in his camp, he should feel but little solicitude as to their attempts; but that, at all events, he had sworn to spare his life, and was resolved not to violate his oath. Ameir Bostaum here rejoined that the blood of many an unhappy and innocent individual had been unjustly shed by this man, and that the hereditary avengers of that blood were in attendance. If, therefore, he had pledged himself on his part not to offer violence to the person of his prisoner, the law of retaliation imperiously demanded that, at least, he should not protect

A. H. 812 813.  
A. D. 1400-1410.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.



A. H. 812-813;  
 A. D. 1409-1410.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

him against the vengeance of those whose kindred he had immolated; Kâra Yûssuf was now silent; and Settlemesh, one of the officers present, was instructed by the Ameirs to convey the Sûltan to his quarters, in the college of Kauzy Sheikh Ally. Khaujah Jauffer the Tebrizian, on his knees, then formally accused the Sûltan of having unjustly put his brother to death; which being confirmed by the testimony of Bostaum, the Tûrkomaun chief could no longer resist the pressing importunities of the people of Irâk, and finally consented to the execution of the unfortunate monarch. On which Khaujah Jauffer, with some other persons, proceeded immediately to the residence of Settlemesh; where they strangled the unhappy Sûltan without further ceremony.

On the day following, Bostaum found it expedient, nevertheless, in the name of his brother Ameirs, to represent to the Tûrkomaun, that, although Sûltan Ahmed had been so effectually disposed of, the preceding day, a report had been circulated by the seditious populace that he was still alive; and that it had produced such violent agitation as to threaten some very dangerous commotion. In consequence of this, Bostaum was authorized to adopt any measure he thought fit in order to remove the impression; and the body of the Sûltan, with a coarse black wrapper bound round the head, was, accordingly, for three days, publicly exhibited for inspection, in the above-mentioned college, which finally terminated all discussion on the subject. The body was then buried, with the usual solemnities, in the cemetery of the celebrated Damashk Khaujah; at the very feet of his brother Sûltan Hûseyne, of whom he had made an early sacrifice to his relentless ambition. Several of the sons of Sûltan Ahmed, who had fallen into the hands of their enemies during the battle and pursuit, shared the fate of their father; and Sûltan Allâ-ud-doulah, who had been for some time a prisoner in one of the castles of the Tûrkomaun, was now put to death by an order from Kâra Yûssuf.

On this subject we shall finally observe, that when intelligence of the death of Sûltan Ahmed was conveyed to Shah Rokh, in Khorassaun, that prince demanded of Abd-ul-Kâder, a distinguished poet who had passed many years under the protection of the Sûltan, whether it had not occurred to him to compose something to the me-



mory of his unfortunate patron. The poet immediately wrote a stanza of four lines, which he conveyed to the Shah, the concluding words of which, "*Kusd-e-Tebreiz*,"—the design upon, or the attempt on Tebreiz—numerically applied, comprised the exact era of his death, A. H. 813.\* With respect to Shah Mahommed the son of Kâra Yûssuf, dispatched on this occasion to possess himself of the government of Baghdâd, it may be proper briefly to state, that after a siege of eighteen months, during which the children of Sûltan Ahmed continued to defend it against all his exertions, the Shah finally obtained possession of that metropolis, the sons of the Sûltan having fled the place by water, under cover of a dark night. Soon afterwards, Shah Mahommed became undisputed master of all Arabian Irâk; and having raised a numerous and powerful army, and amassed prodigious wealth, he ultimately assumed the honors of the mosque and mint, and governed for a considerable period in his own name, without even once repairing to do homage to his father; who for his part, appears to have equally abstained from putting him to any further inconvenience on the subject.

A. H. 812-813.  
A. D. 1409-1410.  
Rouzut us-  
suûfa.

But, to resume the regular course of the history; while at the summer quarters of Baudgheiss, on the fifth of Zilkaudah, of the year eight hundred and eleven,† we find Shah Rokh employed in giving orders for the assembling of his army; in consequence of the reports here successively conveyed to him, of the hostilities which had broke out between his nephew Khaleil Sûltan, and Khodadaud-ul-Hûseyny; in which the latter prevailing, the grandson of Teymûr was finally compelled to submit to the authority of this subordinate chief. To vindicate the insulted majesty of his family, or more probably to secure the province for himself, Shah Rokh, therefore, on the 21st of the same month of Zilkaudah,‡ put his troops in motion from Baudgheiss; and having crossed the Oxus, about the 6th of the following month of Zilhudje,§ proceeded to Khozaur. Here it was announced to him, that having seized the person of Khaleil Sûltan, the insurgent Khodadaud had betaken himself to flight; on which Shah Rokh

Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

\* August September 1410. The turn of the verse runs something in this way :

"Reader wouldst thou know the era of his fate,"

"Kusd-e-Tebreiz exactly marks the date."

† 21st March 1409.

‡ 6th of April.

§ 21st of April.

A. H. 812-813.  
 A. D. 1409-1410.  
 Kholausset-ul-  
 akhbaur.

continued his march, and, on the 20th of the same month, entered the metropolis of Samarkand without opposition.

In the succeeding month of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and twelfth of the hidjerah,\* Shah Rokh proceeded in pursuit of Khodaud, towards the frontiers of Moghulstaun; dispatching Shah Melek with some other commanders in advance, towards the Seyhûn. An event which appears to have been as fortunate, as it was unforeseen, rendered the presence of Shah Rokh, however, no longer necessary in this quarter. The insurgent Khodadaud had, it seems, demanded the assistance of Mahommed Khaun, the monarch of Moghulstaun; and that prince had dispatched his own brother Shummaa Jahaun, to convey to him the support he required. This latter prince, however, no sooner found himself united with the troops of the insurgent, than he suggested to the Ameirs under his orders, that this same Khodaud-ul-Hûseyny must have been an utter stranger to every principle of good faith and generosity, before he could so soon have forgotten his multiplied obligations to the most bountiful of masters, the renowned and invincible Teymûr, and thus enter into hostilities against the children of such a benefactor. Nothing further was required to determine the fate of Khodadaud. His head was struck off without the smallest compunction, and immediately conveyed to Shah Melek; who returned with it, shortly afterwards, to the camp of Shah Rokh.

The Shah now embraced the opportunity of conferring the government of Ouzkhund, upon his nephew Mirza Meirek Ahmed, perhaps Sidy Ahmed, one of the sons of Omar Sheikh. In the mean time, intelligence was conveyed to him that Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, on the death of Ameir Khodadaud, had succeeded in gaining over his guards; and that he was now busily employed in placing the fortress of Alankouh, or Alankella, in a proper state of defence. Shah Melek was again detached, with instructions to reduce this place; but when he had continued his operations for some days, Mirza Khaleil Sûltan sent out to desire, that a particular post in the hands of the besieging army might be left unguarded; in order that he might be permitted to proceed, without interruption, to the presence of his uncle. This request was immediately complied with; but instead of repairing to

\* May and June 1409.

the camp of Shah Rokh, as he affected to propose, the prince proceeded immediately to join Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, who had recently obtained permission to retire to Otraur. On information of this unaccountable perversity of conduct, Shah Rokh conceived that his presence might be requisite in the same quarter; but, an intercourse of messengers having been fortunately established, an accommodation was finally brought about, and confirmed under the most solemn mutual engagements. Shortly afterwards, Mirza Khaleil in person hastened to the presence of his august relative, and experienced a very indulgent and distinguished reception, without, however, any circumstance that could lead to the expectation that he was to be restored to his government.

A. H. 812-813.  
A. D. 1409-1410.  
Kholausset ul-  
akhbaur-

Affairs thus favorably arranged, Shah Rokh took his departure for Khorassaun, after having conferred the government of Transoxiana, with the neighboring territory on the Seyhûn, upon his son Olâgh Beg; at the same time bestowing the country of Hessaur-e-Shaudeman upon Mirza Mahommed Jahangueir, the son of his nephew Mahommed Sûltan. Soon after, recrossing the Oxus, he invested Mirza Keydou the son of Mirza Peir Mahommed, with the government of the three provinces of Kandahaur, Kabûl, and Gheznein, transferring the government of Balkh and Tokharestaun, to his second son Abûl Futtah Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan. On the 16th of Shabaun, of the eight hundred and twelfth of the hidjerah,\* Shah Rokh reentered, on this occasion, his capital of Herât, without the intervention of any further incident. During the month or Zilkaudah of the same year,† Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, as some compensation for the loss of Samarkand, proceeded by his orders, at the head of ten thousand horse, to attempt the reduction of Irâk Ajem; and he succeeded so far as to take possession of, and, for some time, to establish his authority in the territory of Rey, having received from Shah Rokh a patent for the government of both provinces of Irâk Ajem, and Azerbâijaun, should he prove so fortunate as to conquer them, for himself.

During the eight hundred and thirteenth, and the following year of the hidjerah, the attention of Shah Rokh was considerably engaged in counteracting the designs of that distinguished and gallant veteran,

\* 23d of December, 1409.

† March, 1410.

A. H. 813-15.  
A. D. 1410-1412.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbraur.

Ameir Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein, who had reared the standard of revolt in the territory of Otraur; here stated to have been the seat, and perhaps the patrimony, of his forefathers. This untoward event drew the Shah twice into Mawer-un-néher, in the course of that period. The last time, however, during a conference before the gates of Sovraun, or Sabraun, which he defended against the troops of Shah Rokh, under the orders of his old associate in arms, Ameir Shah Melek, the unfortunate Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein was suddenly dragged from his horse, as he stooped to embrace him, and put to death on the spot, by an officer of the name of Herkedauk; who had received his instructions for that purpose from Shah Melek himself. On the death of Teymûr, we learn from a passage in the Rouzut-us-suffa, that the illustrious chief, whose career was thus perfidiously terminated, had espoused the princess Tomaun Aga, one of the widows of his departed sovereign. Soon after the period under consideration, the same princess was conveyed, under an injunction from Shah Rokh, by the nephew of Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein from Sabraun to Herât; the town of Gaousûiah, about eleven farsangs from that city, was assigned for her maintenance; and she is stated to have left there many memorials of her bountiful and benevolent character. On his return to Herât, from this last expedition into Transoxiana, the Shah received intelligence of the death of his nephew Khaleil Sûltan, after a few days' illness, at Rey, on the 16th of Rudjub of the eight hundred and fourteenth of the hidjerah.\*

During the month of Mohurrem of the year eight hundred and fifteen,† and on his return from the solemnization of the feast of sacrifice of the tenth of Zilhudje, of the preceding year, at the mausoleum of Ally Ruzza at Mûsh-hed, we also find it recorded in the Rouzut-us-suffa, that Shah Rokh was employed at Herât, in giving a splendid reception to the ambassadors of *Dâeimîng Khaun*, monarch of Khatâi, or emperor of China. In the discharge of their mission, the objects of which on this occasion appear to have been of a nature purely amicable and conciliatory, they delivered from their sovereign, letters in different languages; which, among other expressions of a complimentary import, conveyed some very strong recom-

\* 2d of November, 1411.

† April 1412.

mendations in favor of the late Mirzâ Khaleil Sâltan, and which, whatever might have been their effect at an earlier period, could now no longer be of service. These ambassadors were shortly afterwards honorably dismissed, on their return to China, accompanied by Sheikh Mahommed Bukhshy; on a mission of a corresponding and similar import from Shah Rokh to the Chinese monarch.\*

A. H. 815-16.  
A. D. 1412 13.  
Kholassat-ule  
akhbar.

Ever since the death of his brother Meiran Shah, and the consequent subjugation of the province of Azerbâijân by Kâra Yûssuf, Shah Rokh had internally resolved on employing the very first convenient opportunity, to reduce that province with the adjoining territory of Irâk, under his own authority. Such an opportunity appeared to have arrived, during the eight hundred and sixteenth of the hidjerah; and he accordingly quitted Herât, at the head of a numerous and powerful army in order to take advantage of it, on the 18th of Rudjub, of that year—† proceeding towards the north-west, by the route of Neyshapûr, in the neighborhood of which city he encamped shortly afterwards. From thence, he conceived it expedient to transmit a dispatch to Mirza Eskunder, at Isfahaun, requesting that he would, at as early a period as possible, join him in the territory of Rey, with the troops of Fars and Irâk Ajem; in order that they might proceed together to the expulsion of the Tûrkomauns; after which he continued his march, at leisure, hunting as he proceeded, into Mazanderaun, where he passed the winter. When, however, the dispatches from his uncle were communicated to Mirza Eskunder, that prince, instead of resolving to co-operate cordially in the design against the common enemy of his family, immediately gave way to the suspicion, that something sinister was in contemplation against himself; and, under this impression, returning an insolent and disrespectful reply to the demand which had been conveyed to him, openly declared himself hostile to the authority of the Shah; and, dispatching to all quarters to assemble his troops, proceeded without delay to form an encamp-

\* Whether this, or any of the succeeding ones, of which several were dispatched to China from the court of Herât, during the reign of Shah Rokh, was the embassy, of which the translation of a Journal, by Mr. Vansittart of the Bengal Establishment, appeared in one of the English periodical publications some years ago, a comparison of dates will easily determine.

† 13th of October 1413.

A. H. 816-17. ment near Isfahaun. This refractory behavior on the part of his ne-  
 A. D. 1413-14. phew, necessarily produced a change in the plans of Shah Rokh; the  
 Kholausset-nl- expedition into Azerbâijaun was indefinitely postponed; and his  
 akhbaur, attention immediately directed to check, at their outset, the rash and  
 ambitious projects of his misguided relative.

Having dispatched his son Mirza Bâysungur, at the commence-  
 ment of the spring, to provide for the tranquillity of Khorassaun,  
 Shah Rokh, on the fourteenth of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and  
 seventeenth of the hidjerah,\* quitted his winter quarters in Mazan-  
 deraun, and, by the way of Damaghaun, proceeded towards Rey.  
 On his arrival near the castle of Sheheryaur, adjacent to, or not far  
 from that ancient city, several Ameirs who had been employed, on  
 the part of Mirza Eskunder, to take possession of Sawah and lay waste  
 the intervening territory, came over to the camp of Shah Rokh; easily  
 yielding to the persuasion, that having all, either by themselves or  
 their fathers, served in the armies of Teymûr, their allegiance was  
 unquestionably due to his family; but where the claims of the son and  
 grandson were brought into competition, that the former was clearly  
 entitled to the preference. From thence continuing his march, by  
 Sawah, to the gardens of Rûstum, within two farsangs, or about seven  
 miles of Isfahaun, Shah Rokh was joined by other respectable Ameirs,  
 who embraced the opportunity to abandon the cause of Eskunder.  
 Notwithstanding these inauspicious beginnings, the latter did not,  
 however, decline to give battle to the superior force of his uncle,  
 shortly afterwards; and being defeated, and compelled to shut himself  
 up within the walls of Isfahaun, he was there immediately besieged  
 by the victorious troops.

In the mean time, the adherents of Mirza Eskunder, at Shirauz,  
 were seized and imprisoned by the principal inhabitants, who proceed-  
 ed without delay to proclaim the authority of Shah Rokh; immedi-  
 ately dispatching an agent to announce to that monarch the fortunate  
 revolution that had thus taken place in his favor. The intelligence  
 was calculated to produce peculiar satisfaction at such a crisis; and  
 Lûtfullah Beyaun Temûr, a distinguished officer, was sent express to  
 take charge of the revenues of the province. The siege of Isfahaun

\* 4th of April 1414.

was, however, prosecuted with little intermission, and had now continued for a period of nearly two months, every attempt at an accommodation having totally failed; when on the 2d of the former Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and seventeenth of the hidjerah,\* the place was attacked by general assault. The conflict was supported, with equal resolution and obstinacy, during the whole of the day; but, on the following night, the troops of Shah Rokh succeeded in escalading the works, and, finally, in obtaining possession of the town, Mirza Eskunder retiring into the castle. But, on learning that one of his principal officers had deserted and gone over to the enemy, he, with some reason, considered his situation as hopeless, and fled the place while yet favored by the darkness of the night; proposing to effect his escape, if possible, into some of the adjoining districts. The unfortunate prince was, however, too closely pursued to attain his object; and being very early overtaken in his flight, he was conducted to the presence of the Shah; who, to all appearance, seemed disposed on his part at least, to treat him with humanity, since he consigned him to the care of his brother Rústum—conceiving perhaps, that the rigors of his destiny might receive some alleviation from the sympathies of fraternal affection. In this, nevertheless, his calculations appear to have been infinitely wide of the steeling influence of the spirit of ambition, which equally spurns at the ties of nature, and the obligations of private friendship. Mirza Rústum no sooner found him in his power, than he forever closed his views upon all objects of human grandeur, by an immediate application of the searing instrument to the eyes of his unhappy brother.

Thus master of Isfahaun, Shah Rokh immediately conferred the government of that place, and of the province dependent upon it, on the same Mirza Rústum the son of Omar Sheikh; who had served him with distinguished valour and fidelity in many of his expeditions, and who continued to rule the country with singular ability and moderation, for the remainder of his life. The government of Hamadaun, together with the fortresses of Verújerd and Nihawend, and the adjoining province of Lorristaun, was assigned in perpetual jaguir, or fee, to Mirza Baykera; another of the sons of Omar Sheikh, who had in

A. H. 817.  
A. D. 1414.  
Kholausset-ul-  
adhaur.

\* 19th of July 1414.

A. H. 817.  
A. D. 1414.  
Kholausset-ul-  
aklibaur.

the very flower of youth, already displayed the most conspicuous proofs of courage and talent; while that of Rey was generously bestowed upon Mirza Eyjel the son of Meiran Shah, at this period not more than twelve years of age. The territory of Komm was, at the same time, consigned by Shah Rokh to Saud-e-Wokauss, one of the grandsons of his brother Jahaungueir. Having dispatched this arrangement of the affairs of Irâk, and made some considerable sacrifices of property in order to reconcile the inhabitants of Isfahaun to the losses sustained during the recent capture of the city, Shah Rokh left that place for Shirauz; where, on his arrival, he proceeded to diffuse among the inhabitants, afresh, the blessings of a just and beneficent government. He then appointed his own son, Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan, to preside over Farss, on the death of the gallant Ameir Mûzraub; and quitting the metropolis of Shirauz, shortly afterwards, he proceeded by the route of Yezd on his return to Khorassaun; and crossing the desert of Mogheishaun, finally reached his capital of Herât, on the 22d of Rудjub of the eight hundred and seventeenth of the hidjerah.\* In the mean time it becomes necessary to observe, that while he was engaged on this occasion, in establishing his authority in Irâk Ajem, misunderstandings and jealousies had unfortunately arisen between Olûgh Beg, and his cousin Mirza Meirek Ahmed; who had been placed by Shah Rokh, as formerly noticed, in the government of Ouzkhund, towards the northern extremity of Ferghaunah. These jealousies finally terminated in hostilities, the issue of which proved unfavorable to Meirek Ahmed; who was compelled to fly for protection into Mõghûlstaun.

Among the events which took place subsequent to the return of Shah Rokh to his capital, it has been thought sufficient to notice the illness and death of Mirza Eyjel, recently appointed to the government of Rey. The person chosen to succeed him was Mirza Aylengur the son of Aba Bukker, and grandson of Meiran Shah; who was accordingly dispatched, accompanied by a respectable train from Khorassaun, to take possession of his government. Next it may be necessary to relate, that during the period at which he was directing his march towards Isfahaun, Ameir Bostaun, who then resided

\* 6th of October 1414.



at his jagueir of Sûltauniah under the authority of Kâra Yûssuf, had embraced the opportunity of conveying his submission to Shah Rokh ; in consequence of which, the Tûrkomaun chief some time afterwards indicating a design to attack the fortress of Sûltauniah, Bostaum thought it prudent to abandon his government, and hastened to place himself under the protection of Saud-e-Wokauss, at Komm. With great alleged simplicity, or want of judgment, the latter prince conceived it proper to imprison the fugitive Ameir ; only dispatching to announce the circumstance to Shah Rokh. Entirely disapproving of this impolitic step, with which he was made acquainted on the 10th of the former Rebbeia, of the year eight hundred and eighteen,\* the Shah transmitted orders that Bostaum should be instantly set at large ; at the same time conveying a letter to the imprisoned chief, apologizing, and condoling with him, on the unauthorized harshness of his treatment. So far, however, from yielding the slightest attention to such orders, Saud-e-Wokauss, seduced by the evil counsels of some profligates about his person, immediately went over to join Kâra Yûssuf, the enemy of his family, taking Ameir Bostaum a prisoner in his train ; and he was received, with equal kindness and distinction, by the Tûrkomaun.

A. H. 818.  
A. D. 1415.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Another of the occurrences which marked the crisis under consideration, was the disloyal design of invading the government of Shirauz, into which the gallant Mirza Baykera of Hamadaun was persuaded by the imprudent counsels, and yet unextinguished ambition of his brother Eskunder ; who had been permitted to pass his days under his protection, from the period at which he was deprived of the blessing of sight, by Mirza Rûstum. The latter prince receiving, however, intelligence of the design and march of the brothers, immediately employed a chosen detachment to way-lay them ; and the troops thus dispatched falling in with those of Mirza Baykera, in the neighborhood of Jerbaudegan, his brother Eskunder again became a prisoner with his enemies, and was immediately conveyed to Isfahaun, where he was placed in safe custody. This misfortune produced considerable indecision in the proceedings of Mirza Baykera, and he remained, for some days, stationary at Kundemaun, the position of

\* 19th of May 1415.

A. H. 818.  
A. D. 1415.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

which we have not hitherto been able to ascertain; but the ardent spirit of conquest again reanimating his bosom, he resumed his march for Shirauz. In the mean time, fully apprized of his intentions, Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army, was advancing from that city to oppose him, and at the station of Beyza, perhaps Obedah, the two kinsmen came to a battle; Mirza Baykera, with the small body of troops under his standard, the greater part without defensive armour of any description, preparing for the conflict, with all the precision of maturer discipline, and more powerful resources. At the first onset, Ibrauhim Sûltan completely drove before him the right and left wings of his adversary; but Ameir Jullaul-ud-dein Abû Sâeid, who commanded the right wing of Mirza Baykera, hastening to the support of his prince in the centre, instead of quitting the field of battle with the fugitives, Baykera, with admirable promptitude and intrepidity of mind, immediately determined in conjunction with Abû Sâeid, to make a desperate push against the main body of the troops of Shirauz, and succeeded to the utmost of his expectations. Ibrauhim Sûltan was unable to withstand the fury of this onset, and, retiring from the field, made the best of his way towards Âberkouh; whither he had already had the precaution to dispatch his mother, together with the most valuable of his effects, from Shirauz. In consequence of his victory, Mirza Baykera entered that city, the metropolis of Sûliman as it is frequently denominated by the Orientals, without further opposition, towards the latter end of the former Rebbeia, of the eight hundred and eighteenth of the hidjerah.\* In the mean time, Mirza Rûstum at Isfahaun, had taken care to dispatch the unfortunate cause of these evils, his brother Eskunder, to explore the regions of another world.

When, on the other hand, intelligence of these unlooked for changes was received at the court of Shah Rokh, that monarch proceeded without delay to deliberate, with his ministers, on the measures to be pursued for the speedy re-establishment of his authority; and having soon assembled a very powerful army for that purpose, he took his departure for Shirauz, by the apparently circuitous route of

\* Beginning of June 1415.

Jaum, Bestaum, Rey, Komm, Kashaun, and Isfahaun, on the 17th of the latter Jummaudy, of the same year;\* Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan having been already sent in advance with a respectable force, in the hope of being able to reduce his revolted kinsman to his duty. In the course of the march a dispatch from Olûgh Beg at Samarkand, announced the death of Mahommed Khaun, monarch of Moghûlstaun, and the accession of Nekhsh-e-jahaun, grandson of Khezzer Khoujah Oghlan, to the throne of Moghûl Tartary. To proceed, however, with the narrative, Mirza Baykera, rejecting all thoughts of accommodation, had shut himself up in Shirauz, in the belief that Shah Rokh was not in person with his army; but when, in consequence of a communication from Mirza Ibrauhim, that monarch appeared himself in the neighborhood, Mirza Baykera could no longer affect to doubt the circumstance, and immediately gave himself up to the most discouraging apprehensions. Under more favorable circumstances having, however, cultivated a very intimate friendship with Mirza Baysungur, one of the sons of the Shah, he conceived the expedient of employing his faithful dependent Abû Sâeid, recently mentioned, to endeavor to persuade that young prince to become his mediator for pardon with his father. Mirza Baysungur experienced no difficulty in introducing Abû Sâeid to the presence of his father, to whom he communicated, without reserve, the object of his visit. The agent was very favorably received by Shah Rokh, who evinced afresh the natural clemency of his disposition, by readily yielding to the intercession of his son, in behalf of his revolted kinsman; whose guilt he then promised to consign to oblivion. Returning immediately to Shirauz, Ameir Abû Sâeid communicated without delay to Mirza Baykera, the encouraging result of his mission; and on Sunday evening, accordingly, of the 5th of Ramzaun,† the latter prince hastened from the city, to present himself to his uncle; who, so far faithful to his engagement, forbore to offer the slightest injury to the person of the shahzâdah. But to guard against any future attempts of his ambition, he dispatched him in the custody of those in

\* 23rd of August 1415. Our immortal Harry V. landed in France on the 1st of August of the same year.

† 8th of November 1415.

A. H. 818 19. whom he could safely confide to Kandahaur; where he was destined  
 A. D. 1415-16. to remain under the supervision of Mirza Keydou the son of Peir  
 Kholausset-ul- Mahommed Jahangueir.  
 akhbaur.

Shah Rokh continued at Shirauz for the remaining part of the month of Ramzaun; restoring the government of that city, and the province of Farss, to his son Ibrauhim Sûltan. At the same time, he conceived it prudent to consign the territory and cities of Komm, Kashaun, Rey, and Râstumdaur, to the boundaries of Guilan, to the able management of the veteran Eliauss, or Elias Khaújah—probably as the best qualified to resist the encroachments of Kâra Yûssuf, and the Tûrkomauns. Having then made a short excursion to Kauzerûn, at the foot of the mountains, in order to visit the tomb of Sûltan Sheikh Abû Ishauk, and of other celebrated Peirs in that district, the Shah finally quitted Shirauz, directing his march towards Kermaun, with the design of reducing the whole of that province under his authority. But on reaching Seirjaun, Seyud Shums-ud-dein Ally the Bemnian repaired to his presence, in behalf of Sûltan Aweiss, the ruler of the country, to implore that, in compassion to the inhabitants, he would continue his march for Khôrassaun, without entering the province; and engaging, in that case, by all the means in his power, at a proper period, to conduct the Sûltan to do unqualified homage in his presence. In compliance with the intreaties of this Seyud, Shah Rokh, immediately recalled the detachments which had been already sent off towards Jireft, and the Gurrumseyr, and withdrew through the desert, into Khorassaun; returning to Herât in the middle of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and nineteenth of the hidjerah.\* We cannot here omit to observe, from the Rouzut-us-suffâ, that during the 818th of the hidjerah, Shah Rokh ordered the castle of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, contiguous to the northern wall of Herât and originally erected by Melek Fakhêr-ud-dein of the race of Guerret, but subsequently demolished by Teymûr, to be entirely rebuilt from the foundations; a labour which, according to some written memorials that escaped the ravages of time, required the exertions of no less than seven hundred thousand workmen to carry to its accomplishment—but for what period is not exactly explained.

\* Middle of March 1416.

It was on his return from Shirauz, on this occasion, that Shah Rokh invested his son Baysungur, with the important office of first minister of his Diwaun—president of the council of state perhaps—which he retained, with equal credit to himself and advantage to the people, during the remainder of his life. Much about the same crisis, Mirza Meirek Ahmed the son of Omar Sheikh, whom we have recently mentioned as having been constrained to retire into Moghúlstaun, in consequence of hostilities with Olugh Beg, thought it prudent to return and claim the protection of the Shah, who received him with equal kindness and indulgence. Nevertheless, a very short time afterwards, he was detected in concert with Mirza Aylengur, one of the grandsons of Meiran Shah, hatching fresh plots of sedition and hostility, which did not, however, escape the vigilance of his protector. While he was engaged in developing the mazes, and providing against the effects of this plan of treason and ingratitude, Shah Rokh received a dispatch also from Mirza Keydou, at Kandahaur, in which that prince announced a conspiracy against himself on the part of Mirza Baykera, in consequence of which, he had found it expedient to place his person under restraint, until he should receive instructions from Herât, in what manner he was to be further disposed of. In reply to this, Mirza Keydou was desired to convey his turbulent kinsman across the Indus, with permission to proceed to whatever quarter he chose in that direction. With regard to Mirza Meirek Ahmed, and the associate of his designs Mirza Aylengur, the former was significantly advised to make the pilgrimage to Mekkah, and the latter to try the effect of a voyage to sea; and proper persons were employed to take care that they disposed of themselves, precisely in the manner thus indicated to them. At all events, they are described to have departed, never after to be heard of. With respect to Mirza Baykera, Mirza Keydou ventured to deviate from the letter of his instructions, by declining the hazard of dismissing that prince to take his range among the nations on the other side the Indus; on the contrary, when Shah Rokh was on his march towards Kandahaur, during the eight hundred and twentieth of the hidjerah, the captive prince was conveyed, in conformity with subsequent orders, to the royal camp, from whence he was immediately sent towards Samarkand; and of him also we have no further information.

A. H. 819

A. D. 1416.

Kholausset-ul-  
aklibaur.

A. H. 819.  
 A. D. 1416  
 Kholansset-nl-  
 akhbaur.

It has been recently observed, that a certain Seyud Shums-ud-dein Bemmi had undertaken, at a particular period, to conduct Sûltan Aweiss of Kermaun, to the presence of Shah Rokh, provided the royal armies should be made to withdraw, without committing further depredations upon the inhabitants. It now appears, that on returning from his interview with the Shah to the capital of Kermaun, the Seyud found, nevertheless, that his influence was not sufficiently strong with the Sûltan, to prevail upon him to accompany him to court; and he was therefore constrained to proceed to Herât alone, in order to report his failure. This, as might have been expected, produced considerable resentment in the mind of Shah Rokh; and the Ameirs Ibrauhim son of Jahaun Shah Berlas, and Hussun Souffy Terkhan, with the governors of Ferah and Seiestaun, at the head of a powerful body of troops, were directed, by that monarch, to proceed immediately to the effectual reduction of Kermaun. Having entered the province accordingly, these chiefs compelled the Sûltan to shut himself up in his capital, in which he was some time afterwards closely invested. When, however, he had sustained a siege of seventy days, Sûltan Aweiss sent a deputation to propose that his besiegers should again withdraw; and, provided their sovereign would promise on his part once more to forgive his disobedience, to engage now most faithfully to convey himself, in a posture the most humble and abject, to do homage of duty in the royal presence. These proposals were transmitted to court, without delay, by the besieging generals; and they were informed, in reply, that if Sûltan Aweiss were truly sincere in his professions, it behoved him immediately to dispatch a person in his confidence to Herât, in order to furnish some pledge for the performance of his engagements—in which case the besieging army might suspend their operations; otherwise they were on no consideration whatever to quit Kermaun, until the capital was actually in their possession. The orders which they had received were punctually made known to Sûltan Aweiss, by the generals of Shah Rokh, and that chief accordingly fixed upon Sheikh Hussun, an officer in his confidence, to proceed to the presence of the Shah as he had been required to do; and the agent thus employed having been admitted to an interview with the monarch, on his arrival at Herât,

experienced but little difficulty in obtaining from him a solemn engagement; on oath, that so far from entertaining any design hostile to the person of the Sûltan, he should treat him with distinguished kindness, whenever he chose to make his appearance. The agent returned immediately into Kermaun; and having faithfully advertised Sûltan Aweiss of all that had occurred during his mission, the latter divested himself of all further apprehension, and repaired to Herât; where, according to our author, he experienced from Shah Rokh, the most abundant proof of the benevolent and bounteous disposition of that monarch. Some months afterwards, it however appears, that he was conducted to pass his days in exile at Samarkand.

So far back as the beginning of the former Rebbeia,\* Shah Behâ-udein Yengui Shah, one of the princes of Buddukhshaun, had arrived at Herât, to complain of the disturbances occasioned in that country, through the refractory and licentious measures pursued by his brothers. In consequence of this it was determined, on the part of Shah Rokh, to confer the government of that inaccessible province upon his son Seyûrghetmesh, at this period about nineteen years of age; and accordingly, towards the close of the same year, the eight hundred and nineteenth of the hidjerah,† he was dispatched, accompanied by the above-mentioned Yengui Shah, to take possession. Towards the end of the latter Rebbeia of the year 820,‡ the author of the Rouzut-us-suffa notices the honorable dismissal of a second embassy from Dâeyming Khaun, the emperor of China, with suitable presents for that monarch; after having participated in a sumptuous entertainment given to Olûgh Beg, at this period on a visit at his father's court, from Samarkand; and, on the 10th of the former Jummaudy.§ we find recorded the birth of Allâ-ud-doulah, one of the sons of Mirza Baysungur, who will be frequently mentioned hereafter. On the 10th of Rudjub of the same year,|| Shah Rokh proceeded from Herât on an expedition towards Kandahaur, destined to the chastisement of the Afghan, and Hazaurah tribes, in that neighborhood. On the 14th of Shabaun,\*\* he encamped on the river Heirmund, and was there joined by his son Seyûrghetmesh, accompanied by the

A. H. 819 20.  
A. D. 1417.  
Khoïausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

\* May 1416.

† January 1417.

‡ Beginning of June 1417.

§ 15th of June 1417.

|| 22nd of August.

\*\* 25th of September.

A. H. 820.  
A. D. 1417.  
Kholansset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Ameirs Ibrahim son of Jahaun Shah, and Noushirvaun, from Bud-dukshaun, which he appears to have placed under the authority of the same Yengui Shah already described; and on the 22d of the same month, Shah Rokh arrived in the vicinity of Kandahaur. In the following month of Ramzaun,\* a deputation composed of the chief magistrates, and principal inhabitants of Gheznein, appeared to do homage to the authority of the Shah; but soon afterwards, a person from the camp of Mirza Keydou brought intelligence that that prince had suddenly, and unaccountably, withdrawn himself from the same authority. This information was received with an appearance of indifference by Shah Rokh, who merely observed that Keydou had peradventure been seized with some absurd and groundless alarm, without considering it at all necessary to order any one in pursuit of the fugitive. On the 9th of the same month of Ramzaun a second messenger arrived to announce that, neither at Kabul nor Gheznein, was there left a vestige of or any one belonging to the absconded Mirza; and Ameir Ibrahim the son of Jahaun Shah was then, and not before, dispatched to that quarter, with instructions, should the misguided prince make his appearance, to invite him to an accommodation; to which, if he acceded, Ameir Ibrahim was, without further advice, to invest him with the government of Gheznein; otherwise, he was to take possession of the whole of the country, in behalf of the Shah.

In the mean time, presents to a considerable extent, in horses and camels, were conveyed to court on the part of the chiefs of the Hazaurah districts, together with concessions sufficiently satisfactory on the subject of tribute and allegiance; after which, Shah Rokh returned from Kandahaur to the banks of the Heirmund, where he had determined to take up his winter quarters. During the period in which he remained in cantonments on that river, he suffered by a fall from his horse, some material injury in one of his arms, or perhaps hands; and a certain Oustaud Meirug, eminent for his skill in surgery, although, by profession, an artificer of bows and arrows, was sent for in all haste from Herat, in order to undertake the cure; which he appears to have accomplished without much difficulty. It was during

\* 13th of October.



the same period of inaction, that the office of Vezzeir was lodged in the hands of Gheyauth-ud-dein Peir Ahmed, of Khawauf, by whom it was retained to the very conclusion of the reign of Shah Rokh. Ameir Ibrauhim the son of Jahaun Shah had, towards the end of the month of Ramzaun,\* already returned from his mission towards Kabûl and Gheznein, and announced that Mirza Keydou was on his way to the royal presence, in order to make his submission. Ameir Sheikh Lûkman Berlaus, on the contrary, who had been dispatched among the Hazaurah tribes, in order to collect the stipulated tribute, transmitted information that, after a residence of several days, instead of fulfilling their engagements, he found them disposed, under every possible pretext, to protract and elude the payments for which they had pledged themselves. In consequence of this, the Ameirs Mahommed Souffy, and Moussa, were necessarily employed, by order of the Shah, to over-run and lay waste the country; which having executed, and further sufficiently chastised the insolence of these refractory hordes, they rejoined the camp of their sovereign on the Heirmund.

At the commencement of the spring, or moderate season, of the 821st of the hidjerah, Shah Rokh nominated Mirza Sunjur, another of the sons of Peir Mahommed Jahangueir, assisted by the Ameirs Yadgaur Shah Erlaut, Feyrouz Shah, and Alleikah, to maintain good order and tranquillity in this quarter; with instructions, when Mirza Keydou should present himself in conformity with his promise, to conduct him to Herât; otherwise, to employ the force under his authority, in order to seize and bring him to court by compulsion. Shah Rokh then broke up from his winter quarters; and, proceeding into Khorassaun, entered the capital on the second day of Mohurrem, of the year just mentioned.† In the early part of the former Rebbeia,‡ intelligence was received of the death, in Azerbâijaun, of Mirza Saud-e-Wokauss, the son of Mahommed Sûltan, son of Jahangueir; of whose ill-advised and unprovoked flight from Komm, and defection to Kâra Yûssuf, notice was formerly taken. In the mean time, the Ameirs employed in the government of Kandahaur succeeded at last, in pre-

A. H. 820-21.  
A. D. 1417-18.  
Khoiausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

\* Beginning of November A. D. 1417.

† 8th of February 1418.

‡ Beginning of April.

A. H. 821,  
A. D. 1418,  
Kholâusset-ul  
akhibaur,

vailing upon Mirza Keydou to accompany them\* to the presence of his uncle; and being soon afterwards, accordingly, conducted to Herât, he there appears to have experienced from Shah Rokh, those proofs of regard and indulgence, which, from his dilatory and evasive conduct, he had possibly little reason to expect. Shortly afterwards, information was received that the Shabs, or petty princes of Buddukhshaun, were again in a state of revolt; in consequence of which, Mirza Seyûrghetmesh was a second time dispatched to that quarter, accompanied by some of the most distinguished Ameirs of Khorassaun, together with a body of troops collected from the provinces of Kandahaur, Bakalaun, and Arheng, in order to reduce these refractory mountain chiefs once more to their allegiance. When the Shahzâdah had, however, reached the station of Keshem, and had been further reinforced by five thousand of the troops of Transoxiana, the son of Shah Behâ-ud-dein, the paramount prince of the country, sent his agent, Khaujah Tauje-ud-dein Hussun Attaur, one of the most learned men of his age, to the presence of Shah Rokh, with the most submissive professions of duty and loyalty, and a specific and formal engagement to remit, without further failure, the stipulated tribute to the royal exchequer. The mediation of Khaujah Hussun was favorably received by Shah Rokh, and he consented to overlook the recent disobedience of the Buddukhshanian chiefs; whom he now reconfirmed in their authority. Seyûrghetmesh and the troops under his orders were then recalled into Khorassaun.

It has been already observed, that Mirza Keydou had, to all appearance, been completely restored to the favor of his royal relative. Nevertheless, forgetful of his numerous obligations, and mindful only of the power which he had lost, the young prince suffered himself to be again led astray by the counsels of the evil disposed; and on the night of the 19th of Rudjub,\* suddenly withdrew from Herât, taking the road towards Kandahaur. Being, however, immediately and vigorously pursued by Mirza Baysungur, he was after sustaining several desperate attacks on his march, at last compelled to surrender his person to that prince, at the town of Seberz; and being securely conducted back again to Herât, he was now closely imprisoned in

\* 21st of August 1418.

the citadel of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein. The government of the whole of the provinces of Kandahaur, Kabûl, and Gheznein, was, after this, finally vested in Mirza Seyûrghetmesh, at this period about twenty years of age.

A. H. 822 823.  
A. D. 1418-1420.  
Kholausset-ul-  
aklbaur.

In the course of the month of Shabaun, of what would appear to be the eight hundred and twenty-second of the hidjerah,\* according to the statements of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, Shah Rokh, led by his ardent zeal and veneration for the family of the prophet, and for the memory of the righteous Imaums, was engaged in a visit of devotion to the mausoleum of Ally Ruzza, at Mûsh-hed; where he now caused a superb lamp of gold, some time since prepared by the most skilful workmen, under his instructions, to be suspended to the dome of the sacred shrine. On a former visit, the royal consort, Gouher-shaud Aga, had laid the foundation of a noble mosque, by the side of the mausoleum; and, as it was now nearly completed, the structure was viewed by the Shah, with equal admiration and applause, both with respect to the elegance of the design, and to the beauty and delicacy of the workmanship. During his residence here, on this occasion, Shah Rokh moreover designed, and carried into execution, the plan of a fair palace and suite of gardens to the eastward of the town, to serve for his accommodation during any future visit to the sepulchre of the Imaum. He then proceeded to the neighboring city of Touss, where he further signalized his benevolent disposition, by various acts of charity extended to the devout mendicants, and other classes of the poor, settled about that place: after which he took his departure for Herât, which he reached on the first day of Ramzaun.† While Shah Rokh was absent on this visit to the shrine of Ally Ruzza, the ambassadors of Khatâi again made their appearance at Herât, for the third time since his accession, with an infinite variety of presents, and with letters of the most friendly tendency from Dâeyming Khaun, the Chinese emperor still on the throne. The nature and objects of this embassy have, it seems, been described at large by other authors: it has been considered sufficient to mention, in this place, that it was accompanied by Ardesheir Nowâei, the ambassador of Herât, who had proceeded with the former mission on its departure for China..

\* August 1419.

† 20th of September 1419.

A. H. 822-823. Another event which has been thought worthy of record, was the  
 A. D. 1419-1420. arrival, on the 21st of the same month,\* of the daughter of Shumma-  
 Kholausset-ul- akhbaur. jahaun, monarch of the country of the Moghûls; whom Shah Rokh  
 had demanded as the bride of his son Mirza Mahommed Jouky, then  
 in his eighteenth year, a splendid entertainment being provided for  
 the reception of this princess, by the queen consort Gouher-shaud  
 Aga. The nuptials of the illustrious pair were soon afterwards solemn-  
 ized with the usual forms, and with a magnificence proportioned  
 to their exalted birth. The succeeding winter† was passed by Shah  
 Rokh, at Baudgheiss; and it was then finally determined, as soon as  
 the necessary arrangements should have been completed, to carry into  
 execution the designs against Kâra Yûssuf and the Tûrkomaun  
 government of Azerbâijaun: which had been so long procrastinated, in  
 consequence alone of the domestic troubles hitherto prevailing,  
 throughout the possessions of the house of Teymûr.

From the period at which the unfortunate Meiran-Shah perished, in  
 the conflict with the troops of Kâra Yûssuf, the project of avenging  
 the death of his brother had, indeed, never been totally laid aside by  
 Shah Rokh. But, in the eight hundred and twenty third of the hid-  
 jerah, when the whole of the territory of Khorassaun, with Mazan-  
 deraun, Mawer-un-neher, Buddukhshaun, Kabûl, Gheznein, Seies-  
 taun, Kermaun, Farss, and Irâk Ajem, had been entirely subjugated,  
 and relieved from the mischiefs of internal hostility, the Shah con-  
 ceived that the moment was arrived when he should retaliate the  
 injuries of his family: and accordingly, having already assembled a  
 part of his troops, he proceeded, on the fifteenth of the month of  
 Shabaun of the year just mentioned,‡ from Herât, on his march for  
 Azerbâijaun.

Rouzut-us- On the 12th of the following month of Ramzaun,§ he had not yet  
 suffa. advanced beyond the precincts of the town of Jaum. On the 18th he  
 passed by the city of Neyshapûr; on the 29th he arrived at Baharabad,  
 where he remained to celebrate the festival at the conclusion of Ram-  
 zaun; and on the 6th of Shavaul,|| he encamped among the meadows  
 of Kherkan. On the 10th of the same month he reached Damaghaun,

\* 10th of October 1419.

† Of 1420.

‡ 24th of August 1420.

§ 19th of September.

|| 13th of October.

in the neighborhood of which town, several elephants were conveyed to his camp from the province of Mazanderaun, where it would appear that they had been kept for the convenience of subsistance. On the 14th he had continued his march to Semnaun; and on the 20th\* he arrived, through the defiles of Derrah-nimmek. [the salt pass,] in the territory of Veraumin. In the mean time he had, at successive stages, been joined by the several contingents from the different provinces under his authority; so that at this period, according to a regular list of enrolments presented by the Towatcheis, or commissaries of array, his army, in cavalry alone, amounted to no less than two hundred thousand men.

A. H. 823-824.

A. D. 1420-1421.

Rouzut-us-suffa.

The preparations of Kâra Yûssuf on the other hand, were on a scale not less formidable and extensive; and he had already encamped, at the head of a very numerous and well appointed force, in the neighborhood of Oujaun. Such indeed was the degree of awe, with which the nobles of the court of Shah Rokh had been generally inspired, by the known courage and martial skill of the warlike Tûrkoman, that many of them began to sink under discouraging speculations. Among other reflections it did not fail to occur to them, that while the horses of the Tûrkomaunian army were fresh and full of vigor, those of their antagonists were fatigued, and exhausted, by their long and wearisome marches from various distant quarters; and it was moreover observed, that the winter was now close at hand. But on those who had witnessed so many obstacles surmounted, and perplexities dispelled, through the unvarying ascendancy of Shah Rokh's fortune, these considerations produced but little impression. Ameir Shah-Melek had, it would appear, some time since already dispatched one of his officers to Kâra Yûssuf, to remind him in a sort of friendly way, how carefully it behoved the prudent man to avoid every circumstance that had a tendency to bring reproach on, or to tarnish a well earned fame; but if it had already unfortunately happened that something of the kind should have occurred on his part, it was not yet impossible, by seasonable concessions, to secure the indulgence of Shah Rokh; neither could it by any one be ascribed to him as a reproach, that he should have availed himself of the earliest convenient oppor-

\* 27th of October.

A. H. 823-824.  
 A. D. 1420-1421.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

tunity to accommodate his differences with so august, and magnanimous a monarch, as the sovereign of Khorassaun. As some reparation for past injuries it was, however, an indispensable preliminary, that the Tûrkomaun should relinquish his possession of both Sûltauniah and Kazvein, which he now held in direct defiance of the authority of the Shah.

Confident in the immensity of his resources, and in the attachment of the neighboring powers, Kâra Yûssuf received this overture with the highest disdain; shutting up the messenger by whom it was conveyed in the prisons of Tebreiz, and immediately assembling the troops from every part of the territory subject to his authority—with the determination to contend, to the utmost extremity, in support of his usurpations. Apprized of this resolution, Shah Rokh, rejecting from his mind all further earthly expedients, betook himself in humble supplication to him, whose attention is never withheld from the prayers of the faithful, the sure hope of the distressed, earnestly imploring his aid to bear him triumphant, through the enterprize in which he was engaged. Through the agency of some invisible and mysterious power, it is said to have been announced to him, that his prayers were heard; and the reciters of the Korân, of whom there were numbers in constant attendance, were in consequence immediately directed to repeat the Sourut-ul-Fateha, or chapter of victory at the commencement of the Korân, twelve thousand times over. Thus armed at all points, Shah Rokh dispatched Ameir Yûssuf Khaujeh, with one thousand horse towards Kazvein, which was taken possession of without difficulty; the governor abandoning the place at the approach of that officer, and retiring to Sûltauniah. Ameir Jahaun Shah, one of the sons of Kâra Yûssuf, was at this crisis, in charge of the government of Sûltauniah; and no circumstance was omitted, on his part, to provide for the resolute and effectual defence of the city entrusted to his care, the moment he became apprized, by the fugitives from Kazvein, that the troops of Shah Rokh were advancing in that direction.

But at the very moment that the armies of Shah Rokh were entering Irâk Ajem, and Ameir Jahaun Shah had completed his arrangements for the defence of Sûltauniah, an express from Tebreiz arrived to an-

announce to the latter the death of his father, at Oujoun, on thursday the 7th of Zilkaudah, of the eight hundred and twenty-third of the hidjerah;\* and a messenger from Kazvein immediately afterwards conveyed the intelligence to Shah Rôkh, now encamped in the neighborhood of Rey. Such is described, at the same time, to have been the consternation into which the Tûrkomans were thrown by this event, that, although none of the Khorassaunian troops had yet shewn themselves further to the westward than Rey, which appears to be at least twenty leagues from Oujoun, they instantly dispersed in every direction; leaving, in the encampment, of the whole of that immense army, not a single individual of the numerous train of their late püssant chief. The tents of the departed monarch were rifled by a lawless banditti; his lifeless corse was stripped of its apparel; and the very ears cut off, for the gold rings which were suspended to them. The body was, nevertheless, subsequently conveyed to Arjeis, or Arjish, on the lake of Van, and there quietly deposited in the sepulchre of the family.

A. H. 823-824.  
A. D. 1420-1421.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

In consequence of these events, Mirza Baysungur was detached immediately towards Tebreiz; while Shah Rokh in person, proposing to take up his quarters for the winter at Kâraough, directed his march to the northward, by Sûltauniah, Ardebeil, and Moghaun, and crossing the Araxes on the 8th of Zilhudje, encamped at Karabaugh on the following day.†

Kholausset-ül-  
akhbaur.

In the mean time, Mirza Baysungur had entered the metropolis of Tebreiz towards the middle of the month of Zilkaudah,‡ and proceeded, without delay, to exert his authority for the establishment of a just and equitable government; after which, and when he had secured the submission of Ameir Bâbajee Gâoroudy, who had hitherto stood on his defence, from an apprehension of punishment for his treatment of Ameir Jahaun Shah Jaukou, whom, under the authority of Mirza Omar the son of Meiran Shah, he had cut off in retaliation for the death of his father, the young prince hastened also to the general winter quarters at Kâraough.

We cannot omit to remark in this place, from the Rouzut-us-suffa, the circumstance of a fourth embassy from Dâeyming Khaun re-

\* 12th November 1420.

† 14th December.

‡ About 19th November.

A. H. 824.  
A. D. 1421.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

ceived, towards the commencement of the eight hundred and twenty-fourth of the hidjerah, by Olûgh beg at Samarkand, on its return from the presence of Shah Rokh.\* This mission left Samarkand on its way to China, on the first day of Suffur;† and it was accompanied on the present occasion, by the following individuals deputed by the Tcheghatâian princes, and their dependents. Ameir Shaudy Khoujah, on the part of Shah Rokh; Sûltan Ahmed, and Khaujah Gheyauth-ud-dein Nekaush, [a painter], on that of Mirza Baysungur; Ameir Hussun, and Pehlewaun Jummaul, on the part of Mirza Ibrahim Sûltan, from Shirauz; Ameir Erkedauk, on the part of Mirza Seyûrghetmesh, from Gheznein; Ardowaun from Ameir Shah Melek, as prince of Khaurezm; and lastly Khaujah Tauje-ud-dein, from the tributary princes of Buddukhshaun. Besides these they were attended, moreover, by a number of merchants, and other adventurers, from different parts of the Persian territory, desirous of embracing the opportunity of the journey to China. Neither is it uninteresting to notice the construction, about the same period, of an observatory at Samarkand, by Mirza Olûgh Beg, the most important result of which was the formation of the Zeytch-e-jedeid-e-Gourea-kauri, or new astronomical tables of Olûgh Beg; subsequently in general use for their calculations, among the Oriental astronomers.

Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Early in the spring of the year eight hundred and twenty-four, the Shah broke up from his winter quarters at Kâraabaugh; and having recrossed the Araxes, on the 3d of the former Jummaudy,‡ he was prevailed upon by the reports of the country, shortly afterwards, to attack the fortress of Bayezzid, then in the hands of the officers of Ameir Aspend the son of Kâra Yûssuf. The place, notwithstanding it was furnished with every species of supply, and with stores of every discription, in the utmost abundance, was, however, taken possession of, on the very day of its investiture, the 23d of the month of Jummaudy. On the 16th of the latter month of that name,§ Shah Rokh encamped in the neighborhood of Arjeis, near the northern angle of the lake of Van; and on the following day his standard was displayed in the territory of Aukbulauk. From hence he permitted

\* This on retrospection however, must have been that which visited Shah Rokh in the month of Ramzaun, of the preceding year.

† 4th February 1421.

‡ 5th of May 1421.

§ 17th of June.



the governors of the surrounding provinces, who hastened to his presence in great numbers, during his progress through the country, to return, loaded with favors, to their respective places of abode; after which, he appears to have changed the direction of his march, and proceeded towards Tebreiz.

A. H. 824.  
A. D. 1421.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

In the course of this march, intelligence was, however, conveyed to him, that Eskunder and Aspend, the sons of Kâra Yûssuf, had contrived to reassemble a powerful body of troops; with which they evinced a determined design, at the first opportunity, to repossess themselves of the metropolis of Tebreiz. In consequence of such information, Shah Rokh conceived it expedient to return towards Adeljouz and Ekhlaut, both on the lake of Van, in quest of the enemy, who were encamped in a position between those two places. The Tûrkoman chiefs do not appear to have declined the conflict, to which they were brought in the latter end of the month of Rudjub.\* On this occasion, apprehensive of the impression which the elephants with the army of the Shah might produce upon their horses, the Tûrkomans are described to have formed models of clay in the shape of that stupendous animal, cased in iron harness, before which, they had for some time previously exercised their cavalry, in order to accustom them to the sight. Be this, however, as it may, the contending armies engaged for the whole of the first day, without decisive advantage on either side. The conflict of the second day terminated in the same manner. But on the third day, which is stated to have been the first of Shabaun,† although the left wing of the army of Shah Rokh is acknowledged to have been defeated by the impetuosity of the Tûrkomans, the victory was finally decided in favor of the Shah; principally through the address of his general the veteran Shah Melek, who caused it to be suddenly proclaimed from the centre, that Ameir Aspend the son of Kâra Yûssuf was his prisoner. Panic-stricken by the report of his brother's misfortune, Eskunder and his troops almost immediately quitted the field of battle, and were pursued with considerable slaughter by the now victorious Shahrokhians.

On the day subsequent to that of his victory, which is represented to have been gained at a place called Ateshguerd, Shah Rokh resum-

\* End of July.

† 31st of July.

A. H. 824-830.  
A. D. 1421-1427.  
Kholansset-ul-  
akhbaur.

ed his march, by the way of Khoui, for Tèbreiz; where he appears to have arrived, without further obstacle, about the middle of the same month of Shabaun. From Tèbreiz, he proceeded some time afterwards to Kazvein, whence the Mirzas Ibrauhim Sùltan, and Rùstum, were permitted to take their departure, the one for Shirauz, and the other for his government of Isfabaun. On entering the frontiers of Khorassaun, towards the beginning of Ramzaun, Shah Melek was also permitted to take his departure, by the way of Asterabad, for his government of Khaurezm; and on the 19th of the succeeding month of Shavaul, of the eight hundred and twenty-fourth of the hidjerah,\* Shah Rokh returned once more in triumph to his capital of Herât. Shortly afterwards, the ambassadors of Khuzzer Khaun, monarch of Dehly, made their appearance at Herât, with some curious and valuable presents from their master; among these, not the least curious esteemed, was a Gùrgdenn, or Rhinoceros, which excited extraordinary admiration by its prodigious strength, and the impenetrability of its hide.

The succeeding years 825, 826, and 827, appear to have passed away, without the occurrence of any thing of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the historian; Shah Rokh being employed, during the whole of this period, within his province of Khorassaun, in the tranquil pursuits of peace, and in promoting the happiness of his people, by an impartial administration of justice, and by the removal of every species of oppression, and violence, from the face of the land.

During the eight hundred and twenty-eighth of the hidjerah,† Mirza Olùgh Beg, with a great army formed of the troops of his province, was engaged in an expedition into Jettah, and Mòghulstaun; in the course of which, he is said to have signally defeated Sheir Mahommed Ogblan, the monarch of those countries. He then returned to Samarkand, the metropolis of his government, from whence he repaired shortly afterwards on a visit to Herât; where, on the 15th of Zilhodge of the same year,‡ he was affectionately received by his father, and such of his brothers as were on the spot. After the resi-

\* 16th of October, 1421.

† November 1424 to November 1425.

‡ 28th of October, 1425.

dence of a few days, he was accompanied on his return to Samarkand, by his brother Mahommed Jouky. In the former month of Rebbeia, of the year eight hundred and twenty-nine,\* the able, just, and warlike Ameir Shah Melek, so often mentioned in these pages, is stated to have withdrawn from this abode of trouble, to receive the reward of his virtues in the mansions of eternal bliss. He died in the government of Khaurezm, in which he was succeeded, under the authority of Shah Rokh, who is described to have received the intelligence of his dissolution with the utmost concern and regret, by his son Ameir Ibrauhim. The remains of the departed chief were conveyed to Mush-hed, and there deposited in the earth close by the side of the mausoleum of Ally Ruzza. On the 16th of Mohurrem, of the following year [830], † occurred also, at Gheznein, the death of Mirza Seyûrghetmesh, the fourth son of Shah Rokh, when he had scarcely attained to his nine and twentieth year. His governments, including those of Kandahaur, Kabûl, and Gheznein, were immediately conferred upon his son, Mirza Sûltan Mûssâoud.

A. H. 824-830.  
A. D. 1421-1427.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

In the course of the same year [830], an unfavorable turn appears to have taken place in the affairs of Olûgh Beg, from the hostilities which broke out between him and Borauk Oghlan, monarch of the Ouzbeks; who had, in a great measure, been brought up under his protection, and who now evinced his ingratitude, by an unprovoked invasion of the territory in the neighborhood of Soghnauk, or Saganac. Olûgh Beg prepared without delay to repel the aggression, dispatching, at the same time, to advise his father of the unexpected contest in which he was about to be engaged. Shah Rokh, with that moderation which appears to have been a distinguished feature in his character, endeavoured to dissuade him from proceeding to extremity; nevertheless, he did not fail to send his brother Mahommed Jouky, recently returned from Samarkand, at the head of a powerful reinforcement, immediately to his assistance. When that prince had crossed the Jeyhûn, he found that his brother had already proceeded with what troops he could collect, towards Soghnauk, with the determination, at all hazards, of giving battle to his adversary; and he therefore hastened, with all the expedition in his power, to join him

\* January 1426.

† 16th of November, 1426.

A. H. 824-830.  
 A. D. 1421-1427  
 Kholausset-ul-  
 akhbaur.

before he should have finally committed himself. In this he happily succeeded without obstacle shortly afterwards; and the brothers now proceeded together with united force to give battle to the Ouzbek. But the issue was by no means such as might have been calculated upon, from these favorable beginnings. The Ouzbek prince did not decline the conflict, which terminated in a decisive and signal victory over the two brothers; who were compelled to abandon the field of battle in the utmost consternation.

But, among the events which distinguished the year 830, that which appears to have excited the greatest astonishment and alarm, was the attempt made against the life of Shah Rokh, by an obscure and desperate assassin; which is briefly described in the following terms. On Friday the 23d of the latter month of Rebbeia,\* just as the Shah was about to quit the principal mosque of Herât, after the performance of his devotions, a person of the name of Ahmed Lorr, afterwards discovered to have been the disciple of a certain Moulana Fuzzul-ullah of Asterabad, clad in a coarse blanket, or hair-cloth, hastily ran up with a paper in one hand, as if in the act of demanding justice, and at the same instant plunged his knife into the belly of the unsuspecting monarch. The assassin was instantly put to death by Ally Sûltan Koutchin, having first obtained the concurrence of his bleeding master; although the ends of justice would have been better attained, if he had been suffered to survive for examination. The Ameirs Alleikah Koukeltaush, and Feyrouz Shah, were attending on horseback at the entrance of the mosque; and the latter being immediately called to by Shah Rokh, and hastening to the spot without dismounting, was sufficiently astonished when he perceived what had just taken place. Observing, however, that the wounded monarch was about to place himself in a litter, in order to return to his palace, he ventured to suggest that if he could possibly support the effort, he should proceed on horseback; as the only expedient to obviate the dangers that might otherwise arise, from the circulation of uncertain and contradictory reports relative to his personal safety. In compliance with this suggestion, weak as he found himself from loss of blood, Shah Rokh immediately mounted on horseback, and

\* 20th of February, 1427.

proceeded through the public market places of the city, to his palace in the Baugh-e-zaughan, or raven gardens; the kettle-drums, and other imperial music, being directed to strike up with the usual majesty of effect. Fortunately, the Shah's wound was not of a nature to produce any serious injury, and was soon cured through the professional skill and exertions of his medical attendants; neither was the mischievous attempt followed by any other inconvenience than the alarm of the moment, which subsided as soon as the extent of the danger became properly understood.

Mirza Baysungur, and the Ameirs of the court, however, regretting, when too late, the prompt but premature justice executed upon the assassin, proceeded to investigate the circumstances connected with this nefarious attempt; and as Moula Maurrouf, a celebrated copyer of manuscripts once in the service of Mirza Eskunder, the son of Omar Sheikh, and a certain Khaujah Ezzed-ud-dein, had both incurred the suspicion of having been on terms of intimacy with the miscreant Ahmed Lorr, the former, after having been exposed to severe torture, was imprisoned in the castle of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein; and the latter was dispatched to that prison, where all things are forgotten. Public rumour having, moreover, circulated a report that the assassin had been, on frequent occasions, favorably received by Ameir Seyud Kaussem the Tebrizian, and Mirza Baysungur being, from some conceived offence, already inimically disposed towards this otherwise respectable Seyud, he also became implicated, as in some way or other accessory to the plot; and being banished from Herât through the influence of that prince, was compelled to retire into Transoxiana. He experienced, however, from Olûgh Beg the most kind and distinguished reception, on his arrival at Samarkand. We cannot, at the same time, omit to observe, that in the punishment of Moulana Maurrouf, also, Mirza Baysungur did not escape the charge of having been actuated by an improper motive, of resentment for private offence; the Moulana having neglected, either from accident or design, to execute some piece of penmanship, in which he had been employed for the prince's collection.

As soon as he was well recovered from the effects of his wound, Shah Rokh, on the first of Shabaun,\* proceeded from Herât, on his

\* 27th of May, 1427.

A. H. 830-831.  
A. D. 1427  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhtaur.

A. H. 830-831.  
A. D. 1427.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

march into Mawur-un-neher, in order to vindicate the reputation of his arms from the recent discomfiture, by Borauk Oghlan and the Ouzbeks; who had, by this time, overspread the greater part of Transoxiana with pillage and desolation. He was followed, at a short interval, by Mirza Baysungur; but on his arrival at Balkh, that prince was prevailed upon, in compliance with the advice of Olugh Beg, and his father's commands, to return to Herât; in order to secure the tranquillity of that metropolis during the absence of the sovereign. On the other hand, Shah Rokh, on his arrival at Samarkand a short time afterwards, delayed not to institute a severe investigation into the causes which produced the late disgraceful failure, in the battle with Borauk Oghlan; in consequence of which, several Ameirs of the highest rank were found guilty of misconduct, and condemned to the discipline of the club, or bastinado; Olugh Beg himself being, for some time, excluded from his father's presence and favor, and deprived of his government of Samarkand, although finally restored through the impulse of paternal affection. In the mean time, intimidated by the arrival of Shah Rokh and the royal armies at Samarkand, Borauk Oghlan appears to have suddenly withdrawn his claims to the territory of Soghnauk; and soon afterwards, entirely quitting the province of Mawur-un-neher, to have betaken himself to the trackless solitudes of his own country, north of the Caspian and the sea of Aral. In consequence of this favorable turn in affairs, Shah Rokh, after continuing a short time longer at Samarkand, set out on his return into Khorassan; and by the 15th of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and thirty first of the hidjerah,\* he had again reached his palace in the Baugh-e-zaughan, or Zoughoun, in the neighborhood of Herât.

Another year appears to have now passed without the occurrence of any very remarkable event, since the author brings us at once to the eight hundred and thirty second of the hidjerah; in the course of which, by the reports which were conveyed to him, of the renewed encroachments of Ameir Eskunder the son of Kâra Yûssuf, who had recovered possession of Sâltauniah, Shah Rokh was, in a manner, constrained to undertake another expedition into Azerbâijaun. On the 5th day of Rудjub, of the year just mentioned,† we accordingly

\* 4th of November 1427.

† 9th of April 1429.

find that he quitted Herât, at the head of his army, on his march towards that province. In the territory of Rey he was joined, as formerly, by his son Ibrauhim Sûltan from Shirauz, and by Mirza Rûstum from Isfahaun, each with the troops of his government respectively; as well as by the several chiefs of the adjoining provinces of Irâk Ajem and Azerbâijaun, who still adhered to their allegiance. From Rey he proceeded now to Sûltauniah, under the walls of which he appeared on the 21st of the month of Ramzaun;\* the officer in command on the part of Ameir Eskunder having, however, thought it prudent to abandon the place on his approach.

A. H. 831-833.  
A. D. 1429-1430.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Having remained at Sûltauniah to celebrate the festival of the new moon of Shavaul,† Shah Rokh proceeded next by the tomb of Abû Ayûb the Ansaur, and Shumb-e-Ghazan, to Khoui, or Khoi, and finally to Selmauss; where, after a tremendous conflict of two days, and notwithstanding the most heroic exertions acknowledged on all hands to have been displayed on the part of Ameir Eskunder, he succeeded; at last, in totally defeating the Tûrkomauns with immense slaughter. Such indeed, according to the report of Moulana Sherf-ud-dein Ally of Yezd, the well known author of the Zuffur-namah, who was present in the battle in the train of Ibrauhim Sûltan from Shirauz, whose distinguished valour had in an eminent degree contributed to the victory—such, we say, are described to have been the extraordinary proofs of courage, intrepidity, and perseverance, exhibited by the Tûrkomaun chiefs and their followers, on this sanguinary occasion, that he should not have believed the fact but from the evidence of his own senses.

Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

When, at all events, this splendid and hard-earned victory had been effectually secured to the arms of Shah Rokh, his son Mahommed Jouky was dispatched in pursuit of the flying Tûrkomauns; but although that prince is described to have followed them all the way to the plains of Moush, and the neighborhood of Erzeroum, such was the rapidity of their flight, that all exertions to overtake the enemy proved unavailing. The prince therefore returned to join his father; who, on the 6th of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and thirty third of the hidjerah,‡ broke up from his camp near Selmauss, and proceeded from thence towards the celebrated fortress of Alanjek. Instead of

Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

\* 23d of June.

† 3d of July.

\* 4th of October 1429.

A. H. 833-34.  
 A. D. 1429-1430.  
 Kholausset ul-  
 akhbaur.

setting him at defiance, the officers of Eskunder the Tûrkoman in possession of the place, embraced the more prudent expedient of purchasing his forbearance by a suitable present; which, immediately on his arrival, with many protestations of humble respect, they took care to offer to the acceptance of the Shah. Satisfied with these concessions, Shah Rokh, without further molestation, drew off from before Alanjek, and continued his march towards the winter quarters of Kârabaugh; which he appears to have reached on the 19th of the following month of Suffur.\* Shortly afterwards, Ameir Abû Sâeid, another of the sons of Kâra Yûssuf, who appears to have left a most numerous progeny, hastened to the presence of Shah Rokh; by whom he was most favorably received, and finally invested with the noble government of Azerbâijaun and all its dependencies. For this distinction, he was evidently more indebted to the singular prowess of his tribe exhibited in the battle of Selmauss, and to the policy of placing him in opposition to his warlike brothers, than to any particular inclination to encourage his pretensions to power.

Shah Rokh continued at Kârabaugh, on this occasion, for the whole of the winter, and part of the following spring. On the 11th of the month of Shabaun,† however, he put his troops again in motion from that place, and, crossing the Araxes on the day following, proceeded on his return into Khorassaun. On the 17th of Ramzaun,‡ he encamped at Sûltauniah; where he remained to the conclusion of that month of mortification and abstinence. During the succeeding month of Shavaul, the Mirzas Ibrauhim Sûltan, and Rûstun, together with the subordinate chiefs of Irâk Ajem, who had accompanied the royal armies on the recent service, were again permitted to return to their respective governments: after which, Shah Rokh resumed his march, and finally reached one of his gardens in the neighborhood of the capital of Herât, on the 8th of Mohurrem of the eight hundred and thirty-fourth of the hidjerah.§

It appears that during the absence of Shah Rokh in Azerbâijaun on this occasion, the Ouzbeks had availed themselves of the opportunity to enter the province of Khaurezm; where they obtained con-

\* 16th of November.

† 4th of May 1430.

‡ 8th of June.

§ 25th of September 1430.



siderable advantages over the troops of Ameir Ibrauhim, the son of Shah Melek. Having completely over-run and plundered it, they however, shortly afterwards, evacuated the province; those who remained behind being either dispersed, or cut to pieces, by the reinforcements dispatched from Khorassaun to the assistance of the government. Among the occurrences of the year eight hundred and thirty-three, it may not be impertinent to record, from the Rouzut-us-suffâ, the death at Neyshapûr, of the princess Sûltan Bukht Begum, the daughter of Teymûr.

A. H. 833 837.  
A. D. 1430-1433.  
Kholausset ul-  
akhbaur.

The year eight hundred and thirty-four\* does not seem to have produced any event, of sufficient importance to arrest the attention of the historian; and he accordingly transfers us, without ceremony, to the eight hundred and thirty-fifth of the hidjerah. In the month of Suffur of the latter year† we find Mirza Baysungur, accompanied by some of the most respectable Nobles, and a numerous escort, proceeding by direction of his father to pass the winter at Asterâbad. In the mean time, it was announced that Eskunder the Tûrkomaun had again led his troops into Azerbâijaun, where he had put to death his brother Abû Sâeid; at the conclusion of the winter, however, Mirza Baysungur returned to Herât. In the course of the eight hundred and thirty-sixth of the hidjerah, Yaur Ally, the son of Ameir Eskunder the Tûrkomaun, thought fit to withdraw from the court of his father, and to claim the protection of Ameir Khaleilullah, the reigning prince of Shirvaun, who had succeeded to his father Sheikh Ibrauhim, under the sanction of Shah Rokh. The prince of Shirvaun conceived it, however, advisable to transfer the fugitive, in bonds, to the court of Herât; from whence, although for some time treated with kindness and hospitality by Shah Rokh, he was finally removed under close restraint to Samarkand.

On the 7th of the former Jummaudy of the eight hundred and thirty-seventh of the hidjerah,\* it becomes necessary to record the death of Mirza Baysungur, the son of Shah Rokh, at the age of seven and thirty years and four months. He was buried with extraordinary funeral pomp in the college of the princess Gouhershaud:

\* Commencing 18th September 1430: . . . † October 1431. .

‡ 19th of December 1433. . .

A. H. 837-838.  
A. D. 1433-1434.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Aga ; and the concourse of the people of Herat, who attended on the occasion, is described to have been so great, that the whole of the road from the Baugh-e-seffeid, or white garden, where he died, to the place of interment in the city, was on both sides entirely lined by the multitude. He perished thus in the prime of life, although in other respects a prince of singular merit and endowments, from habits of excessive drinking; in which he appears to have been confirmed by a prediction of his astrologers, that he was not destined, at all events, to out-live the age of forty. The Persian characters of the sentence, "*Bauda be jahawñ omar drauz e pudderum*—" in English, long on this earth be the life of my father—numerically applied, exhibit exactly the year of his death, 837. He left three sons, Mirza Rokken-ud-dein Allâ-ud-doulah, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed, and Mirza Abûl Kaussem Bauber, each of whom, at subsequent periods, attained to sovereign power. In the mean time, the dignities and appointments of the father were bestowed, by Shah Rokh, upon Allâ-ud-doulah, the eldest of the three; the two younger brothers being otherwise liberally provided for by the royal bounty.

In the early part of the following year, intelligence reached Herât that, having succeeded in establishing his authority over Azerbâijaun and Arran, [the territory between the Kûrr and Araxes], Eskunder the Tûrkomaun was now preparing to extend his usurpations over the neighboring province of Shirvaun. On the 2nd of the latter Rebbeia, of the eight hundred and thirty eighth of the hidjerah,\* therefore, Shah Rokh, at the head of a numerous army, was again constrained to bend his course in that direction. By the time, however, that he had conducted his troops to Rey, the season was so far advanced, that he found it necessary to take up his quarters in that neighborhood for the winter. Ameir Eskunder, on the other hand, receiving intelligence of the approach of his imperial antagonist, thought it prudent, once more, to retire from the province; while his brother Ameir Jahauun Shah, another still of the sons of Kâra Yûssuf, repaired to the presence of Shah Rokh, by whom he was received with very distinguished kindness. During the period in which he was, on this occasion, detained in the neighborhood of Rey, Shah Rokh was destined

\* 4th of November 1434.

to experience another severe stroke of domestic affliction, in the loss of his son Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan, who died at Shirauz, on the fourth of Shavaul, of the year 838.\* The vice-royalty of Farss and Shirauz was immediately conferred, by his grandfather, upon Mirza Abdullah, the eldest son of the departed prince, as yet in his childhood; and the executive government was for the present, therefore, entrusted to the management of Sheikh Moheb-ud-dein Abûlkheyr. The memory of Mirza Ibrauhim is also consecrated in the esteem of the orientals, for the general benevolence of his disposition, as well as for his liberal patronage of genius and science; and it is, perhaps, of some importance to record, that it was under the auspicious encouragement of this enlightened prince, that Moulana Sherf-ud-dein Ally the Yezdian, was enabled to complete his elaborate work, the Zuffur-nâmah—a performance which is extolled, by the author of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, as infinitely surpassing any thing that had then appeared in the world in the department of history.

A. H. 838-840.  
A. D. 1434-1436.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

In the course of the year eight hundred and thirty eight, the city of Herât was afflicted by a dreadful epidemical, or pestilential disorder, which swept off the inhabitants in the most alarming numbers. The disorder appears to have commenced with fever and ague, was accompanied by an eruption on the limbs, about the size of a small pea, and generally proved fatal to the patient in two days.† The mortality was so great, that in the town and neighborhood, not less than ten thousand persons were calculated to have perished in a day; and an officer, stationed at one of the gates of the city, is said to have counted four thousand biers carried through in the course of the day, exclusive of the bodies that were simply borne on men's backs, without any other funeral habiliments than the garb in which they expired. This distemper continued to rage for part of three months; since it is said to have broke out when the sun was in the middle of Pisces, and continued for some time after it had entered Taurus.‡

Towards the conclusion of spring, Shâh Rokh broke up from his winter quarters at Rey, proceeding by the route of Kazvein, Sûltauniah, Zenjaun, and Oujaun, to Tebreiz; where he passed the hot season

\* 2d of May 1435.

† If this was not the small pox, it was something very like it.

‡ Part of February, March, and April, 1435.

A. H. 839-8  
 A. D. 1436.  
 Kholausset-ul-  
 akhbaur.

and the month of June. On the approach of the following winter, however, he crossed the Araxes, and put his troops into quarters at Kârabaugh. In the mean time, shahzâdah Mahommed Jouky was employed, in conformity with his father's instructions, in tracing the flight of Eskunder, the Tûrkoman chief; but, having followed the enemy as far as Erzenjaun, without obtaining any material intelligence of the direction of his retreat, it was thought advisable to abandon the pursuit; and the prince accordingly rejoined the main body of the army at Kârabaugh. Another winter was now brought to a conclusion, and Shah Rokh, on the 11th of Shavaul of the eight hundred and thirty ninth of the hidjerah,\* again quitted his cantonments at Kârabaugh, and proceeded to Oujau; where he invested Ameir Jahaun Shah the son of Kâra Yûssuf, with the important government of Azerbâijaun, for which he had contended at the risk of so many tremendous conflicts. He then continued his march for Khorassaun, and arrived in his capital of Herât, on the 2d of the latter Rebbeia of the eight hundred and fortieth of the hidjerah;† having been absent, on this occasion, for the period of two lunar years precisely.

For several years subsequent to the period just mentioned, the attention of this prudent and respectable monarch was studiously devoted to cultivate the arts of peace; and to consolidate the welfare and prosperity of his people, without quitting the boundaries of his favorite province of Khorassaun. In the mean time, to diversify in some degree, perhaps, the tedious uniformity of the narration, the historian digresses for a moment to relate, on what he alleges to be the authority of some most intimate friends, that Ameir Eskunder the son of Kâra Yûssuf, had a son of the name of Kobaud, and a favorite concubine on whom he doted, whose name was Leyli. With this lady, in defiance of the ties of nature and of filial duty, and led by the impulse of a blind and impetuous passion, the son suffered himself to engage in a libidinous, and unwarrantable clandestine intercourse. The moment, however, it was ascertained that Shah Rokh was actually on his return into Khorassaun from his last expedition, Eskunder hastened to Alanjek; where it appears that his family had been lodged for security during his recent retreat from the province; and, finding

\* 27th of April 1436.

† 13th of October 1436.

that Kobaud and Leyli had both concurred with others, in sending out the presents which had been laid before the Shah, when, on the occasion recently noticed, he appeared in that vicinity; he could not forbear betraying some symptoms of ill humour, and even to menace the lives of those who had thus, unintentionally, provoked his displeasure. All this was immediately ascribed, by the misgivings of conscious guilt, to some intelligence obtained of the improper intercourse which subsisted between the lovers; and they determined, without delay, on a plan to destroy the object of their apprehensions. Accordingly one night, when Eskunder, in a state of intoxication, had retired to sleep on the terrace, or flat roof of his palace, Leyli, contrary to the usual precaution, designedly omitted to draw up the stair-ladder, and her guilty paramour was thus enabled to ascend without alarm or obstacle. Making directly for his father's couch, the villain struck at him with his drawn dagger; when, starting from his sleep, and little suspecting the hand by which he was assailed, the unhappy prince called out upon Kobaud, by name, for assistance. The atrocious parricide instantly plunged his murderous knife into the bosom of the immediate author of his being, and thus attained the climax of human guilt. And this was the fate of the intrepid Eskunder; who had escaped the obvious perils of many a sanguinary conflict, in the field of battle, to perish at last, like too many others, by the foul and detestable malice of domestic treason.

A. H. 840-843.  
A. D. 1436-1439.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

The narrative now proceeds to state, that Melek Ashruf, the Sultán of Egypt and Syria, dying much about the same period, the principal officers of his court placed the diadem of that monarchy, with the title of Melek-uz-zauher, [the victorious], on the brows of Tchekmauk Beg, or Bey, who had previously discharged the functions of Meir Aukhour, or master of the horse, to the deceased monarch. When yet a subordinate officer, this Tchekmauk Beg\* had, it seems, fancied in a dream, that Shah Rokh had taken him by the waist, and seated him on the throne of sovereign power; and he had, from that moment, determined within himself, whenever the golden hopes thus awakened should be realized, to establish an intercourse of friendship with that

\* This might be literally translated "Captain Flint."

A. H. 840-843.  
 A. D. 1436-1439.  
 Kholanusset-ul-  
 akhbaur.

illustrious prince. Accordingly, as soon as his dream of glory had been substantially fulfilled through the exertions of his fellow chiefs, he dispatched his ambassador Tchetchek Bouka, to announce the desire which he cherished, to enter into the most friendly correspondence with the court of Shah Rokh; and the envoy, thus accredited, appeared at Herât, some time in the course of the eight hundred and forty third of the hidjerah.\* His reception was in every respect favorable and distinguished; being, under the particular instructions of the monarch, most splendidly entertained, in their turn, by the whole of the shahzâdahs and principal courtiers. Five manuscript works beautifully executed for the purpose, and which had been applied for by Sûltan Tchekmauk, were among the presents prepared to be conveyed by the Ambassador for his master: and in the Rouzut-us-suffâ we find them mentioned in detail as follows: 1. Taweilaut-e-hûdjut, e-ahul-e-sûnnut-wo-jammayet, or explanations of the arguments, or doctrines of the orthodox, and congregational sect, by Sheikh Abû Munsour. 2. Tefseir-e-kabeir, or greater commentary, on the Korân, by Imaum Fakher-ud-dein Rauzy. 3. Sherreh Telkheiss-e-jammia, or paraphrase on the abstract of the collection, of traditional doctrines possibly, by Khoujah Mûssâoud of Bokhâra. 4. Sherreh Keshauf, or clear explanation, by Moulana Allâ-ud-doulah Pehelewaun, [athletes]. 5. Rouzah-der Mûzhebb-e-Shaffâi, or flowery treatise on the tenets of the sect of Shaffâi. These were, as it would be further unnecessary to explain, all devoted to Theological subjects, on which the Sûltan of Egypt was probably anxious to obtain instruction.

The Ambassador of Egypt was conducted to his audience of leave, on the 18th of the month of Rudjub; † and received on his dismissal, for himself, a present of fifty thousand dinaurs in specie, ‡ and one thousand dinaurs for each of his fifty attendants.§ He was accompanied by Moulana Hussum-ud-dein Mûbaurek Shah, Purwântchi, or clerk of the patent office, as ambassador on the part of Shah Rokh; and he requested on his departure, as he alleged in obedience to the instructions of his master, that he might be permitted on his journey homewards, to visit the four fine cities of Shirauz, Isfahaun, Yezd,

\* Commencing 13th of June A. D. 1439.

† 24th December 1439.

‡ About £23000 at the lowest computation.

§ £158. 6s. 8d.

and Kashaun ; a request in which he was very readily indulged, the governors of those cities being charged to decorate them in the most splendid manner for his reception, and to furnish between them the further sum of one hundred thousand dinaurs, to defray his expences. The five manuscripts were, however, as we gather from the Rouzut-us-suffâ, particularly entrusted to the care of the ambassador of Persia ; and as he happened to die previous to his arrival in Egypt, the charge devolved to his son, by whom they were finally delivered to the Sûltan.

A. H. 843 845.  
A. D. 1439 1442.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

The evening of the third day of Shabaun,\* gave birth to Mirza Sûltan Ibrauhim the son of Shahzâdah Allâ-ud-doulah, and it is something curious that the letters of the sentence, “Shub-e-seium-uz-Shabaun,” *the evening of the third of Shabaun*, should furnish exactly the date 843. In the course of the same year, Shah Rokh found it expedient to divest Mirza Sûltan Mûssâoud the son of Seyûrghetmesh, of the government of Kabûl, transferring it, however, to the brother of the degraded prince, Mirza Kâratchaur. Under the eight hundred and forty-fourth of the hidjerah, is recorded the death of Ameir Allâ-ud-dein Alleikah Koukeltaush, after having surpassed the advanced age of ninety years. Under the same year, we also find included the death of the princess Melket Aga, the widow of Omar Sheikh, but subsequently the wife of Shah Rokh, and by him the mother of Seyûrghetmesh. She was buried under the great dome of the college of Balkh, founded at her expence. Towards the commencement of the following year, the eight hundred and forty-fifth of the hidjerah,† Mirza Abdullâtteif the son of Olûgh Beg, who, from earliest infancy, had been brought up under the eye of his indulgent grandfather, taking offence at the partiality shewn for Mirza Allâ-ud-doulah, the son of Baysungur, by the queen consort Gouhershaid Aga, withdrew, in displeasure, to his father’s court at Samarkand. But, as Shah Rokh betrayed the utmost disquietude and vexation of mind at the absence of his grandson, Gouhershaid herself, in order to remove his uneasiness, determined to undertake the journey into Transoxiana in person, in order to bring back the truant prince. She was met at some distance from Samarkand, and conducted

\* 8th of January 1440.

† Commencing 21st of May 1441.

A. H 845-46.  
A. D 1442.  
Kholausset ul-  
akhbaur.

into that metropolis, with every mark of filial respect and tenderness, by Olûgh Beg. When she had remained for some days at Samarkand, to partake in the attentions of filial affection, Abdullutteif consented at last, to accompany his grandmother on her return into Khorassaun; and they accordingly arrived together at Herât, on the 4th of Shavaul, of the year eight hundred and forty-five.\*

Early in the following year, the eight hundred and forty-sixth of the hidjerah,† on intelligence that Melek Keyomarss, the chief of Rústumdaur, had withdrawn from his allegiance, and even commenced hostilities, by dispatching a force to attempt the reduction of Rey and its dependencies, Shah Rokh, at the head of his troops, proceeded immediately to that quarter. When he had, however, prosecuted his march to the westward of Neyshapûr, messenger upon messenger, from Keyomarss, arrived to deprecate the wrath of the offended monarch, and to propose the most abject terms of submission; which were, in short, finally accepted on the part of Shah Rokh. In the mean time, a question had been agitated, in a council of his ministers and principal officers, by Shah Rokh, as to the arrangement best calculated to promote the permanent security of his possessions in Irâk Ajem; and it had been determined that one of the princes of the blood royal, should be selected to take charge of that troublesome and important government. Ameir Jullaul-ud-dein Feyrouz Shah, who had, at this crisis, established an almost unbounded influence over the affairs of the monarchy, embraced the opportunity to communicate that, a short time before, a certain Sheikh Behâ-ud-dein Omar, on his return from Hejauz, happening to sleep near the sepulchre of Sheikh Ahmed Ghazauly, at Kazvein, that venerated personage had appeared to him in a dream, and announced that the saints, or spirits in the abodes of the blessed, had nominated Mirza Sûltan Ahmed, or rather Mahommed, the son of Mirza Baysungur, to the government of Irâk. To this intimation, on the part of his sagacious minister, Shah Rokh yielded an attentive ear; and Mirza Sûltan Mahommed was accordingly dismissed with a competent force, and the usual insignia of authority, to possess himself of the government of Sûltaniah, Kazvein, and Rey. The Shahâdah hastened without delay, to

\* 14th of February 1442.

† Commencing 11th of May 1442.



carry into execution the objects of his appointment; and in the course of a short time, he succeeded in reducing to their obedience the refractory chiefs of the surrounding territory, who had possibly availed themselves, as usual, of the relaxation of the regular authority, to indulge in speculations of ambition and independence. Nevertheless, before he had been for a period of any duration in possession of his power, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed, as it is alleged, in direct defiance of his instructions, proceeded to appropriate to himself the revenues of several of the adjoining districts, and to betray similar designs of independent authority. In consequence of this, his government was, some time afterwards, abridged to that of Kazvein and Sâltauniah alone, with an interdiction from extending his interference any further. Having, however, brought the dispute with Keyomarss, to a satisfactory termination, Shah Rokh returned without further contingency to his capital of Herât.

A. H. 846.  
A. D. 1442.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

The infirmities of age had, probably by this time, produced their ordinary effect in diminishing the activity, and impairing the mental energies of Shah Rokh; since we find it here remarked, that the predominance of the minister Feyrouz Shah, and his intrusive interference in every branch of government, had now surpassed all bounds of moderation—no officer or agent of any description, of his appointment, being removable by any other authority than his own. And although the usurpation was not less obvious, than obnoxious to his sovereign, yet no other individual of the first class of nobility, being equally habituated, or indeed qualified, to direct the complicated movements of the machine of government, he conceived it expedient to dissemble his displeasure, and to connive at the presumption of his minister. Under these circumstances, it happened that Seyud Emmaud-ud dein Mahmoud, a man adorned by every virtuous and every polite accomplishment, and whose father, Zeyne-ul-aubbedein, had, for many years, discharged the duties of the Vizzaurut, under the authority of the invincible Teymâr, should have advanced, in the course of the eight hundred and forty-sixth of the hidjerah, so considerably in the favor of Shah Rokh, as to awaken the utmost degree of jealousy among the members of the court. It was by this ignoble motive actuated that Feyrouz Shah, in order to remove this respect-

Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 846.  
 A. D. 1442.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

Seyud out of the way, invested him with a commission to adjust some affairs in the province of Balkh; of which, in spite of all he could urge to decline it, and of his sovereign's acknowledged wish that he should be promoted to some appointment of superior trust and dignity, he was constrained to accept.

Seyud Emmaud-ud-dein proceeded accordingly to Balkh; and it happened, moreover, in the course of the same year, that Mirza Mahommed Jouky should also have taken up his winter quarters in that city. From his communication with the inhabitants, however, it soon became known to that prince, that the agents of Feyrouz Shah had established so uncontrolable an ascendancy over the whole province, that a just proportion of the revenues could seldom, if ever, be conveyed to the treasury of the state; and that the individual exertions of Emmaud-ud-dein could, therefore, but little avail to rectify the evil. A royal mandate was, by some means or other, accordingly procured, directing the Seyud, under the superintendance of Mahommed Jouky, immediately to make up a full account of the revenues of the province for the last three years; it being, at the same time, notorious that the prince was already grievously offended with the conduct of Amèir Feyrouz Shah. In the mean time, information was received from Iràk, that Mirza Sùltan Mahommed had levied the most oppressive exactions upon the districts of his tenure, and that the inhabitants were grievously persecuted by his lieutenants, and their subordinate agents. As a mark of his displeasure, a mandate was therefore issued, by Shah Rokh, to declare that the governments of Sùltauniah, and Kazvein, were of themselves more than amply sufficient, to defray the expences of any establishment that could be necessary for the support of his station, whether in point of splendor or authority; and to caution him, very significantly, against interfering in any shape, with the districts beyond the limits of those particular governments. Shums-ud-dein Mahommed, a Bokhàrian, was dispatched, at the same time, to take charge of the districts thus withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Sùltan Mahommed. On the death of Khaujah Moazz-ud-dein Melek the Semnaunian at Shirauz, much about the same crisis, the government of that city, and of all Fars, was conferred by the authority of Shah Rokh, upon Sheikh

Mohebb-ud-dein Abûlkheyre, notwithstanding some recent heavy complaints against his conduct.

The narrative now conveys us to the eight hundred and forty eighth of the hidjerah,\* in the course of which Shah Rokh was destined to suffer under the attack of some severe and dangerous malady, which appeared, for some time, to baffle the skill of his physicians. While the danger of the monarch kept the hearts of all men in a state of suspense and alarm, Bahà-ud-dein Sheikh Omar, who had recently returned from a pilgrimage to Mekkah, one friday as he was coming from his devotions, proceeded to visit the suffering prince; who had not opened his lips for a period of three days and as many nights successively. He; however, saluted the pious Sheikh, the moment he was announced; and the latter in returning the salute, raised his hands to heaven to supplicate for his restoration to health. The monarch then besought the Sheikh, with his benediction, to bestow upon him some article from about his person; on which he immediately took the destaur, or turban, from his head, and laid it before the Shah. That same day the complaint took a favorable turn, and, shortly afterwards, was entirely removed. In consequence of this, a canopy, or pall, of the richest materials, and the most elaborate workmanship, was directed, by the Shah, to be prepared for the temple at Mekkah; and when finished, was conveyed, in charge of Sheikh Nûr-ud-dein Mahommed ul Mûrshedy, and Moulana Shums-ud-dein Makommed of Ebher, by the route of Egypt, to that sacred sanctuary of their faith. The two agents were enabled to discharge their mission to the general satisfaction; and, having laid the canopy over the dome of the Kaubah, at a subsequent period returned safe to Herát. During the same year occurred the death, under the displeasure of his sovereign, of the minister Feyrouz Shah; who, notwithstanding his unrestrainable ambition, is yet acknowledged to have been a just, benevolent, and virtuous nobleman, and a most liberal patron of genius and learning. The 848th of the hidjerah proved also fatal to Mirza Mahommed Jouky, the fifth son of Shâh Rokh; who, pursued by the jealousy and uncourteous treatment of the queen-consort Gouher-shaud Aga, whose influence was exclusively directed to promote the

\* Commencing 19th of April A. D. 1444.

A. H. 846-848.  
A. D. 1442-1444.  
Kholausset-ul-  
aklbaur.



A. H. 848-849.  
 A. D. 1444-1445.  
 Kholausset-ul-  
 akhbaur.

interests of his nephews, Allà-ud-doulah and Abdullutteif, who had long passed his time in mortification and disappointment, and who terminated his earthly career about this period; at the town of Serkhess. His death occasioned the deepest concern to his now aged father, and his body was conveyed to Herât; where it was committed to the grave, by the side of his brother Baysungur. According to the author of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, Mirza Mahommed Jouky was a prince of the most exalted magnanimity, courage, and prudence, and in every respect eminently qualified to have shed, had he survived, the brightest lustre on the throne of Persia.

It appears, that soon after Mirza Sûltan Mahommed the son of Baysungur had been placed by his grandfather, at the suggestion of the minister Feyrouz Shah, as recently described, in the vice-royalty of part of the territory of Irâk Ajem, a numerous concourse of adventurers from various parts of the empire resorted to his court; and they were entertained by the shahzâdah, with a liberality, that in a short time exhausted his means, and rendered his expenditure far beyond the receipts of his treasury. In these circumstances, reports were circulated, perhaps studiously, in Irâk, of the illness and reduced state of Shah Rokh; many of the turbulent and disaffected persuading the prince, that his grandfather was no longer able to move from his capital. Hence, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed was easily led to conceive it a favorable opportunity, to possess himself of the rich and noble governments of Isfahaun, and Shirauz. Accordingly, some time during the eight hundred and forty ninth of the hidjerah,\* he suddenly appeared before Isfahaun, of which he made himself master without great difficulty; seizing, and throwing into prison Ameir Saudut the son of Khâwend Shah, and nephew of the late minister Feyrouz Shah, who had succeeded to the government, on the death of Mirza Rûstum. Having taken the necessary precautions to provide for the security of this important acquisition, and by various methods made a prodigious accumulation of treasure, the shahzâdah proceeded towards Shirauz. That city had, however, been timely secured against him, by Mirza Abdullah, the son of the late Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan; who prepared to defend his post with resolution, and dispatched the earliest intelligence to Herât, to announce his danger.

\* Commencing 8th of April 1445.

In consequence of this information, some time during the eight hundred and fiftieth year of the hidjerah,\* Shah Rokh, in spite of the accumulating infirmities of age and declining health, felt himself equally impelled, by the desire of vindicating his authority, and by the importunities of his consort Gouher-shaud Begum, to march once more into Irâk Ajem, confiding the government of his capital to his grandson Allâ-ud-doulah, the eldest son of Mirza Baysungur. When, by the usual route of Neyshapûr and Semnaun, he had conducted his troops again to the neighborhood of Rey, it was found advisable to dispatch the Ameirs Sûltan Shah Berlas, Sheikh Abûlfuzzul the son of Alleikah Koukeltaush, and Mahommed the son of Feyrouz Shah, in advance of the main body of the army. On the other hand it appears, that as soon as he became apprized of the approach of his grandfather, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed abandoned, without hesitation, his projects of independent power; and with a few of his followers retired in haste, from before Shirauz, into the province of Lurrestaun. The retreat of his grandson seems to have rendered the presence of Shah Rokh no longer necessary in that quarter; and, accordingly, after having proceeded great part of the way towards Shirauz, he returned to take up his abode for a short time at Isfahaun. While he remained in that city, he gave orders for the arrest of many of the Seyuds and native chiefs of the province; who had imprudently espoused the cause of Sûltan Mahommed, and were many of them now made to expiate their offence, under the arm of the executioner. This was about the middle of the month of Ramzaun.† Among those implicated in the charge of embracing the interests of Mirza Sûltan Mahommed, on this occasion, we find the name of Moulana Shurf-ud-dein Ally the Yezdian, the eloquent, and, as he is here termed, the veracious author of the Zuffur-nâmah. He was, however, preserved from the punishment inflicted on the associates of his indiscretion, by the interference and address of Mirza Abdullûtteif; through whose contrivance he was removed to Herât.

In the mean time, Shah Rokh returned to the neighborhood of Rey, where he proposed to pass the winter. Towards the conclusion of that season, he dispatched the Ameirs Sûltan Shah Berlas, Sheikh

A. H. 849 850.  
A. D. 1445-1446.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhsaur.

\* Commencing 28th of March 1446.

† Beginning of December 1446.

A. H. 849 850.

A. D. 1447.

Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Abûlfuzzul, and Ahmed the son of Feyrouz Shah, again, either by fair means, or by compulsion, to bring the refractory Mirza Sûltan Mahommed to his presence. Of these, by some happier effort, the Ameir Sheikh Abûlfuzzul obtained the start, in conveying himself to the residence of the shahzâdah; whom, by wholesome counsels, and arguments convincing to the understanding, he finally reconciled to the prudent alternative of returning to his allegiance, and, by his future dutiful behavior, to make every reparation for the past. But, in the midst of these conciliatory arrangements, an event occurred, which, however naturally to be expected, does not yet appear to have seriously entered the contemplation of the numerous individuals so deeply interested in the result.

During the period in which he continued encamped in the neighborhood of Rey, Shah Rokh had occasionally complained of a disorder in his bowels, and of a general debility of constitution. But, on Sunday morning the 25th of Zilhudje, of the eight hundred and fiftieth of the hidjerah,\* having taken a laxative medicine, and mounting his mule to go on a visit of devotion, to the tombs of some of the departed Sheikhs in the fortress of Teberrek, or Tebarek, some distance to the north-east of Rey, he had not proceeded far on his way, when the animal on which he rode became restive, and he found himself constrained, from excess of weakness, to take to his litter. At the same time, the complaint in his bowels increasing to a violent degree, the Shah and his attendants were compelled to return without delay; but, before he could again reach the imperial pavilion, this respectable and august monarch had resigned his soul to the mercy of his Creator. He had attained to the age of sixty-nine years, four months, and twenty-four days, and had governed with paramount sway over the dominions of the Persian empire, reckoning from the death of his father, for a period of forty-two years, and twenty-four days; not including the period of seven years, during which he had previously presided over the province of Khorassaun, as his father's lieutenant. He appears, from the events of his reign, to have been a monarch of singular good sense and moderation, and his government, if we set aside the circumstances under which he was, on some occasions, compelled

\* 13th of March 1447.

to draw the sword against the ambitious projects of his own relatives, must be acknowledged to exhibit a period of enviable prosperity and substantial glory. Extending over the greater part of the ancient Persian monarchy, his authority was obeyed, either immediately, or through the agency of his sons, nephews, or grandsons, through the vast territory included between the mountains of Irák Ajem, and the Indus, east and west, the Kurr, the Caspian, and the Seyhûn, north, and the province of Mekraun, and the Arabian sea, or sea of Omman, on the south. A glance at the map of Asia will at once convey to the eye of the reader the extensive outline of this spacious domain; but almost immediately on his demise, as must generally be the case where the will of the monarch is the law of the land, this noble fabric fell to pieces, at the baneful touch of domestic dissention, and the rival ambition of contending fathers, sons, and brothers—the blessed and uniform result of the absurd system of polygamy.\*

\* Of the fortuitous policy which has for ages governed, and still continues to weigh down the destiny of the Persian Empire, so eminently calculated, by the advantages of an auspicious climate, and by the genius and manly spirit of the natives, to rank with the most powerful and illustrious countries on earth, the reader will find ample testimony in "*The History of Persia*," recently published by Sir John Malcolm; a work which reflects no less credit on the ability and practical attainments of the author, than on the application which, amidst the official duties of many very troublesome and arduous missions, could command sufficient leisure for the prosecution of so elaborate a performance.

A. H. 850.  
A. D. 1447.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

## CHAP. XI.

A. H. 850.  
A. D. 1447.  
Kholausset ul-  
akhbaur.

WHEN the death of Shah Rokh became, on the day following, generally known in the encampment, the greatest disorder and consternation immediately ensued. At the desire of the princess Gouhershaud, however, Mirza Abdullutteif the son of Olûgh Beg, hastened without delay, from his station in the right wing, in order to provide, as far as possible, for the general security, but, more particularly, to preserve subordination in the army. Mirza Bâber, on the other hand, the son of Mirza Baysungur, accompanied by Khaleil Sûltan, the son of Mahommed, son of Jahangueir, who was the grandson of Shah Rokh, by one of his daughters, took the road towards Khorassaun; the troops under the orders of these two princes, at the same time, plundering the Bazars of the encampment, and seizing for themselves every thing they could lay hands on. Three days subsequent to his dissolution, the remains of the departed monarch were placed on a litter, and conducted, together with the main body of the army, on the way to Herât. But, in the course of the march, a seditious faction among the Ameirs having persuaded Mirza Abdullutteif, that Gouhershaud, and the Terkhaunian chiefs, were hatching some treacherous design, the Shahzâdah, being already aware of the partiality of that princess towards Allâ-ud-doulah, was easily led to give way to the impression. In some of the districts between Rey and Semnaun, he proceeded therefore to plunder the baggage of his widowed grandmother, and of her suspected accomplices the Terkhaunian Ameirs; at the same time, seizing the person of every individual, of whose intentions he did not feel himself perfectly secure.

This obnoxious measure was carried into execution on the last day of Zilhudje;\* but what created universal surprise, was the ex-

\* 17th of March, 1447.



treme barbarity exhibited, on this occasion, on the part of Abdullutteif, towards the widowed Gouher-shaud; whom he so entirely bereaved of her property, that he left her not the meanest quadruped, to convey her on her melancholy journey to Herât. In consequence of this unmanly treatment, she was constrained, when the army resumed its march, to accompany the army on foot, with an ordinary linnen scarf thrown over her head, and a staff in her hand; until a servant of one of the Ameirs of the hostile tribe of Berlas, taking compassion on her forlorn and hapless destiny, who but four days before had commanded millions, seated her on his own horse, and thus enabled her to proceed.

A. H. 850-851.  
A D 1447  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Abdullutteif appeared shortly afterwards before the gates of Dama-ghaun, which had been closed against him by the person in command. The place was, however, immediately attacked and carried by assault, and given up to be plundered by the soldiery. From thence he hastened to Bostaum; and there he first received intelligence that his kinsman Mirza Bâber, on the invitation of Ameir Hindûkah Koukeltaush, the governor of Jûrjaun, had proceeded to that place, and already assumed the sceptre of royalty. Continuing his march to Subbuzwaur, Mirza Abdullutteif was next informed that Ameir Sûltan Shah Berlaus, and his associates employed to bring Mirza Sûltan Mahommed to a sene of his duty, were on their return; but that one of them, Nizam-ud-dein Ahmed the son of Feyrouz Shah, had proceeded by the route of Tersheiz, directly for Herât. From Subbuzwaur, Abdullutteif now made the best of his way to Neyshapûr; where he became finally apprized that his other kinsman Allâ-ud-doulah, the son of Baysungur, had thrown open the gates of the royal treasury at Herât, and that a division of the troops, among whom he had distributed its contents, were already at Mûsh-hed; prepared to oppose the attempts of all those who were hostile to his claims on the sovereign power.

In fact, it appears that having received early intelligence of the death of his grandtather, Allâ-ud-doulah had ascended the throne of Khorassaun at Herât, towards the commencement of the month of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and fifty-first of the hidjerah; \* reckoning upon the unresisting submission of the brothers, and propos-

\* Latter end of March, 1447.

A. D. 850-851. ing to dispatch some splendid present to purchase the forbearance of  
 A. D. 1447. his uncle Olûgh Beg, the legitimate heir to his father's power, at Sa-  
 Kholausset-ul- markand. But, he no sooner became apprized of the barbarous treat-  
 akhbaur. ment to which the dowager Gouhershaud had been exposed, on the  
 part of Abdullûtteif, than he determined on immediate hostilities  
 against that prince : and Mirza Salah the son of Mirza Peir Mahom-  
 med, the Shirauzian, together with the Ameirs Weiss and Ahmed  
 Terkhaunians, at the head of a chosen body of troops, was in conse-  
 quence dispatched to Mûsh-hed, to obstruct the designs in that quar-  
 ter. Receiving, on their arrival at that place, intelligence of the  
 remissness and unprovided posture of the troops of Abdullûtteif,  
 these chiefs immediately determined on an attempt to surprise his  
 camp ; and making a forced march, on the night of sunday the 13th  
 of Sûffur,\* completely succeeded in their design. The princess  
 Gouhershaud was instantly set at liberty, by the Terkhaunian Ameirs  
 of her party, by whom she was securely conducted to the outskirts  
 of the encampment ; where they drew up their followers without  
 delay, and struck up their music to redouble the alarm. Mirza  
 Abdullûtteif, who, to this moment, had remained immersed in sleep,  
 and unconcern, was at last awakened by the unusual uproar, and  
 hastened, as far as possible under such circumstances of confusion, to  
 rally his troops for battle ; but, his horse dropping down dead in the  
 conflict which ensued, he became a prisoner in the hands of the  
 assailants, who proceeded to pillage his camp without further resis-  
 tance.

Thus far successful, Mirza Salah, and the Terkhaunian Ameirs,  
 escorting the litter of Gouhershaud, and the remains of the departed  
 Shah Rokh, returned towards Herât. At the town of Jaum, they  
 were met by Allâ-ud-doulah ; who had proceeded so far to do honor  
 to the widow of his grandfather, whose body he thence conducted in  
 solemn state to the metropolis of his dominions. The remains of  
 the departed monarch were soon afterwards deposited, with all the  
 customary solemnities, in the Gûmbez, or mausoleum, of Gouher-  
 shaud at Herât, already dedicated to the repose of his son the late  
 Mirza Baysungur ; although at a subsequent period, the body of the

\* 29th of April 1447.

Shah was again removed by Olûgh Beg, and buried by the side of Tey-mûr, at Samarkand. In the mean time, Mirza Abdullâtteif was imprisoned in the citadel of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein; from whence, however, he was not long afterwards released, in consequence of a treaty concluded between his father Olûgh Beg, and Allâ-ud-doulah, the former prince having crossed the Oxus and advanced to Balkh, with the design, if it had not been otherwise ordained, of taking possession of Khorassaun. By this treaty, the government of that great province appears, however, to have been formally ceded to Allâ-ud-doulah, in consideration of the immediate enlargement of Abdullâtteif, who was invested with that of Balkh the moment he joined his father.

A. H. 850-851.  
A. D. 1447.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Nevertheless, in consequence of a refusal, on his part, to discharge some of the followers of Abdullâtteif, who had been taken during the disgraceful rout near Neyshapûr, the unwarrantable detention of a stipulated share of the treasures of Shah Rokh, which he had faithfully promised to convey to his uncle; and, more immediately, to chastise the enormities committing by his troops at Sheberghaun and Endekhoud, hostilities soon broke out afresh with Allâ-ud-doulah; in the course of which the latter was totally defeated, in a battle\* near the river Mûrghaub, by Olûgh Beg in person, and compelled to withdraw from Khorassaun, the capital of which, shortly afterwards, submitted to the conqueror. But Olûgh Beg had no sooner returned to the provinces beyond the Jeyhûn, than the metropolis of Herât fell into the hands of the younger brother, Mirza Abûlkaussem Bâber, who bestowed the district of Toun, by way of perpetual jagueir, for the maintenance of the extruded Allâ-ud-doulah; although, at the suggestion of the evil-disposed, he was not long afterwards induced to withdraw this bounty, and to place the person of his brother under restraint. Allâ-ud-doulah contrived yet, notwithstanding, to effect his escape from confinement into the province of Ghour, and pro-

\* We cannot omit to remark, that the father of Meirkhond, the author of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, was in the train of Sheikh Omar, a devout personage of Khorassaun employed on this occasion, by Allâ-ud-doulah, to intercede for an accommodation with Olûgh Beg; but the battle had taken place before the mission could reach the camp of that monarch, between Senjaub, and a small station called Tertaub, or Ternaub.

A. D. 850-851. ceeding thence through Seiestaun, finally conveyed himself into Irāk  
 A. D. 1447. Ajem; from whence, at a remoter period, he accompanied his other  
 Kholausset-ul- brother Mirza Sûltan Mahommed, on his successful expedition into  
 akhbaur, Khorassaun.

But it would indeed be an endless task, were we to pursue the almost interminable detail of those distractions, with which the frantic ambition of the rival branches of the family of Teymûr continued long to agitate, and harass, these beautiful but devoted regions. We shall therefore hastily pass to the concluding events of the government of Olûgh Beg; whose name will always claim the attention of the oriental reader, from his reputed eminent attainments in science, and more particularly in that of astronomy.

Unfortunately, these latter were deeply tainted with the absurd speculations of judicial astrology, in the course of which, in casting the nativity of his son Abdullûtteif, he had; it seems, discovered that he was destined to experience some fatal injury from the hands of that prince; and he had been confirmed in this notion by the repeated declaration of Moulana Mahommed Ardestauny, the very wonder of the age in the mysteries of that occult art. Hence the conduct of Olûgh Beg, towards Abdullûtteif, was distinguished ever afterwards by an unchanging course of unkindness and discouragement; and all his favors were reserved for the younger brother, Abdulazziz. On the other hand, Abdullûtteif was sufficiently sensible to the effects of this partiality, although probably not aware of the source; and the seeds of disgust thus mutually implanted were forced to early maturity, in the bosom of Abdullûtteif, by some recent instances of injustice, on the part of the father, subsequent to the battle of Tertaub, the glory of which he seemed disposed to ascribe to the exertions of Abdulazziz. Having found it expedient to abandon Herât, at the approach of his kinsman Bâber, Abdullûtteif ventured to suspend his retreat at Balkh, and there he finally determined on hostilities against his father; to which he was more immediately impelled by the discovery, among the papers of Meiran Shah, another of the race of Teymûr who had just fallen in conflict with him, a letter from Olûgh Beg, urging him to attack the government of his son. On this, the first step of Abdullûtteif was to destroy the chests of Tum-

ghâis, or charters, issued by his father, to the different retainers possibly; after which he assembled his troops, resolving, sword in hand, to justify his unnatural revolt at the hazard of existence.

A. H. 851-853.  
A. D. 1447-1449.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akbbaur.

At a piece of intelligence calculated, in ordinary circumstances; to awaken considerable alarm, Olûgh Beg on his part exhibited some symptoms of impatience and agitation; and, having left Abdulazziz to take care of Samarkand, he hastened without delay at the head of a numerous army, to the banks of the Jeyhân, Abdullûtteif being already on the spot to oppose his passage over that river. And in this attitude, the father and son continued opposed to each other for some time; while their troops occasionally crossed above and below, and engaged in frequent partial conflicts, in which the advantage is alleged to have been, invariably, on the side of Abdullûtteif. However, after many days had been consumed in these fruitless and unavailing hostilities, information was received from Samarkand that Abdulazziz had but ill executed the trust reposed in him; and that he had dared to stretch his sacrilegious hands against the families of the absent Ameirs, and other subjects of his father's government. In consequence of this, and in the hope of restraining him from these unsanctified violations, Olûgh Beg dispatched to admonish him against his unwarrantable conduct, without, however, producing the slightest effect. The nobles of his court, therefore, driven to extremity by such uncontrollable insolence, on the part of the son, prepared, without further ceremony, to seize the person of the father, in order to deliver him up to Abdullûtteif; when, at this very crisis, an event occurred which, fertile as the period was in examples of treason and ingratitude, does not yet seem to have been contemplated without considerable surprise.

Mirza Sûltan Abû Sâeid,\* the son of Sûltan Mahommed, son of Meiran Shah, although he had passed the greater part of his life in subordinate attendance on the court of Olûgh Beg, had, however, not the less continued to cherish in his bosom the hope of independent power, whenever an opportunity should offer to gratify his ambition; and the moment in which the father and son were thus opposed to each

\* We are to bear in mind that this was the lineal ancestor of the Hindustauny branch of the house of Teymâr.

A. H. 851-853.  
A. D. 1447-1449.  
Kholausset ul-  
akhbaur.

other in mortal hostility, was that which he considered favorable to the attainment of his object. Having, therefore, prevailed upon the tribe of Arghûn to support him, he boldly unmasked his designs; and marched immediately to Samarkand. As the greater part of the troops of the province had proceeded to the scene of operations on the banks of the Jeyhûn, Abdulazziz was destitute of the means of opposing him in the field, and was necessarily constrained to shut himself up behind the walls of the metropolis. Information of the danger was, however, instantly conveyed to Olûgh Beg; who, in the midst of his astonishment at an attack so little expected, returned without a moment's delay to the relief of his capital—Sûltan Abû Sâeid withdrawing at his approach for the present, and retiring to the territory of his allies of the Moghûl-tribe of Arghûn. But the absence of Olûgh Beg on this occasion afforded, on the other hand, to Abdullûtteif, the opportunity, of which he immediately availed himself, to cross the Oxus with his whole force, which he now led on the direct road to Samarkand.

At the village of Dameshk, on the way to that metropolis from the Oxus, he was opposed by his father, but with a pusillanimity which little corresponds with what we may have been hitherto disposed to conceive of the character of Olûgh Beg; since, in the conflict which took place on this occasion, although posted on a hill which overlooked the field of battle, and doubtless beyond the reach of danger, he prematurely turned his back on the combatants, and ignominiously fled towards Samarkand, before any decision could have been yet formed of the issue of the day. At that place, he was destined to experience a further act of treacherous ingratitude as little expected as any former one; for Meiran-Shah Koutchein, whom, from the dust, he had raised to the government of his capital, now perfidiously closed the gates against him, and denied admission on any terms. The unhappy monarch was, therefore, constrained to direct his flight, in the utmost incertitude, towards Shahrokhiâh on the Seyhûn. Here also, receiving intimation that Ibrauhim, the governor of the place, entertained disloyal designs against his person, his residence became unsafe; and he returned again, for the last time, to Samarkand. Arrived in his capital, now in possession of Abdullûtteif;

he obtained an interview with that rebellious son ; at which some circumstances occurred, of a nature so strange and unprecedented, that the authors from whom we derive the information declare themselves, from shame and indignation, utterly incapable of putting them upon record. In conclusion, a person of the name of Abbas, whose father had been on some former occasion put to death by an order from Olugh Beg, and known to be suborned by Abdullutteif, now presented himself to the pageant whom, in conformity with the policy of Teymûr, they had raised to the titular dignity of Khaun, and on his knees demanded retribution on the destroyer of his father. Under such circumstances a mandate was issued, in the name of this titular Khaun, directing that the charge should be submitted to the usual course of investigation ; and a Fetwa, or judicial decree, was accordingly drawn up under the authority of all the ulema of Samarkand, declaring that Olugh Beg was clearly obnoxious to the law of retaliation. On the basis of this harsh and arbitrary sentence, Abdullutteif committed his unhappy father to the disposal of Ameir Hadjy Mahommed Khossrou, for the purpose, as he effected to allege, of conducting him to Mekkah ; and he accordingly quitted Samarkand the same day, about the hour of evening prayer.

The author of the Rouzut-us-suffâ enables us further to state, that he heard the same Hadjy Manommed with his own lips describe the sequel of this foul transaction, in the following terms. On the evening on which he quitted Samarkand as the conductor of Olugh Beg, the latter appeared to urge the course of his horse, in a manner that bespoke extraordinary satisfaction at his deliverance, conversing as he went along, with an air of perfect indifference, with the companion of his journey. When, however, they had proceeded but a short distance from the city, a person from behind suddenly pulled the narrator by the sleeve ; on which looking back, he observed that it was a man of the tribe of Seldûz, whom he recollected as having familiar access to the presence of Abdullutteif, and he demanded with some surprise, if all was well ! The man replied, that by an order from the Khaun, it was intimated that Olugh Beg should suspend his journey on some convenient and habitable spot, until such an equipage, and such requisites for his journey, should be provided as were

A. H. 858.  
A. D. 1449.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Rouzut-us-  
suffâ.

A. H. 858.  
 A. D. 1449.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 saffa.

not only suitable to his rank, but satisfactory in the eyes of the world. The Hadjy briefly rejoined, that to hear, was sufficient to command obedience. Olûgh Beg then ventured to enquire what was the subject of this man's communication; and being apprized, said not a word more, but appeared to sink at once under the weight of his apprehensions. At no great distance from the spot, there stood a small village, at which they dismounted from their horses, and prepared to pass the night; and, as the evening proved rather cold, Olûgh Beg desired the attendants to make up a fire before him, at which they might, at the same time, proceed to cook their frugal meal. While they were thus employed, a spark entered the mantle which the prince had thrown round his shoulders, and set it on fire; which, however, he easily extinguished with his own hands, only exclaiming, with some degree of vexation, that even the elements seemed aware of the wretchedness to which he was reduced.

In this state of alarming suspense, Hadjy Mahommed further alleged that Olûgh Beg no longer attempted to conceal the strong feelings of perturbation, by which his mind was disquieted; one while intreating to be informed of the fate of Abdullazziz, and another piteously demanding whether any orders had yet been received as to his own execution. Under such circumstances, the minister of vengeance suddenly entered, in the person of Abbas above described, accompanied by another individual. The moment his eye fell upon Abbas, the unhappy prince started from his seat, and with his fist struck him a violent blow on the breast; on which the attendant instantly tore off the leathern doublet in which his victim was clad, while Abbas withdrew to bring a cord. In the mean time, Hadjy Mahommed bolted the door of the apartment; the wretched object of all this violence raising loud and lamentable cries for assistance. Abbas soon returned, and leading the poor prince out of the chamber, seated him down on a spot near which they had planted a blazing torch, or flambeau. Hadjy Mahommed and his companions seized the opportunity to slip off, while the villain Abbas, with a single stroke of his scimitar, bestowed the honors of martyrdom upon him, whom the author now ventures to designate, the just, the learned, the munificent, and the virtuous Olûgh Beg. Hadjy Mahommed then returned to



Samarkand, where Abdullutteif had already put his brother Abdulazziz to death, three days previous to the assassination of his unhappy father. The date of this latter event is precisely exhibited in the phrase, Abbas kosht—Abbas killed; the Persian characters of which, numerically applied; form together the total 853, being the year of the hidjerah in which the murder was perpetrated, corresponding with the year of Christ 1449, some time in the month of November.

The unfeeling paricide was, however, not permitted long to enjoy his ill-acquired power: for although possessed of many generous qualities, and of considerable acuteness of understanding, yet an inflexible severity of temper, and an extraordinary quick-sightedness in the detection of guilt, led him in all his proceedings to award his punishments, in a proportion far beyond the magnitude of the offence. Hence, it is alleged, that a conspiracy was early formed against his life, by a combination among the servants of Olugh Beg, and of his murdered brother, Abdulazziz. From the period of his father's assassination, he is also said to have had perpetually in his mouth, the couplet ascribed, by Nizammi, to Sheirûiah, the murderer of Khossrou Parveiz; "the parricide is unworthy of the throne—Yet should he be permitted to attain it, let not his power exceed the period of six months." Accordingly, on the evening of the 26th of the former Rebbeia of the eight hundred and fifty fourth of the hidjerah,\* just six months after the consummation of his crime, as this tyrant polluted with a father's blood was returning, heedless of his destiny, from the Baugh-e-chunaur into Samarkand, one of the conspirators, from the post where they had lodged themselves for the execution of their design, discharged an arrow, which transfixed him through the body; and his attendants immediately dispersing in dismay, the whole approached without obstacle, and striking off his head, proceeded to suspend it from the principal arch, in the front of the college of Olugh Beg. The name of the conspirator, by whose hand this act of retributive justice was inflicted on Abdullutteif, happened to be Bâba Hûseyne; and it is further singular, that the characters in the sentence, "Bâba Hûseyne kosht," Bâba Hûseyne killed him, "comprehend also the date of this catastrophe—854.

A. H. 853-54.  
A. D 1449-50.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

\* 8th of May 1450.

A. H. 854-855.

A. D. 1450-1451.

Kholâusset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Immediately on the death of Abdullûtteif, the nobles, and higher classes of inhabitants at Samarkand, concurred in raising Mirza Abdullah the Shirauzian, the son of Mirza Ibrauhim Sûltan, to the specious honors of an unsubstantial sovereignty. Mirza Sûltan Abû Sâeid, however, who had effected his escape from imprisonment and fled to Bokhâra, towards the close of the ephemeral reign of Abdullûtteif, no sooner became apprized of the recent events, than he secured Bokhâra for himself, and marched directly for Samarkand. Mirza Abdullah, at the head of his adherents, hastened to give him battle; and victory declaring for the troops of Samarkand, Sûltan Abû Sâeid was once more compelled to retire into the countries beyond the Seyhûn: where he continued, for some time, to wander from place to place without any settled habitation, until, towards the commencement of the eight hundred and fifty fifth of the hidjerah,\* he contrived to possess himself of the fortress of Yassy. Without the smallest delay, a body of troops was dispatched by Mirza Abdullah, in order to reduce that place; but it proved so well prepared for defence, that they returned, soon afterwards, ignominiously repulsed to Samarkand. Abdullah now threw open the gates of his treasury, and proceeded, by a lavish distribution of its contents, to lure to his standard a more numerous force, and to set on foot the most formidable equipments; in order effectually to crush the ambitious designs of Mirza Sûltan Abû Sâeid. The latter, whom our authorities concur in distinguishing, henceforth, by the title of Sûltan Sâeid, the august Sûltan, apprized of these alarming preparations, immediately dispatched, in conformity with the advice of the Ameirs of his party, to solicit the aid of Abûlkheyre Khaun, monarch of the Ouzbeks; who very cheerfully complied with the request, marching without hesitation, in person, to his support. Forming a junction soon afterwards, the two princes proceeded with united force immediately towards Samarkand; and it is gravely alleged that the Khaun of the Ouzbeks, on this occasion, finding that his people suffered grievously from the excessive drought and heat of the weather, had recourse to the mysterious virtues of the Juddah-taush, in consequence of which, an abundant fall of rain was immediately obtained, together with a milder temperature of sky.

\* Commencing 2d of February A. D. 1451.

Receiving information of the approach of the allied monarchs, Mirza Abdullah on his part, at the head of a powerful army, advanced with becoming resolution to oppose them; and towards the latter part of the former Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and fifty fifth of the hidjerah,\* at a village called Shirauz, at the distance of four farsangs, or about fourteen miles, from Samarkand, the hostile armies came to a conflict. In this, the troops of Mirza Abdullah were totally defeated; and that prince, having been overtaken in his flight from the field of battle, was immediately dispatched to pursue his course of ambition in another world. In the mean time, well knowing the enormities to which the inhabitants would be exposed, were the Ouzbeks once to obtain possession of Samarkand, Sûltan Abû Sâeid, resolved, if possible, to avert that worst of mischiefs; and having, by some means or other, contrived, accordingly, to amuse the Ouzbek chiefs, he rode alone to the gates of the city, and announcing himself to the guards, called upon them to give him instant admission, if they desired to preserve the town from the outrages of the Ouzbeks. The people immediately threw open the gate, and the Sûltan entering, proceeded without delay, to secure the walls and towers against attack. Persuasive and conciliatory messages were then employed, to soothe the disappointment of Abûlkheyre, who, to his no small surprise, found the entrance into the city thus barred against him. He was, however, by suitable presents to himself and to his subordinate chiefs, at last prevailed upon to withdraw into his own country; thus happily relieving the people of Samarkand from the rapacious violence, to which they would otherwise have been exposed, from these ferocious and sanguinary tribes.

In a former part of his summary the author has noticed, that Mirza Allâ-ud-doulah, after having once more obtained possession of Herât, learning, however, that his brother, Abûlkausem Bâber was approaching, again abandoned that city, and retired towards Balkh, where a considerable number of men immediately flocked to his standard. But Mirza Bâber also approaching to the same quarter at the head of his army, on intelligence of his proceedings, Allâ-ud-doulah conceived the force at his disposal, inadequate to any purpose of

A. H. 856.  
A. D. 1451.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhtaur.

\* End of June 1451.

A. H. 855.  
A. D. 1451.  
Kholansset ul-  
akhbâur.

effectual resistance, and withdrew with some precipitation, into the mountains of Buddukhshaun. Thither, in spite of every obstacle of snowy weather, and the severity of a rigorous winter, he was pursued by his more fortunate brother, and his force entirely broken and dispersed. Upon this, returning to Balkh, Mirza Bâber bestowed the government of that province, together with Kûndez and Baklaun, upon Ameir Peir Derwaish Hazauraspy, and his brother Ameir Ally, each of them equally distinguished for integrity of mind, and liberality of disposition. From Balkh, Mirza Bâber now proceeded to Herât; where he was immediately destined to witness another of those examples of perfidy and ingratitude, which so frequently stain the pages of oriental history.

When he recently took his departure for Balkh, he had entrusted the government of the important castle of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, to one of his officers of the name of Aweiss Beg; who had, as it would appear, scarcely taken charge of his trust, before he determined to betray it. Easily impelled by the fumes of a distempered ambition to aim at independent power, without calculating the hazard of failure, this man rashly proceeded to fortify his post, and to maintain it against all attempts to reduce him to his duty; neither could he be prevailed upon to abandon his design, although well assured of the return of his prince, and that he was actually lodged in the Baugh-e-seffeid, or white gardens, in the neighborhood of Herât. At the same time, the defences of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein were of a description so formidable, as to occasion some embarrassment in determining on the plan of attack; but that which was not to be effected without extreme difficulty, through the application of mere force, was accomplished with perfect facility, through the exertions of a little ordinary address on the part of Mirza Bâber. A confidential person was employed by the latter to acquaint Aweiss, that without putting him to the inconvenience and hazard of quitting his post, the prince would himself repair to a particular spot within the range of the works, to hold a conference with him. Mirza Bâber accordingly entered the city one evening, and, having sent a band of music and singers to lead the way, directed a division of tried soldiers to follow towards the gate of the castle, at a convenient distance behind. Posting themselves before the principal

entrance, the party in advance, as they were instructed to do, proclaimed aloud, that the Mirza was arrived; on which A weiss, without the smallest hesitation, passed the wicket, and presented himself, unattended, without the gate, in order, as he supposed, to receive the prince. He was, however, instantly attacked by one of the party; but him he killed with his dirk, and threw headlong into the ditch of the place. Nevertheless, before he could regain the gateway, the remainder of the party rushed forward and dispatched him on the spot; and a few days afterwards, the place was surrendered without further trouble, to Mirza Bâber, by the brother of the rebel.

A. H. 855.  
A. D. 1451.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Not long afterwards, one of the domestics of Allâ-ud-doulah came to apprise Bâber that his master was in the neighborhood, and that he actually lay concealed in the quarter of the washermen, a suburb of the city so called; on which a party was sent in search of him, and he was finally discovered and again conveyed to his prison.

Towards the conclusion of the eight hundred and fifty-fifth of the hidjerah, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed the son of Baysungur, quitted Shirauz, for the last time, on his march towards Khorassaun; his brother Bâber being at this period in winter quarters at Bostaum. On intelligence, however, of the hostile designs of Sûltan Mahommed, Mirza Bâber resolved to try the effect of an accommodation; and for that purpose, Khaujah Moulana, the Sheikh-ul-isslaum, or patriarch of the true faith, who had recently repaired to his court from Samarkand, was dispatched by him to the camp of his brother, now advanced to the neighborhood of Isfahaun. Through the zeal and exertion of this Sheikh, a treaty was at length concluded between the brothers; by which it was agreed upon that some inconsiderable districts of the province of Khorassaun should be definitively transferred to the government of I.âk Ajem, and that in all the countries subject to the authority of Mirza Bâber, the Khotbah and Sikkah, or regalities of the mosque and mint, should be regulated in the name of Sûltan Mahommed. Confiding in the validity of this treaty, Mirza Bâber quitted Bostaum on the return of the negociator; and he was proceeding into Mazanderaun, when overtaken on the road by repeated expresses with information that, in contempt of his recent engagements, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed had given him the

A. H. 855-857.  
A. D. 1451-1453.  
Kholansset-ul-  
akhbaur.

slip, and conducted his army, by Bostaum and Damaghaun, immediately to Esferâein, which appears to lay about midway between Asterabad and Mush-hed. This piece of intelligence produced for a moment considerable surprise and uneasiness, on the part of Mirza Bâber; but recovering from his embarrassment, he finally determined, with such a force as he could immediately collect, to leave the forests of Mazanderaun, and hasten with all the expedition in his power, to give battle to his perfidious brother.

At the station of Tchunaweran, on the road from Asterabad to Esferâein, whither Sûltan Mahommed had hastened with an equal resolution to bring their claims to the decision of the sword, the rival brothers came to a conflict; in the course of which, betrayed by Abû Sâeid Meirum, one of his principal officers, who went over about the commencement of the action, to Mirza Bâber, and apprized him that it was the intention of his brother to break through the centre of his army, Mirza Sûltan Mahommed was taken prisoner in leading his troops directly to the charge; the Khorassaunians opening systematically to receive him, and then closing their ranks again to cut him off from his followers. The captive Sûltan, at the early age of four and thirty, was immediately put to death by the direction of Bâber; and one brother having been thus effectually disposed of, it was determined to obviate all further attempts on the part of Allâ-ud-doulah, the other, now also a prisoner in the camp of the conqueror, by an order to deprive him of sight. Softened, however, by a sentiment of compassion, those entrusted with the performance of this operation, only passed the searing instrument across the eyelids, which their prisoner was, at the same time, instructed to close as firmly as possible; so that the pupil of the eye escaped without injury, and it is probable that we shall again hear of Allâ-ud-doulah.

Having obtained this decisive victory over his brother, Mirza Bâber, instead of proceeding into Irâk by the ordinary route of Rey, determined, with the advice of his council, to conduct his troops by that of Tersheiz and Toun, immediately to Shirauz. However this may have been, after experiencing considerable difficulty in obtaining supplies for his followers, he contrived to reach Yezd; where he was joined by the Ameirs Nizam-ud-dein Ahmed, and Sûltan

Hússeyne the sons of Feyrouz Shah, by Gheyauth-ud-dein Peir Ahmed of Khowauf, and others of the principal officers of the late Mirza Súlтан Mahommed; and, soon afterwards, he proceeded to Shirauz. When he had continued at that metropolis for a period of four months, intelligence was conveyed to him that the troops of Ameir Jahaun Shah the Turkomaun, the son of Kàra Yússuf, had captured Sáwah, which was considered as the key of Irák Ajem on that side, and that they were now pressing the siege of Koumrr. Leaving therefore Mirza Sunjur as his lieutenant in the government of Shirauz, Báber took his departure for Irák; but, finding on his march that his brother Allà-ud-doulah, after effecting his escape from Mùsh-hed to the country of Fariaub, had obtained the assistance of Ameir Yadgaur Shah, the chief of the tribe of Erlaut, to reduce the city of Balkh, and that he was at this moment spreading disaffection and disorder throughout Khorassaun, every other consideration was abandoned as of little importance, when the security of that great province was at stake. Accordingly, on the sixteenth of Rudjub, of the year eight hundred and fifty-six,\* turning off from the Koushek-e-zerl, or yellow kiosk, Mirza Bàber proceeded immediately towards Yezd, where he arrived on the 22d of the same month. After consigning the government of that place to Mirza Khaleil Súlтан the son of Mahommed Jahangueir, he continued his march thence, and on the twelfth of the succeeding month of Shabaun,† reached the metropolis of Herât without obstacle; the exertions of Ameir Peir Derwaish Hazauraspy, and of the other Ameirs of Khorassaun, having been sufficient to repel the attempts of Allà-ud-doulah, previous to his arrival.

Mirza Bàber now resigned himself, without restraint, to his pleasures; to which he appears, on all occasions, to have been sufficiently devoted. In the midst of these, he was, however, some time in the eight hundred and fifty seventh of the hidjerah,‡ a little disturbed by the sudden arrival of Mirza Sunjur, and the other officers whom he had left for the security of Shirauz and the other governments of Fars; who had been expelled from the whole of that province, as well as from

A. H. 855-857.  
A. D. 1451-1453.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhabaur.

\* 2d of August 1452.

† 28th of August.

‡ Commencing the 11th of January 1453.

A. H. 857-861. Irák, by the Tûrkomauns. On the 17th of the former Rebbeia, of  
 A.D. 1453-1457. the same year, we find recorded the death of the venerable Sheikh  
 Kholausset-ul- Bahà-ud-dein Omar, which is more particularly noticed here, because  
 akhbaur. it is mentioned that Seyud Kháwend Shah, the father of the author  
 of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, by command of Mirza Báber, presided at his  
 funeral.

Towards the middle part of the year eight hundred and fifty seven, the summer of the christian era, 1453, ever memorable for the capture of Constantinople by Mahommed the II, having completed his preparations, Mirza Báber determined once more to attempt the subjugation of Irák Ajem, and avenge himself effectually upon Ameir Jahaun Shah, and the Kàrakúynlû, or black-wether Tûrkomauns. On the 21st of the month of Rudjub,\* at the head of a powerful army, he accordingly quitted Herât, on his march for Asterabad; but on his arrival at Ghuzzelniauje, a dependency on Jennoushaun, or Khaboushaun, he became apprized, on the information of one the domestics of Mirza Khaleil Sûltan, whom he had entrusted with the government of Yezd, that his master with other evil disposed persons had entered into a conspiracy hostile to his authority, and an inquiry became immediately necessary to examine into the facts of the accusation. Enough was discovered to establish the guilt of the Shah-zâdah, and he was without further ceremony dispatched to explore the regions of another world. Having passed the month of Ramzaun at Ghuzzelniauje, Mirza Báber then put his troops again in motion about the beginning of Shavaul,† and on the 15th of Zilkaudah,‡ his camp was formed in the neighborhood of Asterabad. He returned however, to pass the winter at Júrjaun, where it will be remembered that he commenced his career of independence.

But, towards the close of winter, a dispatch from Balkh announced to him the more serious intelligence that Sûltan Sâeid had crossed the Jeyhûn; and, after having defeated and killed Ameir Peir Derwaish, and his brother Ally, in a battle which they had hazarded to oppose him, that he was now encamped before that ancient city. The expedition into Irák Ajem was, therefore, unavoidably deferred to a more convenient opportunity; and Mirza Báber, with the utmost celerity,

\* 27th of July 1453.

† October 1453.

‡ 16th of November.



now directed the whole of his force towards the territory on the Oxus. Having proceeded to the other side of the Mûrghaub, or river of Merû, further intelligence reached him from Balkh, that Sûltan Sâeid had recrossed the Jeyhûn at Termed, and returned to his capital of Samarkand. This did not, however, produce any change in the measures of Mirza Bâber, who continued his march without interruption towards Bakalaun; in order to cross by the five branches which, lower down, unite to compose the main stream of the Oxus, namely, those of Arhûng, Sauly-serâi, Kondez, Rokhesh, which is considered the largest, and Kauffernihaun. He appears to have effected the passage of the last, the heavy baggage being directed to cross still higher up, where the stream was fordable without boats, on the first day of Ramzaun, of the year eight hundred and fifty-eight,\* continuing his march immediately to Hessaur, and from thence towards Nourdauk, or perhaps Nourdaug. In short, advancing progressively by the route of Koholgha, or Koluga, known also by the designation of the iron gate, he conducted his troops without the smallest opposition, to a station within one farsang of the gates of Samarkand; where he encamped on the fourteenth of the month of Shavaul,† or about six weeks after having crossed the northern branch of the Oxus.

A. H. 857-859.  
A. D. 1453-1457.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Previous to his arrival in the neighborhood, Mirza Sûltan Abû Sâeid, with the advice of the Seyud Khaujah Nausser-ud-dein Obaidullah, and the principal inhabitants, had determined to sustain the attack of his adversary behind the walls of the city; and for that purpose, he had taken the earliest precautions to place the fortifications in the best possible state of defence. The operations of the siege were therefore commenced on the part of Mirza Bâber without delay; but when it had, with mutual loss and inconvenience, been protracted for a period of nearly forty days, a negociation was opened through the medium of well disposed persons, which finally terminated in a treaty of peace—it being substantially agreed upon that the Oxus should continue to form the boundary between the two governments, and that the prisoners taken on either side should be reciprocally released. In consequence of this arrangement, Mirza

\* 24th of August 1454.

† 6th of October.

A. D. 858 61.

A. D. 1454-57.

Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Bâber quitted his works before Samarkand, some time in the month of Zilhudje, of the eight hundred and fifty-eighth of the hidjerah;\* and recrossing the Jeyhûn by the passage of Kerki, reached his capital of Herât, on the 4th of Mohurrem of the year eight hundred and fifty nine.†

Early in that year, Ameir Khaleil Hindoukah was employed on the part of Bâber, in the reduction of the neighboring province of Seies-taun, which he effected without great difficulty; Shah Hûseyne the son of Melek Ally, the ruler of the country, being assassinated by one of his followers, and his head conveyed to Ameir Khaleil. In the course of the same year, from a principle of considerate liberality, Mirza Bâber conferred the government of Merû, with the adjoining territory of Makhan, upon Mirza Sunjur; who had, probably, been dispossessed, by some means or other, of his fair proportion in the inheritance of the Teymûrian family. In the mean time, a body of Mazanderanians confined in the fortress of Emmaud, an impregnable place somewhere between Mûsh-hed and Nessa, rose upon the garrison, and put the governor to death. Jullaul-ud-dein Mahmoud, however, who commanded at Mûsh-hed on the part of Bâber, hastening without loss of time to the spot, happily contrived, through the assistance of a smith, who perforated a part of the wall from within, to recapture the place, and restore it to the authority of his master.

From this period nothing material appears to have occurred in the reign of Mirza Bâber, until the eight hundred and sixty-first of the hidjerah; when having passed the winter at Mûsh-hed, as that prince was hunting or hawking in the neighborhood of Radegaun, a favorite Shonkaur, or white falcon, happening to break his claw, he immediately conceived it an omen to the last degree inauspicious to his power; and hastening back to Mûsh-hed, he proceeded without further restraint to indulge in his ruling propensity for wine, which he had, it seems, for some time previously forsworne. On the twenty-fifth of the same month,‡ after having passed great part of the morning in his litter, making a circuit of the gardens in the neighborhood, he had returned to his hall of audience, and presented himself

\* November and December, 1454.

† 24th of December, 1454.

‡ 21st of March, 1457.

as usual, to the Ameirs of the court, when suddenly rising from his seat, in apparent displeasure, he retired to the apartment of his women; the courtiers, as they withdrew from the presence chamber, sarcastically remarking, that his wine seemed to have produced more than its ordinary effect upon the prince—little suspecting that he had taken his last draught in this world, for about the hour of ten, that same forenoon, he was no more. Some of the most skilful physicians, however, shrewdly suspected that his death had been hastened by poison; and many devout and conscientious persons solemnly avowed their conviction of that belief, before the tomb of Ally Ruzza. In the mean time, the remains of the departed prince were deposited, with the usual solemnities, in the mausoleum erected by Shah Rokh, contiguous to that of the eighth Imaum at Mûsh-hed.

On the same day on which the hopes of his friends were thus extinguished by the premature death of Mirza Bâber, who was generally designated by the prænomens of Abûlkaussem, or father of distributive benevolence, the Ameirs, and principal officers of state, concurred in placing his eldest son Mirza Shah Mahmûd, at this period not more than eleven years of age, on the throne of Khorassaun; Ameir Hûseyne Ally making the best of his way to Herât, while his brother Abû Sâeid proceeded towards Serkness, in order to secure the tranquillity of that quarter, and sheikhzâdah Peir Kowaum towards Merû, to solicit the concurrence of Mirza Sunjur, in the arrangements at Mûsh-hed. Eighteen days subsequent to the demise of his father, Mirza Shah Mahmûd took his departure for Herât; but on his way to that capital, he was met by the Peir Kowaum just mentioned, on his return from Merû, with the information, that Mirza Sunjur openly entertained aspiring projects of his own, and appeared but little disposed to concur in the authority of any superior. At the same time, a dispatch was received from Herât announcing that Meir Habeib, the governor of that place, had been thrown into a state of such miserable stupefaction, on intelligence of the death of Bâber, as to furnish to Mirza Ibrahim the son of Allâ-ud-doulah, whom he had in custody, the opportunity of which he availed himself, to escape through the negligence of his guards; and that that prince was now withdrawn to the territory on the Mûrghaub.

A. H. 861.  
A. D. 1457.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

A. D. 861.  
 A. D. 1457.  
 Kholausset ul-  
 akhbaur.

On the twenty sixth of the former Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and sixty first of the hidjerah,\* however, Mirza Shah Mahmûd took up his abode in the Baugh-e-mokhtaur, and a few days afterwards, in the Baugh-e-zaughan, both celebrated gardens in the vicinity of Herât. In these circumstances, the Sheikh Abû Sâeid recently mentioned, made his appearance from Serkhess, and immediately proceeded, by a poll tax arbitrarily imposed, to commence a course of the most oppressive exactions on the inhabitants of the capital, in which they were, in no unfrequent instances, consigned to the inflictions of the torture in various shapes. The cries of an injured people did not long remain unheard. On the twenty first of the latter Jummaudy,† Ameir Sheir Hadjy conducted the young Shah Mahmûd into the city; and, having secured the gates, caused it to be immediately proclaimed to the inhabitants, that no one should presume to pay a single fells of this arbitrary impost, and that those who had complied with the odious exaction, should demand restitution without a moment's delay. At the same time, they were authorized to plunder the agents employed by this Abû Sâeid, wherever they could be found. On the other hand, the obnoxious minister had remained during the whole of the ensuing night, watching the event without the gates of the town; but before break of day on the following morning, accompanied by his brother Hûsseyne Ally, he thought it prudent to retire also towards the river Mûrghaub. He had, however, not proceeded far on his way, before he was overtaken by Sheir Hadjy, and with his life compelled to atone for his numerous oppressions.

In the mean time, reports were continually arriving from the Mûrghaub, of the numerous bodies of armed men who were assembling in that quarter, under the standard of Mirza Ibrauhim the son of Allâud-doulah, and of the design, openly avowed by that prince, of marching to Herât. Thus circumstanced, conceiving a suspicion that, from a desire to favor the wishes of the dowager Gouhershaud, who had always evinced a predilection for Ibrauhim, the Tekhaunian Ameirs might be induced on the day of battle, to go over to that prince, Sheir Hadjy resolved to anticipate the design, by putting them all to death. Under the pretext then of assisting at a council of state, they were ac-

\* 20th of April 1457.

† 15th of May.

cordingly invited to the palace in the raven gardens, for the purpose of carrying this plan of anticipated vengeance into execution. One of the proscribed chiefs, however, Ameir Ahmed the son of Feyrouz Shah, from an instinctive sagacity, conceiving some suspicion of the plot, instantly took to flight; and Sheir Hadjy, and his associate Pehlewaun Hûseyne Diwaunah, finding their design discovered, hastened therefore to carry it into execution, against those who yet remained in their power. Ameir Weiss Terkhan, although not before he had brought Sheir Hadjy to the earth, by a wound in the abdomen with his dirk, together with his son, and two more Ameirs of this distinguished tribe, was now put to death; and the same day, as he was proceeding to his tenure of Khowauf, Pehlewaun Hûseyne fell in with Ameir Ahmed the son of Feyrouz Shah, whom he also dispatched to join his compeers. Sheir Hadjy then hastened to lodge the young Mirza Shah Mahmûd and the dowager Goubershaud, in the fortress of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, while the skill of his physicians was employed in the cure of his own wound.

A. H. 861.  
A. D. 1457.  
Kholausset-ul-  
aklibaur.

The hostile preparations on the Mûrghaub had been now completed, and the shahzâdah Ibrauhim, at the head of a numerous and formidable body of troops, no longer delayed his march towards Herât. In consequence of this information, the first step of Sheir Hadjy was to remove, with his royal ward Shah Mahmûd, into the Baugh-e-mokhtaur, without the gates of the city; but, on the seventh of Rudjub,\* when it was announced that Mirza Ibrauhim was already in the neighborhood, the young Mahmûd was conveyed towards Mûsh-hed, while Sheir Hadjy made the best of his way to secure himself in the fortress of Neirahtou, a place of great strength, twelve farsangs, or about two and forty miles, to the N. E. of Herât. On the same day at noon, Mirza Ibrauhim took up his abode in the garden just evacuated by his adversaries, and there publicly assumed the royal authority. Nevertheless, intelligence arrived from Mûsh-hed, a few days afterwards, that Mirza Shah Mahmûd had yet been able to assemble a considerable force, with which he was again advancing towards Herât; and Mirza Ibrauhim proceeded thence, in the middle of Shabaun,† to give battle to his opponent. Accordingly, not far from the Rebbaut, or quad-

\* 30th of May 1457.

† Beginning of July.

A. H. 861.  
A. D. 1457.  
Kholansset ul-  
akhbaur.

rangle, or caravanserâi, of Shah Melek, the hostile armies came to a conflict, in which, at one time, victory seemed disposed to declare for Shah Mahmûd; but the scale having been turned in favor of the opposite party, through the personal exertions of Ameir Ahmed Terkhan, that young chief was finally defeated, and again compelled to retire towards Mûsh-hed, pursued by the troops of his victorious kinsman. Although not a very singular occurrence, it was, at the same time, a circumstance full of perplexity and alarm to the unfortunate inhabitants of Herât, that about ten in the forenoon of the twenty fifth of Shabaun,\* intelligencè should have reached them, that victory had declared for Mirza Shah Mahmûd; about an hour afterwards, more recent information arrived, that fortune had changed sides, and that the standard of Mirza Ibrauhim was triumphant; and at noon of the same day, the agent of Sûltan Sâeid, the reigning prince of Samarkand, made his appearance to announce, that his master would be under the walls of the town on the morning of the following day.

To account for this latter circumstance it becomes necessary to state, that from the moment at which he found himself in secure possession of the throne of Samarkand, Sûltan Sâeid had ever had in view the reduction, not only of Khorassaun, but of the whole of the territory usually comprized under the designation of Irân. As soon, therefore, as the death of Mirza Bâber was announced to him his thoughts became the more irresistibly attracted towards that object, being further stimulated by the pressing invitations of Ameir Sheikh Hadjy, the governor of Balkh. He accordingly crossed the Oxus, at the head of his troops; and, by the 25th of Shabaun, he had led them by forced marches to a camp behind the village of Sauk-e-Selmaun, at no great distance from Herât, to which he dispatched the message already alluded to. Moulana Ahmed Yessawel who commanded, on the part of Mirza Ibrauhim, in the citadel of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, evinced, at first, a determination to defend the town; but on more mature reflection, he thought it more advisable to confine his exertions exclusively, to the defence of his particular post. On the following day, however, Sûltan Sâeid, without experiencing any opposition, entered Herât by the gate of Keptchauk, taking up his residence in

\* 17th of July.

the Baugh-e-sheher, or garden of the city—a palace belonging to the ancient sovereigns within the walls. A summons was now dispatched to require the submission of Moulana Ahmed, and the surrender of the fortress of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein; to which he replied, that the place had been confided to him, by a prince to whom he was bound by every tie of gratitude and duty, and that he was incapable of betraying his trust, while his benefactor was living to reclaim it at his hands. This answer produced considerable resentment on the part of Sûltan Sâeid, whose troops were immediately directed to commence an attack upon the place, although with little prospect of success.

A. H. 861.  
A. D. 1457.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

In the mean time, some malevolent individuals had succeeded in persuading the Sûltan that the emissaries of Mirza Ibrauhim had constant access to the presence of Gouhershaud, the widow of the illustrious Shah Rokh; and were as constantly suffered to depart without interruption, with every information that could be required, on the state of affairs at Herât. In consequence of this, the monarch, in a fit of unreflecting resentment, gave orders that this celebrated princess, it seems, now, not less distinguished for her love of justice and her many other virtues, than for the elevated and illustrious station which she had filled in the empire, should be put to death; and the harsh decree was carried into execution on the tenth day of Ramzaun, of the eight hundred and sixty-first of the hidjerah.\* After the consummation of this act of unwarrantable severity, for such, even in the mildest sense it is admitted to have been by our author, Sheikh Hadjy conceived he might venture from Neirahtou to Herât; since the Sûltan had given so unequivocal a pledge of his hostility to the opposite party, and he experienced accordingly a very honorable reception. But, in his absence from Neirahtou, he was destined to be robbed of that impregnable post by one of those daring exertions of adventurous enterprise, against which, although the example is not of unfrequent recurrence in the history of the world, human prudence has not yet been found always sufficiently on its guard to provide. On his departure for Herât, Sheikh Hadjy had entrusted this important asylum to the care of one of his most confidential followers; and one evening shortly afterwards, a Yessauk, or

\* 31st of July 1457.

A. H. 861.  
A. D. 1457;  
Kholausset-ul-  
aklbaur.

peasant, or mountaineer perhaps, of the name of Peirkah, presenting himself at the entrance of the fort, with a small flock of sheep, after some conversation with the guard, made a request that he might be permitted to continue there, for the night. The request was complied with, without much difficulty, and the shepherd was further permitted to enter the fort: when, watching his opportunity, after allowing a reasonable part of the night to expire, he proceeded silently to the ramparts, and from thence let down to his associates below, who had repaired to the spot by appointment, a strong rope or noose, by which they easily contrived to gain the top of the wall. Accompanied by these he hastened, sword in hand, directly to the head quarters of the governor, who contrived, however, by some chance or other to effect his escape, although desperately wounded; but the fort, and all it contained, remained in possession of the successful adventurer. Sûltan Sâeid had scarcely had time to reflect on the circumstances of this untoward event, when a dispatch from Balkh announced to him the more alarming intelligence, that the sons of Abdullûtteif were at the head of a formidable insurrection in Mawur-un-neher. On the ninth day of Shavaul,\* he was, therefore, under the necessity of quitting Herât, and of returning without delay towards the territory on the other side of the Oxus. A part of the army which he had sent on before him, had, however, the good fortune to fall in with the two sons of Abdullûtteif, the Mirzas Ahmed and Jouky, in the neighborhood of Balkh, and there totally to defeat them; Mirza Ahmed being killed in the battle, although his brother found means to effect his escape. And, in these circumstances, Sûltan Sâeid thought it convenient to pass the succeeding winter at Balkh.

On the other hand, when he experienced the last discomfiture recently noticed, from Mirza Ibrauhim, Mirza Shah Mahmûd retired at first to Mûsh-hed; but continuing his retreat a short time afterwards into Mazanderaun, he was there received by Bâba Hussun, the governor of the province, with every demonstration of zeal and attachment, and liberally provided with all that was necessary to support the splendour of his rank. These circumstances were early made known to Mirza Ibrauhim, with the assurance that his compe-

\* 29th of August 1457.



titor was already at the head of a sufficient force, with which once more to dispute his pretensions in the field of battle. Mirza Ibrahim proceeded therefore with the utmost expedition, by the route of Nessa and Abawerd, towards Asterabad; while the young Shah Mahmûd, on his part, issued with equal resolution from the forest of Jûrjan to oppose him. Just at this crisis intelligence was received that Ameir Jahaun Shah the Turkomaun, the son of Kâra Yûssuf, with an overwhelming force had crossed the ridge of Sundouk-shikunn, and was actually entering the boundaries of Mazanderaun. The information appears to have produced a sudden panic upon the mind of Shah Mahmûd, and he immediately fled, in conjunction with Bâba Hûssun his friendly and munificent ally; while Mirza Ibrahim, either disregarding, or disbelieving, the report of Ameir Jahaun Shah's approach, continued his march without deviation towards Asterabad, at the distance of one farsang from which place, he encamped a short time afterwards. A body of troops whom he had, however, dispatched further in advance, fell in unexpectedly with some of the scouring parties of the Tûrkomauns, by whom they were immediately attacked and thrown into confusion. At the moment the disorder was at its height, Mirza Ibrahim arrived upon the spot; but, perceiving that all was lost, he sought no alternative but what was to be found in an immediate and precipitate flight—many of his most distinguished followers perishing in the pursuit which was eagerly kept up by the victorious Tûrkomans. Mirza Ibrahim himself, however, with a few of his adherents, succeeded in reaching Herât, on the ninth of the month of Suffur, of the eight hundred and sixty second of the hidjerah,\* and was received with hospitality and respect by Ameir Ahmed Terkhan, the governor of the province. Moulana Ahmed Yessawel, the Kelladaur of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, hastened at the same time to offer the homage of tealty to his prince; but conceiving that he did not experience that favorable reception, to which, by his services, he thought himself entitled, he determined, on his return to the castle, to take a part entirely hostile to the interests of the same prince; which, before the month was at an end, he did not hesitate to disclose. Neither was he to be dissuaded from his

A. H. 861-862.  
A. D. 1457-1458.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

\* 26th of December 1457.

A. H. 861-862.  
 A. D. 1457-1458.  
 Kholausset-ul-  
 akhbaur.

designs, nor prevailed upon to expose himself, any more, without the precincts of his command; although much was urged on the part of Ameir Ahmed Terkhan to induce him to recede.

In these circumstances Mirza Ibrauhim determined, not without the concurrence of his principal officers, to dispatch an embassy to Sûltan Sâeid, with proposals for an accommodation; to which that prince appears to have acceded without great difficulty, stipulating, however, that Mirza Ibrauhim should cordially unite in opposing the Tûrkomauns, who were now making rapid progress on the frontiers of Khorassaun: and thus far successful, the ambassadors of Herât were permitted to return well satisfied with the result of the negociation. Here, with apparent regret at the selfish propensities of human ambition, the author pauses to enumerate the different chiefs, who, at one and the same crisis, had now started up within the limits of the single province of Khorassaun; all contending for the same point of individual and independent power, without reflecting upon the mischiefs thus accumulated upon the suffering inhabitants. Among those included under the obnoxious charge, must be mentioned Ameir Jahaun Shah the Tûrkomaun, at Esferâein; Mirza Shah Mahmûd, at Touss; Mirza Allâ ud-doula, after an absence of some years in Keptchauk, at Abiwerd; Mirza Ibrauhim, in the city of Herât; Mirza Sunjur, at Merû; Sûltan Sâeid, at Balkh; Melek Kaussem, the grandson of Kâra Yûssuf, in conjunction with Ameir Khaleil, in Seiestaun, [adjoining]; Moulana Ahmed Yessawel, in the citadel of Ekhtiaur-ud dein; Ameir Peirzaud, in the castle of Serkhess; Ameir Bâba Hûssun, in the fortress of Emmaud; Sheikh Hussun the son of Sheikh Teymûr, at Jennoushaun or Khaboushaun; and Ameir Weiss the son of Khâwundshah, in the castle of Tebbes, or Tabas.

With regard to Mirza Allâ-ud-doula it appears that, on his flight from the generals of his brother Bâber, he had become, for several years, a wanderer in different parts of the country of the Moghûls; but on intelligence of the death Bâber, he ventured to return through Khaûrezm, and was now at Abiwerd, from whence he dispatched to announce his arrival to his son Ibrauhim. Mirza Ibrauhim appears to have been sincerely rejoiced at the return of his father, to whom

he immediately caused to be conveyed such presents as might have been acceptable on the occasion. Shortly afterwards, Allâ-ud-doulah being on his way to Herât, Ibrauhim hastened to meet him as far as the river Senjaub; where, on conferring together with respect to the best plan of proceeding under present circumstances, it was resolved that the son should remain at the head of the troops in the field, while the father continued his journey to Herât, there to repose himself for some time from the fatigues of a wandering life. On the seventh of the latter Jummaudy of the eight hundred and sixty second of the bidjerah,\* accordingly, Allâ-ud-doulah took up his residence once more in the metropolis of his grandfather. Finding it, however, unfortunately expedient, by the imposition of a poll tax, and other vexatious measures, to raise a sum of money upon the inhabitants, it so happened, that before any considerable progress had been made in this odious collection, a messenger from Mirza Ibrauhim should arrive to announce that the army of the Tûrkomans was at hand, and to indicate the danger of remaining any longer at Herât. With infinite reluctance therefore, on the first day of the month of Shabaun,† Allâ-ud-doulah again quitted that capital, and withdrew in haste to the mountains of Ghour. Immediately on his retreat, the inhabitants of Herât were thrown into the utmost consternation, by their alarm at the actual approach of the Tûrkomans; of which the licentious populace took instant advantage, to indulge in the disposition to plunder, and to exercise every species of enormity and outrage on their fellow citizens. On his arrival, however, at the town of Gousûiah, Ameir Jahaun Shah, the monarch of the Tûrkomans, apprized of the danger to which the respectable inhabitants were thus exposed, and of the general dispersion which must have been the result, lost no time to convey to the city every assurance of his protection, immediately dispatching Ameir Peirzaud the Bokhârian to assume the government in his name. On the fifteenth of the same month of Shabaun,‡ Ameir Jahaun Shah in person made his entrance into Herât, confirming to the inhabitants his assurances of protection, not less than if they were the subjects of his own immediate government. His attention was, in the mean time, directed to the reduction of the citadel of

A. H. 862-863.  
A. D 1458  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

\* 21st of April 1458.

† 13th of June 1458.

‡ 27th of June.

A. H. 862-863. Ekhtiaur-ud-dein; which, after the resistance of a few days, was how-  
 A. D. 1468. ever surrendered to him, on terms of personal indemnity by Moulana  
 Kholausset-ul- Ahmed Yessawel the governor, who was admitted to the distin-  
 akhbaur. guished favor of the Tûrkoman prince, immediately on quitting his  
 post.

While these occurrences were taking place at Herât, a serious mis-  
 understanding, of which it would be perfectly immaterial to discuss  
 the grounds, broke out between Allâ-ud-doulah and his son Ibrau-  
 him; who had, by this time, also sought an asylum among the moun-  
 tains of Ghour, the breach, on the perfidious suggestions of some of  
 the Terkhanian Ameirs, terminating in the imprisonment of the young-  
 er prince. This act of severity had, however, been scarcely carried  
 into execution, when Abdullah Khoujah, an Ameir of that distin-  
 guished class, who had been recently employed on the embassy to  
 Sûltan Sâeid, returned; and, expressing without reserve, his disap-  
 probation of the imprisonment of Mirza Ibrauhim, the other Ameirs  
 of the tribe were soon brought over to his opinion, and measures  
 having been accordingly taken to set the prince at large, he proceeded  
 without delay, to cancel, or abjure, all further allegiance to a father's  
 authority. At the same time, information of these changes had been  
 punctually conveyed to Ameir Jahaun Shah, from whom a dis-  
 patch was now received inviting Allâ-ud-doulah to Herât; an invi-  
 tation which he conceived too fortunate, not immediately to avail  
 himself of; and, on the festival of sacrifice of the tenth of Zil-  
 hudje, of the eight hundred and sixty second of the hidjerah,\* he ac-  
 cordingly made his appearance in the camp of the Tûrkoman chief,  
 by whom he was received with the most distinguished kindness and  
 respect. All the while, we must not omit to observe, a negociation  
 for peace was on foot, between Ameir Jahaun Shah and Sûltan Sâeid;  
 but before it was yet brought to a conclusion, Ameir Ahmed the  
 Terkhanian, with a considerable body of his kindred, deserted the  
 cause of Mirza Ibrauhim and came to Herât; where he was also very  
 honorably entertained by the monarch of the Tûrkomans.

Ameir Jahaun Shah had been now encamped under the walls of  
 Herât for a period of nearly six months, when intelligence was rather

\* 13th of October 1458,

unexpectedly received, that Sûltan Sâeid, at the head of a powerful army, had crossed the Mûrghaub; and that, after passing the lungur, or mausoleum, or abiding place, of Meir Gheyauth, he was already advanced as far as the town of Oubah, on his march for the capital of Khorassaun. The circumstance appears to have produced considerable surprise, and some alarm in the camp of the Tûrkomans; and the monarch, with the main body of his army, conceived it prudent to remove towards the Herâtroud, a river so called at some distance to the westward of the city, detaching Mirza Peir Bedauk, the most warlike of his sons, with a division of chosen troops, to watch the approach of the enemy. But this division, after having experienced some proof of the valour and discipline of the Samarkandians, very speedily rejoined the main body of the Tûrkomans. To add to the embarrassments of Jahaun Shah at this anxious crisis, accounts of an alarming nature arrived from Azerbâijaun, and determined him in the resolution of returning without further delay towards that kingdom; and, in order to secure an unmolested retreat from Khorassaun, Seyud Ashoura, one of his most confidential agents, was immediately dispatched to bring the treaty with Sûltan Sâeid to an amicable conclusion. The Sûltan very explicitly declared; that if Ameir Jahaun Shah would withdraw his troops, without further trouble, from Khorassaun and Irâk Ajem, and content himself with the territory of Azerbâijaun, long since in his possession, there should be no obstacle to an accommodation of all other differences. After considerable discussion, a treaty was, however, at last concluded; by which it was stipulated that Ameir Jahaun Shah should immediately retire into Azerbâijaun, putting the agents of Sûltan Sâeid in possession of the whole of Khorassaun to the gates of Semnaun; and, with the treaty thus concluded, Seyud Ashoura returned to the presence of his master. In the beginning of Suffur, of the eight hundred and sixty third of the hidjerah,\* from the neighborhood of Yaheya-abad, where they had been for some time encamped, the Tûrkomans, accordingly, commenced their retreat for Azerbâijaun, destroying, with useless barbarity, every vestige of the abode of man that lay in the course of their march. Sûltan Sâeid, on the other hand, entered Herât on the fifteenth

A. H. 862-863.  
A. D. 1458.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhsaur.

\* December 1456.

† 27th of December.

A. H. 863.  
A. D. 1459.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

of the same month,† taking up his residence in the Baugh-e-sheher, or old palace in the city; where he exerted himself with laudable earnestness and zeal, to promote the administration of a just government, towards an oppressed and suffering people. During the succeeding winter, nevertheless, the city of Herât was visited by a deplorable scarcity, and a great multitude of the inhabitants of the town and neighborhood was destined to perish through want of bread, or some other means necessary to the support of existence.

As soon as he had, as he conceived, firmly established his authority in the capital of Khorassaun, Sûltan Sâeid ventured to dismiss the greater part of his army for Samarkand, reserving a body of about two thousand horse only, for the defence of his person; and intelligence of this unwarranted security, having been early conveyed to the Mirzas Allâ-ud-doulah, Ibrauhim, and Sunjur, a correspondence ensued between those princes, in consequence of which, they shortly afterwards united their troops together at Serkhess, for the purpose of attacking the Sûltan. Full of hope and ardour, and entirely regardless of his great disparity of force, the latter proceeded, without hesitation, to combat the designs of his enemies; being joined, however, on his march, by a body of troops from Samarkand, under the orders of Seyud Mezeid Arghûn, and Ameir Sûltan Ahmed the son of Temir Taush. Towards the middle of the former month of Jummaudy,\* and about midway between Serkhess and Merû, the rival parties came to a battle; in which both wings of the army of Sûltan Sâeid were completely put to flight, by the opposite divisions of that of the associated shahzâdahs. On this occasion, many of the fugitives never halted to repose from their apprehensions until they reached the city of Samarkand, from whence they did not fail to circulate the alarm of the Sûltan's discomfiture, throughout the surrounding country. Notwithstanding this abscision of his wings, Sûltan Sâeid, however, at the head of the centre, which remained yet firm and unbroken under his own orders, proceeded sword in hand to charge his opponents, flushed as they were with recent success, and, by one determined effort, entirely changed the fortune of the day; Allâ-ud-doulah and his son Ibrauhim, both quitting the field in the utmost dismay, while

\* About the 20th of March 1459.

Mirza Sunjurfell a prisoner into the hands of the victor, by whose orders he was immediately put to death. After this, Sûltan Sâeid returned to Herât, in order to enjoy the triumph of his well earned fame; and amidst his hours of relaxation from more serious pursuits, sought amusement in superintending the erection of the Eidgah, or place of sacrifice, with probably a mosque attached; in the environs of the capital. But while these occurrences were passing in Khorassan, Abûl Ghauzy Sûltan Hûseyne Bahauder Khaun, the great-grandson of Mirza Omar Sheikh, had already made himself master of the territory of Jûrjaun, in the neighborhood; and after expelling the Tûrkomauns, by giving full encouragement to the hopes of his soldiers, and by securing the attachment of his new subjects in general, was rapidly proceeding in the establishment of his independence. And in this place it becomes, in some measure, indispensably necessary to accompany our author in his extensive, though not unseasonable digression, to furnish some account of the descent, and early history, of this able and warlike prince; to the munificence of whose minister, Ally Sheir, the city of Herât was indebted for many of its noblest ornaments, and every branch of learning for the most liberal encouragement.

The father, then, of Abûl Ghauzy Sûltan Hûseyne Bahauder Khaun, who with other titles, acquired ultimately that of Sâheb Keraun-sauni, second lord of the propitious conjunction, was Sûltan Gheyauth-uddein Munsour, the son of Mirza Baykera, the son of Mirza Omar Sheikh, who was the son of *Teymâr*. His mother was the princess Feyrouzah Begum, the daughter of Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, the son of Ameir Mahommed Beg, who was the son of Ameir Moussa, of the tribe of Tanjout; and the mother of Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne, as hath already appeared, was the princess Aga Begum the daughter of *Teymâr*. And lastly, the mother of Feyrouzah Begum was Kâtlûg Sûltan Begum the daughter of *Meiran Shah*, by Oroun Sûltan, the daughter of Seyârghetmesh Khaun, the son of Dauneshmeudjah Khaun, the son of Keydou, the son of Nourejaun, the son of Ougdâi Khaun, who was the son of *Jengueiz*. Hence it appears that Abûl Ghauzy, or rather Abûlghauzy, as it may be more compactly written, was on both sides descended from two of the most renowned conquerors that ever bestrode the globe; and his birth is here recorded

A. H. 863.  
A. D. 1459.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

A. H. 863.  
A. D. 1459.  
Kholasset ul-  
akhbaur.

to have taken place in one of the suburbs of Herât, in the month of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and forty-second of the hidjerah.\* From his very infancy he is described to have exhibited, of course, the most undoubted presages of his exalted destiny; but more particularly in his ardor to acquire every proficiency in the art of war, and to prepare himself for its fatigues, by the habit of manly exercise in every shape. At the age of fourteen he hastened to present himself at the court of his relative Bâber, by whom he was entertained with affectionate kindness; and he was present with that prince, when he concluded the treaty with Sûltan Sâeid, under the walls of Samarkand. Actuated, however, by the ties of closer consanguinity, he then embraced the opportunity of forsaking the standard of Mirza Bâber, in order to put himself under the protection of his rival. Nevertheless, on the revolt of Mirza Sûltan Weiss, another of the descendants of Mirza Baykera, some time afterwards, Sûltan Saeid became jealous of the attachment of the princes of that line; and Abûlghauzy with thirteen more of the same kindred, was committed to prison. But, at the solicitation of his mother, the princess Feyrouzah Begum, who hastened from Khorassaun the moment she became apprized of her son's misfortune, he was considerably set at large, and permitted to accompany her to Herât; where he was once more received to the friendship of Mirza Bâber.

Removing, however, to Merû-shahjahaun on the death of that prince, Abûlghauzy there espoused the daughter of Mirza Sunjur; and at the period when Mirza Shah Mahmûd, after the battle with Mirza Ibrauhim, fled towards Asterabad, Mirza Sunjûr did not scruple to leave his son-in-law, as his lieutenant at Merû, while he proceeded in haste to take possession of Mûsh-hed. During the absence of Mirza Sunjûr, as it happened, a misunderstanding arose between Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûseyne, and Ameir Hussun Erlaut, who had been entrusted with the actual management of affairs; but who was, unfortunately, little blessed with the advantages of a benevolent disposition, or accommodating manners. The dispute, however, terminated in the imprisonment of the unaccommodating agent; on which, without further ceremony, Abûlghauzy transferred the diadem.

\* June, July, 1438.



of Merù to his own brows. But becoming alarmed at some appearances of disaffection, or treason, among the abettors of his usurpation, he hastily withdrew from Merù as soon as Mirza Sunjûr was announced to have reached Makhan, on his return from Mûsh-hed, and wandered, for some time, among the solitudes of the neighboring desert, awaiting some favorable turn of fortune. At length, when, in consequence of the invasion of the Tûrkomans from Irâk Ajem, Ameir Bâba Hussun was flying from Jûrjaun towards Merù, he was intercepted near one of the villages in the territory of Nessa, by no other than this illustrious wanderer, by whom, after a very desperate conflict, he was defeated and taken prisoner, and according to the ordinary summary practice of the day, immediately put to death. Encouraged by this dawn of success, Abûlghauzy bent his course towards the territory of Jûrjaun, and, on his arrival at the station of Feyrouzghund, had the gratification to see his force auspiciously augmented by the junction of Ameir Mahommed Khodadaud, a chief formerly attached to the government of Mirza Bâber, and who, at this period, held the districts of Esferâein, Jowein, and Baharabad. Thus strengthened Abûlghauzy proceeded on his march with more leisure and greater confidence; but at the station of Sûltan Dowein, he found his progress arrested by a numerous body of Tûrkomans, under the direction of Hûsseyne Saudlù, who had there issued from the forests of Jûrjaun immediately in his way. A most sanguinary and obstinate conflict now took place, in which Abûlghauzy is described to have exhibited the most distinguished example of prowess and activity. The reward of his exertions on this arduous day, was a very complete and signal victory; Hûsseyne Saudlù and his brothers, together with many more of his principal officers and followers, being taken alive, but immediately afterwards put to death by their conquerors.

In consequence of this success, Abûlghauzy, in the early part of Zilhudje, of the eight hundred and sixty-second of the hidjerah,\* entered Asterabad without resistance, and there publicly invested himself with the royal dignity; immediately ordering the coinage and public prayers to run for the future in his name, and holding out to

A. H. 863.  
A. D. 1459.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

\* October 1458.

A. D. 863-864.  
 A. D. 1459-1460.  
 Kholausset-ul-  
 akhbaur.

the people the most liberal assurances of a just and beneficent government. Apprized of these occurrences, Sultán Sâeid did not omit, through the medium of an extraordinary embassy, to congratulate his kinsman on the conquest of Asterabad, and to confirm the relations of amity, and good correspondence, already subsisting between them. The embassy was received with every mark of complacency by Abûlghauzy, and returned shortly afterwards with the most favorable impressions of his kindness and liberality. But Sultán Sâeid, on his part, very early evinced that he was little disposed to make good the professions of friendship, of which he had been sufficiently liberal towards his aspiring kinsman; since he was no sooner at leisure from his engagements in Khorassaun, than he dispatched one of his officers to take possession of a certain district on the adjoining frontier, which had been previously occupied by the agents of Abûlghauzy. The discontent produced by such a circumstance was destined, as usual in most cases, to accumulate by repeated aggravation, to that degree of hostility which will be the subject of our attention in a subsequent page.

In the mean time, the narrative proceeds to state that Sultán Sâeid when he found himself disengaged from the attacks of his more dangerous adversaries, determined to employ the force at his disposal in the reduction of the celebrated fortress of Neirahtou; of which the siege was accordingly opened with the construction of numerous Mokaubelkoub, or batteries of some description or other, in order to beat down the defences, and breach the works wherever practicable. Before the operations of the siege had, however, been long in progress, Peirkah, the shepherd chief, who was still in possession of the place, became suspicious of the attachment of his garrison, in consequence of which several of them were immediately put to death; and the apprehensions excited by this rash act of jealous violence provoking the vengeance of the survivors, one morning when he was expected it they rose sword in hand upon the hoary adventurer, and instantly dispatched him, conveying the head to plead for pardon with the court of Herat. The fortress must accordingly have fallen into the hands of its besiegers without further resistance; since the assassins of the governor are said to have been remunerated by the distinguished favor of the Sultán

for this seasonable piece of service. Another auspicious event to the government of Sùltan Sàeid, which marked the period under consideration, was the death of Mirza Ibrauhim the son of Allà-ud-doulah, on his march towards Mùsh-hed, after having assembled at Dama-ghaun a fresh army, with which he was hastening once more to try his fortune against the Sùltan. The body was brought to Heràt for sepulture, in the college of the princess Gouhershaud; where it was consigned to the grave some time in the month of Shavaul, of the eight hundred and sixty-third of the hidjerah.\*

A. H. 863-864.  
A. D. 1459-1460.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Before the conclusion of the same year, the important fortress of Emmaud was also surrendered to one of the Sùltan's generals, by a person of the name of Mahommed Diwaunah—the governor under the authority of Bâba Hussun, whose death in consequence of the action with Abùlghauzy Sùltan Hùsseyne has been already noticed. Contrary to what had been observed with respect to Neirahtou, which had been stored with every species of supply against contingencies, the works of Emmaud were by the express orders of Sùltan Sàeid, levelled with the earth. About the close of the year, also, Mirza Shah Mahmùd, the son of Mirza Bàber, who, on his flight from the Tùrkomans, had conveyed himself into Seiestaun, was killed, in a battle which took place, about this period, between Ameir Khaleil Hindoukah, the governor of that province, and Ameir Bâba, governor of Kabùl.

Soon after the commencement of the eight hundred and sixty-fourth of the hidjerah,† it was announced to Sùltan Sàeid, that the troops of Abùlghauzy had made an incursion to the gates of Subuzwaur; pillaging the country of every species of property that they could lay their hands on. In consequence of such information, a division of troops under the orders of Ally of Parss, and Hussun the son of Sheikh Temir, was immediately dispatched towards Mazanderaun; the Sùltan in person, at the head of an additional force, proceeding in the same direction, on the fourth of the former month of Jummaudy.‡ On intelligence of the approach of the former force, Abùlghauzy conceived that an opportunity presented itself from which it was possible to derive some advantage; and he accordingly

\* August 1459.

† November 1459.

‡ 25th of February 1460.

A. H. 864-865.  
 A. D. 1460-1461.  
 Kholausset-ul-  
 akhbaur.

hastened with a small body of select cavalry to meet this advanced corps of the Khorassaunians: but when he was within a short distance of the boundaries of the province, being further advised that Sùltan Sâeid in person, with the best part of his army, was on his march for Mazanderaun, he thought it prudent to return, in order to provide a more adequate force to repel the danger. At a crisis of such need and importance, several of his Ameirs with their retainers, however, embracing the opportunity to desert the standard of their chief, Abùlghauzy found it expedient to accommodate with the times; and to withdraw, for the present, towards the territory of Adauk, in the kingdom of Khaurezm. Sultan Sâeid was thus enabled to enter Asterabad, shortly afterwards, without opposition; where having recreated himself for some days, he left his son Sùltan Mahmùd in possession of the government, returning himself without further delay towards the metropolis of Khorassaun.

But, while he was engaged in Mazanderaun, on this occasion, that metropolis had been exposed to the most imminent danger from an attack on the part of Ameir Khaleil Hindoukah, the ruler of Seiestaun, where he had maintained an independent authority, ever since the time of Mirza Bâber. Availing himself of the absence of Sùltan Sâeid, this chief determined to make an attempt on Herât, expecting to find it unprovided for defence; but as the citizens had, by some means or other, become apprized of his intention, they had, by strengthening and securing their walls and towers, sufficiently prepared for his reception; so that, on the twelfth day of Ramzaun,\* when, on his arrival before the town, he led his troops to the assault, they had but little reason to congratulate themselves on the prospect before them. And in fine, when on one of the succeeding fridays, the inhabitants, after the performance of their devotions, issued from the town, with every description of force, to attack them, they were driven from all their posts in the utmost consternation; Ameir Khaleil their general not once halting to take repose until he found himself safe in Seiestaun. On his return from Mazanderaun, Sùltan Sâeid received intelligence of this daring attempt on the part of the Seiestanian, and hastened with all the expedition in his power to

\* 18th of October 1460.

defeat and chastise it; but on his arrival, about the close of the month of Ramzaun, he found that the danger had been already dispelled, and that his only task was to distribute to the inhabitants of Herât, the rewards and acknowledgements due to their exemplary courage and fidelity. A division of the army was, however, immediately dispatched into Seiestaun, where Ameir Khaleil was soon afterwards besieged in the capital of the province; and, finding on experience that he had engaged in a contest which he was little able to support, he determined before it was too late to submit to the authority of the Sûltan, for which purpose he proceeded without further delay towards Herât. Sûltan Sâeid was prevailed upon without great difficulty to overlook the past, and to enrol him among the Ameirs of his court; but the government of Seiestaun was transferred to Shah Yaheya, a descendant from one of the native sovereigns of that province.

A. H. 865.  
A. D. 1461.  
Khôlausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

In the early part of the eight hundred and sixty-fifth of the hidjerah,\* after wandering for a long time through the desert and mountainous districts, Mirza Allâ-ud-doulah, the son of Baysungur, terminated, at last, his unfortunate career on the banks of the Caspian, under the roof of Melek Beistoun, a native chief descended from the princes of Rûstumdaur. The remains of the departed prince were conveyed to Herât, and deposited in the mausoleum of the family, the college of Gouhershaud in that city.

Such was the posture of affairs in Khorâssaun, when information was received from the provinces beyond the Oxus, that Mirza Mahommed Jouky the son of Abdullûtteif, and grandson of Olûgh Beg, supported by Ameir Nour Sâeid, had displayed the standard of revolt in Transoxiana, which he was over-running with pillage and desolation. In consequence of this, on the twentieth of the former Jummaudy, of the eight hundred and sixty-fifth of the hidjerah,† Sûltan Sâeid quitted Herât, and proceeded towards the Jeyhûn, which he crossed by a temporary bridge not long afterwards. Mirza Mahommed Jouky and his followers, on the other hand, as soon as they became apprized of the Sûltan's approach, withdrew immediately towards the Seyhûn; where they threw themselves into the fortress.

\* November and December A. D. 1460.

† 2nd of March 1461.

A. H. 865. of Sharokhiah, which is here described as protected on three sides by  
 A. D. 1461. the stream of that river, and on the fourth by a deep and impassable  
 Kholausset ul- ditch. In that place they were a short time afterwards closely and  
 akhbaur. vigorously besieged by the Sûltan; but, just as that prince was about  
 to bring his exertions to a successful termination, intelligence from  
 Khorassaun was conveyed to him, that Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne  
 was again advancing to repossess himself of the province of Mazan-  
 deraun; and, as the circumstance was of a nature to produce consi-  
 derable alarm, the Ameirs Seyud Asseil Arghûn, and Seyud Mûraud,  
 were dispatched immediately into Khorassaun, in order to protect  
 the frontiers of that province against sudden attack.

It would appear that Abûlghauzy, finding himself in the course of  
 this year, in circumstances to renew his plans of conquest and inde-  
 pendence, quitted his retreat in Khaurezm, and proceeded once more  
 towards Asterabad. In the neighborhood of that place he was op-  
 posed by Mirza Sûltan Mahmûd, left by his father in the govern-  
 ment of the province; whom, after a very desperate conflict, he to-  
 tally defeated and compelled to return into Khorassaun. Abûlghauzy  
 then, towards the middle of the month of Shabaun,\* re-entered As-  
 terabad in triumph; but, when he had passed a few days in the place  
 to enjoy the fruits of his victory, he dispatched Abdurrahman Ar-  
 ghûn, one of his officers, to take possession of the rest of Mazanderaun,  
 and set out himself immediately for Herât. Seyud Asseil Arghûn,  
 and the other Ameirs, employed to defend the approaches into Kho-  
 rassaun from that quarter, and stationed somewhere in the neighbor-  
 hood of Neyshapûr and Subbuzwaur, retired on the advance of Abûl-  
 ghauzy, and hastened to the defence of the capital; for which they  
 prepared with equal zeal and ability, driving in before them the whole  
 of the inhabitants of the surrounding districts. The operations of  
 Abûlghauzy were, however, first directed to the reduction of Serkhess;  
 but when that object had been secured, he proceeded without fur-  
 ther delay to Herât, before which, in the Baugh-e-zoghoun, or raven  
 gardens, he fixed his head quarters, on the twenty-fourth of Zilkau-  
 dah.† He had, it seems, been persuaded to believe that the gates  
 of the city would be thrown open to him, by the inhabitants, without

\* 26th of May 1461.

† 30th of August 1461.

opposition, and he therefore abstained from commencing any hostile operations against them for the space of eleven days; but perceiving, at the expiration of that period, little to indicate the reality of such a design, he removed his head quarters to the suburb of Khenitchahabad, and issued orders for the attack. After continuing the siege, however, for a further period of twenty days, without any perceptible progress towards the attainment of his object, he found it expedient, on the twenty-seventh of the month of Zilhudje,\* to withdraw from before Herât, and proceed towards the Mûrghaub, in order to give battle to Sûltan Abû Sâeid; who was, on his part, hastening with rapid marches from Transoxiana to the relief of his capital.

In effect, apprized of the danger of Herât, Sûltan Sâeid submitting to the necessity of patching up some species of accommodation with Mirza Mahommed Jouky, at Shahrokiah, had made the best of his way towards the Oxus; and, having immediately recrossed that river, was now returned in great force to the confines of Furiâub. A want of subordination among his troops, on the other hand, and a difference of opinion among his principal officers constrained Abûlghauzy, on reaching the station of Setûrgui, to recede, however reluctantly, from his resolution of giving battle; and to retreat upon Serkness, from whence he finally withdrew to Asterabad. Upon this, after reducing Serkness, Sûltan Sâeid directed his march further towards Jûrjaun, Abûlghauzy, on intelligence of his approach, assuming afresh the appearance of resolution, and advancing to meet him to a place here called Kherraushaunah; but again, by a concurrence of adverse circumstances, and not improbably by the disorderly spirit prevailing among his troops, he was constrained, under cover of the first convenient night, to withdraw once more towards Adauk, the place of his former retreat in Khaurezm. The territory of Asterabad was thus recovered without a blow; and Sûltan Sâeid, having restored his authority throughout the province, as well as that of Jûrjaun, again placed the whole under the government of his son Sûltan Mahmûd; after which he returned to Herât, which he appears to have reached on the twenty-second of the latter Rebbeia, of the eight hundred and sixty-sixth of the hidjerah.†

\* 2nd of October 1461.

† 23rd of January 1462.

A. H. 865.  
A. D. 1461.  
Khenitchahabad-  
akhabaur.

A. D. 866-867.  
 A. D. 1462-1463.  
 Kholausset ul-  
 akhbaur.

But, as his thoughts were still powerfully attracted, by the necessity of extinguishing the embers of rebellion, kindled by the ambitious and aspiring projects of Mirza Mahommed Jouky, in Transoxiana, Sùltan Sâeid did not long resign himself to the enjoyment of an inglorious repose at Herát. On the twenty seventh of the former Jummaudy,\* he again quitted that metropolis for Balkh; from whence, after the abode of a few days, he proceeded to the Oxus, which river he crossed on the ninth of Rudjub.† Arriving at Samarkand shortly afterwards, he hastened from thence to Shahrokhiah; the fortifications of which had by this time been rendered so unassailable, otherwise than by the most cautious and regular approaches, that, after giving orders for the construction of the Mokaubel-koub, counterforts, and other similar works,‡ to harass and straiten the besieged, the Sùltan thought it as well for the present, to return to Samarkand. In this place we are informed that, during the Sùltan's absence in Transoxiana, at the period under consideration, a dreadful contagious disorder prevailed in Khorassaun, which swept off a prodigious multitude from the cities, and other towns of that noble province.

Towards the commencement of the year eight hundred and sixty seven § Sùltan Sâeid proceeded in person to superintend, and expedite the operations of the siege of Shahrokhiah; which, nevertheless, fully employed the exertions of his army, for a period subsequent to this, of nearly twelve months—the garrison being, however, at last compelled by famine, to solicit a capitulation, which they obtained on the ninth day of Mohurrem of the eight hundred and sixty eighth of the hidjerah,|| Mirza Mahommed Jouky immediately delivering himself up to the mercy of his besiegers, from whom he is said to have experienced a very humane and compassionate reception. Accompanied by his captive, Sùltan Sâeid then returned again to Samarkand, and from thence, shortly afterwards, to Herát; where he appears to have

\* 26th of February. † 7th of April.

‡ Although the use of artillery could not, at this period, have been unknown among the Asiatics, since it had been employed by Mahommed the 2d, with tremendous effect, against the walls of Constantiuople, many years before, yet it does not hitherto appear to have been carried so far to the east-ward; else it would, probably, not have escaped the author's observation, on this and some former occasions.

§ October 1462. || 22nd of September 1463.



arrived, on this occasion, on the twenty second of the latter Rēbbeia, of the same year\* Mirza Mahommed Jouky was there confined in the citadel of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, where he remained to the day of his death. The contagious and malignant disorder which had spread its ravages throughout Khorassaun, in the preceding, revisited Herāt during the present year; in consequence of which, the Sūltan took up his residence, during winter, at what was usually considered the summer quarters [Yellauk] of Baudgheiss, among the hills to the north-west.

A. H. 868.  
A. D. 1464.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbauri

When, on the approach of Sūltan Sâeid, as we have already seen in a former page, Abūlgauzy Sūltan Hūseyne withdrew into Khaurezm, where he continued for some time a wanderer through different parts of that country, until circumstances should arise more favourable to his views of aggrandizement, the year 868 seemed to present the crisis which he had so patiently awaited; and he again, in the course of that year, advanced his standard towards Khorassaun, taking the route of Kheyouk, or Kheivuk, and Tezhen, or Tedjen, for Abiwerd, in the first instance. From the latter place, however, he turned to the right towards Jennoushaun, or Khaboushaun, and from thence proceeded to Neyshapūr, finally directing his march for Tersheiz. In the mean time, a report of these hostile movements reached Sūltan Sâeid, in his retirement at Baudgheiss; from whence he hastened, not without marks of considerable impatience, towards the territory of Foushenje, in advance of which place he now encamped— dispatching a part of his force, under some of his most distinguished captains, in the same direction of Tersheiz. In the neighborhood of that place, Abūlgauzy, with not more than eighty horse, ventured to engage this detached division, although it amounted to fifteen hundred; whom, notwithstanding, he entirely defeated, having killed not less than nine of the enemy with his own hand. The fugitives of this disgraceful discomfiture, made the best of their way to the camp of Sūltan Sâeid; while Abūlgauzy returned, without molestation, towards Mūsh-hed, and continuing his march to Merū, proceeded from thence, once more to his retreat in Khaurezm, having successfully eluded every attempt on the part of the officers of Sūltan Sâeid, to

\* 2d, of January 1464.

A. H. 869-71.

A. D. 1464-65.

Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

interrupt his progress. When, on the other hand, it was ascertained that the enterprising Abûlghauzy had again withdrawn into Khaurizm, the Sûltan returned to Herât, and proceeded to pass the winter of the eight hundred and sixty ninth of the hidjerah\* at Merû. In the course of the following spring, he returned again to his capital.

The succeeding year, the eight hundred and seventieth of the hidjerah,† appears to have been one of untroubled repose; great part of it being devoted, by Sûltan Abû Sâeid, to a protracted series of festivities on the circumcision of his children. During the year eight hundred and seventy one, he repaired to pass another winter at Merû, where, in the course of the season, a messenger from Azerbâijaun announced to him the death of Ameir Jahaun Shah, [Zenza], in a battle with Ameir Hussun Beg, the son of Ally, son of Kâra Othmaun, surnamed Ozûn Hussun, or Hussun the long, monarch of the Auk-kûeinlû, or white wethers; the *Usun-Cassanes* of Knolles, and the western writers.\*

It appears that, when in conformity with the treaty of peace concluded with Sûltan Sâeid, as formerly related, Ameir Jahaun Shah was withdrawing with his troops into Azerbâijaun, Mirza Peir Bedauk, the bravest and most distinguished of his sons, separated from the army in discontent; and that he proceeded by the route of Tebbess, and Yezd, into Fars, where he openly declared himself hostile to the authority of his father. In this course of hostility, notwithstanding repeated attempts, on the part of the father, to recal him by fair means to a sense of his duty, he obstinately persisted, until the expedient was thought of, of employing the interposition of his mother; who proceeded in person to Shirauz, and at last prevailed upon him, with his family and followers, to quit that province, and remove to Baghdâd. Nevertheless, he had not continued long in possession of that government, which had been conferred upon him by paternal indulgence, before he was again impelled by the spirit of ambition, to raise the standard of rebellion against his father. It became therefore necessary to employ the intervention of superior force to reduce him to his allegiance; and Ameir Jahaun Shah, in person, at the head of a very powerful

\* A. D. 1464-65.

† Commencing 23rd of August 1465.

‡ According to Knolles, he was, however, the son of Tachratin, or Ameir Taherten, prince of Erzenjaun, so frequently mentioned in the life of Teymûr.

army, marched accordingly, to lay siege to the metropolis of Baghdâd, where every thing had been prepared by Peir Bedauk, for the most obstinate and determined resistance. The siege was protracted by various means of defence, for a period of nearly twelve months; at the conclusion of which, having exhausted every article that could, in any shape, be converted to the support of existence, even to their dogs and cats, the inhabitants submitted to the alternative of imploring for mercy, and for that purpose sent out a deputation to treat with Ameir Jahaun Shah, who consented without much difficulty to give them terms. Rejoicing at any prospect of relief to their sufferings, the half-starved Baghdadians immediately threw open their gates, and repaired in crowds to the camp of their besiegers; but Peir Bedauk forbore to quit his palace, without, however, the smallest suspicion that his father entertained any design against his life. In the mean time, his brother Mahommey had received the orders of Ameir Jahaun Shah to proceed with a band of soldiers to put him to death; and these executioners of a father's just, but cruel vengeance, rushing sword in hand, with their faces masked, into the palace, terminated his career accordingly, at the very moment he was about to visit the camp of his father.

A. H. 871.

A. D. 1466.

Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

But, with this act of sanguinary justice, the prosperity of Ameir Jahaun Shah, terminated for ever. For having set his mind at rest from domestic treason, he now directed his views towards the means of prosecuting his vengeance against Ameir Hussun Beg the grandson of Kâra Othmaun; the Ozûn Hussun, to whom we have recently adverted, with whom he had always lived on terms of inveterate hostility. When he became apprized of the designs of his adversary, and that he was already on his march from Baghdâd in that direction, Ozûn Hussun, with a body of his followers, proceeded to take post in one of the passes among the mountains of his country, between Armenia and Diaurbekir, while Ameir Jahaun Shah, bending his course towards the plains of Moush and Erzeroum, finally encamped at no great distance from him. Ozûn Hussun, whose address was not inferior to his courage, immediately opened a correspondence with the invader, in order to mollify his resentment, and, if possible, to conciliate his good will. All this was, however, ascribed

A. D. 871. to some motive of weakness, or pusillanimity, by Ameir Jahaun  
 A. D. 1466. Shah ; so that, after wasting the whole of the summer in inactivity,  
 Kholausset ul- the troops, on the setting in of the cold season, becoming impatient of  
 akhbaur. the severity of the weather, were permitted, after the formality of a  
 council of war, to return to their homes; and the monarch, with an  
 ordinary retinue of his principal officers and attendants, ventured to  
 continue on the spot for several days, indulging in every species of  
 irregularity and intemperance. His camp and that of Ozûn Hussun  
 were, in the mean time, only separated by an intervening narrow  
 ridge of hills, and the latter prince became early apprized of this dis-  
 graceful remissness on the part of his enemies. Having therefore pre-  
 viously ascertained their situation, by sending one of his spies to  
 explore their camp, under pretence of seeking for a stray horse, he  
 hastened at the head of two thousand of his troops to attack them.  
 Mirza Yûssuf, the son of Ameir Jahaun Shah, endeavored for a mo-  
 ment to make head against the assailants, but, being compelled to give  
 way at the very first onset, flew to acquaint his father with the ex-  
 tent of the danger to which he was exposed. Ameir Jahaun Shah  
 perceived no hope of safety but in immediate flight, to which he was  
 constrained to betake himself, before he could put on one of the most  
 indispensable articles of dress. Ozûn Hussun was, indeed, already in  
 the camp, and both the Mirzas Mahommedy and Yûssuf became his  
 prisoners, while many of the Tûrkomaun officers were cut to pieces  
 without mercy. Ameir Jahaun Shah was pursued, in the mean time,  
 by an ordinary trooper, attracted by the splendor of his habit and the  
 excellence of his horse; and being finally overtaken, his head was  
 instantly struck off by his pursuer, who now arrayed himself in the  
 habiliments of the fallen monarch, and fixing the head to the straps  
 of his saddle, thus returned towards the camp of his general. On his  
 way back, however, the head, by some means or other, slipped from its  
 fastening and was lost; but as the dress of Ameir Jahaun Shah was  
 too well remembered by many of the prisoners to pass unobserved,  
 his destroyer was sent for, a few days afterwards, by Ozûn Hussun,  
 and interrogated as to the means by which it came into his possession.  
 On this he faithfully related what had passed, and furnished such  
 exact information on the subject, that the head of the unfortunate

monarch was found without great difficulty, and immediately recognized by his unhappy sons; one of whom, Mirza Mahommedy, was then put to death, and Mirza Yûssuf, the other, was deprived of sight, by order of the conqueror. The ministers and principal officers, who conducted the government during the absence of Ameir Jahaun Shah, as soon as they became apprized of this catastrophe, hastened to place his eldest son, Mirza Hussun Ally, although here represented as an idiot from his cradle, on the throne of his father; and the gates of the treasury having been immediately thrown open by him, not less than one hundred and eighty thousand stipendiaries were shortly afterwards enrolled in his established pay. A memorial was at the same time dispatched to announce the victory of Ozûn Hussun; and to demand the immediate aid of Sûltan Abû Sâeid, and of the government of Khorassaun.

A. H. 871-872.  
A. D. 1466-1468.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

These events were accordingly made known to Sûltan Sâeid, while at Merû, as we have already stated, during the winter of the eight hundred and seventy-second of the hidjerah;\* and he determined immediately on undertaking the final reduction of Irák Ajem and Azerbâijaun. After dispatching some preliminary arrangements, of which it would be superfluous to enter into the detail, the Sûltan, in the early part of the month of Shabaun,† accordingly quitted Merû, at the head of a very powerful army; and, by the route of Jaum, Mûsh-hed, and Raudegaun, proceeded to Kalboush, on the frontier between Mazanderaun and Irák Ajem. At this station he remained for some time, to recreate himself; while several of his officers were employed to take possession of different towns in Fars and Irák, in which they appear in general to have been successful beyond expectation; and they accordingly conveyed to the treasury of their master, a very considerable supply from the revenues of the several countries thus secured to his authority.

From the period of his departure on the expedition, to that of his arrival at Kalboush, the ambassadors of Ozûn Hussun had repeatedly presented themselves in the camp of Sûltan Sâeid, with assurances of attachment on the part of their master; forcibly expostulating, at the same time, on the inconsistency of espousing the cause of the de-

\* Commencing 1st of August, 1467.

† Latter part of February, A. D. 1468.

A. H. 872.

A. D. 1468.

Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

scendants of Kàra Yûssuf, the ancient enemy of his race, against the grandson of Kàra Othmaun, the approved vassal and faithful ally of the immortal Teymûr. From Kalboush, after entertaining them very sumptuously, the Sûltan now dismissed these ambassadors with a magnificent tiara, baldric, and scimitar, together with a message for Ameir Hussun; apprizing him in effect, that when the Tcheghatàian army should have taken up its quarters in Azerbàijaun, and Ameir Hussun Beg should make his appearance in person in the presence of the Sûltan, such arrangements would be concluded between them, as might appear suitable to the circumstances of the moment. The Sûltan then conducted his troops to the territory of Rey; and here the information first reached him that the power of his ally, Mirza Hussun Ally the son of Ameir Jahaun Shah, had been already subverted; an event which appears to have been brought to pass under the following circumstances.

This prince had, it seems, taken a position with his army in the neighborhood of Marend, north of the city of Tebreiz, with the determination of giving battle to Ozûn Hussun; but, having been under the necessity of detaching a considerable part of his force in advance, under two of his Ameirs, of whose fidelity he harboured no suspicion, these two chiefs with the whole of their followers, notwithstanding, basely betrayed their trust, and went over to the enemy; and the report of this alarming desertion producing, as might have been expected, the utmost confusion in the camp of Mirza Hussun Ally, the troops in general infected by the example of their associates in advance, proceeded in large bodies to join the standard of Ozûn Hussun, while others made the best of their way to the army of Sûltan Sâeid. The latter, however, advanced shortly afterwards to Sûltaniah, and Ozûn Hussun withdrew on the intelligence to Kàrabaugh, on the other side of the Araxes; but before the Sûltan had yet advanced from the neighborhood of Sûltaniah, a dispatch was received from Ameir Mezeid, and the officers who had been sent on to Tebreiz, urging his immediate presence with the army, at that capital, as indispensably necessary to secure the final attainment of the objects of his expedition. A letter from Ozûn Hussun addressed to the chiefs at Tebreiz, accompanied this dispatch, the seal of which letter,

contrary to what was his practice on former occasions, being put to the face, or perhaps the head of the contents, instead of to the joining of the envelope. The purport of the letter was, however, in a tone of authority to require that the Tcheghatáian Ameirs would immediately withdraw from Tebreiz, the government of which he said that he had bestowed upon his son Agherlú Mahommed. In consequence of this information, Ameir Yússuf of Shirauz, was dispatched to take charge of Tebreiz ; the Sùltan, at the same time, advancing his head quarters to Miaunah—where he was joined, shortly afterwards, by the unfortunate Mirza Hussun Ally, his son Sùltan Ally, and his blind brother Yússuf, all of whom he received with equal compassion and generosity.

A. H. 872.  
A. D. 1468.  
Khoiauset-ul-  
akhbaur.

In these circumstances, another agent from Ozún Hussun appeared in the camp of the Sùltan, in the person of Yússuf Beg, the brother's son of that prince, whose reception was conducted with extraordinary pomp of arrangement ; the agent not being permitted to approach the person of the Sùltan, until he had placed himself seven and twenty times on his knees. Through the medium of the ministers of state, he was then allowed to represent on the part of his uncle, that for the period of almost a century, his family under every vicissitude had maintained an unshaken attachment for the house of Teymûr ; and that the same attachment still continued, and would ever continue unimpaired. That with respect to the two provinces of Farss and Irák Ajem, he had already freely ceded both to the Sùltan's government ; and that the province of Azerbàijaun was equally at the disposal of the agents of his authority. That the only indulgence he claimed, was to be permitted to remain in that region of reeds and rushes, until the severity of winter should have abated ; and the drifting snow should have been so far reduced in the roads and passes, as to enable him to withdraw altogether into the country of his ancestors. To this, the Sùltan persisted in replying as before, that when he should reach the proper place, he would take care that every thing should be arranged in a manner suitable to the claims and circumstances of all the parties concerned ; and, with this reply, he dispatched his cousin-german Mirza Mahmûd, in company with the just mentioned Yússuf Beg, to the presence of Ozún Hussun.

A. H. 873.  
A. D. 1468.  
Kholausset-ul  
akhbaur.

Affecting a state and ceremony corresponding with what he understood to have been observed, on the reception of his ambassador, by Sùltan Sâeid, Ozûn Hussun, on the arrival of Mirza Mahmûd, gave directions accordingly; so that on his introduction to the chamber of audience, Mirza Mahmûd found, seated on a throne of gold, Mirza Yadgaur Mahommed, the grandson of Mirza Baysungur, son of Shah Rokh, with Ozûn Hussun standing on the left hand of the throne, in an attitude of stern regard, and the whole of his generals, and principal officers, in glittering armour, placed in ranks on different sides. The Mirza, on his entrance, was directed by a nod from Ozûn Hussun, after repeated genuflexions, to address himself first of all to Yadgaur Mahommed; after which he was permitted to kiss the hand of Ozûn Hussun, to explain the object of his mission, and in a short time to depart with his answer.

Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

On the other hand, the Sùltan had been deliberating with his ministers, with regard to the place which should be chosen for the winter quarters of the army; and it had been determined to proceed immediately across the Araxes, to Kâraough, with the design of expelling Ozûn Hussun from that place, and there passing the approaching winter. For this purpose, the army was put in motion accordingly, leaving Tebreiz on the left hand, and taking the road to the right towards Ardebeil, which led more immediately towards Kâraough. When, however, the Sùltan had conducted his troops within seven farsangs, or about five and twenty miles, of his object, it was found advisable, in consequence of an unforeseen scarcity of provisions, to change the direction of the march towards Mahmûdabad; in order to cross the Aras, or Araxes, possibly lower down, and to come to an encampment in front of that town; and in the expectation of receiving abundant supplies from the prince of Shirvaun, whose ambassadors had been for some time in attendance upon the Sùltan. On their way to the Araxes, in prosecution of this new plan of operations, the march of the army lay, unfortunately, over some plains the herbage of which proved of a quality so noxious, that every animal that fed upon it, perished; and not a drop of drinkable water was to be discovered in any direction. They contrived, however, to reach their destination at last, in front of Mahmûdabad, although the circumstance does not appear to have



materially removed the now distressing scarcity; no less a sum than ten dinaurs,\* being given at this period for a maunn, or about seven pounds weight, of either wheat or barley. The greater part of the cattle had already perished, and hunger and famine soon levelled the distinctions of rich and poor. For some days, however, a supply of provisions continued to arrive along the river, from the territory of the prince of Shirvaun, the camp of Ozûn Hussun intersecting the shorter road; and his troops having, by this time, secured the approaches in every other direction so completely, that not a man could pass to the camp of the Sûltan, either from Khorassaun, Farss, or Irâk.

At this crisis, or a short time before, Moulana Shums-ud-dein Mahommed Muammai [enigmatist] the Suddur, had been dispatched, by Sûltan Sâeid, on some mission of importance to Shirauz, and this person had reached Isfahaun in safety; but, on his arrival in that city, he was prevented by the governor, on the part of Sûltan Sâeid, from proceeding any further towards Shirauz, information having been received that Seyud Ally Beg, the lieutenant of the province, had long since thrown off his allegiance to the authority of the Sûltan. Moulana Shums-ud-dein, considerably rejoiced at his escape, was returning to the camp of his master, under protection of a convoy of arms and stores from Khorassaun, when the whole were attacked and captured by the troops of Ozûn Hussun, employed to cut off the communication in that quarter. Shums-ud-dein was conducted, shortly afterwards, together with his fellow prisoners, to the presence of Ozûn Hussun, to whom he had already been favorably recommended, by Suddur-ud-dein, one of the lords of his court; and the same lord proceeding, on his introduction, to repeat what had been previously represented in his favor, Ozûn Hussun suddenly raising his head, said aloud "that so far from any thing fatal to apprehend from his resentment, it was not his intention to do him the slightest injury. On this, approaching with greater courage, Shums-ud-dein placed himself on his knees before the monarch, and was immediately directed to take his station at large, among the individuals admitted to his most intimate confidence.

It appears, that a communication across the Araxes with the camp

\* £4-11-8 at the lowest computation.

A. H. 873.  
A. D. 1468.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 873.  
 A. D. 1468.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

of the Sûltan, had been established by the prince of Shirvaun; and even lower down, towards the posts of Ozûn Hussun, at the distance of two farsangs, the Khorassaunians, and the subjects of the Shirvaun Shah, had hitherto continued to pass and repass without interruption. To destroy, or intercept this communication, a body of two hundred select cavalry had been privately detached, by Ozûn Hussun; but a Tûrkomaun officer, of the name of Khorouss Beg, on his way to join this detachment, being taken prisoner by a small party of the Khorassaunian troops, he was conducted immediately to the presence of the Sûltan; and the information extorted from this officer, led to the almost unavoidable capture of the greater part of the detachment, of which a considerable number were brought prisoners to the camp of the Sûltan. One night, not long afterwards, a body of the Tûrkomauns approaching the outskirts of the encampment, and giving a prodigious alarm by their frightful shouts and barbarous music, the shahzâdahs, and the whole of the generals, on their knees intreated that they might be allowed to attack the enemy, without effect; the Sûltan insisting that it was not advisable to engage the rebels in the dark. In the morning it was discovered, that the whole force of the enemy did not exceed fifteen hundred men, and the circumstance produced a great deal of unavailing regret among the Khorassaunian troops.

By this time, through the extreme scarcity of provender, and forage of every description, all that remained of the Sûltan's horses, were reduced to mere skeletons; and their riders were rendered incapable of any sort of exertion, much more so of replying to the bitter taunts of the enemy in the field of battle. Those of the Tûrkomauns, on the other hand, were in the highest condition, and they were perpetually exhibiting their skill and activity in front of the Sûltan's encampment, cutting to pieces all those who fell into their hands, of whatever nation, belonging to his army. To add to the misfortunes of the Khorassaunians, when they had continued for some time longer exposed to every species of privation, insult, and alarm, the prince of Shirvaun suddenly deserted their cause, and drew the whole of his boats, and river craft, to the opposite side of the Araxes; by which unlooked for measure, great numbers of the Sûltan's subjects were entirely cut off from their friends, and plundered of all their property.

What led to this alarming defection, is described to have been a communication from Ozûn Hussun to the Shirwaunian, to apprize him, that whatever expectations he might have formed on the subject, it was the design of the Tcheghatâians, in the event of success, to rob and plunder his country; and that it would be then too late to reflect upon the folly and rashness of his ill-assorted alliance. The message produced some unpleasant speculations in the mind of the Shirvaun Shah, and from that moment, from the friend, he became the determined enemy of the Sûltan. To such an extremity, at all events, from the monarch to the most obscure soldier, was the Khorassaunian army now reduced, by the total failure of supplies, that it was finally resolved to commence, without further delay, the retreat for Ardebeil.

The direction of their march led the troops, as it happened, through a marshy swamp full of pits and sloughs, over which, in order to secure a tolerable footing, they were reduced to the expedient of spreading their tents, blankets, and cloaks, for the space of half a farsang, by which means, with considerable difficulty, they, however, at last effected a passage, the Sûltan himself remaining on the spot until he saw that every individual of the army was safe over. Fortunately, the retreat of the Khorassaunians was so sudden, and possibly unexpected, as to have been unperceived by the enemy, otherwise their fate must have here found its consummation; as it was, the greater surviving part of their cattle was left to perish in the swamp, together with an immense quantity of baggage of every description. Having seen his troops extricated from this web of danger and perplexity, and conducted them to a convenient spot for encampment, the Sûltan dispatched some of his principal officers, with three thousand camels, and two hundred tomauns in specie, to bring a supply of grain and sheep from Guzzulniauje. On the twelfth day of Rudjub, of the eight hundred and seventy third of the hidjerah,\* Seyud Mûraud had been sent to the rear of the army, in order to give intelligence of the approach of the enemy; when, after he had proceeded to a short distance, that officer fell in with a body of four hundred Tûrkoman horse, under the command of a chief of the name of Ameir Beg, who immediately entered into a conversation with him, in the course of

\* 25th of January, 1469.

A. H. 873.  
A. D. 1469.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.



A. H. 873.  
 A. D. 1469.  
 Rouzut-us-  
 suffa.

which he demanded, since Sûltan Abû Sâeid had made the preposterous choice of war, with those who had been the unshaken friends, and peace, with those who had been the deadly enemies of his family, for the period of nearly a century, how much further he proposed to retire, before he should either have tried the issue of a fair conflict, or made some attempt to bring the matter to an accommodation; and he concluded by observing, that if the Sûltan possessed any regard for his own welfare, or for that of the people under his authority, it behoved him, before another day should have passed over his head, to depute a certain number of his principal officers, to meet an equal number on the part of Ameir Hussun Beg, [Assem Beius]; who was still, as he alleged, sincerely disposed to prove his attachment, and to terminate all their differences by a solid peace.

Instead, however, of attending to this apparently amicable proposal, Ameir Seyud Mezeid, with other Ameirs of distinction, went out the day following in the same direction; and finding the detachment of Tûrkomauns posted on the same spot as the day before, immediately attacked, and, as they were in force greatly inferior, dispersed them at the very first onset. Such as he had taken prisoners he then dispatched to the camp of the Sûltan, having determined to proceed himself in pursuit of the fugitives, without delay, contrary to the strenuous remonstrance of Seyud Arghûn, one of his associates; who distinctly forewarned him, that the Tûrkomans would doubtless be supported in their rear, and that, considering the reduced and meager state of his horses, if the obvious dictates of common prudence had any influence on his conduct, he would remain where he was, without advancing one step further. To this, however, he paid not the smallest attention; and the consequence proved such as might have been easily foreseen. When he had advanced but a short distance in pursuit of the Tûrkomans, Ozûn Hussun in person, at the head of two thousand horse in perfect array and the best condition, suddenly rushed from the place where he lay in ambuscade; and while they were in a state of heedless dispersion, fell furiously upon the detachment, of whom little less than five hundred, composed of Ameirs, and other young men of the first distinction, were immediately cut to pieces. Seyud Mezeid the commander, became a prisoner to the Tûrkomans;

and those who escaped both slaughter and captivity might, for the moment, have considered themselves fortunate to have been able to effect their retreat, in a condition however shattered and deplorable, to the camp of the Sûltan. The sons of Ameir Ally Shukker, who had also attended Seyud Mezeid on this ill-starred excursion, and were among those who returned in safety, however, declined entering the encampment, but made the best of their way, accompanied by Sûltan Ally the son of Mirza Hûsseyne, or rather Hussun Ally, prince of Azerbâijaun, towards Hamadaun; where, at a subsequent period, they put their companion to death. During this embarrassing and perilous crisis, Mirza Hussun Ally himself had, in the mean time, by desire of Sûltan Sâeid, remained in a state of inactivity at Tebreiz.

That crisis was, however, now rapidly hastening to its final disclosure, and the Sûltan was at last convinced of the expediency of entering upon some plan of accommodation, in which he conceived it would be requisite to employ the mediation of some individual, equally distinguished by respectability of birth and dignity of character; and his choice, on this trying occasion, fell upon Seyud Gheyauth-ud-dein, descended from Seyud Kowaum-ud-dein, the prince of Ammol and Saury frequently mentioned under the reign of Teymûr. This personage, who is described to have surpassed the most illustrious of his race, that lived at the same period, was accordingly directed to proceed to the camp of Ozûn Hussun, for thus we shall continue to call him, although Ameir Hussun Beg is the appellation by which he is usually distinguished by the oriental writers; and he was received with the most flattering respect, by the Tûrkoman monarch, who hastened to meet, and cordially embraced him, before the entrance of his pavilion, or tent of audience. He announced to him, however, at the same moment, that his resolution was taken, not to consent to an accommodation on any terms; and yet, that he should feel himself under considerable embarrassment in adhering to such a resolution, contrary to what might be indicated to him, through the medium of one whom he was disposed so highly to esteem. But, before they could enter further into the discussion, Ameir Seyud Ibrauhim of Koumm, accompanied by no less a personage than the Sûltan's own mother, presented himself in the camp of the Tûrkoman; and

A. H. 873.  
A. D 1469.  
Rouzut-us-  
suffa.

A. H. 873. almost at the same instant, appeared the *Seyud of Ardebeil*—doubtless Sheikh Heyder Ardebeily, who was married to Martha the daughter of Ozûn Hussun, the fruit of which marriage was Ismâeil the I. the first Persian monarch of the house of Seffy, who must therefore have been the grandson of Ozûn Hussun.\* The Seyud of Ardebeil had, it seems, been dispatched some time before, by Ozûn Hussun himself, on a pretended pacific mission to the camp of Abû Sâeid; and he now assured the Tûrkoman, that the troops of Khorassaun were already reduced to the utmost extremity of distress and despair; that they were hourly perishing of themselves, through hunger, disease, and famine; and that it would, therefore, be the height of folly and impolicy, to listen to any proposal of accommodation from their prince.

These arguments had their full weight in deciding the judgment of Ozûn Hussun; and accordingly, when the agents of Sûltan Sâeid, in explaining the objects of their mission, proceeded to state, that having so lately rejected every overture towards an accommodation on the part of Ameir Hussun, they were now come on the part of their master, to demand peace, on any terms that he might be disposed to grant them; their supplications had little force against the more convincing, and important information, conveyed through the Ardebeilian Seyud; and Ozûn Hussun, without further ceremony, announced to them, that the affairs of their master had now passed the crisis at which accommodation was attainable, since they were at this moment in a state of confusion beyond remedy; the Khorassaunian Ameirs having themselves condescended to declare, that the power of Sûltan Sâeid had reached its close, and that the sun of his glory was about to set forever. His attention seemed then directed to make certain friendly inquiries into the personal affairs of Seyud Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed; in the course of which, having given him to understand that he was not ignorant that Sûltan Sâeid had been under a promise to invest him with the government of Saury, which promise, when it was fairly in his power, he had omitted to fulfil; and calling to one of his secretaries, he immediately ordered him to draw out a patent for the government in question, and having executed it on the spot

\* Vide Knolles's History of the Turks.

with the necessary formalities, he delivered it into the hands of the Seyud. The agents of Abû Sâeid were then permitted to take their departure without further detention.

A. H. 873.  
A. D. 1469.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

But the mother of the Sûltan had scarcely re-entered the camp of her son, together with her conductors, when the Tûrkoman troops followed, with little to apprehend from the resistance of their adversaries; the Khorassaunian Ameirs having, in the mean time indeed, quitted their posts, and gone over to the camp of Ozûn Hussun; and the same day at noon, perceiving that all was lost, the Sûltan himself took to flight. He was, however, immediately pursued, by the two sons of Ozûn Hussun, by whom he was easily overtaken; and before midnight he was safely lodged in the camp of his enemy, under a guard from whom it would be no easy matter to effect his escape. At the expiration of two days, the captive monarch was sent for to the presence of Ozûn Hussun; who advanced to receive him, when he saw that he had approached within a short distance of the audience tent, and otherwise treated him with every mark of respect due to the exalted station, from which he had so suddenly fallen. When they had taken their seats in the assembly, Ozûn Hussun, in stating his various grievances, proceeded at some length to enumerate the many injuries which he had sustained, in return for the multiplied instances of zeal and attachment, uniformly exhibited in his conduct towards the Sûltan; to which the latter endeavored to reply, in such terms as appeared suitable to the occasion. And it would seem, that when these mutual explanations had taken place, after remanding his captive to safe custody, Ozûn Hussun, so far from entertaining any further design to his injury, actually intended to furnish the unfortunate monarch with an equipage suitable to his princely rank, and finally to restore him to liberty and his country.

But, on entering into consultation on the subject, with the principal ministers and Ameirs of his court, the whole strenuously united in remonstrating against the obvious impolicy, and even imbecility, after accumulating upon him every species of insult, distress, and injury, of reposing any confidence in the professions of that man, to whose forbearance so little could be trusted, when nothing had been done on their part to provoke his hostility. For it was absurd to conceive,

A. D. 873. that when restored to power, he would omit to apply it to the punishment and subversion of that state from which he had, however deservedly, experienced so many severe calamities. On this occasion, however, none were so forward to urge the immediate destruction of Abû Sâeid, as the agent of the prince of Shirwaun; because, on the same day, the unfortunate monarch had taken an opportunity of reminding this man, that Ozûn Hussun had never triumphed over the Tcheghataïan army, were it not for the perfidious desertion of the Shirwaunian, and the consequent failure of supplies. The agent was therefore persuaded, that if ever he regained his liberty, and in his turn triumphed over the power of his enemies, the Sûltan would convey the whole soil of Shirwaun, into Khorassaun, in the very feeding-bags of his horses.

A. D. 1469.  
Rouzut-us-suffa.

On the twenty-second of Rudjub, at all events, of the eight hundred and seventy-third of the hidjerah,\* the captive monarch was conducted to visit his kinsman, the Mirza Yadgaur Mahommed son of Sûltan Mahommed, recently mentioned; who on the approach of the Sûltan within a short distance of his tent, respectfully advanced to receive, and to all appearance, also most cordially embraced him. He then returned into his tent, and the Sûltan was stepping forward to follow, when the attendants suddenly interposed, and announced that he must remain where he was. The Sûltan now discovered that the crisis of his destiny was arrived; and seating himself down on the spot, with his face towards the Keblah of the temple of Mekkah, his thread of life was instantly dissevered by the executioners of human vengeance. We have been led to be thus circumstantial in describing the latter events of the reign of Sûltan Sâeid, which occupied altogether a period of eighteen years, because the subject became more material to our history from the consideration that he was the grandfather of the illustrious Sûltan Bâber, the celebrated founder of the Hindustauny branch of the house of Teymûr; of whom we are pledged to speak more at length before we come to the conclusion of these memoirs.

Kholausset ul-akhbaur.

The moment it became known that Sûltan Sâeid had consigned himself to the hazards of a precarious flight, the utmost consternation



took possession of the Khorassaunians; while the Turkomaunian soldiery, pouring into the royal quarters, immediately proceeded to indulge without restraint in all the excesses of robbery and pillage. But the royal tents and their appendages remained yet substantially untouched, when Ozûn Hussun in person fortunately arrived; and placing himself on horseback before the principal entrance, sternly called upon the troops to forbear from these acts of licentious outrage. Orders were then given to secure the treasure, and to station the necessary guards for the protection of the females of the family of the Sûltan. A mandate was promulgated at the same time, that the Ameirs of Khorassaun, with their military retainers, should immediately enrol themselves under the standard of Mirza Mahommed, and not a few readily conformed to this arrangement. Others dispersed in different directions to all parts of the country; and such of the principal officers and ministers of the household of the Sûltan, as became prisoners in the hands of the Tûrkomans, were generously set at large at the command of Ozûn Hussun; excepting only Meirek Abdurraheim the Suddur, chief judge, or perhaps metropolitan, who, because the Sûltan is alleged to have been actuated in his hostile designs towards Ameir Hussun, principally through his malignant counsels, was therefore condemned to be flayed alive, and his skin stuffed with straw, to be suspended by the side of the high road, exposed to the view of the troops as they passed to their respective destinations.

At the period of his death, there were, of the children of Sûltan Abû Sâeid, living eleven sons, as enumerated in the following list: Mirza Sûltan Ahmed; Mirza Sûltan Mahommed; Mirza Sûltan Mahimûd; Mirza Shah Rokh; Mirza Olûgh Beg; *Mirza Omar Sheikh*; Mirza Abû Bukker; Mirza Sûltan Mûraud; Mirza Sûltan Khaleil; Mirza Sûltan Walid, and Mirza Sûltan Omar. Of these, the Mirzas Sûltan Mahommed and Shah Rokh, became the prisoners of Ozûn Hussun, on the fatal discomfiture in Azerbâijaun, and were lodged in confinement in some of the castles, in the neighboring province of Irâk Ajem. At the expiration of a certain period, they were however, set at large, and lived for a long time in different parts of that country in extreme indigence; until the eight hundred and

A. H. 873.

A. D. 1469.

Kholausset-ul-  
akhtaur.

A. H. 873.  
A. D. 1469.  
*Kholanusset-ul-*  
*akhbaur.*

ninety-ninth of the hidjerah, when, on his way towards Khorassaun, Shah Rokh died at Saury in the province of Mazanderaun, his body being conveyed to Herât, where it was buried in the mansoleum of Gouhershaud Aga. Mirza Sûltan Mahommed was, however, supposed to be still living in the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah,\* the period at which the author of the *Kholanusset-ul-akhbaur* was about to close his history. Mirza Sûltan Mahmûd, the most discreet and virtuous, according to our author, of all the Sûltan's children, escaped the general catastrophe, and made his way good into Khorassaun; but, as the metropolis of Herât was by that time in the possession of Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne, he continued his retreat to Samarkand, in order to join his elder brother Sûltan Ahmed, who held the government of Transoxiana. He was received with great kindness and affection, and continued to live with his brother on terms of the happiest cordiality for some time; until, seduced by the counsels of ambition, he embraced the opportunity, while amusing himself in the neighborhood of Samarkand, under pretence of hunting, to withdraw into the territory of Hessaur, [shaudemaun], of the government of which, together with Buddukhshaun, Kondez, and Bakalaun, he contrived to put himself in possession; and to these, on the death of Mirza Sûltan Ahmed, in the eight hundred and ninety-ninth of the hidjerah,† he further added the government of Samarkand. He did not, however, long enjoy this acquisition of power, dying also in the month of Mohurrem, of the year nine hundred.‡

Mirza Sûltan Mahmûd left four sons, whose names were as follows: Mirza Sûltan Mûssâoud; Mirza Baysungur; Mirza Sûltan Ally; and Mirza Sûltan Weiss. Of these the former became, on the death of his father, prince of Hessaur, while Mirza Baysungur succeeded to the government of Samarkand; and hostilities ensuing between this latter prince and his brother Sûltan Ally, he took him prisoner, and directed that he should be deprived of sight. By some means or other, the Sûltan contrived, however, to sustain the operation without injury to his eyes, and escaped some time afterwards to Bokhâra. At that place Sûltan Ally had sufficient influence to raise an army with

\* Commencing 7th August, A. D. 1499. † Commencing 11th Octobsr, A. D. 1493.

‡ October 1494.

which he advanced to Samarkand ; his brother Baysungur unable to oppose him in the field, concealing himself among the inhabitants within the walls of that city. But a convenient opportunity offering, shortly afterwards, he effected his escape from thence to Kondez, where he claimed the protection of Ameir Khossrou Shah, one of those officers who had been brought up under his father's bounty ; leaving his brother Sùltan Ally in undisturbed possession of Samarkand, over which he still continued to exercise the sovereign authority, in the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah.

Mirza Baysungur, on the other hand, on his arrival at Kondez, was immediately invested with the royal dignity by Ameir Khossrou Shah ; and hostilities commenced, not long afterwards, under his authority to deprive his brother Sùltan Mùssâoud of the power which he had established over the government of Hessaur. The latter found it expedient to withdraw, from a contest to which he conceived his resources unequal, into Khorassaun, where he was most honorably received by Abùlghauzy Sùltan Hùsseyne ; who bestowed upon him the hand of one of his daughters, with every thing that could contribute to repair the losses which he might have sustained, in his unjust expulsion from his hereditary government. When he had resided for some time at Herât, tasting all the enjoyments of a splendid repose, Abùlghauzy, to crown the measure of his bounties, furnished him with a powerful army to re-conquer his government of Hessaur ; but, when he was arrived within a short distance of his destination, Sùltan Mùssâoud suffered himself to be persuaded, by repeated messages from Ameir Khossrou Shah, that that perfidious chief was entirely in his interests ; and being completely deceived by these insidious professions, he had the folly and imprudence, unaccompanied by his army, to proceed to Kondez, or Kondoz. And there, with a total disregard to the ties of gratitude and the obligations of public faith, he was instantly deprived of sight, and, accompanied by a slender escort, dismissed for Samarkand ; with the supposition that he would be permitted to spend the remainder of his days at that place, under the protection of his brother Sùltan Ally. Trusting, however, to the better tried humanity of Abùlghauzy Sùltan Hùsseyne, the unfortunate Mùssâoud determined on repairing once more to Herât ; where he

A. H. 873. ^

A. D 1469.

Kholansset-ul-  
akhbaur.

A. H. 873.  
A. D. 1469.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

finally arrived in safety, and continued still to reside under the protection of his benefactor, in the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah. Having thus rendered Sùltan Mùssàoud utterly incapable of any further views on the sovereign power, Ameir Khossrou Shah no longer delayed to carry into execution his perfidious plans against Mirza Baysungur, whom, with equal baseness and cruelty, he caused to be murdered a short time afterwards; and thus finally succeeded in establishing his authority, without a competitor, over the whole territory of Kondez, and Bakalaun, together with Buddukhshaun and Hessaur. Sùltan Weiss, the fourth of the sons of Mirza Sùltan Mahmùd, in the midst of these disturbances, escaped into Tùrkestaun; where he was still living among his maternal kindred, at the period to which the author of the Kholausset-ul-akhbaur had now brought his history.

To proceed with the remainder of the sons of Sùltan Abù Sàeid, Mirza Olugh Beg, the 5th in order, had, as it would appear, previous to the death of his father, been invested with the governments of Kabùl and Gheznein, and was still in undisputed possession at the period so often referred to, the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah.\* The Sùltan had also conferred the province of Buddukhshaun, upon Mirza Aba Bukker, the seventh of the illustrious brothers, whom our author considers as the most warlike of the whole; and he continued in the government of that country, long during the life of his father, and, through the exemplary kindness and generosity of Abùlghauzy Sùltan Hùsseyne, for some time subsequent to his death. But ultimately disregarding his obligations to that benevolent prince, and engaging in hostilities against his authority, he became, after many a severe and obstinate conflict, his prisoner; and his career was terminated by the hand of destiny, towards the latter part of the month of Rudjub, of the year eight hundred and eighty-four.† In the same paternal spirit, the province of Andejaun, or Eerghaunah, had been conferred by Sùltan Sàeid, upon *Mirza Omar Sheikh*; and he also continued to hold his authority over that country subsequent to the death of his father, until the month of Shabaun, of the eight hundred and ninety ninth of the hidjerah.‡ when he died in consequence of a fall from a pigeon house, as will be seen in another place. His son

\* A. D. 1490.

† October 1479.

‡ May 1494.

Mirza Bâber, immediately succeeded to the vacant authority, with the unanimous concurrence of the whole of the Ameirs, and principal natives of the country. With respect to Sùltan Mûraud, the eighth in order, in the above enumeration of the sons of Sùltan Sâeid, he had for several years administered the government of Kandahaur, and the neighboring territory of Gurrumseir, under the authority of his father; and when the province of Irâk Ajem had been added to the other extensive possessions of Sùltan Sâeid, he was proceeding, by his father's orders, into Kermaun; but receiving on his march, intelligence of the disastrous reverse in Azerbâijaun, he returned towards the Gurrumseir territory. Before he could again reach his destination, he was, however, compelled, through the hostile proceedings of Yùssuf Terkhan, to draw off into Khorassaun, where he also claimed the protection of Abûlghauzy Sùltan Hùsseyne. By that illustrious monarch, he was conveyed to the court of his elder brother Sùltan Ahmed, at Samarkand; but through some circumstance or other, perceiving little to hope for from the sympathies of fraternal affection, he embraced the earliest opportunity of returning into Khorassaun, where for a short time, he experienced afresh the most bountiful treatment from Abûlghauzy; although, for reasons which are not explained, during the month of Suffur, of the eight hundred and eightieth of the hidjerah,\* he was, together with some of his attendants, finally conveyed to the fortress of Neirahtou, and nothing further was ever heard of him.

Mirza Sùltan Khaleif, at the period of his father's disastrous fate, resided at Herât; and, after Abûlghauzy Sùltan Hùsseyne had succeeded in establishing his authority over Khorassaun, was, like others of the family, dispatched by that monarch into Transoxiana; where however, proceeding to excite sedition and revolt, he was early cut short in his designs, and put to death by one of the officers in the service of his brother Sùltan Ahmed. Mirza Sùltan Walid retired among the Ameirs of the tribe of Erlaut, where he remained to the day of his death. And, lastly, when the grandeur of the family seems to have perished with Sùltan Abû Sâeid in the defiles of Azerbâijaun, Mirza Sùltan Omar, the youngest of the brothers in this list, had his

A. H. 878.  
A. D. 1469.  
Kholasset-ul-  
akbâur.

\* June 1475.

A. H. 873.  
A. D. 1469.  
Kholusset-ul-  
akhbaur.

abode in the territory of Samarkand; but, long subsequent to that event, his brother Sûltan Ahmed, judging from certain suspicious appearances that he was hatching designs against his authority, took care to anticipate the execution, and to expel him from the country; after which, he joined his other brother Aba Bukker, with whom he was present when he experienced his defeat, in the neighborhood of Merû, from the troops of Abûlghauzy. From the scene of this discomfiture he made his way into the territory of Abiwerd and Nessa; but he there fell into the hands of some of those in the service of Abûlghauzy, by whom he was conducted immediately to Herât. From thence, after experiencing a confinement of some duration in the castle of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, he was, in the month of Rudjub, of the eight hundred and eighty third of the hidjerah,\* finally transferred to the fortress of Neirahtou; and of him also nothing further was ever known.

Of the early history of Sûltan Sauheb Keraun Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûseyne Bahauder Khaun, to the events of whose reign the narrative is now about to proceed, a sketch has already appeared in the former part of this chapter. It is here only necessary to remind the reader that he was the son of Mirza Baykera, the son of Omar Sheikh, and of course the great grandson of Teymûr. As soon as it became generally known that Sûltan Abû Sâeid was sinking under the combined pressure of famine, and the efforts of the Tûrkoman armies, Abûlghauzy quitted his retreat in Khaurezm for the last time, and again directed his march towards Khorassaun: Tauje-ud-dein Hussum Melky, and Ameir Bei-nezzeir, who had been left in charge of Herât, omitted no precaution, however, to place the walls and towers of that metropolis in a proper state of defence, the moment it was ascertained that he was actually encamped in the territory between Abiwerd and Nessa; while dispatches were forwarded without delay to Samarkand, to announce the approach of the enemy. In consequence of this intelligence, Mirza Sûltan Ahmed immediately left that capital, and crossed the Jeyhûn, at the head of a numerous army. In the mean time, reports of the final catastrophe in Azerbâijaun, were circulated in all quarters, on which Abûlghauzy put his troops

\* October 1478.

in motion directly for Heràt; and this circumstance was no sooner ascertained by Mirza Sùltan Ahmed than he returned without further delay towards Samarkand. His brother Sùltan Mahmùd, on the other hand, contrived to reach Heràt, on the second of Ramzaun, of the year eight hundred and seventy-three;\* but perceiving, after a residence of three or four days, that the people in all their classes and gradations directed their hopes towards the camp of Abùlghauzy, he very quietly divested himself of all further thoughts on the throne of Khorassaun; and attended by a certain Ameir Kùmber Ally made the best of his way for the territory beyond the Oxus—Ameir Sheikh Abù Sâeid entering shortly afterwards to take possession of the government of Heràt, on the part of Abùlghauzy. On the eighth of the same month of Ramzaun, the nobility and principal inhabitants of the town proceeded to meet their new sovereign, and, being introduced to his presence on the north side of the hill of the Bâoulygâh, were most favorably received. After bestowing the most distinguished marks of kindness on the men of letters, and members of the learned professions presented to him on the occasion, Abùlghauzy led his troops to encamp at the Takht, or shrine, of Hadjy Beg, in the neighborhood of the city. On Friday the tenth of Ramzaun,† the Khotbah, or public prayer, was recited in all the mosques through Heràt, in the name of Abùlghauzy; and on the same day, that monarch, after the performance of his devotions, entered the palace of the Baugh-e-zoghûn, or raven gardens, where he publickly seated himself on the throne of Khorassaun.

When he had, in due time, succeeded in completing the subjugation of the territory of Khorassaun, Ameir Sheikh Zauhed Tauromy was dispatched by Abùlghauzy to effect the reduction of Mazanderaun; which that officer finally accomplished, after killing Mirza Menutcheher, the elder brother of Sùltan Sâeid, who had made an attempt to secure the districts of Rustumdaur for himself, subsequent to the discomfiture in Azerbâijaun. Lest, however, he might be led to conceive that his prosperity was to continue unalloyed with the afflictions of humanity, Abulghauzy, in the early part of the eight hundred and seventy-fourth of the hidjerah, experienced a heavy

A. H. 873-74.  
A. D. 1469.  
Kholansset-ul-  
akhbaur.

\* 15th of March 1469.

† 23rd of March 1469.

A. H. 874. domestic calamity in the death of his mother, the princess Feyrouz-  
 A. D. 1469. zah Begum, who expired at Herât on the fourteenth day of Mohur-  
 holausset-ul-rem of that year.\*  
 akhbaur.

At that period when Ameir Jahaun Shah the Tûrkoman withdrew from Khorassaun, as we have already seen, in consequence of the treaty with Sûltan Sâeid, it appears that Mirza Yadgâr Mahommed, the son of Baysungur, son of Shah Rokh, by the advice of his aunt Pâyendâh Begum, under whose care he had received his education, rather than remain among his own relatives resolved to accompany the Tûrkoman chief into Azerbâijaun; and there, during the remainder of the life of Ameir Jahaun Shah, he continued to pass his days in the enjoyment of every thing that could contribute to his repose and happiness. On the death of that monarch he experienced also from his conqueror, Ameir Hussun Beg, or Ozûn Hussun, proofs of respect and honor, in no degree inferior; and when that monarch had consummated his victory over Sûltan Sâeid, one of his first objects was to place the son of Baysungur in a posture, with several of the Ameirs of the province at the head of a very powerful army, to undertake the invasion of Khorassaun. Mirza Yadgaur Mahommed proceeded accordingly, in all the pride of power, and confidence of success, to carry into execution the scheme of conquest laid open to him by his benefactor; and as his progress led him first into Mazanderaun, he appears to have expelled the lieutenant of Abûlghauzy from that province, without much difficulty.

The moment he became apprized of these hostilities, Abûlghauzy, on his part, sent off a respectable force under the Ameirs Wully Beg, and Abdulkhaulek, to oppose the attempts of the invader. Proceeding by the way of Neyshâpûr, these Ameirs advanced to Semelgaun, where they encamped for some days; being followed a short time afterwards, by a further division dispatched to their support, under Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, surnamed Mirza Ketchek—the little Mirza—the son of Mirza Sûltan Ahmed, son of Mirza Seyud Ahmed, son of Meiran Shah, and sister's son of Abûlghauzy. The whole when united then marched together, in quest of Mirza Yadgaur, who had, by this time, led his army through the defiles of Asterabad towards

\* 24th of July 1469.



the frontiers of Khorassaun. When, however, they reached the station of Shouraub, the troops of Abûlghauzy, in conformity with instructions recently transmitted by their sovereign, took post on the range of hills called the Kouh-Khorouss-Yellauky, where they appeared in sufficient strength and security to bid defiance to all attack; and Mirza Yadgaur, finding their position unassailable with any prospect of success, immediately drew off towards Estêrâein.

A. H. 874.  
A. D. 1469.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhsaur.

Having on the other hand, completed his arrangements, Abûlghauzy took his departure from Herât, on the fourth day of the former Rebbia, of the eight hundred and seventy fourth of the hidjerah; and in the ordinary succession of marches proceeded to Mûsh-hed. Here when the monarch, preparatory to the resumption of his march, gave orders that the astrologers should attend his presence, for the purpose of determining on the hour propitious for departure, his confidential minister *Ameir Ally Sheir*, the patron of our author, honestly stated that he did not conceive the presence of astrologers, or any research into the complexion of the hour, could be attended with any essential advantage; on the contrary, whether that hour was declared favorable, or otherwise, one thing was very certain, that the investigation would be productive of delay, when it was indispensably necessary that his march should be immediate, and as expeditious as possible. The argument appeared so conclusive to the prince, that he put his troops in motion, without a moment's further delay, in quest of the enemy. On information that Mirza Yadgaur was encamped at Tchenâweran, Mirza Ketchek also, with the troops under his orders, quitted the defensive position on Kouh Khorouss, and hastened to join the main body under Abûlghauzy; who, thus reinforced, immediately advanced towards the same station of Tchenâweran, where he drew up the whole of his army in order of battle, in the presence of his adversary. Mirza Yadgaur being, on his part, little disposed to decline the challenge, a most severe and obstinate conflict ensued; in which, at the very crisis when his army appeared on the verge of defeat, Abûlghauzy, sword in hand, bravely rushed upon the enemy, and, in one moment, fixed the fortune of the day in his own favor. The troops of Mirza Yadgaur then quitted the field in the

\* 10th of September 1469.

A. H. 874.     utmost confusion, immediately dispersing in every direction ; while  
 A. D. 1469.     the conqueror triumphantly took possession of the ground they had  
 Kholausset-ul-     abandoned, and remained encamped on the same spot at Tchenâweran  
 akhbaur.     for the space of fourteen days afterwards. At the expiration of that  
                   period, having conferred the government of Asterabad, upon Ameir  
                   Hussun the son of Sheikh Temûr, Abûlghauzy returned to Herât.

He had, however, not been many days at his capital, when intelligence from Damaghaun announced to him, that a large body of Tûrkomans, under some of his own relatives, had been dispatched by Ozûn Hussun, to the support of Mirza Yadgaur; and that encouraged by such a reinforcement, the latter had resumed his designs upon Khorassaun. The Ameirs Nausser-ud-dein Abdulkhaulek, and Sheikh Abû Sâeid, together with Peir Ally the Tûrkoman, were therefore again employed to oppose this fresh invasion; but, on further information that the enemy had already penetrated to the borders of Subbuzwaur and Neyshapûr, Abûlghauzy in person, hastened to the support of his generals, whom he accordingly joined in the luxuriant territory of Raudegaun. From thence he proceeded towards Subbuzwaur, at this juncture the head quarters of Mirza Yadgaur, and his army of Tûrkomans. Advised, however, of the approach of Abûlghauzy, Mirza Yadgaur withdrew in considerable haste towards Jaujerom, leaving Kauzy Beg, one of his officers, to make a stand in the castle of Subbuzwaur. But the banners of Abûlghauzy were no sooner displayed before that place, than the Khorassaunian troops were led to the assault, and the castle was carried at the first onset; the governor was taken prisoner, and ignominiously bound; and seventy Tûrkomans, who had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious, through their arrogant and oppressive behavior, were delivered over to the just vengeance of the inhabitants, by whom they were immediately put to death. Abûlghauzy then led his troops in pursuit of the enemy; of whom, soon after he had encamped at the station of Punjdenah, or the five gorges, a part of his army fell in with, and defeated a considerable detachment, probably the rear guard, with great loss, several officers of the first distinction, belonging to the troops of Mirza Yadgaur, being killed in the action.

Nevertheless, on advancing from the last mentioned station to

Jaujérom; a strange and unaccountable reverse took place in the fortune of Abúlghauzy; and an entire change in his proceedings was rendered immediately necessary, by an alarming defection among his troops, who went over in crowds to the enemy. Compelled to yield to the force of circumstances, it appears to have been considered as a matter of some consolation, that he should have been permitted to prosecute his march in safety to Mûsh-hed, and from thence to the Pûll-e-khautûn, or bridge of the princess, where he joined his heavy baggage. In the mean time, Abdullah Akhteb, whom he had left in charge of the government of Herât, contrived, by his arbitrary and oppressive exactions, to render himself so odious to the inhabitants, that they at last rose upon their oppressor; and shutting him up in the Khaunekah, or caravanserai, of the illustrious Shah Rokh, which he had chosen for his abode, compelled him there to secrete himself in an unknown corner of the building; after which, the tumult subsided of itself, and the inhabitants quietly returned to their occupations. This unwelcome intelligence reached Abúlghauzy, in his camp at the Pûll-e-khautûn; and it was immediately resolved to dispatch the favorite minister Ameir Ally Sheir, whose counsels and exertions were ever directed to the welfare of his fellow subjects, with letters from his master, to restore the confidence of the citizens of Herât, and to console them, under the sense of their wrongs, from the unauthorized proceedings of a tyrannical governor. Repairing to Herât, accordingly, Ally Sheir, in conformity with the instructions of his sovereign, devoted his utmost zeal and diligence to redress the inhabitants, and to protect them from further oppression; thus arresting the arm of violence from extending its inflictions, any more, to the injury of the weak and unfortunate. Having conveyed his heavy baggage and equipments on the way to Neirahtû, Abúlghauzy, also, returned shortly afterwards, and took up his abode in the Baugh-e-nuzzergah, or prospect gardens, in the neighborhood of the metropolis.

As might have been expected, before he had been many days at Herât, on this occasion, it was again announced to him, that Mirza Yadgaur Mahommed was arrived at Khaboushân, or perhaps Jenu-shaun, on his way to Mûsh-hed. Abúlghauzy therefore, at the head of such troops as he had been able to assemble, proceeded once more

A. H. 874 875.  
 A. D. 1469-1470.  
 Kholausset-ul-  
 akhbour.

towards that place. But, he had no sooner encamped on the plains of Meshertû, or Meshratû, than the spirit of disaffection broke out afresh among his troops, and sent them again in entire squadrons to join the enemy. In these circumstances, there seemed no other resource than, as on former occasions, to temporise with his misfortunes; and the Sûltan was compelled to postpone his design of giving battle, to some more favorable opportunity. He therefore conceived it expedient, in the first instance, to remove his camp to the foot of the Kullah Kouh, a range of hills in the neighborhood; and from thence, immediately afterwards, by the route of Tokouz-rebbaut, towards the fortress of Neirahtû. Arriving under the walls of that place, it was his intention to have made it, for some time at least, the asylum of the female part of his family; and for this purpose, a messenger was sent in with instructions to Ahmed Fouktehey, who had been entrusted with the command of this important post by Abûlghauzy's own appointment, to provide the necessary accommodation for their reception. To this, however, the faithless changeling replied, that if the Sûltan was disposed to enter with no more than one or two of his attendants, the gates should be freely thrown open to him—but not otherwise, [willa, filla]. From an answer so laconic, and so little consistent with the principle of duty, it was not difficult to discover that the contagion of disloyalty had extended itself to the garrison of Neirahtû; and it became therefore expedient to look for security to some other quarter, and to retire without delay towards the banks of the Mûrghaub. Here, while he was deliberating with no small perplexity as to the direction in which he should next bend his course, a messenger from Ameir Mûzuffur Berlas, the independent chief of Keysaur, or possibly Konsaur, presented himself to Abûlghauzy; and announced to him from his master, that a very respectable body of the tribe of Erlaut, established in that neighborhood, had expressed a wish for his presence among them, being desirous, as he alleged, to attach themselves to his standard, and to devote their lives to his service. Abûlghauzy most gladly availed himself of this seasonable invitation, and he proceeded, accordingly, without delay, towards Keysaur; where, on his arrival, he was cordially greeted by Ameir Mûzuffur, and other chiefs of the tribe, on all of whom he conferred such marks of his

favor as were proportionate to their respective qualities. From thence he proceeded further to the town of Meymenah, of which we possess no further information; but where, for the present, the narrative leaves him, awaiting the return of some crisis more favorable to his designs.

A. H. 874-875.  
A. D. 1469-1470.  
Kholassat-ul-  
akhbaur.

At that period at which Abûlghauzy quitted the plains of Meshertû, directing his march for the fortress of Neirahtû, Mirza Yadgaur was still encamped in the territory of Raudegaun; but, urged by the counsels of the Ameirs Feridoun Berlas, and Sûltan Ahmed Tchaurshûmbah, and some others, the princess Payendab Sûltan Begum hastened to enter Herât, which she thus succeeded, without opposition, in securing for her brother's son. On intelligence of this successful undertaking, on the part of his patroness, Mirza Yadgaur drew also towards the metropolis; but passing to the northward of the town, he thought it expedient to proceed without halting, in quest of the troops of Abûlghauzy, to the Mûrghaub. Having, however, over-run the whole of the country in that direction, apparently without resistance, he returned towards Herât; to the neighborhood of which he was now welcomed, by the general homage of all classes of the inhabitants. Selecting a day on which the moon was on its increase, he next proceeded to encamp on the plain of Kehdestaun; and on Monday the ninth of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and seventy fifth of the hidjerah,\* which was also a day of auspicious quadrature, he made his entry into the Baugh-e-zaughan, or raven gardens, the favorite royal residence in the suburbs of the metropolis. At the same time, desirous of evincing, without delay, his gratitude to the Tûrkoman chiefs in the service of Ozûn Hussun, to whose exertions he was so materially indebted for his recent success, and who had signified a wish to settle in the country, he hastened to distinguish them by all the marks of kindness and encouragement in his power to bestow, assigning to them the fairest dwellings, and the most pleasant situations in the neighborhood, for their abode.

The debt of gratitude thus far discharged, Mirza Yadgaur conceived he might now resign himself, without reserve, to his pleasures; and his time became henceforward devoted, almost exclusively, to the

\* 7th of July 1470.

A. H. 875.  
 A. D. 1470.  
 Kholausset ul-  
 akhbaur.

enjoyments of wine and music. Of this state of delirious indulgence, his tyrannical and licentious followers took the usual advantage of exercising every species of violence and injustice on the unfortunate subjects of his government; so that, unable to support the enormous exactions levied upon the hard-earned wages of industry, the whole body of artizans, and useful mechanics, betook themselves to the last alternative, of abandoning the country of their birth, and the tombs of their fathers. To add to the general distress, Súlтан Khaleil, one of the sons of Ozùn Hússun; with another body of Túrkomans, entered Khorassaun. and took up his quarters in the fertile territory of Raudegan, which he proceeded to overspread with every species of enormity and outrage; while his brother Zeneil, or Zeynel, extended the same enormities throughout the neighboring districts of the Kohestaun, where the Túrkomans are alleged to have suffered no vestige to remain, whereby to distinguish the right hand from the left. In short, the cruelty and injustice of the Túrkomans, throughout the whole of Khorassaun, rose to such a pitch at last as to touch the heavens, in the cries of the oppressed inhabitants calling with united zeal to the throne of God, for vengeance upon their oppressors. The supplications of the afflicted Khorassaunians were, on this occasion, more speedy in the attainment of their object, and their deliverance more sudden in its approach, than probably might have been looked for by the fondest expectation.

The tyranny and violence of the Túrkomans, and the total negligence, or criminal supineness of Mirza Yadgaur, had been repeatedly made the subject of complaint to Abúlghauzy, in his retreat at Meymenah; and the design of returning to Herât, for the purpose of relieving the people from their accumulated injuries, had very early presented itself to his contemplation. When he had, however, taken but a short time to reflect upon it, he ventured, in the privacy of his cabinet, to disclose the design to his faithful and confidential minister, Ameir Ally Sheir; who most cordially concurred in his views, urging, at the same time, the indispensable necessity of keeping them a profound secret; nay, strongly stating it as his opinion, that it would have been more discreet if the subject had still remained a secret, even to himself. The expediency of this service, he further maintained on a

consideration of the numerous desertions to Herât, which daily took place among the Sûltan's followers, who could not render a more acceptable piece of service in that quarter, than by communicating intelligence of such a design: since it might awaken the government of Mirza Yadgaur, to some degree of activity, and not impossibly produce the march of a body of troops, in order to dislodge them from their, at present, unmolested retreat. Abûlghauzy removed, shortly afterwards, from Meymenah to Almaul, or perhaps Aymaul, where he distributed armour to his troops; and continuing his march to Lungur Bouken, he there assembled a council of his Ameirs, and to them, for the first time, announced his design of advancing to Herât, which he had hitherto concealed from all but his faithful minister.\* The plan met with the entire approbation of the council, and it was unanimously determined to proceed without delay towards the metropolis of Khorassaun.

A. H. 875.  
A. D. 1470.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Passing near the residence of Bâba Khauki, a devout person of great celebrity at this particular period, the pious dervaish hastened to introduce himself to Abûlghauzy; to whom he presented a sheep, a Kôumatchei, and a collar, with the most flattering encouragements to proceed in his undertaking. Continuing his march, he was met on his way, shortly afterwards, by Shairum Kerâwul, one of his light horsemen, or videttes, whom he had previously dispatched to procure intelligence; and who now stated, that he had proceeded all the way to the entrance, or head, of the Kheyabaun quarter, in the suburbs of Herât, where he learned on inquiry among the people, that all in the city were entirely without advice of any thing that was passing in the country; and that Mirza Yadgaur continued to reside in the raven gardens, totally immersed in his intemperate indulgences—or, as the author expresses it, like the tulip and narcissus with the cup, or goblet, in perpetual circulation.

Thus apprized afresh of the stupid insensibility of Mirza Yadgaur and his Tûrkomans, Abûlghauzy hastened his march, at the head of eight hundred and fifty chosen soldiers, which composed the whole of his force on this occasion, and came to the hill range of

\* Mukurrub-ul huzrut-ul-Sûltauny—the inmate of the presence of his sovereign; Ameir Ally Sheir, so designated by our author, henceforward, from the familiar intercourse to which he was admitted by the prince.

A. H. 875.  
A. D. 1407  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

Tcheshmah-khubber-zouk, or perhaps kheyr-zouk. From this place, in concurrence with the advice of his officers, one of the chiefs of his party was sent forwards with instructions, if he found an opportunity, to break open the gate of the raven gardens; and, otherwise, to proceed as the suggestions of his own prudence might direct. He was immediately followed by the Ameirs Muzuffur Berlas, Sheikh Abû Sâeid, surnamed Jaun-der-miaun, Ibrauhim Berlas, and Der-vaish Ally Erlaut, at the head of about one hundred and fifty warriors; with orders, as soon as the gate should have been broke open, to dispatch a messenger with the intelligence, so as to meet the head quarters of Abûlghauzy, when he should have reached the fountain of Kerenfüll. In the mean time, Abûlghauzy with the remainder of his force proceeding very slowly in his march, instead of halting at the fountain of Kerenfüll, as had been originally intended, was encouraged, by the confidence of success, to move straight on through the Kheyabaun quarter, immediately to the point of attack—the raven gardens; and shortly afterwards, Yadgaur, his master of horse, came to announce from the advance, that one of the gates of the garden had been broke open. On this, inspired with fresh confidence, Abûlghauzy directed the Ameirs Mûbaurez-ud-dein Wully Beg, and Nausser-ud-dein Abdulkhaulek, to approach the palace of Jullaul-ud-dein Feyrouz Shah, now occupied by Ameir Ally Jullâeir; with orders to attack that minister if he exhibited any design of resistance. At the same time, Douletek the Ouzbek, with some of his tribe, was sent to cut off all egress by the gate near the mosque of the princess Gouhershaud; while Mirza Ketchek received orders to take post near the principal gate on another side. And lastly, the prince royal, Mirza Sûltan Ahmed, was employed to secure that which opened towards the mausoleum of Abûlwalid.

Abûlghauzy in person, at the head of eighty of his attendants, sword in hand, then entered the raven gardens, pushing forward at the instance of Ally Sheir, directly through towards the northern side of the gardens where, contrary to his expectations, he could not discover a single individual of the several Ameirs whom he had dispatched in advance. They had, indeed, in consequence of some unaccountable panic, all without exception, either betaken themselves



to some unseen corner, or concealed themselves behind the trees. Perceiving, however, a tent in the precincts of the old palace, Abûlghauzy directed some of his followers to enter, in the expectation that Mirza Yadgaur might be found within. The minister Ally Sheir then approached the tent, sending one of his attendants to explore; but to little purpose, as not a vestige of any person was to be there discovered, and of this, he returned to advise his master. They then proceeded together to the entrance of the palace; where Abûlghauzy now addressed himself to his attendants, calling upon them immediately to scale the wall. To this, however, he received no answer, neither did any one appear disposed to obey the order; the whole being withheld by some extraordinary impression of alarm which had overpowered their minds. When the Sûltan had, in this manner, urged his commands repeatedly in vain, Ameir Ally Sheir at last broke silence; and, after observing that he had hitherto abstained from obtruding his services, because he could not without permission, leave the presence of his master, proposed without further delay to ascend, and bring the rival prince a captive to his feet. Abûlghauzy acceded to the proposal, and Ally Sheir dismounting from his charger, and drawing his sword, immediately proceeded in the obscurity of a very dark night, and repeatedly missing his course, to explore his way to the top of the building.

In the mean time, a Feraush, or sweeper, of the name of Mehter Ismâeil, ran out of the garden, and returning with some lighted tapers, a number of the soldiers on different sides, succeeded in gaining the upper part of the palace; and, by one of these, a piaudah, or footman, of the name of Hadjy Ally, was the wretched Mirza Yadgaur now discovered, reclining on his ignoble couch of luxury and sloth. The soldier was met, leading his royal prisoner down one of the staircases, by one of the Ameirs dispatched by Abûlghauzy to the support of his minister; and the captive prince, being immediately taken charge of by this Ameir, was now conducted towards the foot of the stairs, by which Ally Sheir happened to be himself ascending; and in this manner, he was finally led along to the presence of Abûlghauzy. The Sûltan was, at first, sincerely disposed to spare the life of his vanquished and degraded rival; but his principal officers were

A. H. 875.  
A. D. 1470.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

A. H. 875.  
A. D. 1470.  
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akhbaur.

not to be otherwise appeased than by the death of the unfortunate Shahzadah, on whose destruction, as they alleged, depended their only security for existence. He was accordingly put to death on the spot; and this event appears to have taken place sometime in the month of Suffur, of the eight hundred and seventy-fifth of the hidjerah;\* the words Sheher-e-Suffur, exhibiting the number 875, being the date of his captivity and execution.

As soon as the catastrophe was announced to the chiefs of the Tûr-koman troops, some of whom were stationed in the new gardens, and others in the garden of Zobaidah, they decamped the very same night, and directed their course for Irâk. Several Khorassanian Ameirs, on the other hand, who had suffered themselves to be seduced from their allegiance, and who had gone over to Mirza Yadgaur, were, notwithstanding, now redeemed from the death they merited, through the friendly intercession of the Sûltan's ministers, and even advanced to some of the highest honors of the government; with the exception, however, of Ameir Ally Jullâeir, who had accepted of the office of prime minister, under Yadgaur, and who was therefore doomed to perish, the day following, by the hand of the executioner.

Having thus regained possession of his capital, *Abûlghauzy*, whose titles at length were, Sûltaun Sâheb Keran, *Abûlghauzy*, Sûltan Hûseyne Bahauder Khaun, proceeded to seat himself permanently on the throne of Khorassaun; which, according to our author who was a living witness to the truth of his assertion, he embellished with every virtue that could adorn, and with every qualification that could secure respect, stability, and lustre to, the royal authority. From the preceding pages of this narrative, it may be inferred that he continued to reign, with equal glory to himself, and happiness to his people, up to the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah; that is to say, for about thirty years subsequent to the period at which Khonde-meir, the author of the *Kholausset-ul-akhbaur*, here terminates his history. Like that author, as far as it can be rendered intelligible through the dazzling glare of metaphorical language, we shall conclude this chapter with the description which he has given of the favorite and celebrated city of Herât, as it stood at the close of the fifteenth, and the commencement of the sixteenth century, of the christian era.

\* August 1470.

† Commencing 7th of August 1499.

Dismissing then, as far as possible, the high flown panegyric of the historian, who has elevated the pinnacles of its stately structures to the heavens, has bestowed upon its inhabitants the palm of superior zeal and orthodoxy in the principles of the Korân, and filled it with men of genius in every branch of knowledge and art, far surpassing what is to be found in any other country on earth, we shall proceed to relate that, with respect to the name and origin of this celebrated city, there existed some variety of opinions, all of which have, however, been comprehended in a stanza of four lines, to the following substance: "Originally founded by Lohorausp, it was considerably augmented by Gushtausp, further enlarged by royal Bohmen, and finally completed by Alexander the Grecian." Although, in consequence of its possessing no other means of irrigation than what was derived from a single rivulet, it could boast but few gardens in the interior of its walls; yet, without, from the Gauzergâh, or suburb of the washermen, to the Teheshmah-mauhian, or fishing well, and from the Kereiah-baushtan, to the corn lands of Sauk-e-Selman, or market of Selman perhaps, a distance of nearly five farsangs, or about eighteen English miles, on one side, it exhibited a wide and rich expanse of fruit and flower gardens, and luxuriant plantations of various descriptions; and on another side, to the bridge of the boundary, or perhaps necklace—*Pâll-e-maulan*—a further space of two farsangs, or about eight miles, it was equally covered with inclosures of a similar description, and with charming villas, of unparalleled beauty and variety, almost contiguous to each other in endless succession. The whole surrounding territory was crowded, moreover, in all directions, with towns and villages, or otherwise laid out under tillage, to an extent so great, as scarcely to be brought within the compass of ordinary calculation. "Herât," in short exclaims the author, "is the eye—the lamp which gives light to all other cities." "Herât is the soul, of which this world is but the body; and if Kho-rassaun be the bosom of the world, Herât is allowed to be the heart." But, as all general praise of the beauty and loveliness of this admired metropolis, would furnish but a very indeterminate idea of the reality, it will be more satisfactory to accompany the author in his brief enumeration, and description, of the most remarkable public build-

A. H. 875-905.  
A. D. 1470-1500.  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

A. H. 875.905. ings, and of the various gardens which graced the vicinity, to the  
 A. D. 1407-1500. equal delight and recreation of the inhabitants.

Kholasset-ul-  
 akhbaur.

First, among the structures belonging to this noble city, and not the least worthy of admiration must be mentioned, the castle, or citadel, of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein, renowned for its impregnable strength and solidity; of which, the surrounding fosse is described to have been more unfathomable than the soul of the liberal man in his bounty, and the ramparts more lofty than to be spanned by the ordinary powers of the imagination.

Next was the great, or metropolitan mosque, than which, it is alleged, there never was erected by man, a more substantial, or a more beautiful pile. This structure was commenced towards the conclusion of his reign, by Gheyauth-ud-dein the son of Saum,\* of the dynasty of Ghour; but as he died before it could be finished, and his brother Sûltan Shahaub-ud-dein was prevented from continuing the work, through the hostility of the king of Khaurezm, the completion was reserved for his son, Sûltan Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahmûd. It stood untouched and unimpaired for some time, until, during the fearful irruption of *Jengueiz*, it partook in the general ruin of Khorassan; after which it was, however, rebuilt by Melek Gheyauth-ud-dein Guerret, and subsequent to the death of that prince, it was greatly beautified and embellished, by Melek Mûezz-ud-dein Hûseyne.† In the time of Shah Rokh it was also completely repaired, by his minister Jullaul-ud-dein Feyrouz Shah. But, latterly, during the reign of Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûseyne, the main arch of the sanctuary of this noble structure having given way, and the principal dome exhibiting, in consequence, on every side, the most alarming appearances, while the walls and columns [peilpayah, or elephant feet] were in general tottering to their fall; and other symptoms of dilapidation were daily accumulating upon the sacred floors, from the perpetual disruption of bricks from the roof, the minister-Ally Sheir, determined on giving it at once a thorough and substantial repair; and for that purpose he solicited the permission of his sovereign. This, there can be little doubt, was readily granted, and he accordingly

\* He died in the 599th of the hidjerah.

† Who died in the 771st of the hidjerah.

commenced the undertaking in the sacred month of Ramzaun, of the nine hundred and third of the hidjerah.\*

A. H. 875-875.  
A. D. 1460-1500,  
Kholausset-ul-  
akhbaur.

And first of all, the builders proceeded by his orders to lay open, or take down, the great dome, and back, or principal arch, of the Mek-sourah, or place set apart for the sanctuary, which already presented the most alarming fracture; after which, with the advice of the most skilful and experienced architects, he directed the whole to be re-constructed, on such principles of strength and durability, as nothing could surpass. On two sides of the sanctuary he added, moreover, two lofty galleries, and for that purpose, the great arch was finished with more than ordinary solidity. In the mean time, Ally Sheir generally attended in person, day after day, giving instructions to the workmen, frequently with his robe tucked up, and trowel in hand; at other times, when he saw the opportunity seasonable, encouraging them to exert themselves by presents of rich apparel, and other liberal donations. In short, such was the dispatch employed in carrying on the work under these encouragements, that what, on ordinary occasions would have required the period of three or four years to complete, was now accomplished in the short space of six months, notwithstanding the additional galleries, and that they were all from six to seven cubits higher than before: and it is something singular, that the number 904 being the year of the hidjerah in which these repairs were completed, should be contained in the letters which compose the sentence, *Mcr-emmet kerd*—he repaired.

Having thus substantially restored the shell of the fabric, Ally Sheir next devoted his attention to the decoration of the interior; in which the united arts of painting, sculpture, and mosaic, were so skilfully and successfully employed, and with such inimitable beauty and elegance of design, that in twelve months more, that was rendered complete, which under auspices less favorable, could scarcely have been produced in a period short of five years. All this was particularly exemplified in the finishing of the arches, and slender balustrades, or railing of the galleries;† which were exquisitely painted and inlaid,

\* May 1498.

† These were probably, intended for the women, and were most likely fronted with a screen of highly finished lattice work, elaborately netted and inlaid, to conceal them from the view of the men.

A. H. 875-905.  
 A. D. 1470-1500.  
 Kholausset ul-  
 akhbaur.

both in the Chinese and Mahomedan taste, and with a perfection that far surpassed any of the performances ever exhibited on structures of a similar description, on any preceding occasion. The vaulted ceiling of the dome exhibited a surface of the most clear and spotless white; and the screen of the galleries, composed of the purest white marble, appeared not less admirable for the exquisite delicacy and lightness, than for the real stability of the work. Moreover, to replace the ancient Mumbur, or pulpit, now crumbling to pieces and unfit for use, it was the minister's early care to employ his servants to procure a block of marble for the purpose, which, after considerable search, was at last found at Khowauf, and having been purchased at a handsome price from the owner, was brought safe to Herât; where, by the chissel of Shums-ud-dein, a most ingenious sculptor of that city, it was finally wrought into a pulpit of such inimitable beauty, as, according to our author, not to have been equalled since the sun commenced his course in the firmament, and the law of Mahomed to find votaries upon earth.

We are lastly informed, that this boasted fabric was surmounted by four hundred and eight domes, or cupolas, contained one hundred and thirty Rowauk, perhaps windows, or niches, for the admission of light and air, and was supported by four hundred and forty four Peilpayah, columns, or pillars, so called probably from their resemblance to the legs of the elephant. Its total length, within the walls, was two hundred and fifty four cubits;\* its breadth, one hundred and fifty cubits.† The length of the Sûffah, or elevated, or reclining place of the sanctuary, was sixty five cubits;‡ the breadth twenty cubits;§ and the span of the arch, twenty six cubits.||\* The length of the north Sûffah was twenty three cubits;\*\* the breadth fifteen cubits †† The length of the Sûffah on the east side was twenty eight cubits;‡‡ the breadth was fifteen cubits §§ The length of the south Sûffah, was twenty two cubits,||| the breadth thirteen cubits.\*\*\* The longest diameter of the dome over the mausoleum of the kings, was twenty four cubits,††† the shortest twenty three cubits.‡‡‡ And lastly the length

* 465 feet 8 inches, at 22 inches to the cubit.	† 275 feet.	‡ 119 feet 2 inches.
§ 36 feet 8 inches.	47 feet 8 inches.	** 39 feet 2 inches.
†† 51 feet 2 inches.	§§ 27 feet 6 inches.	40 feet 4 inches.
	††† 44 feet.	‡‡‡ 42 feet 2 inches.

\*\*\* 23 feet 10 inches.

of the principal, or common floor of the mosque, was one hundred and fourteen cubits,\* and the breadth eighty four cubits.† There were, moreover, to the fabric, six superb entrances that might, if it were not impiety, be compared with the eight gates of the celestial paradise; since nothing to be found through the seven climates of this nether earth, according to our author, could ever bear a comparison with them.

If, in the mean time, from this description, we have been able to derive any precise idea of the outline, the structure must have been of an oblong quadrangular shape, in length exceeding its breadth, in the proportion of about four fifths, standing, probably, north-west and south-east; so that, looking towards the sanctuary, the people would have their faces directed towards Mekkah. But as the author has altogether omitted to give the height, any conception we can form of its appearance must, after all, be very indeterminate, and imperfect.

We shall finally observe, that the whole was completed by wednesday the fourteenth of Shabaun, of the nine hundred and fifth of the hidjerah;‡ on which day, a noble entertainment was provided, at the expence of Ally Sheir, for the Imaum, or chief priest, the Kha-teib, or principal orator, the monitor, the reciters of the Korân, the treasurer, and others attached to the religious establishment of the Mosque, together with the master builders, and other principal artists employed on the work, the illustrious minister presiding in person at the repast; at the close of which, he presented to one hundred of the most distinguished individuals respectively, a robe of the richest fur, and other articles of dress, of the most admired and valuable materials.

But, as a further particular description of the various edifices devoted to the several purposes of public worship, charity, and instruction, within the city of Herât, would engage us in a very tedious, and perhaps irksome digression, we shall confine ourselves with the author, to the simple enumeration of such as were probably most worthy of notice, taking our departure from the great mosque above described.

2 The college of the Sùltan. 3 The Gheyauthiah college, erected by Melek Gheyauth-ud-dein Guerret. 4 The Khaunekah-jedeid,

\* 209 feet.

† 154 feet.

‡ 15th of March, A. D. 1500.

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or new caravanserâi, erected by Mûezz-ud-dein Guerret. 5. The academy of traditions, and hospital for the sick, erected by the princess Melkêt Aga, and eminently supported by the encouragement and liberality of Ameir Ally Sheir. 6. The college of Khoujah Melek the goldsmith. 7. The college of Nour Anwarullah. 8. The college of Kemmaul-ud-dein Hûsseyne. 9. The mosque over the tomb of Khoujah Mahommed Merghezi. 10. The Peishberrah college, founded by Moulana Jullaul Kâeiny. 11. The college of Khoujah Ismâeil Hessaury. 12. The college of Khoujah Afrein. 13. The college of Ameir Mahmûd. 14. The Gûmbez, Mozzaur, or mausoleum of Khoujah Mejeid-ud-dein Taulebah. 15. The college of the quarter of the infants. 16. The mosque of Abdullah Aumar, rebuilt by Mirza Allâ-ud-doulah. 17. The mausoleum of Beibi Setty, erected by Nizam-ud-dein Ahmed, the son of the minister Feyrouz Shah. 18. The Daur-us-seyaudah, or hotel of the Seyuds, one of those erected by Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne. Here food was daily distributed to the distressed and indigent of all classes of the people, and a public lecturer supported for their general instruction, on a liberal endowment from the sovereign. 19. The green college of Feyrouzabad. 20. The Gûmbez serr-e-mezaur, or mausoleum of Khoujah Turauzûdaur. 21. The mosque at the barrier of the Bazaur of Irâk, founded by Shah Melek—in ruins. 22. The Nizaumiah college, rebuilt and re-endowed by Ally Sheir, with two learned professors, or lecturers, supported for public instruction. 23. The college of Fesseiah, founded by Fesseiah-ud-dein Mahommed ul Nizaummy. 24. The college of Jullaul-ud-dein Kaussem Ferenkhoudy. 25. The Gûmbez mosque. 26. The mosque of the Chandler's quarter. 27. The Gûmbez serr-e-mezaur, or mausoleum of Khoujah Rokhbund. 28. The Khaunekah, or hotel, of the Peir of Herât. 29. The mosque of Yeksettoun, or of one column. 30. The Khaunekah of Melek Husseyne Guerret. 31. The mosque in the city garden. 32. The college and Khaunekah of Mirza Shah Rokh, both founded by the respectable monarch of that name in the early part of his government, and endowed with very productive tracts of land, and other abundant sources of support. The establishment provided also for a regular supply of food, every morning, to the poor and the stranger, whether



on their arrival or departure; and four learned men were employed, on liberal salaries, as professors or lecturers, to give instruction to the students in the college. 33. The college of the Püllbund, of aqueduct. 34. The *library* of Sûltan Âhmed Mirza; the only establishment of this description that appears among the whole.

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Having proceeded thus far in his enumeration, the author, discouraged perhaps at the almost endless succession to be found *within* the city, of buildings and establishments, devoted to the service of religion, charity, and public instruction, acknowledges himself unequal to the task of continuing his detail on that head any further; but claims the attention of the reader while he endeavours to furnish some account of similar structures, erected *without* the town and in the vicinity.

1. The mosque and Khaunekah of Sheikh Tchawesh, in the little market called by that name, and repaired during the reign of Abûlghauzy.
2. The college of Subbuz Berauman.
3. The mosque of Ameir Feyrouz Shah, rebuilt by Ameer Ally Sheir.
4. The hospital of Sûltan Abûlghauzy.
5. The lungur, or resting place of Sheikh Yaheya, rebuilt by Ally Sheir.
6. The hospital of the departed Shah Rokh.
7. The mausoleum of the Seyuds, erected by one of the Ameirs of the court of Abûlghauzy.
8. The college of the princess Melket Aga.
9. The mausoleum of Khoujah Tchehelguzzy, re-edified by Ameer Ally Sheir, with the addition of a lecturer's chair for public instruction, then respectably filled by a learned professor.
10. The mosque of the four roads, Tchahaursûy, named after Mirza Allâ-ud-doulah, but founded by Ally Sheir.
11. The mosque and Khaunekah, or Khounek, of Ameer Feyrouz Shah, erected at the same time, or rather contiguous to each other; and although the Khaunekah, or caravanserai, might have been defective in decoration, the college attached was finished with considerable elegance, and two learned doctors were then delivering instructions to the students, on salaries derived from the foundation.
12. The royal college of the princess Gouhershâud Begum, often mentioned in the preceding pages. It was equally admired for its extent and elegance, and the neatness and convenience of its accommodations; and it long continued to be the resort of multitudes of the people, more particularly on fridays.
- 13.

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The mosque of the same princess, which was possessed of sufficient attraction in point of design, and elegance of decoration and workmanship, but in loftiness, size, and solidity, surpassed most of the mosques of this metropolis. There were here moreover, four lecturers of distinguished eminence, employed in giving instruction, on salaries established by the benevolent foundress. 14 The mosque at the head of the bridge of Enjeil, erected by the distinguished minister Ally Sheir, not to be equalled in elegance of structure, or beauty of decoration. 15 Among the noblest buildings, however, in the vicinity of Heràt, are not to be omitted the college and Khaunekah, erected near the same spot, the bridge of Enjeil, by the architects of the royal household of Abûlghauzy; than which, according to our author, it would be impossible for human skill to produce any thing more beautiful in design, or elaborate in execution. From the varnished gilding on the walls the dawn of the morning derived its blushes, and the reflection of the lapis lazuli in-laying lent its azure tints to the vault of heaven. On the western wing of the same college, if we comprehend our author aright, the royal Abûlghauzy, amidst the glare of earthly grandeur not unmindful of the common lot of humanity, caused a splendid mausoleum to be erected for his own sepulture; the dome, and the walls, and other parts of which, exhibited in the utmost perfection, all that gold, and azure, and marble, could be made to display, by the most consummate skill in sculpture, painting, and architecture.\* The author adds that at the period at which he wrote, there were in the college and Khaunekah, together, no less than twenty professors, or lecturers, eminent for their learning and talents, supported for public instruction, on liberal endowments set apart for them, by the reigning Sùltan Abûlghauzy; that the individuals attached to the service of the Khaunekah, regularly attended to make a distribution of food every morning throughout the year; and that it was in this noble and charitable structure that Moulana Kemmaul-ud-dein Hùseyne Waezz, a celebrated and well known preacher of the time, delivered his admonitions once every

\* Those who may have had an opportunity of visiting the Tauje mèhel, in the neighborhood of Agra, even in its dilapidated state, can alone form an adequate judgment of the exquisite beauty sometimes displayed in these structures,

week, followed in his exhortations by the Sheikh, or presiding elder, of the foundation. 16. Another of the structures without the city indicated for the admiration of the stranger, was the great mosque erected by Ally Sheir, opposite to his own palace in the suburbs; of which the Sûffah, or platform, of the sanctuary, is described in particular, if it is not, indeed, a metaphorical excursion of the author's, to have been inlaid with gold and lapis lazuli; and it was distinguished, moreover, on the right and left, by two very lofty and highly decorated minarets, overlaid with porcelain of Kashaun, and elevating their slender pinnacles to the skies. At the north end was also a lodge, or cloister, for the extempore reciters of the Korân, the walls and ceilings of which were beautifully overlaid with gold and azure; and at the opposite extremity was a noble hospital for the sick, with a spacious reservoir of water in the centre, medical attendance always at hand, and an abundant supply of medicines of every kind for the relief of the afflicted. Adjoining, or at no great distance from the hospital, were the college and Khaunekah, called the Kholaussiah, and Ekhlaussiah respectively, also erected by the beneficent and noble minded Ally Sheir, and finished with the same admirable ingenuity in design, and skill in execution, displayed in all his other undertakings; and what must have rendered an abode here peculiarly pleasing and desirable, were the limpid streams of running water which were kept constantly flowing through the precincts. At this Khaunekah, there was also a daily distribution of food to the poor; and every year, not far short of two thousand vests, or tunics, of leather, or fur, and other materials, together with turbans, drawers, and sandals, were given for their use, at the expence of the same illustrious minister. Finally, there were seven lecturers, of distinguished learning, constantly employed either in the college, or Khounekah, in delivering instructions, particularly on subjects of religion and Theology; the advantages derived from which may be sufficiently estimated from the circumstance, that during the short period which had elapsed since the foundation, many thousands who had repaired thither from different parts of the world for the purposes of study, were already enabled to return to their respective countries, eminently qualified in every branch of knowledge; and many individuals, natives of the city, who

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received their education here, afterwards filled the professional chairs in this college, with the highest reputation for learning and talents.

17. Next claimed the attention of the stranger, the college of Badeia, erected by the heir apparent to the throne of Khorassaun, Abûl Fut-tah Sûltan Badeia-uz-zemaun, scarcely inferior to any other similar structure, either in magnitude, or beauty of architecture. At the period at which the author wrote this part of his history, the lecturer's, or professor's chair of this college, was filled by Suddur-ud-dein Youness, whose instructions were uniformly attended by a crowded resort of students.

18. The Hezeirah, or close, or perhaps cloister, of the princess Beiby Mohebb, remarkable for its beautiful decorations in porcelain of Kashaun; and here also was an eminent lecturer, numerously attended from all parts of the city.

19. The Hezeirah of Ameir Sûltan Ahmed Tchougantchei, [the horse-goff player], opposite to the edifice last mentioned, and by no means deficient in beauty and elegance of decoration.

20. The mausoleum of Imaum Fakher-ud-dein Rauzy, a spacious and elegant structure much resorted to, on account of its healthy and beautiful situation.

21. The college of the four minarets, founded by the princess Khaunum Begum, and distinguished for its variegated and multiplied embellishments; as well as for the lectures there delivered at this period, by Moulana Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed, an eminent physician of Herât, who enjoyed a liberal salary, from the funds provided for its support.

22. The Hezeirah\* of the princess Feyrouzah Sûltan Begum, delightfully situated in the Kheyabaun quarter, or quarter of the tent-makers, and, in beauty and extent, far surpassing any similar structure in that part of the suburbs. Khaujâh Parsâ, and the Seyud Ameir Abdul-lûtteif, known by the appellation of Ameir Kouftgueir, or Kouftigueir, the patient, here discharged the function of lecturers, with liberal salaries on the foundation; and here also, a distribution of food to the poor took place every morning throughout the year.

23. The college of Ameir Ferman Sheikh was not deficient in conveniences, and supported one lecturer for public instruction.

24. The college of Ameir Tchekmauk of Damascus, on the other hand, possessed an

\* I have not been able to determine whether this was not a convent, or perhaps almshouse; at all events, it appears to have been an inclosure for charitable purposes.

ample share of beauty and decoration, and also supported one eminent lecturer for instruction. 25. The Khaunekah, and Jumâyêt-khau-nah, or convent, at the mausoleum, or over the grave, of Shums-ud-dein Mahommed Uttebaudgauny, erected by Ally Sheir, and, like others of a similar description, remarkable for neatness and convenience. 26. The college of Sûltan Aga, abounding in every convenience, with one public lecturer. 27. The green Khaunekah, or perhaps the Khaunekah, or Karavanserâi, at the head of the tent-makers quarter, erected by Melek Hûseyne, of the dynasty of Guerret. 28. The Khaunekah of Sûltan Khowautûn, hard by the last mentioned. 29. The college and Khaunekah of Ameir Allâ-ud-dein Alleikah Koukeltaush, noticed as a structure of great extent and solidity, with two lecturers supported on liberal salaries. 30. The mosque of Beibyatchah Mûnedjemah, much frequented on fridays. 31. The Fennayah, one of the structures erected by Ally Sheir, but of which the object is unexplained. 32. The mausoleum of Mukhdoum the divine, [Hukkâ-eik punnah], a celebrated Peir of Herât, also erected under the patronage of the munificent Ally Sheir; and a pleasing retreat on account of the very delightful shrubberies, and flower gardens, with which it was surrounded. 33. The mausoleum of Sheikh Zeyne-ud-dein ul Khowaufi, erected by Khoujah Gheyauth-ud-dein Peir Ahmed of Khowauf. 34. The Aywaun, arch, portico, or perhaps peristyle, of the Eidgâh, or place of festival at Herât, was among the memorials of his power left by the late Sûltan Abû Sâeid. 35. The Hezeirah of Sheikh Behâ-ud-dein Omar, a highly venerated spot, distinguished by a lofty superstructure. 36. The building on the Tcheshmah mauhian, or fish spring; one of those erected by Ally Sheir. 37. Tokkouz-rebbaut, a Karavanserâi, or hotel, for the reception of travellers, also erected by the munificence of Ally Sheir, and remarkable for the extent and neatness of its accommodations. 38. The rebbaut, quadrangle, or Karavanserâi, at the head of the Kheyabaun, or quarter of the tent-makers, another monument of the benevolence, and public spirit, of Ally Sheir. 39. The Hezeirah of Sûltan Ahmed Mirza, no less admired for the salubriousness of its situation, than for its lofty and spacious buildings. The lecturer's chair of this endowment was filled, at the period under consideration, by Moulana

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Shums-ud-dein Mahommed, son of Seyf-ud-dein. 40. The Khaunekah, at the mausoleum of Khaujah Abdullah Ansaur; a structure equally venerated for the sanctity of the spot, and admired for its elegance, as well as for the beauty and salubriousness of the situation. Here was ample provision of food always ready for distribution, not only to the poor, but to those of all classes that might be disposed to partake, furnished entirely at the expence of the funds of this very noble and hospitable establishment. In the nine hundred and fourth of the hidjerah, the minister Ally Sheir himself, did not disdain to accept the office of sweeper round the tomb of the friend of his prophet; on which occasion he nominated the learned Moulana Shums-ud-dein Mahommed the Berdaite, from the Ekhlaussiah college, where he had borne away the prize of pre-eminence from all his fellow students, to fill the chair of lecturer, and he appointed, moreover, several reciters of the Korân, selected for the melodiousness of their voices, to be continually employed in chanting the sections of the sacred volume, under the cloisters of this venerated structure, together with a Khateib, or orator, and Mûezzin to give the call to prayer, neither of which had hitherto been provided for by the institution: and of all these latter, the expence was defrayed from his own private fortune.

41. Niaummutabad, the abode of abundance, an endowment erected by Sûltan Abûlghauzy, of which the object is not explained, any further than that it fully corresponded with its appellation. 42. The mausoleum of that eminent Sheikh, Khaujah Ally Mouffek, a highly venerated structure. 43. The college of Ameir Gheyauth Bukhshy, erected during the reign of Abûlghauzy. 44. The college of Seyud Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed ul Hûsseyne was not deficient in beauty, and it was, at the period under consideration, supported and kept in repair by the sons of the founder. 45. The mosque near the Pûll-e-kard, or bridge of the dirk, erected by Ally Sheir. 46. The Gûmbez, or dome, of Ameir Mahommed Sûltan Shah, not by any means defective in point of decoration, or ornamental architecture. 47. The mosque by the bridge of Dilferauz, or perhaps Dilkurraur, another of the structures for which the metropolis was indebted to the munificence of Ally Sheir. 48. The rebbaut, quadrangle, or Karavanserâi, at the head of the Koutchah allaumut, or street of the standard, per-

haps of the miracle, also erected by Ally Sheir. 49. The Khaunekah of the Zeiauretghah, or place of visitation, erected by the same beneficent minister. 50. The mosque of the Zeiauretghah, among those founded by Abûlghauzy. 51. The mausoleum, or monument, over the grave of Ameir Abdulwauhed the son of Mosslem, erected by Ally Sheir. 52. The mosque of Khaujah Afzel-ud-dein, distinguished for its neatness, and elegance of decoration. 53. The college of Khaujah Pâbouss, a lofty and spacious structure. 54. The college of Moulana Lûtfullah Suddur, a very pleasing structure. 55. The mausoleum of the solitary Peir Khaujah Abûlwulleid Ahmed, also included among the numerous edifices erected by the munificent Ally Sheir. It was a place of great resort on wednesdays; the resident Sheikh, or elder, and those attached to the service of the sepulchre, attending, with charitable assiduity, to the entertainment of all who presented themselves, whether on arrival or departure. Contiguous to this edifice, an extensive Jummayût khaunah, or convent, was built by Khaujah Nizam-ul-mûlk the Khowaufite, a person brought up under the protection of Ally Sheir, but for some circumstance of disloyalty or misconduct, punished with the displeasure of Sûltan Abûlghauzy; and lastly, a very spacious and convenient rebbaut, for the accommodation of travellers, was erected in the same vicinity by the servants of Ally Sheir, and was usually frequented by a numerous resort of strangers from all parts of the East.

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But, as this sketch would be incomplete without devoting our attention to some of the numerous gardens which embellished the vicinity, and administered to the delight of the inhabitants, of this celebrated metropolis, the author proceeds to relate, that although, on obtaining possession, he found the place abundantly accommodated in this respect, Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûseyne very early evinced his determination to add, most extensively, to the sources of rural recreation already enjoyed by his people. For the noblest of his gardens he selected, however, a situation to the north-east of the town, equally happy for its pure air, and the delicious salubrity of the water in the neighborhood; and here, on this chosen spot, for a period of nearly twenty years, he employed the most skilful architects, and the most ingenious mechanics, in every branch of decoration, in producing a complete assemblage

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of all that was admirable in the invention, and beautiful in the execution; nay, from the very dawn of his power to the moment at which the author was composing this part of his relation, a period of not less than two and thirty years, no expence, nor exertion of skill, was omitted to render it, what, it is alleged without a question, it became, unparalleled for beauty on the surface of this globe. It would, at the same time, have been more satisfactory, if the author had enabled us to form some distinct conception of the component parts of this terrestrial paradise; although some faint idea of the picture may yet be derived from his statement, that, like the flower-enamelled retreats of elysium, its heart expanding area exhibited one entire carpet of roses, and of every description of flower and fragrant shrub; that the soul refreshing air which breathed through every avenue, like the zephyr breeze of the loveliest month of spring, possessed the influence of assuaging the sorrows of the most afflicted; that the azure realms of ether faded in the comparison with the charming tints of its ever verdant pastures; and that the fountain of the water of life itself produced nothing to be compared with the lovely translucent streams which either shot in brilliant showers to the sky, or wandered in velvet bordered rills through every part of this enchanting scene. To crown the whole, it was adorned in every direction by so many superb and lofty pavilions, magnificent porticos, or corridores, airy and elegant balconies, and other varieties of ornamental architecture of equal taste and beauty, that the powers of description must necessarily fail in the recital: and, that the name might in some measure correspond with the reality, it was called the Baugh-e-jahaunarai—the garden which is the ornament—the jewel of this nether world.

But, although this was the principal, it was not the only instance in which the taste of the royal Abûlghauzy was exerted in this way for the embellishment of his capital. The author enumerates four more gardens, of which, however remarkable for the magnificent pavilions, and other beautiful structures contained in them, similar to those already mentioned, he very prudently confesses, that this abridgement affords but little room for the description. Yet he would have been unjust to the memory of his munificent patron, the illustrious Ally Sheir, had he omitted to record that he followed closely in the steps



of his sovereign, whose example he imitated in this taste for elegant décoration. So far back as the commencement of his master's reign, part of his attention had been engaged in forming and embellishing what was called the Baugh-e-mergheny, a garden which, for thirty years afterwards, continued to flourish in the highest perfection, under his fostering care, equally admired for the rarity and beautiful variety of its trees, plants, and flowers, and for the elegance of the pavilions, and other fairy structures, which met the eye of the spectator in every direction. Several others are mentioned of equal beauty, although of smaller compass, and among those the Baughtcheh Kauzergah, or little garden of the bleaching grounds; which, for the salubrity of the air and purity of its waters, surpassed every thing of the kind, in Khorassaun, and perhaps in the whole world; it being situated on the unenclosed heath of the Kauzergah, and the stream of the Jâi Sâltauny, or royal canal, passing through the middle of the gardens, previous to its being diverted through any other inclosure. Neither were the other nobles of the court of Abûlghauzy, less forward in this respect, in emulating the example of their sovereign, as the numerous villas, and other elegant retreats raised under their directions, would abundantly attest; although the fear of proving tedious deters us from mentioning them in detail. The author, therefore, closes this article with the enumeration of a few of those places of a similar description, which were to be found in the neighborhood of Herât, prior to the accession of Abûlghauzy.

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1. The Baugh-e-nuzzergah, or prospect garden. 2. The Baugh-e-mokhtaur, or garden of selection. 3. The Baugh-e-kerenfil, or garden of juliflowers. 4. The Baugh-e-kheyabaun, in the quarter so called, the work of Mirza Allâ-ud-doulah. 5. The Baugh-e-zaughan, or zoghùn, or raven gardens, so often mentioned in these pages, and the favorite residence of that respectable monarch Shah Rokh. At the period under consideration also, on any occasion of public festivity, it was the place chosen for his presence by Abûlghauzy; and for that purpose usually covered with temporary colonnades and pavilions. 6. The Baugh-e-nou, or new garden, belonging to the prince royal Sûltan Badeia-uz-zemaun Mirza. 7. Baugh-e-zobaidah, the garden of Zobaidah, among the memorials of his taste left by Mirza

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Mahommed Jouky the son of Shah Rokh. In this there stood a palace, to which, at one time, in point of variegated and elaborate decoration, there were in Khorassaun but few parallels. But, even at the period at which our author wrote, it was in a state of dilapidation. 8. The Aukserâi, or garden of the white palace, ascribed to the late Sûltan Abû Sâeid. 9. The Baugh-e-seffeid, or white garden, than which, according to our author, there existed not under the azure vault of heaven, a sweeter, or more lovely spot. This was one among the many embellishments indebted for their creation, to the magnificent taste of the departed Khaugan, the illustrious Shah Rokh; and for many years the successive residence of the Mirzas Baysungur, Allâ-ud-doulah, and Sûltan Abû Sâeid.\*

\* At the head of the men of genius and letters, who flourished in the court of Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûseyne, was Nûr-ud-dein Abdurrahman ul *Jaumy*, the author of the *Yûssuf Zuleikha*, *Showauhed-ûn-Nebbowut*, *Noffahaut-ul-uns*, and many other admired productions. He was patronized by the munificent Ally Sheir; died on the 17th of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and ninety-eighth of the hidjerah; [7th of November, 1492], and was buried close by the tomb of Moulana Saud-ud-dein of Kashghâr, at Herât. Neither can we omit to insert in substance, as far as can be included within the limits of a note, the author's cursory sketch of the life of his father, *Meir* or *Ameirkhond*; the laborious compiler of the *Rouzut-us-suffâ*, so largely drawn upon in framing the superstructure of these pages. Of him, then, he states that having devoted the early part of life, to acquire all that was to be attained in the sciences of the East, in which he soon outstripped the whole of his contemporaries, he applied himself with equal diligence and success to the study of history, and of the records of past events. Through the seductions of a convivial disposition, however, and too unrestrained an intercourse with the votaries of pleasure, it never occurred to him to engage either in the labours of composition, or in any settled charge of public instruction; until, by the goodness of providence and the influence of his better destiny, he found means to be introduced to the excellent Ally Sheir, from whom he immediately experienced every mark of kindness and encouragement. Not long subsequent to this introduction, a set of apartments in the Khaunekah Kholaussiah, an establishment to which we have recently referred, and in which he had occasionally taken up his abode in person, was assigned, by the same munificent minister, to his learned and ingenious friend. And here it was that he proceeded to compose his elaborate work of the *Rouzut-us-suffâ*. By dint of application and unwearied diligence, he was enabled, in a short time, to bring the six volumes of his unequalled performance to a conclusion; the seventh remaining incomplete through failure of materials, or, what is more likely, the delicacy of engaging in a narrative of the passing events of the reign of Abûlghauzy; but this omission his son Khondemeir, in recording the circumstance, pledged himself, at a future period to supply, provided heaven were propitious to his hopes, and the requisite materials attainable. In the mean

time, during the prosecution of his labours, and long afterwards, Ameirkhond continued to experience from the bounty of Ally Sheir, the most liberal encouragement, and the most friendly support; and when the tedious uniformity of a laborious task had at length produced considerable abatement in the ardour of composition, that excellent minister did not disdain to employ the stimulus of facetious discourse, and even of raillery, to excite and animate his exertions. Evincing, however, towards the decline of life, a disposition to retire from the world, Ameirkhond withdrew to a secluded spot in the Kauzergah, or bleaching grounds; where, for the space of a twelve-month, he devoted himself entirely to a pious preparation for the endless felicity, the imperishable rewards, of a future state. In these circumstances being attacked by a painful disorder in the loins, he was compelled, during the month of Ramzaan, of the 902d of the hidjerah, [May 1497], to return to the city; there, his complaint growing daily worse, after a lingering illness, he finally expired on the 2d of Zilkaudah, of the year 903, corresponding with the 21st of June, A. D. 1498.

## CHAP. XII.

A. H. 810-873.  
 A. D. 1408-1469.  
 Abû Fazzel-  
 Nâmah.

**I**N order to preserve the chain of historical evidence unbroken, it may be expedient to recur to the period at which Meiran Shah, in the eight hundred and tenth of the hidjerah, perished by the hands of the Tûrkomans, in the neighborhood of Tebreiz. He had eight sons; of whom the sixth, in order of birth, was Sûltan Mahommed Mirza, who is stated to have resided in general at Samarkand, with his brother Sûltan Khaleil, until the latter, as we have already seen, was compelled to withdraw into Irâk Ajem. And, when Olûgh Beg became invested with the government of Samarkand, the same Sûltan Mahommed was recommended to his protection in the most favorable terms, by the illustrious Shah Rokh; who spoke of him as a person for whose talents and virtues he bore, from experience, the highest respect. He was, accordingly, on all occasions, treated by Olûgh Beg with particular and distinguished esteem. Sûltan Mahommed Mirza had two sons—Abû Sâeid Mirza, of whom we have already spoken at considerable length, and Menûtcheher Mirza. The former of these, on his death bed, he recommended to Olûgh Beg, in the strongest terms of paternal affection; in consequence of which, the young Sûltan enjoyed under the protection of that prince, every species of favor, encouragement, and indulgence, finally succeeding to some of the highest dignities under the authority of his protector. Of the manner in which, in vindication of his own claims to the sovereign power, he conceived himself justified in attacking the government of that prince, we have also spoken in a former chapter. It is here only necessary to remark, that when one of his courtiers, on some occasion or other, expressed to Olûgh Beg his admiration at the singular zeal, which his young kinsman seemed to exert in his service, he replied that it was not so much to serve him, as to acquire, by actual experience, the principles of political science, and the art of war, that the Sûltan evinced such

unwearied assiduity and application; and the event sufficiently proved, A. H. 810-875.  
 that Olûgh Beg was governed in his opinion by an attentive and judi- A. D. 1408-1469.  
 cious observation of facts. Abûl Fazzel.

Sûltan Abû Sâeid Mirza, was born in the eight hundred and thirtieth of the hidjerah; \* attained to the sovereign power at the age of five and twenty; and perished, as we have seen, about the twenty fifth of Rudjub, of the eight hundred and seventy third of the hidjerah, † at the instance of Yadgaur Mirza, the son of Sûltan Mahommed Mirza, the son of Baysungur Mirza, son of Shah Rokh, in the camp of Ozûn Hussun, and under the pretext of retaliation for the murder of Goubershaud Aga, the widow of Shah Rokh. He had reigned, with great glory and success, for a period of eighteen years; and the precise era of his death is contained in the Persian characters of the sentence, "Mûkuttel-e-Sûltan Abû Sâeid"—the place of slaughter of Sûltan Abû Sâeid.

*Omar Sheikh Mirza* is here represented as the fourth son of Sûltan Abû Sâeid; being, according to our author, posterior in birth to the Sûltans Ahmed Mirza, Mahommed Mirza, and Mahmûd Mirza, and prior to the Sûltans Mûraud Mirza, Walid Mirza, Olûgh Beg Mirza, Aba Bukker Mirza, Khaleil Mirza, and Shah Rokh Mirza. He was born at Samarkand, some time in the eight hundred and sixtieth of the hidjerah; ‡ and being originally destined, by his noble father, for the government of Kabûl, a certain Bâba Kâbulî was nominated his preceptor; but for some reason unexplained, this destination was suddenly changed, and the young prince appointed to preside over the provinces of Endejaun and Ouzkhund, with Teynûrtaush Beg, for his Ataleigh, governor, or preceptor. In consigning this important frontier government to him, whom he already considered as the most discreet and promising of his children, Abû Sâeid is alleged to have acted on the precedent furnished by the immortal Teymûr himself, who entrusted the same government to his son Omar Sheikh, in consideration of his consummate prudence, and long tried experience; for that renowned conqueror is said to have repeatedly declared, that he had subdued the world by the sword of Omar Sheikh, because, while

\* Commencing the 1st of November, A. D. 1426. † 7th of February, 1469.

‡ Commencing the 10th December, 1455.

A. H. 860-899. posted at Endejaun, that prince presented an impenetrable barrier  
 A. D. 1455-1494. between the dominions of his father, and the trackless wilds of Kep-  
 Abûl Fazzel. tchauk; the barbarous hordes of which, being deterred by the activity  
 and vigilance of the son from making any attempt on his frontier, the  
 father was thus enabled to extend his conquests over the richest  
 part of the habitable globe. The prince, of whom we are now speak-  
 ing, established on his part also such an admirable system of defence,  
 that no attempt of foreign force ever succeeded, during his govern-  
 ment, in making the slightest impression upon Ferghaunah; as was  
 sufficiently exemplified in the instance of Youness Khaun, who  
 found all his plans against that province equally impracticable and  
 unavailable.

Not less discreet in thought and speech, Omar Sheikh Mirza, the  
 subject of our present remark, is described as an enthusiastic admirer of  
 poetry; and to have in himself possessed no mean talent for versifica-  
 tion, although he could seldom be prevailed upon to give it publicity.  
 Much of his time was indeed devoted to the perusal of the poets and  
 historians of his country, and a day seldom passed in which some pas-  
 sages in the Shahnâmah were not recited in his presence. He was,  
 at the same time, of a temper extremely cheerful and convivial, fre-  
 quently repeating such of the most beautiful passages, in the works of  
 the ancient poets, as were applicable to the business of the moment.  
 All his actions bespoke, in an eminent degree, the noble spirit by which  
 he was animated; and his singular good fortune was sufficiently evinced  
 by the unclouded prosperity of his government. In the prudence,  
 justice, and paternal care, with which he superintended the affairs of  
 his people, we are told, in short, that no period past, or present, ever  
 produced his equal. Uniting courage with liberality, and limiting his  
 bounty only by his resources, he became, in truth, an ornament to  
 the throne on which he sat; and of his inviolable regard to the claims  
 of justice and humanity, the following circumstance is here related as  
 a very distinguished proof.

A caravan, or convoy of merchants, from Khatâi, having halted at  
 the close of their day's journey, among the mountains to the east-ward  
 of Endejaun, were suddenly overwhelmed by a prodigious fall of  
 snow; and the whole perished, with the exception only of two persons.

A report of the catastrophe, together with an account of the immense value of the effects thus placed at his disposal by an unforeseen calamity, was soon conveyed to the prince. Instead, however, of applying the whole to his own use, which, through the exigencies of his government, and the immemorial usages of the neighboring despotic states, he would have been fully warranted in doing, he immediately gave directions, that every article should be carefully brought together, and lodged in the care of those who were held responsible for the safe custody of all; until such time as those who could justly lay claim to the property made their appearance to demand it. All this was carried into execution with the most scrupulous exactness; so that at the expiration of the necessary period, the whole of the effects were restored to the legitimate proprietors, without the defalcation of a single article. We must, at the same time, observe that this circumstance so honorable to the memory, of either, is ascribed by colonel Dow, in his translation of Ferishtah, to the warlike and adventurous Bâber; but as Abûl Fazzel must have been pre-eminently informed with respect to all that concerned the illustrious family of which he was peculiarly the historian, we shall not, I trust, be blamed for giving to his authority the preference.\*

A. H. 860-890.  
A. D. 1455-1494.  
Abûl Fazzel.

Having succeeded to his father in the government of Endejaun, or Andejaun, which was, at this period, the chief town of Ferghaunah, the territories dependent on Taushkend, Shahrokhiah, and Seiraum, became, in the course of subsequent events, superadded to the possessions previously subject to the authority of Omar Sheikh; and he repeatedly led his troops to the gates of Samarkand, in support of those claims which had been by him formally announced to Youness Khaun, then sovereign of the dominions of Tcheghatâi, and of all the

\* I cannot in this place forbear to notice, that I have had frequent occasion to witness among the vulgar Mounshies, or teachers, in India, what at first I considered as a most unaccountable prejudice against this admirable historian; but I soon discovered the source. Abûl Fazzel was a friend to the oppressed Hindûs, and most probably suggested to his enlightened sovereign many a plan for their protection and relief. His attachment for his master was, at the same time, of a degree that bordered on adoration; and he constantly wore in his bosom, either his picture, or a small image of him. Hence, the bigoted Musulman has stigmatized both his master and himself, with the odious appellation of Bâtt-perest—Idolater.

A. H. 860-899. Moghúl tribes, to whom he was allied by marriage ; and, on which occasion, he received from that monarch some considerable accession of territory. He was also frequently engaged in different parts of Moghúlstaun, probably on the requisition of the same Youness Khaun, since it was during his last expedition, that he is described to have received from that monarch, a grant of the territory of Taushkënd ; which, together with that of Shahrokhiah, remained in possession of his family to the 908th of the hidjerah. When, however, the throne of Tcheghatâi descended to Mahmoud Khaun, the eldest son of Youness Khaun, the new sovereign, in concert with Sûltan Ahmed Mirza, the brother of Omar Sheikh, and, at this period, the ruler of Samarkand, proceeded to invade the possessions of that prince ; Sûltan Ahmed advancing from the south side of the river of Khojend, or Seyhoun frequently so called, and Sûltan Mahmoud Khaun from the north. Omar Sheikh was at this crisis residing at Aukseiket, or Auksy, one of the seven principal towns of Ferghannah ; which he had recently chosen for the metropolis of his government. The place is described as being situated at the head of a great bridge, on one of the branches of the river Seyhûn, some of the buildings of the town being actually erected on the bridge. It so happened, however, that while the prince was one day seated on the bridge, amusing himself in looking at a pigeon house belonging to one of those buildings, an alarm was suddenly given by some of his attendants, that the bridge had broke down ; and in fact, although he instantly started on his feet, yet before he could get on his second slipper, the bridge had separated immediately under him, and he was in a moment precipitated into the yawning abyss beneath, where he perished without the possibility of escape.

This event is stated to have occurred on Monday, the fourth day of Ramzaun, of the eight hundred and ninety-ninth of the hidjerah,\* when the unhappy prince was in the prime of life, having only just attained to the thirty-ninth year of his age. He had in all three sons, and five daughters, in the following order : Zeheir-ud-dein Mahomed *Bâber*, and younger by two years, Jahanguer Mirza ; the latter by Fautima Sûltan, the daughter of the Moghúl chief. The third

\* 7th of June 1494.



was Nausser Mirza, two years younger than Jahangueir Mirza, by Ghountchatchei Ommeyd, a native of Endejaun. The eldest of the five daughters was Khaunzâdah Begum, by the same mother with Sûltan Bâber, but five years older than that prince. Hence, at the period when Shah Ismâeil Seffûi defeated the Ouzbeks at Merou, this princess residing in that city, was by the conqueror, after having been treated with the most distinguished respect, conveyed with all possible honor, to the court of her brother, then at Kondez. The second daughter was Mehed-Baunû-Begum, by the same mother with Nausser Mirza, and eight years younger than Bâber. The third was Yadgaur Sûltan Begum, by Agha Sûltan Ghountchatchei; and the fourth was Rokheiah Sûltan Begum, by Mekdûmah Sûltan Begum, known also by the name of Feragour Begum. These two were born subsequent to the death of Omar Sheikh. The fifth daughter was by Olouss Aga, the daughter of Khoujah Hûseyne; but she died in her infancy.

A. H. 899.  
A. D. 1494.  
Abûl Fazzel.

It would be, in this place, almost inexcusable to omit the short account, furnished by the author, of the province of Ferghaunah; the cradle of this illustrious branch of the house of Teymûr, which he describes in the following terms. It is situated in the fifth of the seven climates, and towards the very extremity of the habitable world; having Kashghâr on the East, Samarkand on the West, and the mountainous boundary of Buddukhshaun on the South; but to the North, although there formerly existed the flourishing cities of Almaulegh, Almautour, and Yaungui, the latter being the same as Otraur, yet at the period at which the author wrote his history, during the reign of Akbar, there remained not the slightest vestige to indicate the spot on which they stood. To the westward, in the direction of Khojend and Samarkand, it has no mountains; and it is on that side, accordingly, that it is alone accessible to foreign invasion. The river Seyhûn, there more frequently called the river of Khojend, enters the province from the North-east; then passing to the westward, it leaves the city of Khojend to the southward, or on the left hand, and that of Finauket, or Shahrokhiah, to the northward, or on the right hand; after which it takes a northern course towards Tûrkes-taun, or country of the Moghûls, and is finally lost in the sands of

A. H. 899.  
A. D. 1494.  
Abûl Fazzel.

the desert in that trackless region, without disemboisement into any sea, or larger body of waters, of any description whatever. The province contained, moreover, at the period under consideration, seven towns of distinguished note—five to the southward, and two to the Northward, of the main branch of the Seyhûn, namely: Endejaun, or Endegaun,\* Ouss, or Oush, Mergheinan, Aushferah, and Khojend, to the South; and Auksy, or Aukseiket, and Kashâun, to the North.

ZEHEIR-UD-DEIN MAHOMMED BABER, the eldest son of Omar Sheikh, was born on the sixth of the month of Mohurrem, of the eight hundred and eighty-eighth of the hidjerah; † and, accordingly, at the period of his father's premature death, he was just eleven years and nearly four months old. His mother is here expressly stated to have been Kûtlûgnegaur Khaunum, the second daughter of Youness Khaun, the monarch of Târkestaun recently mentioned, and lineally descended from Tcheghatâi, the son of the immortal *Jenguciz*. He received at his birth the name and title of Zeheir-ud-dein Mahommed, protector of the faith, *Mahommed*; but, in order to accommodate the native Moghûls, who found some difficulty in articulating these sounds, the shorter appellation of Bâber, which signifies tiger, was sometime afterwards superadded. As will be immediately described at large, he succeeded to the limited sovereignty of Ferghaunah, at the city of Endejaun, on Tuesday the fifth of Ramzaun, of the eight hundred and ninety-ninth of the hidjerah, ‡ being the day next after that on which his father perished; and we are assured that the obstacles which he surmounted, the exertions which he found it necessary to display, in his progress to imperial power, seldom fell to the lot of any monarch either of ancient or modern history; while the courage, intrepidity, patience, and devotion, personally evinced by him in the conflicts of the field of battle, and in other circumstances of equal peril, seemed to surpass the ordinary energies of human strength.

When the catastrophe which had terminated the life of his father was communicated, on the following day, to the young prince, he happened to be recreating himself among the gardens in the environs

\* In the best modern maps, this town is placed, however, on the north bank.

† 13th of February 1493.

‡ 8th of June 1494.

of Endejaun; and he mounted his horse, the same moment, to make the best of his way to the citadel. He had, however, no sooner reached the entrance of the fort, than Shairum Toghâi, one of the Moghûl Ameirs of his retinue, seized him by the robe, and persuaded him to turn off short towards the Nomauzgâh, or principal place of worship, without the town. It was shrewdly suspected that, as Sûltan Ahmed Mirza was known to be approaching at the head of a very powerful force, the principal Ameirs of the province might have formed some design hostile to the rights of their hereditary sovereign, and possibly to transfer the sovereignty of his country to the invaders; and with these suspicions on his mind, this faithful attendant resolved that, however they might rob him of his birthright, the person of his young master should at all events be conveyed to a place of safety, in the first instance to the foot of the mountains in the direction of Ouzkund, and ultimately to the protection of either of his relatives, Alunjah Khaun, or Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun—the latter being his mother's brother. In the mean time, some of the same Ameirs, receiving intimation of the design, hastened to dispatch one of the oldest and most faithful of the followers of the departed Omar Sheikh, a certain Khaujah Mahommed, in order to remove the apprehensions of the young prince; and the latter had scarcely reached the Nomauzgâh, when he was overtaken by the messenger, and prevailed upon, without great difficulty, to relinquish the plan of exile, and to return to the fortress of Endejaun, which he accordingly entered the same day. Here the greater part of the Ameirs, and other members of his father's government, immediately repaired to his presence, and experienced from him all those marks of kindness which, in his circumstances, it was in his power to bestow.

Sûltan Ahmed Mirza of Samarkand, and Sûltan Mahmûd Khaun were, however, still known to be advancing in opposite directions, in order to make the attack concerted between them, upon Omar Sheikh; and, after the unlooked for misfortune by which they had been deprived of their sovereign, it must have been a signal intervention of providence, that could have produced that union of hearts and exertions, among the inhabitants, which enabled them, in so short a time, to place the fortifications of Endejaun in a very excellent state of de-

A. H. 899-909.  
A. D. 1494-1504.  
Abûl Fazzel.

A. H. 899-909. fence. Sùltan Ahmed had, indeed, passed through the territory of  
 A. D. 1494-1504. Khojend and Mergheinan, both dependent on Ferghaunah, and was,  
 Abùl Fazzel. by this time, encamped within four kòsse, or about eight miles, of the  
 town, obstinately rejecting every overture towards an accommodation  
 proposed on the part of his nephew. But the same providence, which  
 on this and another conspicuous occasion, alluding to the instance of  
 Bàber and that of his grandson, the renowned and enlightened Ak-  
 bar more particularly, seems to have taken the minority of this illus-  
 trious family under its peculiar care, further interposed, by the rumors  
 in circulation of the strength of the works, and of the singular unani-  
 mity which prevailed among the principal Ameirs of the garrison of  
 Endejaun, as well as by a contagious disorder which invaded his camp,  
 and the disabled state of his cavalry, to induce the Sùltan to relin-  
 quish his hostile designs altogether; and, after demanding peace on  
 almost any terms, finally to return home entirely frustrated in all his  
 expectations. About the same time, Sùltan Mahmùd Khaun, to the  
 north of the Seyhùn, had actually invested the fortress of Auksy; but  
 being successfully opposed, in repeated conflicts, by Jahangueir Mirza,  
 the still more youthful brother of Bàber, assisted by the loyal band  
 of Ameirs, who nobly defended that place for the children of their  
 departed sovereign, he was also finally constrained to forego his ill-  
 grounded claims, and to return, with equal disgrace and disappoint-  
 ment, into his own dominions.

Subsequent to this, it will be sufficient to observe with our author,  
 without entering into the detail, that Sùltan Bàber contended for the  
 kingdom of Transoxiana, against the princes of the race of Tcheghatài,  
 and the Khauns of the Ouzbeks, with various success for a period of  
 fifteen years; in the course of which he *thrice* obtained triumphant  
 possession of the metropolis of Samarkand. First, in the nine hun-  
 dred and third of the hidjerah, when proceeding from Endejaun, he  
 wrested it from Baysungur Mirza the son of Sùltan Ahmed Mirza,  
 who had succeeded to the government on the death of his father;  
 secondly, in the year nine hundred and six, when he took it from  
 Shahy Beg, or Shebeik Khaun, or Shubiani, the Khaun of the Ouz-  
 beks. And the last time, in the nine hundred and seventeenth of the  
 hidjerah,\* when he made himself master of it, through the assistance

\* Commencing the 30th. of March A. D. 1511.

of Shah Ismaeil, of the race of Seffy ; on the discomfiture and death of the same Shahy Beg Khaun, in the decisive battle with that prince, near Merú. All these events are circumstantially described by Colonel Dow, in his history of Hindústaun, and it would be superfluous to enter into the subject here, further than is absolutely necessary, in order to pursue the thread of the narration.

A. H. 909-911.  
A. D 1504-1505.  
Abúl Fazzel.

It was, however, in concurrence with the design long since determined on, by the will of omnipotence, which had pre-ordained in its infinite wisdom, that a portion of its glory should irradiate the brows of his illustrious grandson *Akbar*, that Súlтан Báber was insensibly led to seek for that establishment in a foreign land, which seemed, by so extraordinary a fatality, to be withheld from him in his own. And to this, it must be confessed, that he was, at the same time; more immediately constrained, by the pressure of those reverses which perpetually assailed him in the country of his ancestors, and the failure of support, where he most naturally looked for it, among the followers of his fortune. Perceiving therefore, after repeated trial, that a further continuance in the territory on the Oxus would be inconsistent with the views which he had formed for the advancement of his power, Báber finally resolved, at the head of the faithful few who still adhered to him, to direct his course for Buddukhshaun, and from thence, as circumstances might further determine, towards Kabúl. On his arrival in the former mountainous region, the retainers in the service of Khossrou Shah, the then ruler of the province, immediately came over to him; and their master himself, however unwillingly, was at last induced to follow their example. This personage had rendered himself extremely obnoxious by his crimes, and by his ingratitude; having, as formerly noticed, put Baysungur Mirza to death, and deprived Súlтан Mússáoud, his brother, of sight, both of them uncle's sons of Báber; and on several occasions, when the latter was driven, by misfortune and defeat, to seek an asylum in Buddukhshaun, added greatly to his offences, by treating the illustrious fugitive with inhospitable violence. Nevertheless, when it was thus in his power to retaliate upon him, to the full measure of his injuries, Mirza Báber, with that singular magnanimity of character which never forsook him, not only forbore to punish his ingratitude, but gave directions that he should

A. H. 909-911. be permitted to select from his property, in other respects forfeited,  
 A. D. 1504-1505. whatever he thought convenient, and to retire without molestation  
 Abûl Fazzel. into Khorassaun. Of this permission he very liberally availed him-  
 self; loading several camels, and some mules, with jewels, and plate,  
 and other valuable effects, with which he proceeded accordingly into  
 that province.

In the mean time, when he had satisfactorily arranged the govern-  
 ment of Buddukhshaun, Báber proceeded, without further delay,  
 across the mountains towards Kabûl, at this period in possession of  
 Mahommed Mokeim, the son of Zûl Noun; by whom it had been re-  
 cently taken from Abdurrezauk Mirza, the son of Olûgh Beg, the son  
 of Sûltan Abû Sáeid, and of course another uncle's son of Báber.  
 The rumors which preceded the approach of the latter prince, had led  
 this chieftain, in the first instance, to shut himself up in the fortress  
 of Kabûl, where he prepared to defend himself; but at the expiration  
 of a few days, proposing to capitulate on reasonable terms, he was also  
 permitted to retire, with his property and most valuable effects, to his  
 brother Shah Beg, at Kandahaur. Thus, in the latter end of the former  
 Rebbeia, of the nine hundred and tenth of the hidjerah,\* Mirza Báber  
 became possessed of the city and province of Kabûl. In the career of  
 ambition, however, the achievement of one conquest is but the step-  
 ping stone to another; and in the course of the following year, we  
 accordingly find that Báber marched from Kabûl, with the design of  
 attempting the reduction of Kandahaur; but when he had taken pos-  
 session of Kolaut, one of the dependencies on that government, he  
 conceived it expedient, through some consideration of prudence or  
 policy, to postpone his further design, and to proceed to the territory  
 south of it; whence, having over-run the Afghan districts in that di-  
 rection, he soon afterwards returned to his new capital of Kabûl.  
 During the same period, embracing the nine hundred and eleventh of  
 the hidjerah,† that city was visited by a tremendous earthquake, which  
 is described to have overthrown, or precipitated, the walls of the cas-  
 tle, upon the greater part of the dwelling houses in the upper town;  
 and the whole of a particular suburb, or adjoining village, that of  
 Beimghaun, was utterly destroyed. Three and thirty distinct shocks

\* Beginning of September A. D. 1504.

† Commencing the 3d of June 1505.

were observed in the course of one day, and the awful visitation returned at intervals, once or twice in twenty four hours, for a whole month. Many of the inhabitants perished; and in one particular spot, the earth opened for a stone's throw in width, and a bow-shot deep, several springs of water immediately issuing from the chasm; but from As-terghunje to Meydaun, a distance of about six farsangs, or about one and twenty miles, the undulations were so tremendous, as in many places to have raised the earth to the height of an elephant. The earthquake was preceded by violent whirlwinds from the summits of the surrounding mountains; and it is alleged, moreover, that the same awful phenomenon with effects equally tremendous occurred in Hindûstaun, in the course of the same year.

A. H. 911-918.  
A. D 1505-1507.  
Abûl Fazzel.

It was about this crisis, or very shortly afterwards, that Shahy Beg Khaun, the monarch of the Ouzbeks already mentioned, was preparing with a great army for the invasion of Khorassaun; and Sûltan Hûsseyne Mirza [Abûlghauzy] and his sons were making every exertion to oppose the design. In the mean time, Seyud Afzel, the son of Ameir Sûltan Ally Khaub-bein [the Dreamer], was dispatched to solicit the aid of Bâber; and the latter, accordingly, in the early part of the nine hundred and twelfth of the hidjerah, put his troops in motion for that quarter. While he was on his march, he received intelligence of the death of Sûltan Hûsseyne; but this, in opposition to the pusillanimous and temporising counsels of some of his Ameirs, he considered to furnish a more powerful inducement to hasten to the support of his relatives. Previous, however, to his arrival in Khorassaun, the importunities of the inexperienced had prevailed to raise Baddeia-uz-zemaun Mirza, and Mûzuffer Hûsseyne Mirza, the sons of the late Sûltan, conjointly to the throne of their father. On the eighth of the latter Jummaudy of the year just mentioned,\* Bâber, on the banks of the river Mûrghaub, came to an interview with the two Mirzas, and on their invitation proceeded shortly afterwards to Herât; where he remained for some time. But soon discovering that these poor princes possessed none of those qualifications, either in point of judgment or discretion, that appeared likely to ensure any sort of permanencé to their authority, he con-

\* 25th of October. 1506.

A. H. 911-913.  
 A. D. 1505-1507.  
 Abûl Fazzel.

ceived it prudent, with the least possible delay, to return with his troops towards Kabûl; and for that purpose, on the eighth of the month of Shabaun,\* he accordingly took his departure from Herât.

Among the Hazzaurahs, or mountainous districts perhaps, between Khorassaun and Kabûl, information reached him that Mahommed Hûsseyne Mirza, and Sûltan Sunjur Berlas, after circulating a report that he had fallen a sacrifice to the treachery of the Persian Mirzas, had brought the Moghûl troops, whom he had left in garrison at Kabûl, to unite with them in raising his kinsman, Khaun Mirza, to the government of that province; but at the same time, that the Ameirs Mohebb Khaleifah, Mahommed Kaussem *Kouhberr*, [the mountain piercer], Ahmed Yûssûf, and other officers in charge of the citadel, continued faithful to their allegiance, and to defend that important post for their master. The moment this information was announced to him, leaving his camp and heavy equipments to the care of his brother Jahangueir, at this period labouring under some indisposition, Bâber, at the head of a chosen division of his troops, hastened to descend the passes of Hindû Kouh; and after surmounting considerable difficulty in making his way through the drifts of snow with which they were encumbered, appeared one morning, rather unexpectedly, before the walls of Kabûl. His enemies dispersed to their hiding places the instant he made his appearance; but Mahommed Hûsseyne Mirza was soon taken, and brought to the presence of his offended sovereign; by whom he was generously permitted to retire into Khorassaun. And, shortly afterwards, the misguided Khaun Mirza was himself conducted to the presence of Bâber, by his cousin the princess Mehed-negaur Khaunum; and he also was indulged with permission either to remain at court, or to retire to any of the neighboring countries at his option. He chose to withdraw to Kandahaur.

In the course of the following year, the 913th of the hidjerah,† Bâber led his troops against that fortress; and having obtained a decided victory over Shuja Beg, the son of Zûl Noun Arghûn, the governor of the province, and his younger brother, he appears to have rendered himself master of the whole country, which he now placed under the authority of his half brother Nausser Mirza. He then returned

\* 23d of December.

† Commencing 12th of May 1507.



to Kabûl. Shortly afterwards, Khaun Mirza, who had recently joined him during the expedition to Kandabaur, was dispatched to take charge of the government of Buddukhshaun, which he retained for many years, in faithful subjection to the authority of his magnanimous relative. From thence, in the nine hundred and sixteenth of the hidjerah,\* an express arrived to announce to Bâber, that Shahy Beg Khaun, monarch of the Ouzbeks, had fallen in battle, and that his presence in Buddukhshaun would be attended with the most important advantages. In concurrence with these suggestions, Bâber, in the month of Shavaul of that year,† accordingly took his departure from Kabûl; and having been uniformly successful in a variety of conflicts with the Ouzbeks, he, on the fifteenth day of Rudjub, of the year nine hundred and seventeen,‡ for the third time entered Samarkand as a conqueror; but in the month of Suffur, of the following year,§ when he had continued in possession of that metropolis for a period of less than seven months, he was, at the station of Koul-melek, forced to a battle by Abdullah Khaun, who had succeeded to the monarchy of the Ouzbeks; and although the victory is here alleged to have been on the side of Bâber, yet fortune in some other important particulars appearing disposed to forsake his cause, he found it expedient to abandon Samarkand, and withdraw towards Hessaur. Under the walls of Ghedjdowaun, in conjunction with Nâdjum Beg, the general of the troops of Shah Ismâeil, he was, however, confessedly defeated in a great battle with the Ouzbeks, the general of his ally being killed in the action. This had a decided influence upon the destiny of Bâber; for he now finally determined on relinquishing altogether his designs on Transoxiana, and on immediately returning to Kabûl; resolving to confine his future exertions to the formation of a new empire for himself, in the rich and fertile regions of Hindûstaun.

Towards that devoted country, then, he now directed his operations, and on four distinct occasions did he lead his troops to that quarter, before he could effect his final establishment; being as often constrained to return, either by the occurrence of untoward events at

\* Commencing 10th of April 1510.

† January 1511.

‡ 7th of October 1511.

§ April 1512.

A. H. 913-926.  
A. D. 1507-1520.  
Abûl Fazzel.



A. H. 913-926. Kabûl, or by the perverse opposition of his principal officers. His  
 A. D. 1507-1520. *Abûl Fazzel.* *first* expedition appears to have taken place in the month of Shavaul  
 of the nine hundred and twenty fifth of the hidjerah,\* when he pro-  
 ceeded by the route of Badaum-tcheshmah and Jogdelung, to Khey-  
 ber and Bejeim, or Nejeim, which were the limits of his progress on  
 this occasion. In the Wakaat-e-Bâbery, a chronicle written by him-  
 self in his native Turkish language, this enterprising monarch is alle-  
 ged to describe, that having reached the town of Adeinapour, perhaps  
 Adenagur, in six stages from Kabûl, he found himself suddenly  
 transported to a warm climate, and for the first time in his life on the  
 confines of Hindûstaun—in a region perfectly new to him, the vege-  
 table creation exhibiting a different exterior, the birds and animals a  
 different form, and the people, a system of morals, habits, and usages,  
 entirely different from any thing that had ever before presented itself  
 to his observation. But a council having been held to determine here,  
 by which of the passages it would be most advisable to cross the In-  
 dus, in those parts more generally known by the designation of Neil-  
 aub—the blue river—it was decided, by a majority of the refractory  
 Tcheghatâians, that the passage of that celebrated river should not be  
 attempted for the present. Bâber therefore struck off to the south-  
 ward for Kohet, or Kohout; and having over run that district, together  
 with the territory of Benguesh, and Benour, he led his troops in se-  
 veral marches, by Eissakheyl, to a station which lay oposite to Ter-  
 peilah—described to be a town on the Indus, dependent on Mûltaun.  
 Hence, after proceeding for some distance along the course of the  
 river, he appears to have taken a north-western route, by Ducky, or  
 Douky, of which name, there are two places in the map; one on the  
 road from Mûltaun to Kandahaur, by which he probably proceeded on  
 this occasion, since we are told that a few days afterwards, he encamp-  
 ed at Gheznein; and in the month of Zilhudje, † he returned to Kabûl.

On his second expedition towards the Indus, Bâber appears to  
 have proceeded by the route of Khord Kabûl, according to the best  
 arranged authorities, ‡ in the former Jummaudy, of the year 926; §

\* October 1519 according to Dow's history.

† December 1519.

‡ The transcriber of my copy of Abûl Fazzel, has here set down the year 913, which  
 must be a gross error, and I have chosen to follow the authority of Colonel Dow.

§ April—May 1520.

and, passing through the districts of Mendrawel, or Mendroul, to have continued his march to Attyr, and finally to Sheivah. From thence, however, he was again constrained by the adverse counsels of his followers to a premature return; his course being now directed, from Attyr, by Kezz and Kourkil, or Nourguil, and the transit from Kezz being accomplished by means of some water conveyance, [tchauleh-nishustah], to rejoin his camp, from which he appears to have separated. He finally reached Kabûl, by the way of Baudenje;\* and on a rock which overlooks this latter station, he caused the date of his passage on the occasion, to be engraved, and the inscription continued sufficiently legible in the time of Abûl Fazzel. To this period, it is here observed, the princes of the race of Teymûr had been contented with the more modest title of Mirza; but in the inscription just alluded to, it was enjoined that the name of Bâber should be inserted with the imperial adjunct of *Padshah*.

A. H. 926-927.  
A. D. 1520-1521.  
Abûl Fazzel.

The *third* expedition towards the Indus commenced on Monday the first of Mohurrem, of the 927th of the hidjerah,† the Tcheghataïan prince directing his course, on this occasion, towards Bejour. While on the march, he experienced some tremendous shocks of an earthquake, each of which is described to have continued for half an astronomical hour. In the mean time, Sûltan Aweiss repaired to the camp of Bâber; and the fortress of Bejour submitting, shortly afterwards, the government of that place, together with the districts dependent upon it, was now bestowed on Khaujah Kullan Beg, the son of Moulana Mahommed Suddur, one of the most faithful and distinguished officers in the service of his father Omar Sheikh. This personage was deservedly high in the esteem of Bâber, not less than six of his brothers having laid down their lives in the service of that monarch, and being himself a man of distinguished talent, of the soundest judgment, and most excellent understanding. The views of Bâber were, however, more particularly directed towards the territory of Sewaud, and the subjugation of the Afghan tribe of Yûssufzehy; and

\* Of the places mentioned in this expedition, I have not been able to trace a vestige in the maps.

† 11th of December—1520, we have here endeavored to reconcile some incongruity of date in Abûl Fazzel.

A. H. 926-927.  
A. D. 1520-1521.  
Abûl Fazzel.

accordingly Taowus Khaun, the younger brother of Shah Munsour the chief of that tribe, now presented himself in the camp of the Moghûl invader, together with the daughter of his brother as a peace-offering, and the most humble protestations of submission. A scarcity of provisions prevailing at the same time in the country, Bâber, was the more easily induced to revert to his original and more serious design, the invasion of Hindûstaun; which he therefore determined to carry into execution without further delay, however unprepared, at the moment, for the effectual undertaking of an expedition of such magnitude, and still contrary to the avowed opinion of his Ameirs.

With such a resolution he accordingly drew back from Sewaud; and on the morning of Tuesday, the sixteenth of the same month of Mohurrem,\* with his camels, horses, and lighter equipments, proceeded to cross the Indus, near the place called Kutchakout; his bazar and heavy baggage following in tchaolahs, the species of river-craft recently mentioned. At the distance of about seven kôsse, or from twelve to fourteen miles, north of Behrah, rises the mountain, in the Zuffurnàmah and other works, denominated Koh-Joud; and this was the spot now chosen for the encampment of Bâber's troops. The monarch is said to remark in his commentaries, that until the present moment, the etymology of this appellation had never been ascertained; whereas the circumstance was now clearly explained from its being the residence of the tribe of Joud, one of two families derived from the same stock, the other being called Khetchwah. In order to appease the alarm of the inhabitants, Abdurraheim Shikawely had been early dispatched to Behrah, with instructions to prohibit plunder or violence, in any shape; and in the course of the same day, towards evening, Bâber in person proceeded to encamp on the river Behaut, or Cheilum, a little to the eastward of the town. A contribution of four hundred thousand Shahrokhies was, however, immediately levied on the place, as the price of its exemption from pillage, the whole of which sum, together with the government of the conquered district, he then bestowed upon Hindû Beg; Khoushaub being consigned at the same time to Ameir Shah Hûseyne, with instruc-

\* 26th of December, 1520.

tions to support the governor of Behrah, whenever occasion should require it.

A. H. 927-932.  
A. D 1521-1526.  
Abûl Fazzel.

At this crisis, a certain Moulana Mûrshed was dispatched from the neighborhood of Behrah, on an embassy to Sûltan Ibrauhim, the son of Sûltan Eskunder Lody; who had succeeded to his father on the throne of Dehly, some five or six months previous to the period under consideration. The envoy was charged with instructions to convey to that monarch, provided he found in him a disposition to attend to them, sundry admonitions of the utmost importance to the well being of himself, and of the country subordinate to his authority. But this ambassador was never permitted to reach his destination, being perversely detained and sent back, by Dowlut Khaun, the governor of Lahour. On the second of the former Rebbeia, intelligence was brought to Bâber of the birth of a son, to whom, as it seemed auspicious to the enterprize which he had in contemplation, he gave the name of Hindâl. On the eleventh of the same month,\* leaving Hindû Beg in charge of Behrah, and of the acquired territory on that side the Indus, he returned once more towards Kabûl, which he reached on the last day of the month;† and on the twenty-fifth of the following month, regardless of the obligations of duty, Hindû Beg also arrived from Behrah, which he thus pusillanimously abandoned to the attempts of the enemy.

Of Bâber's fourth expedition into the territory beyond the Indus, the author confesses that he could never ascertain the date, any further than that it must have been at the period in which he made himself master of Lahour; and this, according to the history of the reduction of Deibalpour, was accomplished during the nine hundred and thirtieth of the hidjerah.‡

But, as every important event in the affairs of this world is generally understood to have its determined period allotted by providence, the final consummation of Bâber's views on Hindûstaun was reserved, although, apparently protracted through secondary courses, the adverse opinions of his Ameirs, and the failure of co-operation on the part of his kindred, for his *fifth* expedition; on which he is said to

\* 18th of February, 1521.

† 9th of March.

‡ Commencing the 9th of November, 1523.

A. H. 932. have proceeded on Friday the first of Suffur, of the nine hundred and  
 A. D. 1526. thirty-second of the hidjerah,\* leaving to his son Mirza Kamraun,  
 Abûl Fazzel. in addition to the government of Kandahaur, the protection of his  
 metropolis of Kabûl. This, his final expedition was, however, greatly  
 facilitated by the previous possession of Lahour, and other important  
 provinces in the Punjaub, already secured by his lieutenants. On this  
 occasion, while he lay still encamped at Wouffabaugh, he was joined,  
 on the seventeenth of the month,† by his son Homayûn, with the  
 contingent from Buddukshaun; and on the same day, he was further  
 reinforced by Khaujah Kullan Beg, with the troops from Gheznein.  
 Thirteen days afterwards, namely, on the first of the former Rebbeia,‡  
 he crossed the Indus, near Ketchakout; and here he conceived it  
 expedient to make a general muster of his force, which, including  
 Tartars and Persians, and adventurers from different nations, was  
 found to amount altogether to no more than twelve thousand horse.  
 From thence he proceeded to pass the Behaut, above Jeilum, in the  
 vicinity of the spot subsequently fixed upon for the fortress of  
 Rohtas, and, shortly afterwards, he crossed the Tchunaub, in the  
 neighborhood of Behlowulpour. On the fourteenth of the same  
 month,§ he encamped on the plains of Siakhout, the fortifications  
 of which he determined to destroy; giving the preference as a  
 military station to Behlowulpour, which he accordingly directed to  
 be re-peopled, and placed in a state of repair.

Reports were now continually coming in of the proceedings of the  
 enemy; and on his arrival at Kullanour, on the Rauvy, some distance  
 above Lahour, Bâber was joined by Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, Auddel  
 Sûltan, and other Ameirs employed in the government of the latter  
 named city. On the twenty-fourth of the month,|| the fortress of  
 Melout, or Melwet, with a considerable booty, was taken possession  
 of by his troops; and a valuable library, the property of Ghauzi  
 Khaun, the son of Dowlut Khaun Lôdy, captured on this occasion,  
 was placed at the disposal of the Moghûl conqueror, and by him  
 partly bestowed upon his son Homayûn on the spot, and partly  
 conveyed for the use of Kamraun Mirza, at Kandahaur.

\* 16th of November, 1526. † 2d of December ‡ 15th of December.  
 § 28th of December. || 7th of January, 1526.

In these circumstances, receiving well authenticated intelligence that Hameid Khaun, the governor of Hessaur Feyrouzah, with a considerable force, had made several marches in advance to oppose his progress, Bâber, having now proceeded to the eastward of Anbaulah, and encamped on a lake, or large pond, not far from that place, conceived it advisable, on the thirteenth of the former Jummaudy,\* to detach his eldest son Homâyûn, accompanied by the Ameirs Khaujah Kullan Beg, Sûltan Mahommed Douldy, Wully Khauzen, Abdullazziz, Mahommed Ally Tcheng-tcheng, with a considerable part of his own force, to give battle to this advanced corps of the enemy. On the same day, *Beyn*, an Afghan chief, and one of the most distinguished among the Ameirs of Hindûstaun, came over to the camp of Bâber, and experienced a most gracious reception. In the mean time, the young Homâyûn, at this period in his eighteenth year, proceeded to carry into execution his father's orders, in which he acquitted himself with equal ability and success; entirely defeating the division under the governor of Hessaur Feyrouzah, and rejoining the main body in triumph, on the twenty first of the month.† This being the first action of any magnitude, in which the prince had commanded in person, the government of the same Hessaur Feyrouzah, was now bestowed upon him, yielding a revenue of one krou, or one hundred laks; and he was, at the same time, presented with an immediate donation of a sum in specie to the same amount.‡ Bâber, at the head of his troops, then continued his march to Sersawah; it being announced to him at different stages, that Sûltan Ibrauhim Lôdy, with one hundred thousand horse, and one thousand armed elephants, was actually approaching to give him battle; and he had scarcely encamped at the same Sersawah, when Heyder Ally, belonging to the division of Khaujah Kullan Beg, who had been employed to procure intelligence, conveyed the information that a detachment of about six thousand horse under Dâoud Khaun, and Hautem Khaun, was considerably in advance of the main body of the enemy. In consequence of this, on

A. H. 932.  
A. D. 1526.  
Abûl Fazzel.

\* 24th of February.

† 4th of March, 1526.

‡ The denomination of currency here introduced, is not explained; a krou of rupees would be a million sterling, but a krou of daums, the fortieth part of a rupee, would be no more than 25,000 rupees, nearly equal to £3125 sterling.

A. H. 932.   sunday the eighteenth of the latter Jummaudy,\* Tcheintemûr Sûltan,  
 A. D. 1562. Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, Mehedy Khaujah, and other distinguished  
 Abûl Fazzel. commanders, with the whole of the left wing, and a part of the centre,  
 under the Ameirs Youness Ally and Abdûllah, were sent forward to  
 make an attack, upon this advanced guard of the troops of Sûltan  
 Ibrauhim; and the result was equal to the warmest expectations of  
 the Moghûls, as a considerable proportion of this division of the ene-  
 my was either cut to pieces, or captured by the assailants; and Hau-  
 tem Khaun, one of the generals who was taken alive, together with  
 seventy of his associates who had been equally unfortunate, was put  
 death in cold blood, immediately on his arrival in the camp of the  
 Moghûl conqueror.

Bâber now conceived it expedient to make his arrangements for the  
 decisive conflict; and for this purpose, Oustaud Ally Kûly, his chief  
 engineer, received, in the first place, instructions to prepare the wheel-  
 carriages of the army in the following manner. He was directed, after  
 the Turkish method, to fasten these carriages together with chains,  
 and ropes made of raw hides; and between every two carriages thus  
 fastened together, it was provided, that five or six hurdles, or probably  
 gabions, should be placed as a cover for the musqueteers destined to  
 take post behind them. In the course of a few days, all these arrange-  
 ments were completed; and on thursday the last of the latter month  
 of Jummaudy,† the Tcheghatâian army had advanced to Pânipet—  
 the spot selected on so many occasions, on which to decide the fate  
 of Hindûstaun. The right wing of the army was, on this occasion,  
 posted within the town and suburbs. The centre was covered in front  
 by the carriages arranged in the manner already described, with the  
 hurdles, or gabions, disposed in the intervals between. The left wing  
 was further protected by a ditch, and abbatis; the latter formed with  
 the branches of trees laid on the earth, and pointed at the end. Sûltan  
 Ibrauhim, equally prepared for battle, had taken up a position at the  
 distance of about six kôsse, on the Dehly side; and, for several days,  
 the troops of Bâber were engaged in skirmishing with the detachments  
 of the enemy to the very outskirts of his camp, returning uniformly  
 successful from every conflict; until friday the eighth of Rudjub,\*

\* 31st of March.

† 11th of April.

‡ 19th of April.



when it was ascertained that Sùltan Ibrauhim in person, with the whole of his force, was approaching to give battle to the Tcheghatâians.

A. H. 932.  
A. D 1526.  
Abûl Fazzel.

We are here called upon to remark, that when, at the destined crisis, the providence of God has determined to redress the injuries, or to repair the disorders which are occasionally permitted to take place in the affairs of this world, the actions of mankind are directed, in a way, to be singularly instrumental to the consummation of the principal design. And of this, the advance of Sùltan Ibrauhim to give battle to his invaders, on the one hand, and the resolution of Sùltan Bâber, with such an incredible disparity of force, to engage him, on the other, are recorded as very striking and conspicuous examples. But, at all events, with the fullest confidence in the support of Omnipotence, Bâber proceeded to dispose of his warlike bands in the following order of battle. He assumed the command of the centre in person. Of the division to the right of the centre, by the Tartars denominated Ounghoul, he gave charge to Tchein-temûr Sùltan, aided by Sùliman Mirza, Ameir Mahommedy Koukeltaush, Ameir Shah Munsour Berlas, Ameir Youness Ally, Ameir Derwaish Mahommed Sarbaun, and Ameir Abdullah Ketâbdaur. Of the division to the left of the centre, by the same nation called the Sèwalghoul, or perhaps Sounghoul, as exhibited in another manuscript, he gave the direction to Ameir Khaleifah, assisted by Khaujah Meir Meiran the Suddur, with the Ameirs Ahmedy Purwauntchei, Tereddy Beg, Mohebb Ally Khaleifah, and Mirza Beg Terkhan. Of the Beranghour, or main body of the right wing, posted, as we have already observed, in the town of Pânipet, he consigned the command to his son Homayûn, at this period about nineteen, assisted by the Ameirs Khaujah Kullân Beg, Sùltan Mahommed Douldy, Hindû Beg, Wully Khauzén, and Peir Kûly of Seiestaun. The left wing [Juwanghour] was entrusted to Mahommed Sùltan Mirza, aided by Seyud Mehedy Khaujah, Aud-del Sùltan, Sùltan Jenneid Berlas, and other warlike chiefs. The Hurrawul, or vanguard, was placed under the orders of Khossrou Koukeltaush, assisted by Mahommed Ally Tchengtcheng, and Ameir Abdulazziz. The rear reserve [Ouje] of the right wing, was committed to the discretion of Wully Shermil, Melek Kaussem, and Bâba Kuska, with a body of Moghûls; and the rear reserve [Ouje] of the

A. H. 932. left wing, was under the direction of Kàra Kouzy, Abùl Mejeid Noizàh-  
 A. D. 1526. bauz, [the lance player], and Sheikh Ally, together with Sheikh  
 Abùl Fazzel. Jummaul, Sunkery Kúly the Mòghâl, and other veteran warriors.

This was the disposition in which, with a firmness immoveable, the troops of Báber awaited the attack, and finally defeated the reiterated, but ill directed efforts, of the unwieldy multitude which composed the force of the enemy. Of the circumstances of the battle Abùl Fazzel furnishes no description; neither perhaps is it very material in this place; but the victory on the part of the Mòghûls was complete and decisive, Sùltan Ibrauhim having himself fallen, although for the moment unknown, among a heap of the slain. The carnage fell heaviest among the Afghans, or Patans, the particular tribe of the sovereign—not less than five or six thousand of them lying dead near the body of the Sùltan. Comparing it, however, with what had been achieved by former Mahommedan conquerors of Hindùstaun, the historian avers, and with apparent justice, that in boldness of design, and energy of execution, the enterprize of Báber infinitely surpassed all that had preceded. Sùltan Mahmùd of Gheznein, for example, when he undertook his expedition, was not only in possession of the territory descended to him from his father, but of the noble province of Khorassaun; and the sovereigns of Samarkand, Khaurezm, and Daur-ul-merz. were each of them subordinate, or tributary, to his power. The force, moreover, by which he was accompanied, rather exceeded, than fell short of, one hundred thousand men; while the invaded territory, instead of being subordinate to the authority of one head, was subdivided among a number of separate Râjahs, and other chiefs, entirely independent of, and generally hostile to, each other, but at all times incapable of uniting for their common defence. With respect to Sùltan Shahaub-ud-dein the Ghourian, it is well known that he proceeded on his expedition to the same quarter, with an army of not less than one hundred and twenty thousand horse, the greater part, if not the whole of them, clad in mail; neither at that period was the country better prepared in point of union, and although the important province of Khorassaun was under the separate authority of Sùltan Ghèyauth-ud-dein, yet was it sufficiently understood that he could never be induced to counteract the designs of his brother.

And lastly, when, on the plains of Samaunah, the invincible Teymûr, on his march towards Dehly, gave orders for a general muster of his troops in the usual way, we are informed, through the Zuffernâmah of Shurf-ud-dein Ally, that the Bessawul of that monarch's army, which was the part of the line of battle allotted to the stipendiary cavalry in the pay of the state, extended to six farsangs, or about one and twenty english miles, in length. Now it has been ascertained, by men of acknowledged experience on the subject, that a farsang, or six thousand yards, is sufficient for the display of twelve thousand horse in battalia, two deep we will suppose; and hence it has been determined, that the force under Teymûr, on that occasion, exclusive of the retainers in the service of the regular stipendiaries, here denominated the Nouker-e-Nouker, must have amounted to seventy two thousand men on horseback—the depth of the line of battle allotted to the Nouker-e-Nouker above mentioned; being stated at two kôsse, or about three miles. His adversary Mellou Khaun, on the other hand, is nowhere alleged to have had more than ten thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty elephants. Nevertheless, in spite of their obvious superiority of force, the troops of the invader were seized with an unaccountable dismay; and it was in order to dissipate, or appease, the unmanly apprehensions which he had discovered in the pusillanimous language of many of his generals, that Teymûr found it expedient to adopt the precautions for the security of his camp, described in a former page.

What then, it is asked, must be our admiration, when we find that the adventurous Bâber succeeded in achieving this mighty conquest with a force, the utmost strength of which, both in horse and foot, did not amount altogether to more than twelve thousand men! And our admiration will not be diminished, when it further appears that the revenues of Kabûl, Kandahaur, and Buddukhshaun, the only three provinces at the time subject to his authority, were scarcely adequate to the support of this small body of troops; while his expences to protect the more distant frontiers against the attacks of a hostile neighborhood, far exceeded the receipts of his exchequer. Under all these circumstances, however, did this enterprising prince undertake to subdue the government of Sûltan Ibrauhim, the undisputed monarch,

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of a territory, the fairest in Hindûstau, extending from *Behrah* on the Behaut to *Bahar* on the Ganges; and supported in the field by an army of one hundred thousand horse, and one thousand elephants caparisoned and trained for battle. But, in the usual strain it is finally observed, when we come to reflect that he bore in his person that portion of the divine splendor which was destined to irradiate the world from the brows of his grandson, the illustrious Akbar, the circumstance must cease to excite our astonishment.

But, at all events, having, as it was just, in humble prostration offered his tribute of thanksgiving to the author of victory, Bâber proceeded on the same day to dispatch Homayûn, accompanied by the Ameirs Khaujah Kullan Beg, Mahommed Koukeltaush, Youness Ally, Shah Munsûr Berlaus, Abdullah Ketabdaur, and Wully Khauzen, with instructions to hasten with all possible expedition towards Agrah, the metropolis of Sûltan Ibrauhim's government; in order to secure the royal treasure, and at the same time, to tranquillize the minds of the inhabitants with every assurance, of the clemency and justice of the conqueror. With similar objects, Seyud Mehedy Khaujah, with Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, Auddel Sûltan, and the Ameirs Jenneid Berlaus, and Kôtlûg Kuddum, proceeded immediately for Dehly. On the twelfth of Rudjub, four days subsequent to his victory, Bâber in person made his entry into the latter city; and on friday the twenty first of the same month,\* he was triumphantly received into the metropolis of Agrah. At that capital, he proceeded to treat the mother and children of the fallen Sûltan, with equal kindness and humanity; consigning to them the whole of the treasure and jewels which they could claim in any shape as private property, and bestowing upon them, in addition, lands for their maintenance, to the value of seven hundred thousand Tankahs, or perhaps Tungahs.† He exhibited, moreover, to the whole of the people, such conspicuous proofs of his bounty and generosity, as at once to dispel their alarms, and, to a degree beyond the most sanguine expectations, to restore the public tran-

\* 2d of May 1526.

† From a reference to Ferishtah, it appears that that author calculates the Tungah, at the 20th part of a rupee; at which rate this sum would be equal to 35,000 rupees, or about £4,375 sterling.

quillity. Homayûn, who had previously reached Agrah, now presented to his father a diamond of eight methkals, or about 192 carats, and of such enormous value, as to be estimated at a sum equal to the purchase of a day's subsistence for one half of the inhabitants of the terrestrial globe. It was represented by the inhabitants of Agrah, as formerly belonging to the treasury of Sûltan Allâ ud-dein the 1st, and received by him from the sons of Bikramajit, Rajah of Gwaliar. The jewel was at first, for form's sake, graciously accepted by Bâber, but immediately afterwards returned to the young prince.

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On the thirtieth of the month, the conqueror commenced his survey and distribution of the treasure and jewels, so industriously accumulated by a succession of wealthy and powerful sovereigns; and first of all, he allotted to Homayûn in specie, of the mint of Sekunder, the sum of seventy laks, or seven millions of Tankahs,\* exclusively of an undisclosed chamber of treasure, full of untold gold and silver. To each of his officers, according to his station in the service, he gave from ten laks, to five Tankahs, the lowest sum, and to every soldier in the army, he distributed a share much beyond that to which, by his station, he was entitled. In short, from the most distinguished Ameir to the very meanest camp follower, there was not an individual in his service excluded from a portion in this most extensive distribution of captured property. Neither were the different branches of the imperial family, whether in Buddukhshaun, at Kabûl, or at Kandahaur, forgotten on the memorable occasion. Seventeen laks of Tankahs were remitted to Kamraun Mirza. Fifteen laks to Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza; and to the princes Auskery Mirza, and Hindal Mirza, in the same proportion, without omitting a single female belonging to any branch of the family. In like manner, to every officer and retainer, who had been necessarily excluded from taking a part in the expedition, was conveyed something in proportion to his rank in the state, either in jewels; or some article of curious manufacture, in gold or silver. The bounty of the conqueror extended, at the same time, to all who bore the remotest claims, of relationship, whether at Samarkand, in Khorassaun, in Kashghâr, or Irâk—to all places of religious sanctity, at Samarkand, in Khorassaun, or elsewhere; and finally, he

\* About at 350,000 rupees at twenty to the rupee.

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provided that a gratuity of one Shahrókhy each,\* should be presented to every inhabitant, little or great, man, woman, or child, at Kabûl, and in the neighborhood. Thus, according to Ferishtah.† at a single sitting, and totally regardless of future exigencies, did Bâber contrive to dissipate the accumulated treasures of so many powerful monarchs, by his improvident liberality on the occasion, acquiring for himself, not unjustly, the nickname of Kùllender—or strolling monk.

It is, at the same time, to be remembered, that the authority of this heroic prince scarcely extended, at the moment, beyond the walls of the two great capitals of Dehly and Agrah, all around being yet in possession of the enemy. The fortress of Sumbul, north-east on the Ganges, was in the hands of Kaussem Sumbuly; that of Beiaunah, in the opposite direction, held out under Nizam Khaun; Meivaut was in possession of Hussun Khaun Meivauty; Mahommed Zeitoun maintained himself at Dhoulpour; and the impregnable fortress of Gwalior was secured against the Moghûls, by Tatar Khaun Saurungkhauny. Hûsseyne Khaun Lohauny was in possession of Ravery, Râbery, or Rewary; Kùttûb Khaun of Etawah; and Aullum Khaun of Kalpy. Even Mahawun, contiguous to the very suburbs of Agrah, still held out against Bâber, under Merghoub, one of the slaves, or body guards, of the late Sùltan Ibrauhim. Kanôuje, with the whole of the territory to the left of the Ganges, in that quarter, was in the hands of the Afghans, under the authority of Nesseir Khaun Lohauny, and the noted Fermully, who had indeed been no less hostile to the government of Sùltan Ibrauhim. On the death of that monarch, they had availed themselves of the general dissolution of authority, to extend their usurpation over many more of the adjoining districts; and they had recently, after conferring the dignity of Emperor on Pahar Khaun, the son of Derria Khaun Lôdy, with the title of Sùltan Mahommed, advanced several marches in the direction of Agrah.

The discontent which, notwithstanding the unparalleled munificence of their sovereign, had already begun to make its appearance among the Moghûl troops, was not a little aggravated by an unusually hot season, followed by an alarming contagious disorder; and thus,

\* Of silver of the weight of a dram and a half according to Ferishtah; about one shilling English according to Dow. † Translator.

influenced by their fears, and the consequent loss of judgment, great numbers of them disgracefully resolved to abandon the ensigns, under which they had been so signally victorious. At the same time, the major part of those who remained, equally discouraged by surrounding hostilities, by the insalubrity of the climate, the difficulty and hazard of their communications with the Indus, the tardy arrival of supplies, and the consequent scarcity of every article of consumption, became generally determined on the necessity of immediately withdrawing from Hindûstaun. Yet, though the majority of the Ameirs longest in his service, and the oldest of his veterans, both by expression, and by indications that could not be misunderstood, in his presence and among their associates, thus evinced a disposition little favorable to his magnanimous designs, **BABER**, whose understanding and strength of mind were evidently of the very highest order, was not to be shaken from his purpose, and continued his exertions to consolidate his newly acquired power, without regarding either murmurs or expostulations.

When, however, he found that this spirit of discontent had reached individuals the most intimate in his confidence, from whom he had nourished expectations extremely different, and that fortune seemed again disposed to exhibit some of her extravagancies at his expence; when he discovered that it had extended to Ahmedy Purwauntchei—the secretary—to Wully Khauzen—the treasurer—and more than all, to the veteran and experienced Khaujah Kullan Beg; who, in every conflict, in all his enterprizes, and particularly in this greatest of all, his Indian expedition, had uniformly expressed the most magnanimous resolution; and that each of them was now among the most forward, both by express declarations, and indirect hints, to urge the expediency of quitting the country, the monarch finally determined to make it the subject of serious deliberation before a council of state.

Before such council solemnly assembled, when he had previously addressed to them those wholesome admonitions for the guidance of their judgment, which from his acknowledged talents, he was so pre-eminently qualified to offer, **Bâber** proceeded to explain, without reserve, the object of his most private views and meditations; and to expatiate on the folly and imbecility, on the first trifling inconvenience, of relinquishing a conquest which had been achieved at the

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expençe of so much personal exertion, fatigue, and danger. Such a step he contended to be no less at variance with the dictates of common prudence, than it was contrary to all those maxims which are known to contribute to the establishment of a great and powerful monarchy. Joy and sorrow, prosperity and adversity, as they are so closely allied, should, he alleged, be met with equal moderation—be taken together; and when their present perplexities should cease to exist, he entertained not the smallest doubt that their repose and enjoyment would be in full proportion. He therefore called upon them to resume that confidence which had rendered them invincible, and to dismiss that refractory and discontented spirit, which was only calculated to produce groundless alarm and despondence. Such, however, as were yet seriously disposed to return to their homes, and were not ashamed to exhibit a proof of degenerate spirit, so unworthy of their former renown, would find no obstacle on his part, and were perfectly at liberty to withdraw, whenever they thought proper. But for himself, relying on the native resources of his own yet unbroken mind, which he considered as a sure pledge that heaven was on his side, he declared it his fixed and unalterable resolution to remain in Hindûstaun.

This appears to have terminated all difference of opinion. The whole of the Ameirs united in declaring, that the arguments of their sovereign were founded in incontrovertible truth, “for the language of kings,” said they, “is the king of languages;” and they finally concurred in the resolution to maintain themselves in the country, in defiance of all exertion to expel them. Khaujâh Kullân Beg, however, who had been warmer and louder than any one in his clamours for return, was permitted to indulge his inclination; undertaking at the same time, to be chargeable with the conveyance of the numerous presents set apart for the princes, and other distinguished personages at Kabûl, and in the neighborhood. In consideration of his former meritorious services, the city of Gheznein, together with Guerdeiz, or Gurdaiz, and the districts anciently the patrimony of Sùltan Mùssâoud, was on this occasion conferred upon him in jâgueir; and, that he might not be without his portion in the conquered territory, the Purgunnah, or towuship of Kehraum, was moreover consigned to



him, in addition to the other marks of his sovereign's bounty. Meir Meiran was, however, the only officer of rank, who thought proper to accompany him; and when he finally took his departure from Agrah, on the twentieth of Zilhudjé of the 932d of the hidjerah,\* he is said to have written on the wall of one of the houses, a couplet importing, that if, after reaching the banks of the Indus once more in safety, he ever set foot again in the territory to the eastward of it, he wished it might be with the face of a black man.

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The history of Bâber, in this crisis of his fortune, furnishes one more splendid example that the man who forms his resolutions on the basis of discreet and prudent reflection, has seldom, if ever, failed in the issue, to advance himself to the most distinguished station amongst his fellow creatures. For thus it happened when, with an army totally discouraged, and surrounded on all sides by hostile nations burning for vengeance, that intrepid monarch, relying on the resources of his own mind, and the support of omnipotence, finally determined on fixing the seat of his government at Agrah, placed as it is in the very centre of Hindûstaun; and when, through the influence of a vigorous, just, and liberal policy, and in defiance of the most formidable obstacles, he gloriously succeeded in securing for it permanent stability. The immediate effect produced throughout the country, was, indeed, most fortunate and animating; since many of the most powerful chieftains, as soon as they found that it was not his design, like Teymûr, to abandon his conquests, no longer hesitated to submit to the authority of the conqueror, and were immediately enrolled among the vassals of the new sovereign. Among the most distinguished of these was Sheikh Gohrin, whose influence was so extensive that not less than three thousand others, of eminent note and respectability among the natives of the country, were immediately prevailed upon to follow his example. Feyrouz Khaun, Sheikh Bayezid, Mahmûd Khaun Lohauny, and Kauzy Heya, are further enumerated among the chiefs of distinction and importance, who claimed, on this occasion, the protection of the conqueror, and were shortly afterwards admitted to a distinguished share in his favor. Feyrouz Khaun, in particular, was remunerated by a jagueur of one *krour* of

\* 26th of September 1526.

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Tankahs,\* in Jounpour, and Sheikh Bayezsid received an assignment, or pension, of equal value on the territory of Oudah, or Oude. A similar assignment of ninety laks, on Ghauzipour, was conferred upon Mahmûd Khaun, and another of twenty laks† from the revenues of Jounpour, upon Kauzy Heya.

Through these and similar measures of policy and conciliation, affairs, in a very short time, assumed such a character of security, repose, and happiness, as is to be experienced only under a government of permanent stability. In making the preceding observations, the regular course of the narrative has been, however, anticipated by a period of some months; since the history now recedes to notice that, some days after the festival at the commencement of Shavaul, a most sumptuous entertainment was given by the Tcheghatâian monarch, in the palace of Sûltan Ibrauhim at Agrah, where all classes of the people were again admitted to partake in the inexhaustible bounty of this most munificent prince. On this occasion, in addition to the government of Hessaur Feyrouzah, already in his possession, the province of Sumbul, on the upper Ganges, was bestowed upon Homayûn; Ameir Hindû Beg being deputed to preside over that province in his name. The fortress of Sumbul was, however, at the same time, held in close siege by Beyn the Afghan, who had recently revolted against the authority of Bâber; and it became expedient to employ a considerable force, from among the troops in the Doaub, or peninsula of the Jumna and Ganges, under the Ameirs just mentioned, in order to restore obedience in that quarter. An advanced division of this force was opposed by the rebel in person, who was, however, in this early stage of the business entirely defeated, and compelled to fly; and having forfeited every claim to indulgence, by his perfidious violation of engagements, never prospered afterwards.

Having passed the rainy season, which in Hindûstaun is that of spring, when the earth puts on its freshest verdure, in adjusting the affairs of his newly acquired possessions at Agrah, Bâber, as the dry weather, and the period for warlike operations approached, entered into consultation with his generals, whether it would be most advisable to proceed first to the eastward, in order to oppose the ambitious

\* Fivelaks of rupees, or about £60,000 sterling. † One lak of rupees, or about £12500.

designs of the Lohauni Afghans, who were advancing from Kanouje with a force of nearly fifty thousand horse, or direct his arms to the westward against Rana Sankā, who had recently reduced the fortress of Gundhār, and seemed disposed to aim at objects of still higher importance. After considerable debate, it was, however, determined, since that chieftain had been foremost in his expressions of zeal on the approach of the Moghūl army from Kabūl, to defer hostile operations against the Rāna, until some means should have been adopted to ascertain more clearly the extent of his views; and, in the mean time, to direct the principal effort towards the subjugation of the turbulent Afghans. Bāber, upon this, indicated his intention of taking upon himself the execution of the plan concerted against the latter power; but the young Homayūn expressing a desire to be employed on the service, and, at the same time, an adequate degree of confidence that he should be able to bring it to an honorable termination, provided the enterprize were consigned to his management, his offer was accepted of, with tokens of peculiar satisfaction. Orders were accordingly issued, that the troops employed under Auddel Sūltan, Mahommed Koukeltaush, Ameir Shah Munsūr Berlaus, and other commanders, in the reduction of Dhoulpour, after wresting that government from Mahommed Zeitoun, and leaving it in charge of Sūltan Jenneid Berlaus, should be conducted to join the prince royal in the direction of Beiaunah; while Ahmed Kaussem, with the Ameirs from Kalpy, were instructed to meet him at Tchundawer, or Chandour; Seyud Mehedy Khaujāh, the jaguirdaur, or feudatory chief, of Etāwah, again, with Mahommed Sūltan Mirza, Sūltan Mahommed Douldy, Mahommed Ally Tchengtcheng, Abdullazziz master of the horse, and the troops engaged against Kūttūb Khaun, another Afghan chief who was, in arms in that quarter, was also instructed to put himself under the orders of the Shahzādah.

Quitting Agrah on the thirteenth of Zilkadah, of the year nine hundred and thirty two,\* Homayūn proceeded to encamp the first day at the distance of three kōsse, or between six and eight miles from that city; and resuming his march on the succeeding days, continued to make his approach towards the enemy, who had, at this period,

\* 20th of August 1526.

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concentrated his force, and taken post at the station of Jaujémou, under the authority of Nesseir Khaun. Terrified, however, at the advance of the young prince, the Afghan chiefs, when he was yet at the distance of fifteen kòsse, hastily recrossed the Ganges, and retired in dismay towards Hurridewaur, or Hurdwaur. Homayûn pursued in the same direction; and having, partly by force, and partly by milder expedients, established the authority of his father in that quarter, he descended next to Jounpour, which, with the intervening territory, he in like manner brought into subjection, and restored to peace and security. While he was on his return from this successful expedition he was joined at a place called Delmou, by Futtah Khaun Shirwauny; one of the most distinguished nobles under the late monarchy, and whose father had enjoyed under Sûltan Ibrauhim, the title of Auzem Homayûn. He was immediately sent on towards Agrah, attended by Seyud Mehedy Khaujah, and Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, and, on his arrival at the metropolis, experienced from Bâber the most gracious reception; that monarch bountifully bestowing upon him the possessions of his father, together with assignments in addition, amounting to one hundred and six laks of Tankahs.\* He was, however, considerably disappointed, that the title of Khaun-e-jahaun should have been conferred upon him, instead of that of Auzem Homayûn, on which he had fixed his expectations. In the mean time, it was thought expedient, for obvious reasons, that his son Mahmûd Khaun should be invited to continue his attendance at court, while he was himself permitted to repair to his jagueir.

On the fourth of the month of Suffur, of the nine hundred and thirty third of the hidjerah, † letters had been dispatched for the recal of Homayûn, who was instructed to commit the government of Jounpour to some of the Ameirs under his orders, and to repair without delay to the metropolis; it having been now ascertained that Râna Sanka, after collecting together an immense force from different parts of Hindûstaun, was advancing with designs expressly hostile towards the new government. These letters were entrusted to Mahommed Ally, the son of Meir Heyder, one of the royal equerries. In the mean time, Nizam Khaun the ruler of Beiaunah was brought over, through the influence

\* 53000 rupees—equal to about £66250 sterling.

† 9th of November, 1526.

of Reffeia-ud-dein the Seffavûian, to submit to the authority of Bâber; and that fortress was accordingly placed at the disposal of the Tche-ghataïan generals. About the same crisis, Gwalïar was also delivered up, by Tatar Khaun, and Dhoulpour by Mahommed Zeïtoun. Each of these obtained a compensation adequate to his wishes, and was happily enabled to secure himself against any impending shock of adverse fortune. The mother of the late Sûltan Ibrauhim Lôdy, had been some time since admitted among the ladies of Bâber's Harram; but having been detected in a plot to destroy him, through the medium of some of the royal cooks, she was on the sixteenth of the former Rebbeia,\* not undeservedly, numbered with the dead. Her accomplices were also made to atone for their perfidy under the hands of the executioner.

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Consigning the government of Jounpour, as he had been instructed to do, into the hands of Shah Meir Hûseyne, and Ameir Sûltan Jenneid Berlaus, with Kauzy Hëya, brought up from early life under the protection of his father, as their counsellor, Homayûn, on receipt of his letters of recal, proceeded with all convenient expedition on his return towards Agrah. Sheikh Bayezzid, one of the Hindûstauny Ameirs formerly mentioned, was, on this occasion, invested with the government of Oude. But, as Kalpy remained still in possession of Aullum Khaun, and it was imperatively expedient, either by arms or negociation, to bring matters with this chief to some species of adjustment, the march of Homayûn was so directed as to pass immediately through the territory under his authority. In short, means were employed to operate so powerfully on the hopes and fears of this personage, that he was finally prevailed upon to submit; and he accordingly consented to accompany the young prince to the court at Agrah, which he reached without farther contingency, on the third day of the latter month of Rebbeia.† While, on the other hand, affairs were in this favorable train to the eastward, advices were continually arriving from Mehedy Khaujah, who had assumed the command at Beiaunah, to urge the speedy attention of the sovereign and his ministers, to the ambitious designs, and dangerous progress of Râna Sanka.

In a strain similar to that which arrested the notice of the reader in a recent page, the author again pauses to remark, that the happy mortal

\* 20th of December, 1526.

† 6th of January 1527.

A. H. 933.  
 A. D. 1527.  
 Abûl Fazzel.

on whose brows an all-governing providence has fixed the diadem of superior intelligence, and whose exertions are ever directed to execute the divine will of his Creator, cannot, in due time, fail to enjoy the full fruition of every wish—to attain to a pre-eminence in human grandeur, far beyond all that can be estimated in the short sighted speculations of this nether world. Of this, what splendid proofs do we not discover, at every step, in the history of our illustrious Bâber; whose prudence continually advanced in just proportion with his fortune, whose vigilance arose more conspicuously amidst the intoxication of accumulated victory, and whose justice, beneficence, and activity, in the discharge of his imperial functions, supported by an unshaken confidence in the Almighty, had no parallel, nor restraint, but in the consummate wisdom by which they were directed! Hence also, when yielding to the suggestions of an arrogant spirit, the haughty Râna Sanka, elated by an overstrained conception of his own prowess, of the multitude of his troops, and the extent of his resources, began, by proceedings which could no longer be misunderstood, to unmask his daring and ambitious designs, and was making rapid advances towards Agrah, our dauntless Moghûl, erecting his bulwark of defence in the goodness of his maker, and little alarmed at the progress of what he seemed to consider an infatuated mob, on Monday the ninth of the former Jummaudy, of the nine hundred and thirty third of the hidjerah,\* drew out of Agrah to put himself at the head of his troops—determined to proceed immediately, in person, in order to crush the designs thus formed in the blindness of presumption, and matured in arrogance and folly.

Having, however, encamped for a period of four days, in the neighborhood of the city, his march was hastened on the fifth, by the reports which continued to multiply upon him, of the progress of the enemy; who had, by this time, possessed himself of the whole of the country round the fortress of Beiaunah, after repulsing, with considerable loss, the garrison of that place, under Mehedy Khaujah, which had made an attempt to restrain his depredations. The royal army now advanced to the plains of Meindahguhr, about midway between Agrah and Sekry. In the vicinity of the latter place, to the name of which a short time afterwards, in acknowledgement of his victory, he gave a Persian

\* 10th of February, 1527.

signification, by changing it into Shúkkúry; and to which, at a period long subsequent for a similar reason, was added by Akbar, the appellation of Futtahpour—the city of victory—Báber was well apprized that there existed a very spacious Talaub, Tank, or pond, and that there was scarcely any other supply of water, within a reasonable distance throughout the whole district, than what was to be found in this Talaub. In order to secure this important position, which he conceived it extremely probable that the enemy might make a rapid movement to seize, the Moghúl monarch hastened forward with the whole of his force, on the fifteenth day of the month;\* dispatching Derwaish Mahommed Sarbaun, [camel driver], with a division in advance, in order to fix upon a convenient spot for the imperial encampment. The banks, of the lake of Futtahpour, here alluded to, and described as an extensive and magnificent expanse of waters, were chosen by that officer for the purpose; and the royal army accordingly took up its ground there, shortly afterwards. Mehedy Khaujah, with the garrison of Beiaunah, was now directed to join the imperial encampment; and Beg Meirek, an officer belonging to the division of Homayún, was employed to procure intelligence of the enemy. On the morning of the following day, the same officer returned with information, that the enemy was encamped one kósse on the other side of Yessaour, and at the distance of eighteen kósse† from the position of the royal army. The same day, Mehedy Khaujah, and Mahommed Súltan Mirza, with the garrison of Beiaunah, joined the imperial head quarters at Sekry.

From this period, a series of skirmishes daily took place between the Moghúl light troops, and those of the Rána, until the thirteenth of the latter Jummaudy, of the year 933;‡ when, the position of the imperial army being now advanced to the neighborhood of Khanwah, a town at the foot of a hill, belonging to Beiaunah, and at the distance of two kósse from the enemy, it was announced that Rana Sanka, with the whole of his force was approaching, with the apparent resolution of giving battle.

On the nature of the force assembled against him on this occasion, Báber, in the narrative of events written by himself, is alleged to state that by the feodatorial institutions of Hindústaun, every department of

\* 16th February. † About six and thirty, or forty English miles. ‡ 16th March, 1527,

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the empire, producing the revenue of one lak [of rupees], was estimated to furnish the contingent of one hundred horse; that which produced a Krou, or Krouh, as it is generally written, or one hundred laks, was considered to furnish ten thousand horse, equipped and armed for service. In other words, that every tenure of the annual value of one thousand rupees,\* was bound to furnish one horseman for the service of the state, whenever required. Now the countries immediately subject to the authority of Râna Sanka, were estimated to yield an annual revenue of ten Krou, and the force under his own family standard, on the occasion, might therefore be fairly set down at one hundred thousand horse. But to these must be added, the auxiliaries brought to his support, by a number of very powerful native chieftains, otherwise independent of his authority. These were, in particular, Sûhldy, the ruler of Râisein, Sârungpour, and the neighboring districts, whose quota was settled at thirty thousand horse; Râowûl Oudy Sing, of Maugry, twelve thousand; Hussun Khaun, of Meivaut, twelve thousand; Bahratmul, of Aydery, four thousand; Nerpet Haudah, seven thousand; Sêtrûi Ketchy, six thousand; the chief of Jorhel—; Beyram Deou, of Meirtah, four thousand; Nersing Deou Tchohaun, four thousand; and lastly, Mahmoud Khaun, the son of Sûltan Sekunder Lôdy, although without a foot of territory which he could call his own, yet in the hope of recovering the dignity of his ancestors, contrived on this occasion, to bring ten thousand horse into the field of battle—comprising altogether a promiscuous force of not less than two hundred thousand cavalry.

Assured of the actual approach of the enemy, in such formidable strength, the Tcheghatâian monarch proceeded without delay, to arrange his troops for battle; taking post himself, with those immediately attached to his person, in the Ghoul, which appears to have been in the centre of the rear line. Immediately to his *right*, were the divisions of Tchein Teymûr Sûltan, and Mirza Sûliman, with Khaujâh Doast Khâowund, Youness Ally, Shah Munsûr Berlàs, Derwaish Mahomed Sarbaun, Abdullah Ketabdaur, and other officers. To the *left* of the royal station, were Allâ-ud-dein, Sûltan of Behlowulpour, Sheikh Zeyne, of Khowauf, Ameir Moheb Ally the son of Nizam-ud-dein Ally

\* £125 sterling, at two and six pence to the rupee.



Khâleifah, Tereddy Beg, Sheirafkunn the son of Kouje Beg, and many other distinguished commanders. The *right* wing of the first line was placed under the orders of Homayûn, and on his *right* flank, were stationed with their divisions, Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan, Ahmed Yûsuf Oughlaktchei, Hindû Beg Koutchein, Khossrou Koukeltaush, Kowaum Beg Ordû Shah, Wully Khauzen, Kara Kouzy, Peir Seiestauny, Khaujah Pehlewaun Buddukhshy, and Abdulshûkûr, with many other veteran warriors. To the *left* of the principal division of the right wing, were posted Meirhem, Mahommedy Koukeltaush, Khaújeky Assud Jandaur, and some others. In the right wing were also stationed, the Hindustâuny chieftains, including Khaun Khaunan, Dilâwer Khaun, Melek Dâoud Kerrerauny, and Sheikh Gouhrin. The *left* wing of the first line was consigned to the discretion of Seyud Mehedy Khaujah, with Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, and other distinguished captains; and among these were also distributed, several more of the Hindûstauny chiefs, who had submitted to the Tcheghatâian government; such as Jullaul Khaun, and Kummaul Khaun, the sons of Sûltan Allâ-ud-dein, with Ally Khaun, Sheikh zadah Fermully, Nizaum Khaun of Beiânah, and others not less distinguished for zeal and loyalty, than for undaunted courage. The Toulghama, or Toulghamah, a designation here applied to the advanced guard of the right wing, and composed entirely of Moghûl troops, was entrusted to Terdeikah, assisted by Melek Kaussem, the brother of Bâba Kushkah; and the same guard for the left wing, consisting of household troops, was committed to Moumen Auttekah, and Rûstum, a Tûrkman officer.

To complete his disposition, a line of carriages fastened together with iron chains, under the direction of Nizam-ud-dein Ally Khaleifah, was extended, according to the practice of the Turkish armies, along the whole front, in order to cover the matchlockmen, and artillery, which were stationed some distance in advance. After assigning to the principal generals their respective stations in the line, Sûltan Mahommed, the Bukhshy, placed himself near the person of his sovereign, in order to receive his final instructions; which were to be circulated to the different divisions through the Tawatcheis and Yessawuls, [adjutant generals, and exempts]—the commanding generals being forbidden to quit their posts, on any pretence, or to commence action without express orders to that purpose.

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At the conclusion of the first watch in the morning, the battle however commenced, on the part of the enemy, by an attack of their left wing, upon the division on the right of the Tcheghatâian troops, under the orders of Khossrou Koukeltaush, and Melek Kaussem, here, called the son of Bâba Kushkah. But Tchein Teymûr Sûltan, by command of his sovereign, immediately advancing to the support of the division attacked, the enemy were nobly repulsed by him, almost to the very rear of their centre. The honor of the succeeding victory was, therefore, in a paramount degree ascribed to him, in consequence of this well executed and successful operation. The artillery of Homayûn's division being, at the same time, carried forward by Mûstafa, the Turkish officer in charge, occasioned dreadful havoc and no small confusion, in the ranks of the enemy by its well directed fire. But, as the enemy continued, however, to maintain the conflict, by perpetually bringing up fresh troops to the support of their broken squadrons, Bâber found it necessary to employ the same expedient, in order to defeat them; and for this purpose, Kaussem Hûseyne Sûltan, Ahmed Yûssuf, and Kowaum Beg; and after them, Hindû Beg Koutchîn, and Mahommedy Koukeltaush, and Youness Ally, and Shah Munsûr Berlâs, and Abdullah Ketabâur, and Mahommed Khaleil Akhta Beggy, and many others, were ordered in succession to sustain the divisions engaged, and to repel the efforts of their adversaries. In the mean time, the right of the enemy was by no means unemployed, having made repeated attempts upon the left wing of the Moghûl army; in which it was as repeatedly foiled with infinite loss, by the equal firmness and skill of the opposing divisions. On this side they were also successively resisted by Moumen Auttekah, and Rûstum the Tûrkomaun, supported by Moulla Mahmûd, and Ally Auttekah Pashleik, belonging to the division of Ally Khaleifah; and, latterly, by Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, Auddel Sûltan, Abdulazziz Meir Aukhor, or master of the horse, Kût-lûg Kuddum Kerawul, or captain of videttes, Mahommed Tchengcheng, and many others who eminently signalized themselves on this memorable occasion.

When the fate of the battle had been, however, thus held in suspense to a late hour in the day, through the superior numbers of the enemy, the household troops of the empire, who, like tigers in their chains, had

been hitherto kept in reserve, behind the line of carriages, received orders to defile by the right and left of the centre division, and, leaving the station of the harquebussiers also on either hand between them, to advance and take their part in the conflict. Finding themselves at length let loose from restraint, these chosen warriors hastened accordingly to indulge their eagerness for blood, and threw themselves like beasts of prey among the squadrons of the enemy; while Ally Kùly, that miracle of the age, with his artillery immediately in advance of the imperial station, opened a tremendous discharge of all the materials of destruction upon their thickest ranks. Such was the crisis of affairs, when orders were also issued that the guns of the centre division should be moved forward, Báber, in person, at the same moment, advancing directly upon the front of the enemy; and this decisive movement being observed by the remainder of the Tcheghatâian troops, the whole at once now rushed forward, eager to share in the sanguinary strife.

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Before the day had finally closed, the two wings of the enemy's army were so completely beaten back by the Tcheghatâians, that they were thrown together, in one confused and unwieldy mass, upon their centre; in which state they were so vigorously pressed by their victorious antagonists, that, deriving courage from despair, they made a furious effort to disengage themselves. In their turn, they were, for a moment, eminently successful, having borne down upon the flanks of Báber's centre division, in such a manner as to be at one time extremely close upon his person. But no effort could prevail over the unshaken firmness, and intrepid resistance of the monarch and his veteran bands. The enemy, no longer permitted to rally, were left without alternative, and finally quitted the field of battle in the utmost consternation.

The contest having thus terminated in victory to the standard of the Moghùls, and the enemy been dispersed, like the sands of the desert before the whirlwind of the storm, Báber, after offering up to the divine majesty the usual tribute of thanksgiving, and pursuing the fugitives in person to the distance of about a kôsse from the field of battle, some time after night fall returned to his camp; having dispatched Mahommedy Koukeltaush, Abdulazziz, master of the horse, and various others;

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commanders, to continue the pursuit of Râna Sanka, who had contrived to effect his escape from the scene of consternation. The slaughter of the enemy, during the battle and pursuit, was very considerable; and many thousands of their wounded were trampled to death, by the cavalry of the victors. Of their chiefs, in particular, Hussun Khaun Meivauty fell by a musquet shot; and Raowul Oudi Sing, Maunek-tchund Tchohaun, Râi Tchunderbaun, Velpet Râi, Gungû, Kerem Sing, Dounger Sei, with many others of distinguished rank, were also numbered with the slain.

Since it was not in the destiny of the fugitive Râna to fall into the hands of his pursuers, the officers employed on that service returned without their object, and Bâber expressed some dissatisfaction, as if they had not sufficiently exerted themselves on the occasion; but, more especially, regretting that he should have suffered an opportunity so singularly favorable to escape, by entrusting that to the execution of others, which he could have so easily undertaken in his own person. Sheikh Zeyne, the Suddur, a man of distinguished talents in the court of Bâber, has recorded the date of this important victory in the sentence "Futtah-Padshah-isslaum—" The monarch of the true faith triumphant—" the Persian characters of which numerically applied will furnish the total 933; and what is considered further remarkable, the very same discovery was made at Kabûl, by Ameir Gaissou. According to a statement of the emperor's in the commentaries written by himself, a similar circumstance occurred after the conquest of Dibalpour; two different persons, at a considerable distance apart, having recorded the date of that event in the same sentence. Be this, however, as it may, the victory of *Khanwa* was considered of sufficient importance, to terminate for the present all operations against Rana Sanka and the countries subject to his authority, for the more immediate purpose of reducing Meivaut.

In the mean time, it was found expedient to detach a body of troops under Mahommed Tchengteheng, Sheikh Gouhrin, and Abdulmulûk Kourtchei, against Eliauss Khaun; who was at the head of an insurrection in the countries between the Jumna and Ganges, had taken possession of the town of Koul, perhaps Coel, and laid the governor, an officer of the name of Gunjuk Ally, in irons. On the approach of

the Moghûl detachment, the insurgent, however, thought fit to abscond without opposing any resistance; but by the time that the imperial standard had returned to the metropolis of Agrah, he had fallen into the hands of his pursuers, and being conveyed to the presence of Bâber, was immediately condemned to suffer the punishment of rebellion. There was nothing further, now, to divert the attention of the Tcheghatâian monarch from his previous design against Meivaut, which he proceeded to carry into execution without delay. He accordingly again quitted Agrah for that purpose; and on the sixth of Rudjub, of the year nine hundred and thirty-three,\* he encamped at the head of his army, in the neighborhood of Alour, or Alwer, the then seat of government of the Khauns of Meivaut. The whole province was reduced, shortly afterwards, without apparent difficulty, being destined as an augmentation to the territorial possessions already conferred upon Homayûn. Bâber then returned to Agrah, his attention being next required towards the countries on the Ganges, eastward; where his authority had as yet been very imperfectly established.

It being, however, still imperative upon the sovereign to provide, under every change, for the security of his more distant governments of Kabûl and Buddukhshaun, and the latter having in effect been conferred upon Homayûn, ever since the natural demise of Khaun Mirza, in the 917th of the hidjerah, that prince, on the ninth of Rudjub of the current year,† when within three kôsse of Alwer, was permitted to take his departure for the countries to the westward of the Indus; and, on the same day, his royal father completed his arrangements towards repressing the insolence, and extinguishing the power of Beyn, the refractory Afghan, who had contrived, during the recent hostilities with Râna Sanka, to make himself master of Luhknou. For the execution of these measures, Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan, Melek Kaussem the son of Bâba Kushkah, Abûl Mahommed Neizabauz, and Hûsseyne Khaun, together with the Hindûstauny Ameirs, Ally Khaun Fermully, Melek Dâoud Guerrerauny, and Tatar Khaun, entitled Khaun-e-jahaun, were shortly afterwards, dispatched under the orders of Mahommed Sûltan Mirza. The Afghan chief, however, no sooner heard of the march and destination of these commanders than he instantly

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\* 7th of April 1527.

† 10th of April.

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determined on abandoning his usurpations, and he accordingly betook himself again, for some time at least, to the life of a wanderer.

Towards the conclusion of the year, Bâber amused himself in making a circuit of the country about Futtahpour and Baury, after which he returned to Agrah; and in the beginning of the nine hundred and thirty-fourth of the hidjerah, he proceeded on an excursion towards Koel, and from thence to the sporting country of Sumbul, the romantic mountainous district of which he explored with sensations of peculiar delight. On his return to Agrah, soon afterwards, we find him proceeding, on the twenty-eighth of Suffur,\* in his yacht along the Joun, or Jumna, to meet the princesses Fakher-e-jahaun Begum, and Khadeijah Sûltan Begum, who were on their way to his presence from Kabûl. In the mean time, reports were continually conveyed to him of the force collecting under Meydeny Râi, the Rajah of Tchundeiry, and of the formidable preparations making, after all, by Râna Sanka, for the renewal of hostilities; and hence his determination, without further delay, to turn his arms once more to the southward. A force of about eight thousand men, under the orders of Tchein Temûr Sûltan, from Kalpy, was accordingly employed, in the first instance to attack the fortress of Tchundeiry; and on the seventh of the former Jummaudy,† the reduction of that place was accomplished with circumstances briefly stated to have been satisfactory to the mind of the conqueror—that is to say, according to Ferishtah, after the exhibition of one of those appalling acts of self-devotion, so frequently ascribed to the superstitious Radjpouts. The town of Tchundeiry, with the territory dependent upon it, was immediately bestowed upon Ahmed Shah, the son of Sûltan Nausser-ud-dein, formerly sovereign of Malwa; and on the eleventh of the month, Bâber with his court returned towards Agrah.

On the authority of certain writers of the highest respectability, we are here informed that previous to the departure of the imperial standard for Tchundeiry, on this occasion, the Rana, that is Rana Sanka, of Oudipour probably, was preparing to lay siege to Eiritch, Ebritch, or Ebreije, it is difficult to say which, an officer in the service of Bâber having taken the precaution to secure the place against him. Just, however, as the Râna was about to break ground against the defences of

\* 22d of November.

† 28th of January.

the town, one of the sages of ancient times appeared to him at night in a dream, and in a form so terrific, that he awoke in the utmost dismay, and instantly raised the siege. From the effect of this affright, he never recovered, and he died not long afterwards.

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The imperial troops had crossed the river of Bûrhanpour, one of those probably, which run into the Jumma, south of the Tchumbul, when intelligence reached Bâber that Marrouf, and Beyn, and Bayezid, the Afghans, were again in arms on the Ganges; and that the royal officers had abandoned Kanouje, and withdrawn to Raibery. In consequence of this retreat, the Afghans had been encouraged to advance, and had taken the fortress of Shumsabad from Abûl Mahomed Neizabauz. It became, therefore, necessary that the march of the imperial troops should be immediately directed to that quarter. But the moment the advanced parties of the troops appeared in sight, the son of Beyn, who was in command at Kanouje, thought fit in his turn, to abandon that ancient city to its fate; whilst the father, and his associates in rebellion, on information that the Moghûls were approaching, suddenly crossed the Ganges to the left, or eastern bank; and taking post opposite to Kanouje, prepared to defend the passage against the imperial armies. On the third of Mohurrem, of the year nine hundred and thirty-five,\* Mirza Askery, who had been summoned from Kabûl previous to the expedition against Tchundeiry, joined the army on its march to the north-east; and on the tenth of the same month, the royal standard was displayed at Gwalior. Bâber devoted the forenoon of the day on which he arrived, to survey the several structures erected by the Rajahs Bikramajit, and Maun Sing, and the curious antiquities formerly to be seen about that celebrated fortress. On the twenty-fifth of month, he reached the metropolis of Agra.

There appeared now at the seat of government, a more than ordinarily numerous assemblage of nobility, both Moghûl and Hindûstauny; and Bâber, anxious to repress the growing refractory spirit, and to restore tranquillity in the provinces to the eastward, gladly embraced the opportunity of holding a grand council of state, in order to deliberate on the measures best calculated for the attainment of an object so de-

\* 16th of September 1528.

A. H. 935.  
A. D. 1529.  
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sirable. And it was, on full discussion, here determined, that Mirza, Askery, at the head of a powerful division of troops should, in the first instance, be dispatched in that direction; and that the officers already serving on the other side the Ganges, should be instructed to co-operate with him, with all the force at their disposal. In concurrence with these views, Mirza Askery received his dismissal from court on the seventh of the latter Rebbeia, of this year;\* Bâber himself proceeding, at the same time, on a hunting party towards Dhoulpour. But, on the third of the former Jummaudy,† receiving intelligence that Mahmûd, the son of Eskunder Lody, had taken possession of Bahar, and was otherwise engaged in designs of hostile and turbulent ambition, he suddenly relinquished the amusements of the chase, and returned to Agrah, resolving to proceed immediately, in person, to the territory on the Ganges.

In the mean time, dispatches from Buddukhshaun arrived to announce that Homayûn, accompanied by Sûltan Aweiss, and an army of nearly fifty thousand men, assembled from different quarters, was preparing to march against Samarkand; but that a negociation for peace was still on foot between the contending parties. Without a moment's delay, a letter was transmitted from his father to the prince, enjoining him, if matters had not already been carried to an extremity which precluded accommodation in any shape, to agree for the present to any sort of terms that might be attainable; until an adjustment of his differences with the powers of Hindûstaun, of which there was no distant prospect, should enable him to vindicate, in person, his just right to the dominions of his ancestors. And for this purpose, Homayûn was further instructed to keep the troops of his government in constant readiness to join the imperial standard, immediately on its arrival. These dispatches were accompanied by a mandate requiring the immediate presence of Hindal Mirza in Hindûstaun, and an ordinance including the province of Kabul, among the departments more immediately attached to the imperial exchequer.

On the seventeenth of the same month of Jummaudy,‡ Bâber crossed the Joun, or Jumna, on his march to the eastward; and on the same day, the agents of Nussrut Shah prince of Bengâlah, were introduced

\* 18th of December 1528.

† 10th of January.

‡ 26th of January.



to him, with some very valuable presents, and assurances of homage and attachment, on the part of their master. On the nineteenth of the latter Jummaudy,\* Mirza Askery joined the imperial standard, now planted on the banks of the Ganges; and he received orders to proceed with his division downwards along the opposite, or left bank, of that river. In the neighborhood of Kurrah, intelligence was happily announced of the entire subversion of the ephemeral power erected in Bahar, by the son of Sûltan Eskunder Lôdy. The imperial army continued, however, to prosecute its march through the territory of Ghâzipour, finally encamping at Bhoujepour and Patnah. Having determined here to confer the government of Bahar upon Mirza Mahommed Zemaun, the mind of Bâber appears to have been set at rest, with respect to the affairs of that province and of Bengal; and we find him accordingly, on the fifth of Ramzaun,† directing his march to crush the ambitious projects of the two rebellious Afghans, Bèyne and Bay-ezzid. For this purpose he proceeded towards Seirdâr, in the territory of which the rebels appear to have given battle to the imperial army, and to have been signally defeated; after which, having surveyed, or made a tour through, Jereid and Sekunderpour, and satisfactorily adjusted all his affairs in this quarter, Bâber again returned towards Agrah.

When the heir apparent, Homayûn, had continued for a twelvemonth to reside in his government of Buddukhshaun, he became suddenly seized with an inclination, which he could no longer resist, to return to the presence of his father. Leaving that province, accordingly, in charge of Meir Sûltan Aweiss, who was the father-in-law of Mirza Sûliman, he proceeded on his journey with so much celerity, that he reached Kabûl in one day. There, at the Eidgah, he met with Mirza Kamraun, who had also unexpectedly arrived from Kandahaur, on the same day, and to whom, on expressing some surprise at his appearance, he alleged the irresistible impulse by which he felt himself driven to return into Hindûstaun. Previously dispatching Mirza Hindal from Kabûl, notwithstanding his recent instructions, to superintend the safety of Buddukhshaun, Homayûn then prosecuted his journey towards Agrah, which he also reached with more than ordinary expedition; entering the presence of his father and mother, at a moment

\* 27th of February.

† 12th of May.

A. H. 935. when, little aware of his approach, they were conversing on the subject  
 A. D. 1529. of their favorite son. His presence appears to have produced the most  
 Abûl Fazzel. sensible pleasure; and although, with the monarch on the throne, every  
 day may be considered as a day of festivity, that of his arrival on this  
 occasion, became one of unprecedented rejoicing, and of a most sumptuous  
 general entertainment, in the royal palace of Agra.

On this subject, we are however informed, on the testimony of Mirza Heyder the author of the *Tarikh-resheidy*, that Homayûn did not, as generally represented on the occasion, quit his province without permission; but, as appears most probable, that he received his father's orders to repair into Hindûstaun, leaving his government in charge of Fakeir Ally, one of his subordinate Ameirs. But, at all events, as the death of Mirza Anwar, one of his sons, had occurred just at the same crisis, the arrival of Homayûn afforded the most seasonable consolation to the afflicted father; and would in all probability have been hailed with welcome, even though he might have presented himself an uninvited guest at his father's gate. He continued to reside for some time at court, the almost inseparable associate of his father's cares and enjoyments; and the elder prince was often heard to declare, that as a companion, Homayûn was without his equal. Indeed it has been acknowledged, that perfect humanity, politeness, or courtesy, is a phrase that in one word would exactly comprehend the character of this illustrious prince.

It became, however, no sooner known that he had quitted Buddukhshâun for India, than Sûltan Sâeid Khaun, one of the princes of Kashghâr, although connected by the ties of blood, and although he had partaken most liberally in the hospitalities of Bâber's court, could yet be prevailed upon, at the invitation of Sûltan Aweiss, and other nobles of the province, to undertake an expedition into that country; committing his capital of Yaurkenn, or Yaurkund, to the care of one of his officers of the name of Khorsheid Khaun. Fortunately, before he could enter Buddukhshâun, Mirza Hindal had arrived, and throwing himself immediately into the fortress of Zuffer, there for three months successfully resisted all the efforts of the Khaun, to reduce him. In short, the invader finding his views thus early anticipated, was constrained to return into Kashghâr soon afterwards, without deriving the

smallest advantage from his exertions. In the mean time, a report had been circulated at Agrah, that the troops of Kashghâr had succeeded in obtaining possession of Buddukhshaun; in consequence of which, Khaujâh Khaleifah was directed to proceed immediately into that province, in order to re-establish the authority of his master. But as that officer through some plea of inexperience, or misconception, demurred to the undertaking, Bâber conceived it of sufficient importance, and perhaps from a consideration that it had been lost through his dereliction, to be proposed to Homayûn, who still resided with his father. The prince, however, thought proper also to decline it; alleging that after having already suffered so severely from the sorrows of separation, he had made a vow never more, with his consent, to quit the royal presence. He added, nevertheless, that if his interference was still considered indispensably necessary, he had no alternative but obedience.

Such obstacles having occurred in his previous selection, Bâber ultimately fixed upon Mirza Sûliman the son of Mirza Khaun, who was accordingly dispatched, without delay, towards Buddukhshaun; letters being, at the same time, transmitted to Sûltan Sâeid Khaun, expressive of surprise and regret at a conduct, on his part, so repugnant to the claims of former friendship. They further announced that, Mirza Hindal being now recalled, Mirza Sûliman had been sent to supersede him, with a demand that if the Khaun yet retained any regard for the obligations of good faith, he would immediately deliver the province into the hands of the said Mirza Sûliman, for whom the Moghûl prince professed a father's affection. On the other hand, should the destiny of the Khaun unfortunately lead him to persist in his scheme of usurpation, Bâber, on his part, formally declared, that he had resigned all pretensions of his own, in favor of the claims of hereditary succession; and for the residue, the Khaun must of course judge for himself. The province of Buddukhshaun, as we have already seen, had, however, been entirely relieved from the presence of the invader, even before Mirza Sûliman could reach Kabûl; so that, on his actual arrival in the country, he was immediately put in possession of the government, by Mirza Hindal, in exact conformity with the imperial instructions; after which the latter prince, without further delay, took his departure for Hindûstaun.

A. H. 937.  
A. D. 1530.  
Abûl Fazzel.

A. H. 937.  
A. D. 1530.  
Abûl Fazzel.

We come now to the concluding events of the reign of Bâber. Having continued, for a period of some duration, to reside with his father, Homayûn at last obtained permission to proceed to his jâgueir; the territory of Sumbul, on the other side of the Ganges almost due east of Dehly. Here, after an agreeable and pleasing abode of six months, he was, however, at the expiration of that period, seized with a debilitating attack of fever and ague; and as the disorder threatened to be of tedious duration, his father became considerably alarmed at the intelligence. In these circumstances, he sent to desire that the prince would return without a moment's delay to the city of Dehly; from whence he would be able without either inconvenience or fatigue, to complete his journey to Agrah by water, on the Jumna. The prince repaired, accordingly forthwith, to Agrah, in the hope of deriving that aid in the removal of his complaint, which was to be expected from the superior and united skill of the physicians of the metropolis; but all appeared unavailing to produce the desired relief.

Still anxious, to the last degree, for the restoration of his son to health, Bâber, accompanied by some of the most intelligent members of his court, had seated himself one day on the bank of the Jumna, opposite to the city—his thoughts and conversation exclusively bent on the possibility of yet devising some expedient to bring about what had hitherto so cruelly baffled all their efforts. Meir Abûlbukka, distinguished for his genius and acquirements among the most learned men of the age, here ventured to suggest, that in his researches among the works of ancient writers, he had seen it some where or other recommended, in cases of malady which had otherwise defeated the exertions of human skill, by the formal oblation of something pre-eminently valuable among the possessions of this world, to endeavour to propitiate the aid of omnipotence. The affectionate parent immediately remarked, that in the eyes of Homayûn, he did not believe there existed on earth, any consideration more valuable than the life of his father. That life he expressed himself at any time perfectly prepared to sacrifice for his preservation; and it was therefore, on his part, no extraordinary effort of paternal zeal, if without a moment's hesitation, he now solemnly offered it up before the throne of God's glory, in the hope that it would not be unaccepted of in propitiation for the safety of Homayûn. Khau-

jah Khaleifah, and the other courtiers, upon this proceeded to observe that, under the blessing of providence, there could yet be little doubt of the prince's final restoration to health, and of his attaining to the utmost limits of the age of man, without abstracting, in any degree, from the life of his royal father. They therefore remonstrated in dutiful language with their sovereign, on the severe and melancholy turn which he had been induced to give to the suggestions of Abûbukka; which they could assure him, indicated nothing further than the appropriation to religious purposes of some article, in treasure or jewels, adequate, in some degree, to the value of what he was so naturally anxious to preserve. And in this view they ventured to demand, what, as an oblation could be better calculated than that inestimable jewel, the *diamond* which had become his property, on the defeat of Sûltan Ibraûhim; and which he had, with such parental indulgence, consigned to Homayûn?

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The filial tenderness of the monarch was, however, not to be withdrawn from its object—he persisted in maintaining that no earthly possession could be put in competition with the health of Homayûn—that he could no longer remain a patient witness of his sufferings—and that his resolution was unalterably taken, to make the solemn tender of his own life, as a willing sacrifice for the preservation of his son's. But in order to prove himself as good as his word, he immediately retired from the circle, and betaking himself to his oratory, or chamber of prayer, he there, after having performed the course of devotions prescribed, perhaps, on an occasion so solemn, made a formal and humble offer to resign himself immediately into the hands of death, in exchange for the restoration of his son. He concluded the singular ceremony by passing, with slow and solemn step, three times round the couch of Homayûn; and it is asserted, that in the effect produced upon himself, he experienced instant proof that his vows were accepted; and that a change, as sudden as favorable, taking place in the complaint of Homayûn, he was very shortly afterwards restored to perfect health.

Subsequent to this act of parental self-devotion, the health of Bâber manifestly declined; until at last, perceiving that the symptoms of dissolution were rapidly advancing upon him, he thought he could no longer defer calling together the principal officers of state, in order to re-

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ceive his final instructions. In their presence taking the hand of Homayûn, he then publicly declared that prince sole heir to his crown, and all that belonged to it; at the same time, placing him upon the throne, and causing himself to be laid on his couch at the foot of it. After this, addressing himself to Khaujâh Khaleifah, Kûmber Ally Beg, Tereddy Beg, and Hindû Beg, and in general to the whole concourse of Ameirs assembled on this occasion, he employed every argument that wisdom could devise, and experience suggest, to promote their welfare both here and hereafter. Above all things he admonished them, by a strict and uniform administration of substantial justice; by a liberal attention to the demands of the distressed, and the claims of the deserving; by a paternal regard and unceasing watchfulness over the happiness of the people; by a generous indulgence towards the errors of the repentant, a merciful forbearance towards the crimes of guilt, and an attentive encouragement to the assiduity of all entrusted with the business of the state—and, finally, by depressing the insolence of pride, and disarming the hand of the oppressor, to ensure the blessing of omnipotence upon all their undertakings. To Homayûn, in particular, as a circumstance of vital importance to the prosperity of his government, he strenuously recommended, however deeply he might find himself injured by their conduct, to beware of prosecuting any design of vengeance against his brothers; and to this particular in his father's dying injunctions is, indeed, to be ascribed that singular forbearance, under repeated aggression, with which, to the last, Homayûn continued to demean himself with respect to those brothers; as will be distinctly seen hereafter, when we come to treat of the events of his reign.

It appears, in the mean time, that while the dying monarch was languishing in the last stage of his illness, Meir Khaleifah, haunted by his apprehensions of the ill-will of Homayûn, employed the whole of his influence and authority, in order to secure the throne of Hindûstân for Mehedy Khaujâh; who, on his part, from that avidity for power so deeply implanted in the human mind, seemed sufficiently disposed to enter into his views. But, yielding before it was too late to the wiser counsels of those who were qualified to look deeper into futurity, Meir Khaleifah was afterwards induced to abandon his visionary designs. The Khaujâh was, however, interdicted from appearing at court, the peo-

ple were, by public proclamation, forbidden to frequent his house, and justice was ultimately allowed to take its course in favor of legitimate succession.

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That event which had, however, been for some time anticipated, at last came to pass in the death of Bâber; who finally bid adieu to this world, with all its perfidious follies and unsubstantial glories, on the sixth of the former Jummaudy, of the nine hundred and thirty-seventh of the hidjerah,\* at one of the villas erected by him on the banks of the Jumna. The phrase "Homayûn was the heir to his dominions," exhibits in Persian characters, precisely the era of his demise: but to unfold the catalogue of his various excellencies would, according to our author, require many a volume. To bring, however, his manifold virtues within the compass of a few words, it is alleged, that he possessed in the highest perfection the *eight* primary qualities essentially necessary to the support of imperial power. These were, in the first place, ascendancy of fortune. 2ndly, magnificence in design. 3rdly, talents to concert, and vigor to execute any plan of conquest. 4thly, opulence. 5thly, indefatigable zeal in promoting the general prosperity of the countries subject to his power. 6thly, genuine, and unaffected anxiety for the repose and welfare of his people. 7thly, the faculty of rendering his soldiers contented with their lot. And 8thly, firmness to restrain them from violence. With respect to his several acquirements, in whatever was useful, or ornamental, it is stated, in the first place, that he was pre-eminently skilled in the art of penmanship, according to the different methods then in practice; and his talents for composition, both in verse and prose, were of the very highest order, but more particularly in Turkish poetry; in which he wrote a Diwaun, or collection of odes, distinguished for peculiar elegance and harmony of style, and furnishing a variety of thoughts equally striking and original—or, perhaps this was a separate tract, included in the collection, under the title of Mûzaumin-e-tauzah. The Messnûi-moubein, or Messnûi illustrated, a poem of the didactic class eminently esteemed by the learned, has also been ascribed to him; and the Ressaulah Waleidiah of Khaujah Ehraur, an admired moral treatise, the father's legacy perhaps, was rendered by him into very pleasing and elegant verse. Last of all, it is,

\* 25th of December 1530.

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not to be forgotten that in a series of commentaries, and in a style not less eloquent than elaborate, he wrote the memoirs of his own reign, from his accession to the period of his demise; which, in the judgment of his panegyrist, might well serve as a permanent model for the imitation of every sovereign, of every age and country—an exemplar, which from its accuracy of reasoning, and the justness of its conceptions, must ever continue eminently useful to all that may be any way ambitious to profit by the lessons of experience, and the admonitions of genuine wisdom. This instructive performance, so admirably calculated to point the way to every gradation of human grandeur, was afterwards translated into Persian by Mirza Jaun, the son of the celebrated Beyram Khaun, in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Akbar; by command of that illustrious monarch, on his return from an expedition to Kabûl and Kashmeir. Bâber was, moreover, a considerable proficient in music; and there were, in the time of the author, some Persian songs composed by him in a very pleasing style.

In proof, it may be supposed, of his convivial disposition, we are further told, that on the side of a hill, a little way from the city of Kabûl, he formed a small tank, or cistern, of red granite, which he frequently caused to be filled with wine, while the most beautiful maidens were engaged to sing and dance around it. On the sides of the cistern were sculptured some lines in Persian, to the following purport: “Sweet is the return of the new year”—“Sweet the smiling spring”—“Sweet is the juice of the mellow grape”—“Sweeter far the voice of love”—“Strive O! Bâber to secure the enjoyments of life”—“which, alas! once departed, will never more return”

As an instance of intuitive sagacity in this illustrious prince, Ferishtah also relates, that when Sheikh Zeyne the Suddur,\* to a question with respect to his age, quaintly replied, that seven years since, he was forty, five years afterwards he was still forty, and that he was yet not less than forty years of age, the monarch alone instantly comprehended his meaning; which implied nothing more, than that the smaller must always be contained in the larger number. By the same author, we are at the same time informed, that to the practice introduced by this intelligent monarch of measuring the distances from place to place,

\* Metropolitan.



during his frequent marches, and hunting excursions, India was indebted for a more accurate knowledge on that head, and for the means of acquiring that knowledge. This he obtained by making use of a Tennaub, or surveying cord, forty guzz, or eighty feet in length, one hundred such Tennaubs making the royal kösse, or Indian league, of those days; which continued the statute admeasurement to the commencement of the reign of Jahangueir—and, estimating the guzz\* at twenty four inches, would be about equal to one English mile, a half, twenty six yards, and two feet, at 1760 yards to the mile.

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Bâber left four sons, and three daughters, whose names are preserved in the following enumeration: Mahommed Homayûn, who succeeded to his power—Kamraun Mirza—Asskery Mirza—and Hindal Mirza. The daughters were Gâlrunç Begum—Gûltchehrah Begum—and Gûlbuddun Begum—all three by the same mother. We shall finally remark that he concluded his earthly career at the age of forty seven years, ten months, and ten days; and that he reigned altogether, from the demise of his father, for a period of thirty six years, six months, and eighteen days; of which, from the date of his victory at Paunipet, he held the sceptre of Hindûstaun for four years, eight months, and six days.

With our author, we shall now proceed to describe with all reasonable brevity, the events which distinguished the succeeding turbulent reign of *Nusseir-ud-dêin Mahommed Homayûn*, the son of Bâber, who is usually referred to, in the figurative language of subsequent writers, under the posthumous designation of Jahaunbauny Jennet-ashauny—the founder of the world, whose nest is in heaven; as his father is under that of Gueity-setauny Ferdous-makauny—the conqueror of the world, whose abode is in paradise. It has already been slightly noticed, that this prince was born, of the princess Mauhem Begum, in the castle of Kabûl, on Tuesday the fourth of Zilkaudah, of the nine hundred and thirteenth of the hidjerah;† and he was therefore approaching to the twenty fourth year of his age, when he succeeded to the empire of Hindûstaun. His mother is stated to have been, in some degree or other, related to Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûsseyne, espoused by Bâber, when at the request of the children of that prince, he entered Khoras-

\* In a note at the conclusion of the reign of Homayûn, in my copy of Abûl Fazzel, the guzz is estimated at 37 inches; which will make the kösse equal to 2 miles, 591 yards, 4 inches, English measurement.

† 5th of March 1508,

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saun, on the occasion described in a former page. It was on the third day after his father's demise, namely, on the ninth of the former Jummaudy, of the year nine hundred and thirty seven,\* that Homayûn publicly ascended the throne at Agrah; and some days afterwards, he appeared in great state in the imperial yacht on the river Jumna, when an entire boat load of treasure was distributed to the multitude which lined the banks of the river—thus, as it well became him, establishing the foundation of his power in gold; for, whom providence selects for the government of states and empires, it first ennobles with a disposition to be just and liberal. It is not always, indeed, that superiority of station confers nobility of mind. He alone is truly noble who employs his power to the good of his fellow creatures. It was for his surpassing hospitality that the wild beasts of the forest chose the lion for their monarch. But, from the hour of his birth to that of his elevation to the throne, the actions of Homayûn uniformly bespoke his glorious destiny; neither ought this in any degree to be considered a matter of surprise, since he was no more than the depositary of that divine light, which was to shine out with such meridian lustre in the renowned and beneficent Akbar—the same light that diffused its glories over the victories of Bâber—that irradiated the exploits of the invincible Teymûr—that indicated the supernatural pregnancy of the spotless Alankoua. In short it was that portion of the divine essence which transmitted through Adam to Noah, and subsequently to the prophets and patriarchs of every age, hath shed their brightest splendor upon the annals of mankind.

To the majesty of Alexander uniting the prudence of Aristotle, Homayûn therefore resolved on assigning to each of his brothers, for whom no provision was made by the will of their father, an establishment worthy of his birth, and to continue to the dignitaries of his father's court without alteration, all that they had hitherto enjoyed. Pursuant to this plan of liberal policy, the provinces of Kandahaur and Kabûl were allotted in jaguejr to Mirza Kamraun; the government of Sumbul to Mirza Asskery; and that of Alwer to Mirza Hindal. Mirza Sûliman was confirmed in the government of Buddukhshaun; and the liberality of the young monarch was extended, at the same time, to all without ex-

\* 28th of December 1530.

ception who had served in any capacity, either in the court or army, under the late sovereign, even to the most ordinary individuals; all of whom he thus endeavored to attach to his authority, by the most powerful of motives, that of self-regard. He even contrived, for some time, to retain the allegiance of his brother-in-law, Mahommed Zemaun Mirza, the son of Baddeia-uz-zemaun Mirza, son of Abùlghauzy Sùltan Hùsseyne of Khorassaun; who had married one of the daughters of Bâber, and who had recently manifested a disposition to be refractory.

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A. D. 1530-1532.  
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But to proceed with the narrative; about six months subsequent to the period of his accession, Homayùn led his troops to the attack of Kalinjer, then an important fortress, about one hundred miles to the south-westward of the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. When, however, after a siege of one month, the garrison had been reduced to considerable distress, he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, by a peishkesh of twelve maunns of gold,\* and other valuable considerations, to withdraw from the siege. From thence he directed his march towards Chunaur, another celebrated fortress, on the Ganges. This place was among the possessions formerly belonging to Sùltan Ibrauhim Lôdy, and was held, under his authority, by an officer of the name of Jummaul Khaun, until, on the defeat and death of that monarch, Jummaul Khaun was cut off by the perfidy of an unnatural son. It was at such a crisis that, by engaging the affections, and espousal, of Lauzhmelek the widow of the murdered chief, a woman of singular attractions and masculine understanding, the celebrated *Sheir Khaun* became master of the fort. On receiving intelligence, however, of the approach of Homayùn, consigning the care of the place, with a garrison in whom he could confide, to his son Jullaùl Khaun, Sheir Khaun retired from Chunaur; at the same time, dispatching a deputation selected from among the most intelligent of his followers, to treat with the Tcheghatâian monarch; upon whom, already sufficiently disposed to temporize through their address, he finally prevailed to consent to an accommodation. In consequence of this arrangement, Abdurresheid, another of the sons of Sheir Khaun, the more effectually to avert the fury of the imperial armies, received his father's instructions to attend the presence of Homayùn; as a sort of honorary pledge for the perform-

\* 28lb to the Maun, this would be about 300 weight.

A. H. 939-940.  
 A. D. 1532-33.  
 Abûl Fazzel.

ance of his engagements, until such time as the plans of usurpation and aggrandizement, which he had been long hatching, should be ripe for execution: Abdurresheid continued his services at court, accordingly, to the period at which Homayûn became engaged in his expedition into Malwah, in order to check the arrogance of Sûltan Bahauder of Gûjerat; when, availing himself of a convenient opportunity, the Afghan thought fit to abscond.

These events have brought us to the nine hundred and thirty ninth of the hidjerah,\* when the presence of Homayûn was again required to the east-ward, in order to quell an insurrection afresh excited among the Afghans, by the noted chieftains, Beyne and Bayezid. But the latter chief perishing in a conflict against the superior prowess of the Moghûl troops, the more ignoble class of the insurgents was effectually swept from the land, and the province of Jounpour, with the whole of the territory in that quarter, was now conferred upon Sûltan Jenneid Berlaus; after which, Homayûn returned to Agrah. In the mean time, the fame of his victories had been loudly proclaimed to the extremities of the Indian Peninsula; which produced, some time during the year nine hundred and forty, a formal embassy, with proposals of amity, from Sûltan Bahauder, the independent sovereign of Gûjerat, which met with a very gracious reception; and letters were transmitted by Homayûn, in return, of a nature to dispel the apprehensions which had already been excited in the mind of that restless monarch. In the course of the same year, [940], contiguous to one extremity of the city of Dehly, on the Jumna, Homayûn laid the foundation of a new town, on which he bestowed the appellation of Deinpunnah—the bulwark of the faith. It is added that the Persian characters of the sentence, “Sheher-e-Padshah e-Deinpunnah”—the city of the great king, the asylum of the faith,” numerically applied in the usual way, precisely exhibits the sum total 940, the era of its foundation.

Not long afterwards, Mahommed Zemaun Mirza, with Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, another grandson of Abûlghauzy Sûltan Hûseyne, by a daughter, and his son Olûgh Mirza, openly revolting against the authority of Homayûn, that monarch proceeded without delay, to check the progress of this audacious and ungrateful rebellion. Encamping,

\* Commencing 2d of August 1532.

however, on the Ganges, in the neighborhood of Boujepour, he contented himself with dispatching Yadgaur Nausser Mirza at the head of a strong division of the army, across the river, with orders to attack the rebels. In a battle which ensued, the latter were totally defeated, and the three principals, Mahommed Zemaun Mirza, Mahommed Sùltan Mirza, and Wully Khoob Mirza, fell alive into the hands of the conqueror. Of these, the former was conveyed to the fortress of Beiaunah; from whence, by making feigned professions of allegiance, he some time afterwards gained an opportunity of effecting his escape to Sùltan Bahauder, of Gùjeraut. The two latter were condemned to be deprived of sight, and degraded from all their employments.

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The beautiful and productive region of Hindùstaun, from the Ganges to the Indus, and from the mountains of Srinuggur to the Chumbul, which, from the pressure of adverse circumstances, the father had never been able to subdue, is, at this period, pronounced to have been generally compelled to submit to the more fortunate ascendancy of the son.

It appears, however, that the demise of his father became no sooner known to Mirza Kamraun, than, dispensing, as usual, with the claims of natural affection, that prince resigned the government of Kandahaur to his brother Mirza Asskery, and suddenly directed his course towards Hindùstaun; conceiving that he should there find an opportunity of developing his selfish and unwarrantable designs to greater advantage. But, the lessons of experience have already sufficiently taught us, if that were of any avail, how absurd and ineffectual the attempts of misguided ambition, against that man whose power is established through the influence of an august destiny, overlooked by the ever-watchful care of an Almighty providence; and how naturally the proceedings of him, whose objects are evil, should terminate in disappointment and disgrace. At the period under consideration, the government of La-hour was administered by Meir Youness Ally, who had received his appointment under the authority of the emperor. In order to circumvent this personage in his trust, Mirza Kamraun, who had resolved to omit no stratagem, that could in any shape contribute to favor the attainment of his ambitious views, had recourse to the following very simple expedient. One evening, shortly after he had finally determin-

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 A. D. 1532-1534.  
 Abûl Fazzel.

ed on the execution of his design, and in conformity with the plan concerted between them, he affected extreme displeasure with Karautchah Beg, a very distinguished officer attached to his interests, whom, in the presence of his associates, he proceeded to abuse in the grossest and most insulting language. Pretending, on his part also, to be injured beyond forgiveness, Karautchah, the very next night, with the whole of his followers, privately withdrew from the camp of the Mirza, and made the best of his way to Lahour. At that place, on his arrival, he experienced the most welcome reception from Meir Youness, by whom he was immediately entertained with the most confidential and unsuspecting hospitality; and the insidious guest was not long in want of an opportunity to carry his plan into execution. For, one fatal evening, at a private entertainment, while the forbidden goblet was freely circulating, and the best troops of the government had been unwarily dismissed to their jagueirs, he suddenly arrested the person of his host, and placed his own followers in possession of the gates of the town, instantly dispatching a messenger to announce the success of the undertaking to Mirza Kamraun.

That prince, who only delayed his march in expectation of the result, now conveyed himself with the utmost expedition to Lahour; of which important city, he thus obtained possession, without further difficulty. His first step was to enlarge Meir Youness from all restraint; offering, with many apologies for the proceeding which he had been compelled to adopt, to re-instate him in full possession of his government, provided he found himself at all disposed to remain in the province. This he however, declined, chusing rather to avail himself of the permission which was at the same time granted, to repair to the presence of Homayûn. On the other hand, Mirza Kamraun hastened without a moment's hesitation, to establish his own agents in every district through the Punjaub; quietly extending his authority to the very banks of the Setleje, at this period more generally known by the appellation of the river of Lûdianah, from the name of a town by the side of it. Faithful to his system of deception, he then dispatched some intelligent persons to assure Homayûn of the sincerity of his attachment, and the purity of his intentions, soliciting, at the same time, to be confirmed in possession of the territory which he had thus usurped; and Homayûn,

actuated no less by the natural generosity of his disposition, than by his determination to abide by the injunctions of a dying father, was induced to comply, continuing to his perfidious brother in the patent now transmitted to him, and in addition to the government of Lahour, those, which he formerly held, of Kandahaur and Kabûl.

In return for concessions so liberal, so far beyond any thing he was authorised to expect, and by which, in the great essentials of power, —men, horses and arms—he was placed on an entire equality with his elder brother. Mirza Kamraun did not omit to convey to Homayûn some very valuable pledges of future allegiance; and he continued long afterwards to maintain with him the most friendly intercourse by letter; in which the praises of this indulgent brother never failed to be the favorite and prevailing theme. On this subject he transmitted, on one occasion, the following effusions addressed to Homayûn. “Be the “graces of thy person every hour more attractive.—Be thy destiny, “ever prosperous, ever august.—Be every affliction that crosses thy “path—the source of sorrow to the eyes of thy brother.—Does the “moss, and the thistle, overgrow the path of Leyly—where can it be “planted with greater propriety than in the eyes of Medjnoun.— “May he who neglects to signalize himself in thy cause— be speedily “excluded from the circle of existence—while Kamraun retains any “portion on earth—may the empire of the world have no other master “than Homayûn.” And in strict truth, although he neither foresaw, nor perhaps designed it, the wishes thus ardently expressed, were fulfilled almost to the letter towards himself; since overtaken, even in this life, by a just retribution for such unparalleled duplicity, after forfeiting the esteem of all good men, he was in the issue excluded from existence, as will be more fully explained in its proper place.

In the mean time, regarding the exterior only of these specious professions, Homayûn, in the unsuspecting benevolence of his own mind, proceeded to load his brother with favors of every description, to an unlimited degree; and in token of his extraordinary gratification on the receipt of the precious effusion of pretended fraternal affection explained above, he further conferred upon him the favorite government of H. ssaur Feyrouzah. Kamraun, on his part, remained to all appearance, steady in his attachment to the authority of Homayûn for some

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time; continuing to experience from that prince, without interruption, the same course of liberality, kindness, and forbearance, much longer than he seems to have deserved it. But it is not to be forgotten that the circumstances which have above engaged the attention of the reader, took place previous to the 939th of the hidjerah; under which date it is here related that, displeased with his brother Mirza Asskery, in consequence of a defeat which he had sustained from some of the Hazaurah tribes, on his march from Kandahaur towards Kabûl, Mirza Kamraun thought fit to transfer the government of the former province, from that prince, to Khaujeh, or Khoujah, Kullan Beg.

To proceed, however, with the narrative thus necessarily suspended, Homyûn, in the early part of the year nine hundred and forty-one,\* conceiving that the security of his hereditary possessions had been now well established, determined to employ the resources of his power once more to the east-ward, in order to extend his authority over the opulent territory of Bengal. But the imperial standard had no sooner reached the town of Kêtaur, or Kenaur, in the neighborhood of Kalpy on the lower Jumna, on this occasion, than intelligence was announced that Sûltan Bahauder of Gûjerat, had invested the important fortress of Tcheitour, between that country and Adjmeir; had dispatched a large force even further in advance under Tataur Khaun; and moreover, that neither this latter personage, nor his employer, seemed disposed to set any limits to the views of a pestilent and ungovernable ambition. In consequence of this information, yielding to the suggestions of a more auspicious destiny, or, more humanly speaking, to the obvious dictates of common prudence, Homyûn at once resolved, before he engaged in any other undertaking, to prevent the hostilities with which he was threatened from that quarter; and for this purpose, some time in the former month of Jummaudy,† he returned accordingly towards Agrah.

But, with all our anxiety to hasten to a conclusion, the genius of digression here fastens upon us again, in order to explain, that although Sûltan Bahauder, from having too early suffered the canker of ambition to take root in his breast, was of a nature sufficiently disposed to be aspiring, yet from some experience in the superior prowess of the Moghûls, and particularly in the decisive battle which terminated in the de-

\* Commencing 12th of July, 1534.

† November, 1534.



feat and death of Súlтан Ibrauhim Lôdy, to which he had been a sorrowful eye witness, before he had ascended the throne of Gújerat, and while yet an undistinguished adventurer, he could not, without the greatest repugnance, finally determine to hazard a contest with the house of Teymúr. It had, however, been the subject of frequent discussion with those in whom he most confided; and this was the state of his mind, when Tatar Khaun made his appearance, omitting neither argument nor importunity to persuade him, that there could be little risk in violating his engagements with Homayún. After having, for some time longer, affected to disregard the dangerous counsels of this chief, Súlтан Bahauder, at last, threw off the mask; declaring that, since it was but too well established that the troops of Gújerat could not be prudently exposed to an open conflict with the Tcheghatâians, it must be his business, by some plan of address, or superior policy, to balance this formidable inequality. And thus resolved, he cast open, without further delay, the gates of his treasury; and, by a liberal distribution of its contents, soon levied, in addition to the ten thousand already in his pay, a multitudinous force of every description, to a very great amount.

It was at this important conjuncture, that Mahommed Zémaun Mirza, accompanied by the guards who had facilitated his escape from Beiaunah, presented himself at the court of Gújerat; where, in consequence of the rash schemes of ambition now forming in the mind of the Súlтан, he also experienced the most favorable and distinguished reception. Such circumstances could not, however, be long concealed from Homayún; and a message was accordingly dispatched by that monarch, to request, that in conformity with subsisting treaties, Súlтан Bahauder would immediately seize, and convey to court, or at all events dismiss from his protection, the fugitives who had so flagrantly betrayed their allegiance, and withdrawn themselves into the countries subject to his authority—in doing which he would furnish to the world a manifest and substantial proof of the amicable relations, by which the two states were still united. To this, from a blind misconception of the means best suited to promote his welfare, and the security of his power, and not less in the intoxication of his imagined grandeur, the Súlтан wrote in reply, that if an individual of exalted birth had obtain-

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ed at his court, that asylum to which in the hour of distress he was entitled, it could not in fair reasoning, surely, be considered an infraction of treaty, or in any shape essentially prejudicial to subsisting engagements. In support of this he should appeal to what happened in the time of Sûltan Sekunder Lôdy; when, notwithstanding the perfect harmony which subsisted between that monarch and Sûltan Mûzuffer, not only his brother Allâ-ud-dein, but many other princes of the blood royal who had fled from Agrah and Dehly, never failed to experience in Gûjerat, without producing the slightest interruption in the existing relations, all that could be required from the most liberal and generous hospitality.

Homayûn now rejoined at considerable length in nearly the following terms. He announced to the Sûltan, in language not to be misunderstood, that the surest proof which he could give that he was sincere in his desire to preserve unbroken the relations of peace and good neighborhood, was to abstain most scrupulously from every circumstance, that might have a tendency in the remotest degree to disturb them; for thus, alone, would he be able to avert the injury, to which the friendly intercourse that had for some time so beneficially subsisted between them, seemed otherwise likely to be exposed. "Thou," said he in a short stanza embodied in his letter—"thou that boastest so loudly that thy friendship is from the heart—happy will be thy lot if thy professions and thy designs are in harmony—deeply plant the tree of amity in thy breast, for its produce will be the fruition of all that thy soul can desire—quickly uproot the thorn of animosity, for innumerable are the woes with which it is pregnant. He admonished him again and again, and a thousand times, not to disregard his counsels; either to expel the odious fugitive from his dominions, or send him without further delay to Agrah: for what other pledge could be now accepted that his designs were friendly? He could not, at the same time, forbear to express, that he felt no ordinary degree of surprise that any attempt should be made to bring the occurrences of a government such as that of Sûltan Sekunder into a comparison with any event of his reign; for with what justice, indeed, could any resemblance be alleged to exist between things so extremely different in their nature and importance! the modes of thinking which then prevailed, being as totally distinct from

the system now acknowledged, as any two circumstances the most opposite in their principles. From his knowledge in the history of former times, Sûltan Bahauder could not fail to remember that the august and invincible Teymûr, notwithstanding repeated aggressions, was long withheld from entering into a war with the Turkish Sûltan Bajazet, from the consideration alone of the hostilities which that monarch perpetually carried on against the infidel nations of Europe; and that his endurance was not exhausted, until Kâra Yûssuf, and Sûltan Ahmed of Baghdâd, had found an asylum at the court of Iconium, and repeated demands for their expulsion had been disdainfully rejected. The issue was too memorable to be forgotten—that triumphant conclusion came to pass, with which his fortune seemed invariably delighted to crown the designs of that invincible conqueror.

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All this proved, however, unavailing; since nothing could be obtained from Sûltan Bahauder in reply, but what was conceived in terms equally rash, inconsiderate, and unseasonable; and the refractory Tatar Khaun interposing, at the same time, with those pernicious counsels, by which the unwary have been so frequently seduced to their destruction, and affirming, in support of his arguments, that the Tchegatâian troops, devoted to their pleasures and enervated by repose, were no longer the hardy soldiers whose prowess the Sûltan had so highly estimated, finally urged that he might, without further delay, be permitted to proceed towards the frontiers of the Moghûl dominions in Hindûstaun. Thus harrassed with importunities, Sûltan Bahauder yielded at last, altogether, to the suggestions of turbulent and factious men, and hastened to expedite the equipment of the force destined to act under Tatar Khaun. For this purpose, the sum of twenty Krou, or two thousand laks, of the ancient gold coin of Gûjerat, equal, according to our author, to twice the sum in the then currency of Dehly, was immediately remitted to Rentempour, to be employed at the discretion of the same Tatar Khaun, in the levy of a fresh army. Sûltan Allâ-ud-dein, the father of that chief, at the head of a considerable force, was dispatched, at the same time, towards Kalinjêr, in order to invigorate the disturbances already existing in that quarter; while Bûrhaun-ul-mûlk Beiaunj, with another division composed of natives of Gûjerat, proceeded through the territories of Nagour and Bikkaneir,

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to menace or excite alarm in the provinces of the Punjaub. The object of these several expeditions on points so remote from each other, was, as he vainly imagined, to harrass, and distract the attention of the Moghûls; whereas the advice of, in the opinion of our author, the more judicious and experienced men was, instead of separating, as much as possible to concentrate, or unite his force together, within the compass of mutual support. Neither did the more honest advisers of the Sûltan omit to set before him in the clearest light, however without success, the unfavorable conclusions that would be drawn from his infraction of treaty; nor to assure him that the sole design of the Lôdies, both father and son, was directed to recover the sovereignty of Hindûstaun. And lastly, that though the failure of their object could be productive of little injury to the Sûltan, while he continued faithful to his engagements, the consequences of any violation on his part were, on the other hand, neither uncertain nor very remote. In the mean time, Tâtar Khaun hastened to carry into execution his ill-advised expedition towards Dehly; while Sûltan Bahauder proceeded in person, to form the siege of Tcheitour—in order at once to attempt the reduction of that important fortress, and be at hand, if necessary, to support the operations of his allies of the race of Lôdy.

It may be desirable here to explain, that Sûltan Allâ-ud-dein was the brother of Sûltan Sekunder Lôdy, and uncle to Sûltan Ibrauhim, the last of the monarchs of Dehly of this race. Originally, he bore the name of Aullum Khaun; but on the death of Sûltan Sekunder, opposing the authority of Sûltan Ibrauhim, and usurping the royal dignity in the territory of Serhind, he assumed the title of Allâ-ud-dein. Shortly afterwards, supported by a body of Afghans, long since notorious for their perfidy and double dealing, he advanced towards Agrah. Sûltan Ibrauhim, however, issuing immediately from that place to give him battle, the rival monarchs came within a convenient distance of each other, near the station called Houdel; and Allâ-ud-dein discovering, on a sudden, that the force at his disposal was unequal to a regular conflict with his nephew, in fair day-light, conceived it might be accompanied with less hazard to make an attempt to surprise his camp, under cover of the night. In this attempt he was defeated; and withdrawing afterwards to Kabûl, he from thence, with that turpitude of disposi-

tion which was, it seems, implanted in his nature, did not hesitate to accompany the adventurous Bâber in that expedition, the object of which was to subvert the power of his own family; and in these circumstances was he engaged on the side of the Moghûl army, in the battle which terminated the life and reign of Sûltan Ibrauhim. Some time afterwards, his son Tatar Khaun, from motives which are not explained, took an opportunity of retiring into Gûjerat, where he was hospitably received by Bahauder; and Bâber, on securing his conquest of Dehly, being well apprized of the unsteadiness of the man's character, deemed it expedient to convey the father into Buddukhshaun, where he was confined in the fortress of Zuffer. But, effecting his escape from thence, after all, through the assistance of some Afghan traders, Allâud-dein took refuge in the territory possessed by that nation to the north-west of the Indus; and finally proceeding through the country of the Beloutchies, found his way at last, also, into Gûjerat.

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But, at the period when it was irrevocably determined in that country to enter on hostilities against the Moghûl government, and Tatar Khaun had, in a very short time, by a liberal distribution of the treasure at his disposal, augmented the troops under his orders to a force of nearly forty thousand men, composed of Afghans, and other different tribes, that chieftain was, not long afterwards, enabled to invest, and without any great difficulty, to make himself master of Beiaunah. His triumphs were, however, destined to terminate here; for, when intelligence of his progress was communicated to Homayûn, then on his march towards the provinces on the lower Ganges, that monarch returned, as formerly intimated, with the utmost expedition to Agrah. From that metropolis, the Mirzas Asskery, Hindal, and Yadgaur Nausser, together with Kaussem Hûsseyne Sûltan, and some other distinguished commanders, were now dispatched, at the head of eighteen thousand horse, for the immediate purpose of repelling this invasion, against which, since the object of it was known to be nothing short of the reduction of Dehly, they were instructed to point their utmost effort; Homayûn expressly pronouncing that the discomfiture of the division under Tatar Khaun, would be naturally followed by the annihilation of every other division of the enemy's force.

In fact, when the Moghûl troops drew near to his division, Tatar

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Khaun became unaccountably alarmed; and the sudden and extensive desertion by which, in a very few days, they were reduced to an appalling remnant of three thousand men, was not by any means calculated to diminish that alarm. Reflecting, moreover, on the care and diligence which he had devoted to the selection of, and on the enormous expence at which he had equipped his army, the unfortunate chief found himself, for some time, incapable of deciding whether he should immediately attempt to retreat, or abide the issue of a battle, under such fearful disadvantages. At last, however, resigning himself to despair, he ventured to hazard a conflict with the Mirzas of the house of Teymûr, at the place called Mendrâeil; where, after performing all that was to be expected from the courage of a brave man driven to desperation, he finally perished, together with the greater part of those who remained attached to his destiny. And, precisely as had been reckoned upon by Homayûn, the other divisions of the enemy no sooner became advertised of the fate of that on which they had reposed their fairest hopes of success, than they dispersed in every direction, dismayed at the very rumour of the triumphant progress of the Moghûls.

Although Homayûn were even disposed, on his part, to forego the subjugation of Gûjêrat, and the ruler of that noble country might, on all occasions, have evinced a desire to continue the relations of friendship unimpaired, which, as we have already seen, was very far from being the case; yet, when it comports with the scheme of a wise and over-ruling providence, to transfer the destinies of a particular nation from one power, to another which is formed on principles of stricter justice—the means being ever ready, nothing in the scope of human agency can avail to counteract the designs of omnipotence. Of this, a fresh example is now exhibited in the case of Sûltan Bahauder; when, seduced by the voice of flattery, and the intoxication of imaginary grandeur, he suffered himself, without a provocation, and in direct violation of his engagements, to be involved in a war with the Moghûl monarch. And it was doubtless from the operation of the same over-ruling causes that, baffled in his endeavors to accommodate, Homayûn finally determined on leading his troops towards Gûjêrat; and for that purpose, in the beginning of the former Jummaudy, of the nine hundred and forty-first of the hidjerah,\* he accordingly took his departure from Agrah. The di-

\* November, 1534.

rection of his march on this occasion, appears to have carried him through the territory of Râcisein; the garrison of which sent out a deputation to assure him, with the utmost submission, that as soon as his dispute with Sûltan Bahauder should have been decided, that fortress with all it contained, should be entirely at his disposal. And in truth, the reduction of Gûjerat being the object which, at this moment, most materially engaged his attention, he prosecuted his march towards Malwah, without suffering it to be interrupted by objects of minor importance; and not long afterwards, the head-quarters of the imperial army were established at Sârungpour.

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In the mean time, the progress of Homyân, even to the minutest particulars, was regularly reported to Sûltan Bahauder, at this crisis engaged in the siege of Tcheitour, and his delirium of fancied greatness and security became gradually dispelled. At a council of war to which, in these circumstances, he had early summoned his principal officers, it was proposed by several, since it would be at all times in his power to resume his operations against Tcheitour, to raise the siege; and proceed without delay, to oppose the further advance of the Moghûls. But Suddur Khaun, who held the most distinguished place among the men of letters of the court of Sûltan Bahauder, and who had long since been promoted to the highest command in his army, urging, on the other hand, with greater alleged acuteness of discernment, the expediency of prosecuting to its close a design, which had already been brought so near to a successful termination, particularly, when there existed strong reasons for a belief, that while engaged in a common cause against infidels, a Mussulman prince would never think of attacking them; but at all events, should he otherwise determine, that there would then be nothing wanting to justify them in drawing their swords against him—this opinion prevailed with the Sûltan. The operations of the siege were, accordingly, pressed with so much vigor, that on the third day of Ramzaun, of the year 941,\* Tcheitour submitted to the power of Sûltan Bahauder; immediately after which, that monarch led his troops towards the quarter in which he expected to find the Moghûl army, now encamped in the neighborhood of Oujein.

As soon as he became apprized of this extraordinary forwardness on

\* 7th of March, 1535.

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the part of the Sûltan, Homayûn broke up from his encampment, and advanced also with considerable celerity, towards Mundsour, a dependency on the province of Malwah; in the neighborhood of which former place, by the side of a deep and spacious tank, or fresh-water lake, he again encamped his troops, while those of his adversary took up their ground on the side opposite to him. A skirmish having however taken place, as was likely to happen on such an occasion, between the advanced guard of the Moghûls, and that of Sûltan Bahauder, in which the latter sustained some serious loss, he became suddenly disheartened; and yet his generals, Tauje Khaun and Suddur Khaun, conceived this a fit opportunity to urge that his troops, being yet flushed with their success against Tcheitour, and not materially affected by any recent experience of the valour and discipline of the enemy, might be led to give battle without delay, while their minds were yet sufficiently firm to abide a conflict with some reasonable prospect of victory. On the other hand, his general of artillery, Roumy Khaun,\* an officer at this period of considerable reputation in India, reminding him of his formidable and superior equipment of ordnance, strenuously insisted on the folly of relinquishing so manifest an advantage, for the precarious hazards of a combat hand to hand. What he proposed, on the contrary, was to form an enclosure round their camp, with the waggons and other carriages; and, having further strengthened their position with a sufficient ditch, from thence to employ those powerful means of distant annoyance, with which they were provided, in order to diminish the numerical strength of the enemy; after which, an opportunity would not be want-

\* This officer, originally a Turkish or Tartar slave, of the name of Soghrauk, and successively dignified by the princes of Gûjerât, with the titles of Khodawund Khaun, and Roumy Khaun, was, as is well known, the founder of the castle of Surat; over the old entrance of which was formerly this inscription, indicative of the year in which it was erected; Sedd hûd ber seinah wo jaun-e Ferengi ein binna—that is to say, “against the bosom and lives, the ambition and rapacity, of the Portuguese be this fabric an effectual bulwark,” exhibiting in the Persian characters numerically applied the total 937—that being the year of the hidjerah assigned to the erection of this fortress, corresponding with the year of Christ 1530, commencing the 1st of August. But rejecting the *wau* in this inscription, between Seinah and jaun, we should carry the date of the erection six years further back. Roumy Khaun subsequently enrolled himself in the service of Homayûn—was particularly instrumental to the reduction of Chunaur—and lies buried in the Merjan Shaumy mosque, at Surat.



ing to make use of their swords, with that confidence which must arise from observing the havoc conveyed through the ranks of the enemy, by the superior management of their artillery. This opinion receiving the support of other respectable commanders, a corresponding plan was adopted on the spot, and immediately carried into execution; and active hostilities shortly afterwards commenced, generally however, to the disadvantage of the troops of Gûjerat.

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But the catastrophe is described to have been accelerated by the following incident, although not without frequent example in the history of warlike events. One day, in the absence of other employment, while some ardent spirits impatient of delay, and of the salutary restraints of discipline, were discoursing over the convivial goblet, and each in his turn reciting the story of his exploits; one of them, whose judgment had more easily yielded to the effects of the computation than his associates, suddenly interrupted the conversation by demanding, how long they proposed to amuse themselves with this bootless and unprofitable discussion of the past! What fairer opportunity to bring their individual prowess to the test, than that in which the enemy were under their very beards; and when it was in their power to achieve a noble enterprize, before the main body of the army could be aware of any such design? Instantly, the whole party to the number of two hundred persons, glowing not less with the ardour of intoxication perhaps, than with the ambition of renown, proceeded to arm themselves, and mounting their horses, hastened immediately towards the encampment of the enemy. On their approach, one of the Sùltan's generals employed with a body of nearly four thousand men, on the outskirts, to guard the avenues to the position, drew out his division in formidable array, to oppose them; and a conflict of more than ordinary fierceness immediately ensued. But the troops of Gûjerat, equally astonished and dismayed at the singular intrepidity of their assailants, were, after a short resistance, shamefully defeated, and driven in disorder, to take shelter within their intrenchments; while the conquerors returned in triumph to their camp, to tell over the exploits of the day. In short, the reports of this bold adventure produced so unfavorable an impression upon the troops of Sùltan Bahauder, that scarcely any of them dared to risk themselves afterwards without their barricade of carriages; while, on the other

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hand, the country in every direction around, was so completely overrun by the Moghûls, as to prevent all possibility of supply, and the utmost scarcity became soon apparent, in consequence, throughout the encampment. And it was in this extremity that, on the first day of Shavaul,\* at the breaking up of the fast of Ramzaun, Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza, at the head of five hundred of his followers, ventured out of the position, and approached a body of Homayûn's troops, who, on their part, with their usual confidence, immediately advanced to receive him. But, having made two or three discharges of their bows, Mahommed Zemmaun and his followers, designedly retired, until they drew their pursuers within reach of the artillery of the camp; which then opening at once upon the Moghûls, produced considerable execution among them, before they could withdraw from the danger.

Seventeen days subsequent to this not very important check, a favorable position of the heavenly bodies having been carefully calculated by the astrologers, for the very day, it had been determined by Homayûn to risk a general assault upon the camp of the enemy; but the situation of the Gûjeratties having, in the mean time, become hourly more critical, and every thing manifestly tending to some fatal catastrophe, Sûltan Bahauder, on the night of the twenty-first of Shavaul,† took the final resolution of abandoning his army to its fate. For that purpose, having given directions that his guns should be filled with powder, and blown to pieces, he, in the course of the same evening, accompanied by Meiran Mahomedan Shah, and five or six others of those in his more immediate confidence, secretly withdrew through an opening in the rear of his tents; it being his design to take the road towards Agrah, although, by some mistake, it turned out that he was on the way to Mandou. About the same hour, Suddur Khaun and Emmaudul-mûlk, with twenty thousand horse, proceeded also together to the right, directly for Mandou; while Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza, with another body of fugitives, drew off towards Lahour, with the design of raising commotions in that province. The tumultuous clamours, and horrible uproar which filled the camp of the Sûltan, in consequence of the explosions of the artillery, and the base desertion of the monarch

\* 4th of April 1535.

† 24th of April 1535—it was probably the night previous to the intended attack.

and his generals, surpassed all description, and excited no small astonishment in that of the Moghûls yet unacquainted with the cause; Homayûn himself, indeed, with thirty thousand horse, remaining in arms, and in order of battle, the whole of the night, to await the eventful disclosure. About an hour after daybreak, it was, however, made known that Sûltan Bahauder had fled; and the Moghûl troops proceeded immediately, without resistance, to pillage his camp, where an immense booty was the compensation of their exertions. Khodawund Khaun, who had been successively the preceptor, and prime minister, of Sûltan Mûzuffi r late king of Gujerat, became the prisoner of Homayûn, who retained him immediately about his person, and otherwise treated him with extraordinary kindness. Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, with the Ameirs Kaussem Sûltan, and Hindû Beg, and a powerful division of the army, was now dispatched in pursuit of the flying enemy towards Mandou.

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The designs of that man, observes our historian, cannot fail to terminate in evil, whose misfortune it is to associate with evil counsellors; and the more indubitably so, if led into a violation of engagements with a monarch so manifestly the favorite of heaven, as the renowned Homayûn. That this ought to be so, no one will probably be disposed to dispute; but that it may sometimes otherwise happen, we shall peradventure find a remarkable instance, in the history of Homayûn himself. But at all events, when, as we have just described, Suddur Khaun, and Emmaud-ul-mûlk, withdrew from the camp near Mundsour, their course was directed straight towards Mandou, into which, on their arrival, they immediately threw themselves; and thither they were as immediately pursued by the victorious Moghûls, under Homayûn in person, who encamped shortly afterwards, at the station of Naltcheh; or perhaps it was a ravine, or hollow, in the vicinity, from whence he might, with greater confidence, superintend the investiture of the place, which was, accordingly, at once surrounded on every side. Roumy Khaun, the officer of whom we have already spoken here, joined the standard of Homayûn, from whom he experienced a favorable reception. On the fourteenth day, of the investiture possibly, Sûltan Bahauder through the bye roads of the country, also found his way into Mandou, which he entered through the Jouly-Mehiser gate; and shortly af-

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terwards, he sent to propose an accommodation with his besiegers, on the basis that Gûjerat and Tcheitour, being yet in undisturbed possession, should remain as at present; but that Mandou, and its dependencies, should be ceded without further contest to the officers of Homayûn's government. On these terms, Moulana Mahommed Bergholy, and Sudder Khaun, on the part of Homayûn and the Sûltan, respectively, met at the station of Neili-sumbul, in order to arrange the articles of a regular treaty; but towards the latter part of the night on which they were under discussion, the garrison being worn out with fatigue and watching, about two hundred of the Moghûls availed themselves of an opportunity to scale the walls of the place from the rear; and letting themselves down from the ramparts within, succeeded in making themselves masters of one of the gates in that direction, which they immediately threw open. Here their horses were brought to them, and they were joined, shortly afterwards, by a number of the imperial troops from without.

At this moment, Mellou Khaun Mandouly, who bore the title of Kauder Shahy, and who commanded at a tower close by, perceiving what had befallen, hastily mounted his horse, and galloped off to the headquarters of Sûltan Bahauder. Roused at the summons of Kauder Shahy, but scarcely yet awake, the Sûltan betook himself immediately to flight, accompanied by not more than half a dozen of his domestics. On his way he was, however, fortunately joined by Bhowunt Râi, the son of Sohldy Râi, one of his most intimate friends, with twenty men on horseback; but on reaching the gate which opens to the plain below the fort, he found not less than two hundred Moghûl cavalry, ready drawn up to intercept his progress. Aware that this was not a time to deliberate, the Sûltan precipitated himself without hesitation, the first man, into the thickest of his adversaries, and being immediately followed by his attendants, fortunately succeeded in cutting his way through; Mellou Khaun abovementioned, and one more, being all that were now left to accompany him in his flight, to Soungurr, where he soon afterwards arrived without further accident. From thence he was constrained to effect his escape by letting himself down to the foot of the works, by means of ropes, some horses being also conveyed to him by the same means, and he was thus enabled to continue his flight; which

is, indeed, described to have been materially facilitated by the obstinate incredulity of Kaussem Hússeyne Khaun, one of the Moghûl commanders who had, by this time, appeared before the place, and to whom information was early communicated by an Ouzbek deserter, formerly in the service of the Sûltan, whose person had been recognized. On his arrival at Tchampaneir, at this period the capital of Gûjêrat, Sûltan Bahauder had, however, again collected a force of about fifteen hundred men; but not conceiving himself by any means sufficiently secure at that place, he determined to provide against the worst, by removing all that was possible of his treasure and most valuable effects, to the well-known port of Deib, or Diu, already in the possession of the Portuguese.

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To return to the proceedings at Mandou; it would appear that no positive information of the success of his troops, in the surprise of that fortress, was communicated to Homayûn, until the close of the second watch in the morning; when he also mounted his horse, and passed into the place by the gate of Dehly. Suddur Khaun, although severely wounded, continued, however, with his retainers, to make an obstinate resistance, before the entrance of his own house; but being at last forced away by some of his principal officers, he took the road towards Soun-gurr; whither being accompanied by a great part of the garrison of Mandou, he was there enabled to place himself in a state of security against any sudden attempt of the conquerors. Sûltaun-e-Aullum, another distinguished officer of the court of Gûjêrat, was among those who threw themselves into Soun-gurr on this occasion. In the mean time, after the Moghûl troops had been for three days permitted at discretion, to pillage the dwellings of the wretched inhabitants, a mandate was at length issued to restrain them from further violence; while some confidential agents were dispatched by Homayûn, to mollify the hostile spirit, and appease the apprehensions of Sûltan Bahauder's generals, who had taken refuge at Soun-gurr. After considerable discussion, Suddur Khaun, and Sûltaun-e-Aullum, the two principal commanders, were finally persuaded to accept of a capitulation; and being upon this conducted immediately to the imperial head quarters, the former experienced from Homayûn a kind and favorable reception: but, as this was, it seems, not the first instance in which Sûltaun-e-Aullum,

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had given proof of his hostile and turbulent disposition, he was, notwithstanding the capitulation, punished with the loss of both his feet, and then set at large to prosecute, at will, the schemes of ambition and revenge.

When, by these preliminary successes, the road had been sufficiently laid open for him, Homayûn, with ten thousand of his cavalry, proceeded without further delay, to enter Gûjêrat; leaving instructions with the main body of the army, to follow him by easy stages. In the neighborhood of Tchampaneir, and by the side of the Tank of Emmaud-ul-mûlk, a noble piece of water described to be three kôsse\* in circumference, in the direction of the gate of Paneily, the Moghûl troops were drawn out to offer battle to the enemy. On the other hand, receiving intelligence of their approach, and having already amply provided the fortress of Tchampaneir, situated on the adjoining hill, with the means of defence, Sûltan Bahauder withdrew through the opposite gate, leading towards the Lushker-tullâou, another tank in the neighborhood; and retired, with some precipitation, in the direction of Kambâeit, or Cambay, leaving orders to set fire to the town of Tchampaneir, immediately on his departure. But Homayûn entering the place very shortly afterwards, the proper means were employed, under his direction, to extinguish the conflagration; after which, at the head of one thousand horse only, he hastened in pursuit of the Sûltan, while Ameir Hindû Beg, with the remainder of the division, continued on the spot; in order to straiten the communications, and watch the movements of the garrison in the fortress above. Sûltan Bahauder had, in the mean time, remained at Cambay no longer than was necessary to set fire to one hundred armed Graabs, or gallies, which had been equipped for the purpose of restraining the obnoxious power of the Portuguese, and of which he thus prevented his enemies from availing themselves in tracing his flight, when he continued his retreat towards Diu. On the evening of the day on which the Sûltan took his departure, Homayûn arrived at Cambay; and, for the first time in his life, beheld an arm of the trackless ocean. From hence he dispatched a part of his cavalry to arrest the flight of Sûltan Bahauder, who finally succeeded, however, in making good his retreat into Diu; from the neighborhood

\* At least five miles.

of which, with no inconsiderable booty, the Moghûl troops now returned to the presence of their sovereign at Cambay. And thus, in the nine hundred and forty-second of the hidjerah,\* according to our author, was accomplished the first conquest of Gùjerat by the Moghûls.

A. H. 912.  
A. D. 1536.  
Abûl Fazzet.

Towards the conclusion of the former year, the fortress of Kandahaur, that we might not be left entirely ignorant of what was passing on the most distant extremity of the empire, had been closely invested by Saum Mirza, the brother of Shah Tahmasp king of Persia, at the head of an army of Kuzzulbaush, or redcaps—the appellation assigned to the Persian soldiery under the authority of the Seffies, and who were, on this occasion, gallantly opposed by Khaujeh Kullian Beg, the governor for the house of Teymûr. At the termination of about eight months, the garrison were, however, seasonably relieved by the advance of Mirza Kamraun, who had early proceeded from Lahour to their assistance; and on the first day of Shabaun, of the nine hundred and forty-second of the hidjerah, † not far from Kandahaur, he succeeded in gaining a signal victory over the besiegers, who were defeated with considerable loss—Agher Nowauz Khaun, the Ataleik, or preceptor, of the Persian prince, and one of the most distinguished commanders, being made prisoner in the action, and put to death immediately afterwards. Mirza Kamraun then returned with the utmost dispatch towards Lahour, which he reached at the very crisis to arrest the progress of Mahommed Zemman Mirza, in the midst of the commotions which he had excited in the Punjaub. On the dispersion of the army of Sùltan Bahauder, at Mundsour, this personage had, as we have already related, withdrawn himself to the westward; with the design of availing himself of any advantage that might occur in the country among the branches of the Indus. When he reached the borders of Sind, he was further encouraged in his views by Shah Hùsseyne, the son of Shah Beg Arghûn, the independent prince of that territory; who, without admitting him one step within the limits of his authority, coolly pointed out the opportunity, at that moment presented by the absence of Mirza Kamraun, on his expedition to Kandahaur, for the occupation of the fertile province of Lahour. With the expectation that he should find the country entirely without defence, he accordingly appeared before

\* Commencing 1st July, A. D. 1535.

† 24th January, 1536.

A. H. 942. the city of that name, to which he immediately laid siege. But while  
 A. D. 1536. he was yet engaged in the undertaking, Mirza Kamraun, flushed with  
 Abûl Fazzel. the triumph of his victory near Kandahaur, appeared in the neighbor-  
 hood of Lahour; and Mahommed Zemman, like one stricken with a  
 panic, suddenly raised the siege, and, as the only alternative, made the  
 best of his way back again into Gùjerat. Not long afterwards, Mirza  
 Heyder Gùrekan, the son-in-law, having through some discontent or  
 other, quitted Kashghar, and withdrawn through Buddukhshaun, to  
 Lahour, there presented himself to claim the protection of Kamraun.

In the mean time, Shah Tahmasp in person, at the head of his army,  
 appeared before Kandahaur, in the course of the succeeding spring,  
 that of 1536; and the place was immediately surrendered to him, with-  
 out resistance, by the same Khaujeh Kullan Beg, who had so honor-  
 ably defended it on the former occasion. For this, on his arrival at La-  
 hour, he was exposed to the just displeasure of Mirza Kamraun. That  
 Prince, however, when, after some delay, he had completed the neces-  
 sary equipments, proceeded once more towards Kandahaur, leaving  
 Mirza Heyder to administer the government of Lahour in his absence.  
 But, before he reached Kandahaur, Shah Tahmasp had quitted that  
 place on his return into Persia; after confiding the government, toge-  
 ther with a competent garrison, to the discretion of Bedaug Khaun  
 Kajaur, or Kojour, one of his most distinguished officers. After a  
 siege of some duration, the place was, however, again surrendered, on  
 terms, to Mirza Kamraun; who returned as formerly to Lahour, as soon  
 as he had rendered the fortifications of Kandahaur again sufficiently  
 tenable against the operations of a siege.

To return, however, to the main object of our narrative; while Ho-  
 mayûn continued in the neighborhood of Kambay, with but a very  
 slender force for the protection of his camp, it occurred to the Ameirs  
 Ahmed Laad, and Rokken Dâoud, two of the vassals of the extruded  
 Sùltan Bahauder, who lived in retirement some where in the vicinity of  
 Kouniwaurah, or Lúnawaurah, that the circumstance presented a very  
 fair opportunity for surprise; and they accordingly proposed to the  
 Koulies, and Gowaur—peradventure Goraussiah—the independent  
 natives of the surrounding territory—to avail themselves of the first  
 favorable dark night to make the attempt. To this they immediately



agreed. But, on the very night on which the design was to be carried into execution, an old woman of the country made her appearance at the entrance of the imperial pavilion, and demanded to be immediately admitted to the presence of Homayûn; affirming that she had something of the utmost importance to communicate, which could not be explained to any other than the emperor himself, without the intervention of any third person. As her importunities were extremely pressing, and she seemed to be actuated by the sincerity of truth, the woman was, at last, introduced to the presence of the emperor, to whom she instantly made known the design in agitation, of attacking his camp. After satisfying himself in other respects, on the subject of her information, the monarch had the curiosity to enquire, to what motive he was to ascribe that zeal for his welfare, of which she had just given him so essential a proof, when she proceeded to explain, that her only son was a captive in the train of one of the vassals of the imperial court, and that, in compensation for this important piece of intelligence, she had been induced to hope for his enlargement. In the mean time, if her information proved untrue, she expressed her perfect willingness to forfeit both her own life and that of her son. The latter was accordingly sought for, and together with his mother, immediately lodged in safe custody; while Homayûn hastened to dispose of his small force, in such a manner as to elude the expected attack, taking his station a little to one side of the encampment.

Some time before day-break, precisely as had been announced to the Emperor, a body of Bheils and Gowaurs, doubtless Gorauss, to the number of five or six thousand, poured at once among the imperial tents, which they proceeded to rifle, without interruption, of every species of property; in which, as an article of particular regret is mentioned, a copy of the Teymûr-nâmah, transcribed by Moulla Sâltan Ally, and illustrated with paintings by Oustaud Behzaud. This was subsequently recovered, and at the period at which Abûl Fazzel wrote his history, was to be seen in the imperial library of Akbar. On the other hand, drawn up on a neighboring rising ground, Homayûn and his troops remained, anxiously expecting the hour of day-light; but the moment they could discriminate their objects, the Moghûls commenced such a galling discharge from their bows, that the banditti immediately fled in

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every direction. The old woman was of course liberally rewarded for her very seasonable disclosure; but, from a suspicion that the inhabitants had, in some shape or other, concurred in the design, and, not improbably, to indemnify his followers for their loss in the attack, Homayûn gave orders that the unfortunate town of Kambay should be immediately plundered, and burnt to the ground; after which he determined to relinquish all further pursuit of Sûltan Bahauder, and returned, accordingly, to rejoin the army before Tchampaneir.

That important fortress had been now, for a period of four months, successfully defended against its besiegers, by Ekhtiaur Khaun; a son of the Kauzy, or civil judge, of Neriaud, one of the principal towns in the neighboring territory, who had been recommended by his superior talents and sagacity, to the first rank among the confidential servants of Sûltan Bahauder. But, while nothing was omitted that could be foreseen by the most cautious and vigilant circumspection, all was rendered unavailing by one of those trivial occurrences, through which the best concerted plans of human intelligence have been so frequently defeated, when opposed to ardent enterprise, acting under the influence of an over-ruling providence. There existed, it seems, at this period, adjoining to one part on which the fortress stood, a thick forest supposed impervious to men on foot, and much more so to those on horseback; and through this, stimulated by the powerful incitements of a gainful traffic, some wood-cutters from the country below, had found means to penetrate to the base of the rock; from whence, by ropes let down from above, they contrived to furnish the garrison with occasional supplies of grain, and clarified butter, or ghee, in return for the money which they received on the spot, by the same means of conveyance.

In these circumstances, when the siege had been protracted so far beyond his expectations, Homayûn was one day making a circuit round the place, in order to discover, if possible, some point on which it might be assailed with a reasonable prospect of success; and he happened, by mere accident, to be approaching from the side of Haloul, which was a part of the mountain converted into garden grounds, at the very moment when these men, after having disposed of their property in the manner just described, were issuing from the forest. As was to be expected, they were immediately interrogated as to the ob-

jects which had brought them there; but when they stated themselves to be wood-cutters, without producing either hatchet or wedge, or any other of the implements of their calling, suspicion was very naturally awakened, and they were cautioned immediately to declare the truth, on pain of the most severe and rigorous punishment. Thus intimidated, they disclosed the fact without further disguise; and being directed to lead the way, they conducted the monarch and his attendants immediately to the foot of the rock, where it rose from sixty to seventy Guz,\* or, at the least, one hundred and ten feet in perpendicular height, with a surface entirely smooth, and of course impracticable of ascent to any human effort, unassisted by the inventions of experience.

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Abûl Fazzel.

Without a moment's delay, seventy or eighty strong iron spikes were sent for, and successively driven into the rock, at convenient intervals, and on either hand parallel to each other, at the distance of a guz all the way to the summit. As soon as this perilous ladder† had been completed, some of the most distinguished warriors were directed to ascend; and the moment the thirty-ninth man appeared to be sufficiently advanced, Homayûn himself stepped forward, and was about to plant his foot upon the first step, when Beyram Khaun interposed, intreating that his master would pause until the preceding part of this adventurous band should have made way for him. At the same instant he grasped the spikes and proceeded himself to ascend, immediately followed by Homayûn, who became thus the forty-first person that gained the summit of the rock. The band was, soon afterwards, reinforced to the number of three hundred in the whole, all animated by the presence, and with the invincible resolution of their sovereign.

By a preconcerted arrangement, it was provided that an attack should be made, at the same instant, on the front of the enemy's works, by the troops stationed for that purpose in the different batteries; and while the garrison, ignorant of the danger from within, were intently gazing from the parapets of the fort on the movements below, the three hundred who had scaled the rock, suddenly assailed them in the rear, and

\* There is reason to think that the guz of Abûl Fazzel contained thirty seven inches, [tessu], in which case it was from sixty to seventy yards in height.

† If this was formed, as was probably the case, with ropes fastened from one spike to another, both longitudinally and across, it might answer extremely well, particularly if the rock receded ever so little from the perpendicular.

A. H. 942-943. at once deprived them of all power of exertion, especially when it was  
 A D. 1536 announced that Homayûn in person was among the assailants. The  
 Abûl Fazzel. imperial great drum now struck up the sounds of victory; and Ekhtiaur  
 Khaun, with a part of the garrison, retiring to a more elevated reach of  
 the mountain, there contrived to secure himself for the night. He was,  
 however, the following day permitted to capitulate; and being introduced  
 to the presence of Homayûn, he was, by that monarch, immediately  
 received to favor. Not long afterwards, in consideration of his dis-  
 tinguished acquirements in every branch of science, but particularly  
 in geometry and astronomy, to which, notwithstanding the engagements  
 and fatigue of public business, he had found leisure to apply, Ekhtiaur  
 Khaun was enrolled among the personal attendants of his new sover-  
 eign. He is represented, moreover, to have been an elegant and inge-  
 nious poet, and one of his contemporaries at once commemorates the  
 occasion, and marks the period of his first visit to Homayûn, in the  
 following sentence: "The first week of the month of Suffur"—the Per-  
 sian characters of the original of which, numerically applied, exhibit  
 the date of the capture of Tchampaneir on this occasion, namely, the  
 nine hundred and forty third year of the hidjerah.\*

The kingdom of Gûjerat, to the banks of the Mehandery, or river  
 Mehie sometimes so denominated, was now in possession of the offi-  
 cers of the Moghûl government. But that part of it which lay to the  
 north-west of the same river, comprizing the ancient peninsula, appears  
 to have been abandoned to its fate; without the presence of a single  
 agent, either to collect the revenue, or provide for the general safety.  
 In these circumstances, the inhabitants dispatched a report of their si-  
 tuation to Sûltan Bahauder, assuring him that the collections were ready  
 for payment, and would be made over with scrupulous punctuality, to  
 any person whom he might think fit to employ for the purpose. Not  
 one of the officers who remained with him could, however, for some  
 time, be persuaded to accept of the charge; until at last, on the express  
 stipulation that he should be accountable to no one whatever for such  
 collections as he should be able to secure, Enmaud-ul-mûlk agreed to  
 undertake it. On these terms, that officer, at the head of about two  
 hundred horse, accordingly took his departure for Ahmedabad; but con-

\* From the 19th to the 26th of July 1536.

triving, during his progress, to make some liberal distributions among those who ventured to follow his fortune, he found, by the time he reached that capital, a force of ten thousand men assembled under his orders. By an advance, moreover, of one lak in the currency of Gûjêrat, or about two thousand five hundred rupees, to every individual who served with two horses, this force accumulated, soon afterwards, to thirty thousand strong; which was further augmented, at no very distant interval, by the junction of ten thousand more, under Mûjahed Khaun, the ruler of Jounagurr.

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In the mean time, Homayûn was engaged in giving, by the side of the Derria-talâou, a piece of water in the vicinity of that place, a variety of entertainments to his army, in consequence of the reduction of Tchampaneir, and of the other valuable acquisitions obtained by his recent victories. And here, as a measure of the wisest policy, if not of absolute necessity in all well regulated governments, the author avails himself of the occasion to recommend, that a system of domestic supervision should be established through every class of society; in order to watch, without ceasing, every circumstance, whether in action or discourse, that may have a tendency to disturb the public tranquillity; and more especially at those conjunctures, when the attention of the sovereign may happen to be engaged on objects foreign to the ordinary pursuits of government—since the neglect of some such precaution, had, about the period under consideration, nearly produced a very serious inconvenience to Homayûn, which will be more clearly explained by the following facts.

While the festivities were going on, to which we have just alluded, a party of obscure and inconsiderate individuals, generally of the class of library keepers, armour and inkstand bearers, who had been from their insignificance, unavoidably excluded from the list of those who, on these occasions, were admitted to the royal presence, agreed to meet as well as their superiors, and enjoy themselves in the gardens of Haloul, of which some notice has been already taken in a preceding page. In the delirium produced by a too frequent circulation of the goblet, one of the party, amidst the sallies of mirth, ventured, it seems, a little out of season, to introduce the subject of the Zufferûâmah, or history of Teymûr, composed by Shurf-ud-dein Ally the Yezdian; and pro-

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ceeded to recite that passage in the early stage of the conqueror's fortune, wherein he is described as taking from each of his warlike followers, at this period not more than forty in number, a brace of arrows, and having bound them together in a single bundle, to have passed them alternately to every individual, with a desire that each would try his utmost across the knees, to break them. When each had accordingly made the attempt without success, Teymûr took the sheaf of arrows asunder, and returned to each his own, which, on making the trial, were now easily snapped in the middle. On which the hero desired them to remember that whilst, like the bundle of arrows, united, they continued firmly and faithfully attached to each other, few as they were in number, nothing would ever prevail to put them down, and success and victory would inseparably attend them, wherever they bent their course. And this was, indeed, exactly confirmed by the event; since, by making this simple and striking lesson the rule of their conduct, they finally rendered themselves masters of the fairest part of the habitable globe.

Little reflecting that, morally speaking, the band of heroes, of whom the example was recited, might have been considered individually equal to an host, acting under the direction of divine providence towards the attainment of a particular object, the punishment of human depravity, these mistaken men, with their senses steeped in wine, did not hesitate to place themselves on a par with warriors so renowned; not without arrogating to themselves a decided advantage in point of number, since, in counting those present, they found that they amounted to no less than four hundred persons, in the pride of health and manhood. That very moment, accordingly, they quitted the imperial encampment in a body, for the purpose, as they conceived, of carrying their besotted plan of universal conquest, into immediate execution; without taking into the slightest calculation the perils to which, at every step, they must inevitably be exposed.

The day following, when it was observed that none of them attended in their places, and no information could be obtained as to the cause of their absence, a suspicion soon arose, that they were not employed on any very loyal or justifiable design. A division of one thousand cavalry was therefore immediately dispatched to look after them; and,

not very long afterwards, the whole of these inexperienced and infatuated visionaries, were brought, bound neck and heels, to the imperial headquarters. When it was announced to him, that these wretched truants were at his mercy, it happened to be saturday on which Homayûn, robed in ireful crimson, was engaged on the throne of judgment, in passing sentence upon those who had, in any shape, offended against the laws; and instantly, many of the misguided men were condemned to suffer with a severity, of which there are few examples in the history of this monarch, some to be trampled to death by elephants, others to lose their heads, others their feet and hands, and others their ears and noses, while some were permitted to escape with the loss of their fingers only. But, while the monarch was thus employed in directing his vengeance against those who had dared to disregard his authority, the hour of evening prayer arrived; and the officiating Imaum, who was not very remarkable for discrimination of mind, in the course of the first genuflexion [rekkaat], unfortunately selected, for the service, that portion of the Koràn, entitled the chapter of the elephants—relating to that circumstance in the history of Arabia, in which the tyrant Abrauliah, from Yemen, having dispatched an army accompanied by a remarkable elephant, for the purpose of demolishing the temple of Mekkah, the divine being is described to have employed a flight of bustards, or some such birds, to stone his army to death. When, however, the course of devotions was concluded, Homayûn, who conceived that the Imaum had designedly fixed upon this chapter, in order to charge him by implication with injustice and cruelty, directly gave orders that the unhappy man should be thrown at the feet of his elephants. And the harsh mandate had been as promptly carried into execution, were it not for the intercession of Moulana Mahommed Perghuly; who, by convincing him of the simple character and unintentional error of the poor Imaum, succeeded, at last, in appeasing the resentment of the angry monarch, who passed the whole of the ensuing night in a state of bitter regret, and mortification of spirit.

Not long after he had dispatched this unpleasant affair, leaving Tereddy Beg Khaun in command of Tchampaneir, Homayûn put his troops in motion towards Ahmedabad, and proceeded to the river Mendery, where, for a short time, he continued encamped; while Em-

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maud-ul-mûlk, on his part, assuming a countenance of resolution and defiance, for every movement in approach of the Moghûls, made a corresponding march in advance to oppose them. In these circumstances, somewhere about midway between the towns of Neriaud and Mahmoudabad, the advanced division of Homayûn's troops, being some stages in front of the main body under the orders of Mirza Asskery, fell in with Emmaud-ul-mûlk in person, at the head of the army of Gûjerat; by whom, after a severe conflict, the Moghûl division was entirely repulsed. But, a reinforcement from the main body coming up in considerable strength, to their support, under Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, with the Ameirs Kaussem Hûsseyne Khaun, and Hindû Beg, and a report being circulated that the emperor himself was on the spot, the conquerors in their turn, were seized with a panic, and fled almost instantly in great confusion; Aullum Khaun Lôdy, and a few other officers, only endeavouring to make head against Yadgaur and his Moghûls, while Emmaud-ul-mûlk, half dead with apprehension, was making his escape from the field. Derwaish Mahommed Kâra Sheir, the father of Shûjayet Khaun, was the most distinguished of the Moghûl commanders who fell on this occasion.

In the mean time, the standard of Homayûn actually made its appearance on the field of battle, and victory became no longer doubtful; but, although between three and four thousand of the enemy had perished in the conflict, previous to the arrival of the emperor, it was yet thought expedient to depute some person to Khodawund Khaun, that Ameir of Gûjerat who had recently joined the cause of the Moghûls, in order to enquire whether he considered there still remained any uncertainty as to the issue of that day's battle. He replied, that if that leprous slave, alluding to Emmaud-ul-mûlk, who was probably a Circassian, and opprobriously thus termed from his fair complexion, was himself present in the action, the conflict was at an end—if not, it seemed advisable that the work of slaughter should be continued for some time longer. All doubt was, however, soon afterwards removed by the report of a wounded soldier, who had laid himself among the slain; and who now declared that Emmaud-ul-mûlk in person had actually commanded in the battle.

On the succeeding day, the imperial army prosecuted its march, Mirza Asskery preceding, as formerly, with a division of troops, as an ad-



vanced guard, until the main body encamped on the noble tank of Kaunkriah. Mirza Asskery then took the liberty of representing to Homayûn, that if the whole army were permitted at once to enter Ahmedabad, the inhabitants would inevitably be exposed to the most serious injury; and a mandate was accordingly issued that some of the imperial Yessawuls, or exempts, should be stationed at each of the gates, with instructions to see that none but those belonging to the vanguard should be suffered to enter the city. Homayûn then fixed his head quarters in the neighborhood of Serkeitch, a spot, at this period, much admired, and probably one of the suburbs of Ahmedabad. Three days afterwards, accompanied by the officers of his court, Homayûn proceeded to view the different quarters of that once noble metropolis of Gújerat; after which, his attention was devoted to arrange a plan for the final government of the province. In pursuance of such arrangements, Ameir Hindû Beg was now invested with the command of a complete division of the army, destined to be employed wherever its presence should be found most necessary. The city of Puttun, anciently Neherwâla, with the territory dependent upon it, was placed under the separate authority of Yadgaur Nausser Mirza. Baroutch, with the emporium of Surat, and the town of Nousaury, was consigned to Kaussem Hússeyne Sûltan; Kambâeit, or Kambay, and Broudah, were allotted to Doast Beg Eishék Aga; [great master of ceremonies]; and Mahmoudabad to Meir Boujekah Bahauder.

A. H. 949.  
A. D. 1536.  
Abûl Fazzel.

These arrangements having been accordingly put in train, Homayûn quitted Ahmedabad, directing his march for the maritime city of Deib, or Diu, so often mentioned in the early accounts of modern European conquests in India. But, on reaching the town of Dendûkah, about thirty kôsse on that side of Ahmedabad, dispatches were delivered to him, which imperiously required his attention in another quarter; and, for the present at least, terminated his designs against Sûltan Bahauder. In short, it was announced to him from Agrah, that in consequence of his protracted absence from the seat of government, the usual symptoms of insubordination began to display themselves among the turbulent and disaffected borderers; and from Malwah, he learnt at the same time, that Mehter Zembour, the imperial jaguir daur, or grand feudatory, of Hindia, on the Nerbudda, had been attacked by Sekun-

A. H. 943.  
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der Khaun, and Mellou Khaun, both in insurrection, and compelled to retire with his property into Oujein, whither the whole of the troops in that quarter had also withdrawn for protection. In that city they had been invested by the revolters in great force; and Derwaish Ally Ketabdaur—librarian—the military governor of the place, having been killed by a musquet shot, the garrison had finally demanded to capitulate. Under all these circumstances, a resolution was adopted to return without delay into Malwah, leaving Gûjerat in charge of Mirza Asskery, and to fix the seat of authority for some time at Mandou—as a point from which it would not be difficult at once to put down the rebellion in Malwah, to secure the subjugation of the newly acquired province of Gûjerat, and to keep in check that spirit of treason and disaffection, which had alarmed the capital of the empire.

With these objects in view, Homayûn proceeded suddenly to the left towards Kambay, and from thence, successively to Broudah, Barouch, and Surat; after which, he continued his march for Bûrham-pour, and having remained at that place for seven days, he resumed his journey, and leaving the fortress of Asseir on the one side, finally reached Mandou without accident. The very rumour of his approach produced an immediate dispersion of those tumultuous and illgoverned associations that had risen in defiance of his authority; and as he found his constitution to accommodate itself with singular felicity to the province, the greater part of his household were immediately provided with jagueirs, or possessions in fee, in Malwah, and every thing seemed disposed by his bounty, to ensure enjoyment, peace, and prosperity, to all around.

In order to prepare us for what is to follow, our author, in the moralizing strain in which he occasionally delights to indulge, proceeds to remark, that the man, be his station however exalted, who returns with ingratitude the bounties of a generous benefactor, will, in the issue, invariably ever find that he has dug the pit for his own destruction—has stricken the hatchet into his own foot; and in support of the observation, we are immediately referred to the wretched malversation exemplified in the conduct of Mirza Asskery, and the officers selected by Homayûn, to superintend, under him, the government of Gûjerat. For, after the enjoyment of a very fleeting and unsubstantial period of

prosperity, and with a fatuity which could no where exist but in the most wretched narrowness of spirit, these personages could not be prevented from engaging in mutual hostility; and, by thus throwing the affairs of the country into confusion, from affording to the enemies of the state that opportunity for which, it must have been notorious, that they were ever on the watch. In consequence of these dissensions, at the expiration of about three months after the imagined settlement of the government, Khaun-e-jahaun the Shirauzian, and Roumy Khaun, the same, no doubt, as we have already noticed to have been the founder of Surat castle, associating together, found means in the first place to take possession of Noursaury; which was held by an officer of the name of Abdullah Khaun, under the authority of his kinsman Kaussem Hússeyne Sùltan the Ouzbek, and which he abandoned without resistance, retiring immediately to Baroutch. With equal facility, Khaun-e-jahaun and his associate obtained possession of Surat; from whence they proceeded, the former by land, and Roumy Khaun, with an equipment of artillery, by sea, to lay siege to Baroutch. Seized with the same disgraceful panic, Kaussem Hússeyne also quitted that place, making the best of his way, first to Tchampaneir, and afterwards to Ahmedabad; in order, as he pretended, to demand the aid of Mirza Asskery and Hindû Beg, the latter, as we have already mentioned, at the head of the troops expressly destined for the general defence of the province.

About the same conjuncture, Seyud Eshauck, who had received from Sùltan Bahauder, the title of Shetaub Khaun [celer] made himself master of Kambay; while, in obedience to a summons from Mirza Asskery, Yadgaur Nausser Mirza left Puttun to its fate, and repaired to Ahmedabad. Encouraged by the same appearances of disunion and defect of co-operation, Derrya Khaun, and Mohaufez Khaun, two commanders from the garrison of Râeisein, notwithstanding former professions, now presented themselves to Sùltan Bahauder; and, finding that Puttun was thus left destitute of defence, hastened from Diu soon afterwards, and took possession of that ancient city without opposition. Such, in short, was the deplorable mis-management and want of concert among the Moghùl officers, at the crisis under consideration, in their recent conquests in Gûjerat, that Ghuzzen-fer, one of the retainers in the immediate service of Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, actually deserted;

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A. H. 943. his colours, and with three hundred horse in his train went over to  
 A. D. 1536. Sùltan Bahauder; whom, by every argument he could employ, he stim-  
 Abùl Fazzel. ulated to undertake the recovery of his kingdom.

The numerous applications which were continually arriving from his adherents in Gùjerat, on the same subject, finally determined the Sùltan on making the attempt, and he accordingly proceeded to wards Ahmedabad; in the neighborhood of which, at the suburban village of Serkeitch, formerly mentioned, he soon afterwards encamped in considerable force. The Mirzas Asskery and Yadgaur Nausser, with the Ameirs Hindû Beg, and Kaussem Hùsseyne Khaun, at the head of little less than twenty thousand horse, drew out with apparent resolution, and took post in front of the Sùltan; with whom, for three days and as many nights, they supported some very warm and vigorous skirmishes. Being, however, little animated by a just spirit of zeal for the cause of their sovereign, they finally adopted the pusillanimous and fatal resolution of abandoning the capital of Gùjerat, without risking the issue of a general action; and in this determination, immediately commenced their retreat towards Tchampaneir. Sùltan Bahauder, who already considered himself engaged in a most perilous undertaking, was beyond measure rejoiced to find himself so unexpectedly relieved from his apprehensions, and boldly proceeded in pursuit of the enemy, Seyud Mùbaurek the Bokhàrian conducting the advanced guard of his troops. This officer very soon came up with the rear of the Moghùls under Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, by whom he appears to have been resolutely attacked, and repulsed with considerable loss; but, as that prince received a wound in his arm, he considered it prudent to continue his retreat after the main body, which he accordingly rejoined without further molestation—the enemy stopping short, as it would appear, at the town of Mahmoudabad. Totally regardless, however, of every consideration of fame and duty, Mirza Asskery, whose heart had now descended to his heels, proceeded to cross the Mehandery which was in his front, with the most shameful precipitation; many of his troops perishing in the stream through the hurry and confusion of his disorderly retreat. Sùltan Bahauder appeared, indeed, shortly afterwards, on the banks of the same river.

Arriving in this disgraceful plight under the walls of Tchampaneir,

the Mirzas and their followers were suitably entertained in the vicinity of that place, by Tereddy Beg Khaun the governor; who conceived, that after fulfilling to the utmost of his means the claims of hospitality, it would be no more than prudent to return at night to his post within the fortifications. On the day following, he received from the princes a specious message, representing the extreme distress to which they were reduced, together with the whole of the troops under their orders, and requesting that, for their relief, he would spare them a part of the public treasure which was known to be in the fort. With this they said that they would be enabled, by a moderate distribution, to recruit the strength, and restore the spirit of the army; and thus return, with confidence reassured, to oppose the further progress of Sûltan Bahauder. They added that they were thus urgent in their application, because it would not be possible for the express which they either had sent, or were about to dispatch to Mandou, to reach the imperial head quarters at that place and return again, probably, under a period of six days. To this request, however, Tereddy Beg returned a direct negative; and the Mirzas forthwith determined on a plan to seize his person, and thus obtain possession of the whole, instead of a part, of the treasure which had been committed to his care. After which, a resolution was further adopted to raise Mirza Asskery to the sovereignty of Gûjêrat; in which, if they could succeed, by finally subverting the power of Sûltan Bahauder, all would be well again. Otherwise, since it appeared that Homayûn continued so delighted with the climate of Malwah, and that the precincts of the metropolis of Agrah were left without defence, nothing could prevent their proceeding in the last extremity, to secure an establishment in that quarter.

In the mean time, little suspecting the design in agitation, Tereddy Beg was coming down from the fort on a visit of respect to the Mirzas, and had descended part of the way when, fortunately for himself, he became apprized of his danger; and, suddenly returning to his quarters, he from thence dispatched a message to the plotting chiefs, announcing to them that he should consider their remaining in his vicinity for a single day longer, as equally unwarrantable on their part, and incompatible with the safety of the post entrusted to his charge. To this the Mirzas acquainted him in reply, that they were in reality about to de-

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part; but having something of great importance to communicate, that they were anxious to hold a previous conference with him. Being, however, now sufficiently aware of their object, he conveyed a suitable answer, and the very next morning opened a canonade on their encampment, which they were accordingly compelled to break up with some precipitation. Without further deliberation, their march was upon this directed, by the route of Gauht-Kerjy, or Gauht-Guertchy, immediately towards Agrah.

While the Moghûl troops, who had thus shamefully abandoned the fruit of their victories, continued in the neighborhood of Tchampaneir, Sûltan Bahauder did not conceive it prudent to cross the Mehandery; which, in this point, is described to lie at the distance of fifteen kôsse, or about thirty miles, to the west-ward of that mountain-fortress. But the moment he understood that the Mirzas were actually on their march towards Agrah, and became otherwise in some degree apprized of the visionary schemes which they had in contemplation, he passed that river without further delay, and appeared soon afterwards, in great force, under the walls of Tchampaneir. In these circumstances, notwithstanding the natural strength of the place, and the abundance of his resources both for subsistence and defence, Tereddy Beg also, regarding only what concerned his personal safety, thought fit to abandon his important charge; and withdrawing directly to Mandou, there explained at large to Homayûn, what he had been able to discover of the treasonable and disloyal designs of his unworthy relatives. With a view to anticipate, if possible, that part of their design which had Agrah for its object, Homayûn proceeded by forced marches, in the straightest course for Cheitour; and, by a singular piece of good fortune, which did full justice on this occasion to his conceptions, actually fell in with this body of malcontents in the neighborhood of that place. Here, making a virtue of necessity, the misguided Mirzas sought the presence of their imperial and much offended relative; and, contrary to any thing that they had a right to expect, they experienced a very gracious reception; all their guilty plans were consigned to oblivion; and they were once more loaded with the bounties of a too generous and indulgent monarch. But there unhappily existed other causes of an untoward nature, which rendered the return of Homayûn to the capital of the empire, at this period, indispensably necessary.

Although the seditious and turbulent projects of Mahommed Zemaun Mirza had been, for the moment, effectually suppressed, as related in a former page, yet the persons employed, in obedience to the royal mandate to deprive him of sight, had, it seems, performed the operation with such culpable negligence, that his visual organs were suffered to escape without the smallest injury; and the same refractory and turbulent spirit, both in himself and in his son Olugh Mirza, was destined to break out again with fresh violence, about the crisis under consideration. The continued absence of Homayûn from his capital was, indeed, an opportunity of which they could not forbear to avail themselves; and they accordingly proceeded once more, in a certain Purgunnah, or district, called Balegram, or Belegrem, to take up arms against his authority: after which, advancing to Kanouje, by granting some sort of capitulation to the sons of Khossrou Koukeltaush, who commanded for Homayûn, they easily obtained immediate possession of that ancient city. To arrest the progress of this usurpation, Mirza Hindal, who presided at Agrah in the absence of his imperial brother, hastened shortly afterwards; and crossing the Ganges at the station of Belegram, just mentioned, brought the insurgents to a battle, in which he is said to have defeated them. But his victory could not have been materially decisive, since they appear to have rallied in a few days, and the reports of Homayûn's return being now very currently circulated, to have risked another action, in which they were again defeated, with perhaps more decided effects; Mirza Hindal conceiving he might be now permitted to repair with the intelligence of his success to the presence of Homayûn, by this time, probably, arrived in the vicinity of his capital.

Not long after it became known, on the other hand, that Homayûn was actually on his return towards Agrah, discovering that the fortress of Mandou had been left without any adequate means of defence, Bhoupal Râi, of Beijagurr, appeared before that place, and was there successively joined by Kâder Shah, and Meiran Mahommed Farouky, from Bûrhanpour. In the mean time, after remaining at Tchampaneir for a period of about fourteen days, Sûltan Bahauder, yielding to some sudden and irresistible impulse, took his departure for Diu. For when his good fortune seemed to have forsaken him in the early stages of

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his contest against the superior ascendancy of the house of Teymûr, the very means by which he sought to provide against disaster, served in the event to complete his destruction. But to be more explicit, we are informed that in the midst of his terrors at the victorious progress of the Moghûls, the Sûltan had formerly ventured to dispatch a deputation, furnished with suitable presents, in order to solicit the aid of the Portuguese viceroy, or captain general of the possessions of that nation, on the western side of India; requesting at the same time, that he would come in person to his assistance. When, on the expulsion of Mirza Asskery and his subordinate officers from Gûjerat, in the shameful manner just described, Sûltan Bahauder repaired once more to Diu, he found the Portuguese commander accordingly arrived at that place, with a considerable body of troops and a very powerful naval armament. Apprized, indeed, of the recent change in affairs, the European chief was easily led to suspect, that finding himself secure of the required aid, or, peradventure, that he was no longer in need of it, the Sûltan, when called upon to fulfil his part of the engagements between them, might be induced to practice some evasion. He, therefore, sent a formal message to the Sûltan to acquaint him that, in compliance with his request, he had brought himself thus far to his assistance; and that as soon as he should be a little recovered from a fit of illness, by which he was at present confined to his ship, he would not fail to repair to his presence.

At once abandoning that prudent circumspection in which he was otherwise by no means deficient, Sûltan Bahauder put himself on board a galley, in order to anticipate the visit of the Portuguese general; but, he had no sooner reached the admiral's vessel, than he became convinced of the imposture, and he instantly sought, by endeavoring to make for the shore, to retrieve his error. It was however too late. The Portuguese were too keen-sighted towards the interests of their nation not to perceive that, having so valuable a pledge in their hands, it would be by no means incompatible with the views of good policy, before they permitted him to depart, to obtain from the Sûltan the cession of certain ports in Gûjerat, which would be most essential to the security of their possessions in that part of the world. The viceroy, therefore, stepped before him, and affected to intreat one moment's delay—not



longer than was necessary for the selection of some curiosity that might be worthy of his acceptance as a mark of his profound respect; but the Sûltan, desiring that the present might be sent after him, persisted in making for the ship's side. At this moment, the Portuguese Kauzy, chancellor, secretary, or fiscal perhaps, interposed, and peremptorily forbid his departure; on which, in a paroxysm of indignation, the Sûltan drew his scimitar, and instantly clove him in twain. Through this remarkable act of determined resolution, by which the by-standers were probably electrified, he succeeded in forcing his way to his own galley. The Portuguese armed vessels, however, which had hitherto lain at some distance, now closing upon him from all sides, an unequal conflict ensued; in the course of which, perceiving no other chance of escape, the Sûltan and Roumy Khaun, both together threw themselves into the sea. Roumy Khaun, doubtless the same officer whom we have already noticed in a former page, was fortunate enough to be taken up by some of those to whom he happened to be known among the Portuguese squadron; but the Sûltan sunk to rise no more. This singular event is recorded to have taken place on the third day of Ramzaun, of the nine hundred and forty third of the hidjerah,\* a date which is accurately preserved in the Persian characters comprized in the sentence, "Ferenguan Bahauder kosh"—Portuguese, butchers of the hero—Bahauder. It may, however, have occurred either on the third, the twentieth, or even the thirtieth of Ramzaun; the first of which would correspond, as we have noted, with the twelfth of February—the second with the first, and the last with the tenth day, of Marcii A. D. 1537.

There were, however, others who yet maintained that Sûltan Bahauder reached the shore in safety; since there prevailed repeated rumours of his having been subsequently recognized, both in Gûjerat, and in the Dekkan. † In the latter country in particular, among some persons exercising themselves at the game of Tchougan, or horse goff, Nizam-ul-mûlk is said to have discovered one whom he actually acknowledged as Sûltan Bahauder, and whom he therefore caused to be honorably accommodated in one of his own tents; but observing also that he

\* The 12th of February, 1537. It would be curious to compare this statement with what may appear on the records of the Portuguese government; for such a fact could not have occurred without particular notice.

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attracted the notice, perhaps the compassion of the multitude, his jealousy became excited, and that very night the stranger disappeared; the people not hesitating to attach to Nizam-ul-mûlk himself the suspicion of having perfidiously made away with the unhappy wanderer. In confirmation of his identity, it is further stated on the authority of Meir Abûturaub, a person of the highest consideration among the inhabitants of Gûjerat, that Moulla Kûtub-ud-dein à Shirauzian, who had been the Sûltan's preceptor, was present in the Dekkan, and on the spot when the discovery occurred which we have just had occasion to notice, and subsequently attested most solemnly, that the person so discovered was actually no other than Sûltan Bahauder himself; for that, at a private interview, he had absolutely related to the minutest particular, circumstances long past which had taken place between themselves, and could not possibly be known to any other human being. Neither, concludes our author, is such an occurrence incompatible with the operations of God's providence, although it might appear unaccountable to the grossness of human comprehension; and, we may add, that the circumstance is by no means without example in the history of human events, although we cannot comprehend, if the Sûltan did actually escape, why he should have avoided making himself known the moment he reached the shore, unless indeed he remained alive in the hands of the Portuguese.

But, to proceed with the narrative; after the unfortunate Sûltan Bahauder had been thus, according to the general belief, buried in the deep, Mahommed Zemmaun Mirza, of the race of Teymûr, who had obtained an asylum in Gûjerat, immediately clad himself in blue, under the pretence of mourning for the Sûltan; and having prevailed upon the mother of the departed prince to adopt him for her son, proceeded, without further ceremony, to appropriate to his own views a great part of the public treasure of the kingdom. A considerable share fell, however, by some means or other, into the hands of the Portuguese, and some was given up to plunder. At the same time, while Mahommed Zemaun publicly affected to demand from the Portuguese government, reparation for the murder of the Sûltan, he privately conveyed to that government enormous sums of money; for the purpose of purchasing their influence, in order to secure his nomination in the Khotbah. In

this he finally succeeded, the said royal formulary being, for some days at least, pronounced in his name in the Seffa mosque, some where in this vicinity; and he was accordingly permitted, for a short time, to indulge in his wretched propensities for licentious debauchery; but not longer than Erimaud-ul-mulk could appear against him at the head of an army, when he could pusillanimously submit to fly the country. Subsequent to this he repaired, covered with shame and loss, to the presence of Hodayun; as will be again noticed in its proper place.

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In the mean time, having dispatched these necessary illustrations, the author resumes with becoming zeal the main and original subject of his narration, to describe that HODAYUN no sooner reached his capital of Agrah, than the insolent and rebellious chiefs in that quarter, who had risen during his absence against the imperial authority, in general, returned to their allegiance; rejoicing in the means of pardon and protection afforded them, through the ready payment of every species of contribution, which they were required to make good, without delay, to the imperial exchequer. The whole of Hodayun's dominions are now represented to have enjoyed, for a short time at least, a state of profound peace and security—the frequent, if not the ordinary prelude to some dreadful convulsion.

## CHAP. XIII.

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**M**UCH, however, as he might have been satisfied with the internal repose of his hereditary states, Homayûn appears to have been ill at rest with regard to his designs against the neighboring powers; for he had no sooner brought his own refractory vassals to a sense of their duty, than his attention became earnestly devoted to prepare for another expedition, in order to resume his conquests in the opulent province of Gûjêrat, and to place them in the hands of men better qualified for the functions of government, than those by whom they had been so pusillanimously, or perfidiously, abandoned. But while in the crisis of his preparations, he was very seasonably interrupted by intelligence that Sheir Khaun, the celebrated Afghan, was again in arms against his authority, in the provinces to the east-ward. This circumstance revived, almost in spite of himself, the design which, previous to his recent views on Gûjêrat, was in some degree of forwardness; namely, that of proceeding to the reduction of Bengal. To that object, therefore, all his previous preparations were now ordered to be applied; and it was finally determined to comprehend in the same plan, the expulsion of the ambitious Afghan, and the subjugation of the valuable territory on the lower Ganges. And here, in the terms in which it is given by Abûl Fazzel, we shall endeavor to condense the early history of this able, warlike, and most successful adventurer.

Sheir Khaun then, whose original name was Fereid, appears to have been the son of Hussun, the son of Ibrauhim Sherakhil, of the tribe of Sour; a branch of those Afghans who inhabit some of the fertile vallies, [Hazaurahs] between the confines of India and the territories of the Persian Empire.\* This Ibrauhim pursued the humble occupation of

\* According to Ferishtah, the proper country of the Afghans is called Rouh, and extends along the Indus downwards, from Suwaud and Beijour, to Sehwy, dependent on Bukkur, and from Hussun Abdal to Kabûi, east and west. Subsequent to the introduction of Isslaum, having settled at Patnah on the Ganges, they gradually acquired the appellation of Patans.

a dealer in horses, and generally resided at a place called Shumlah, one of the dependencies on Narnoul. His son Hussun, on arriving at the age of discretion, forsook the employment of his father and devoted himself to the profession of a soldier; in which capacity he was long engaged in the service of Râi Mul, the grandfather of Râi Saul, at the period in which our author wrote, among the retainers of the Emperor Akbar. Removing afterwards to the town of Jounah, subordinate to Sahsaram, he was received into the service of Nusseir Khaun Lohauny, an Ameir belonging to the court of Sûltan Sekunder Lôdy. Here, through his great activity and experience in affairs, he soon distinguished himself beyond his equals; and passing, on the death of Nusseir Khaun, into the employ of his brother Doulut Khaun Lohauny, and, subsequently, into that of the other feudatory chiefs attached to the authority of Sûltan Sekunder, his fortune gradually advanced, and every thing seemed to prosper with surprising uniformity under his management.

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His son Fereid, however, the subject of our narrative, being of a very headstrong and vicious disposition, provoked his father's displeasure, and deserted him to engage in the service of Sûltan Jenneid Berlas. Happening one day, together with two other Afghans, to be introduced in the train of his general to the presence of the Emperor Bâber, that discerning monarch no sooner cast his eye upon him, than he observed to Sûltan Jenneid, that the countenance of this Afghan, pointing to Fereid, exhibited something so singularly indicative of a disposition to engage in plans of turbulence and sedition, that he could not avoid cautioning him to secure his person without delay; at the same time, recommending the two other Afghans to his protection, as worthy of encouragement. From the manner in which the emperor eyed him, suspecting that all was not safe, Fereid, before his general had time to commit him to the custody of his guards, seized the opportunity to abscond. Just at this crisis, his father Hussun died, and he became, by some means or other, possessed of the family property; after which, taking up his abode not far from Sahsaram, in the forest of Jounah, which is described as a district belonging to Rohtass on the Saone, he there devoted himself without restraint, to every species of robbery, and outrage, against the unoffending inhabitants of the neighboring terri-

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tory. In a short time he thus contrived to advance himself to a degree of power far beyond any contemporary chief of his age and country; not less through his singular sagacity, and address, than through the most faithless and unprincipled proceedings. Of this latter complexion was his conduct towards the unfortunate Sûltan Bahauder, by whom a large sum of money was remitted to him, on the express stipulation that he was to march in person to his immediate assistance. Instead, however, of performing his engagement, he contented himself with dispatching to the Sûltan some paltry apology to excuse his breach of promise, and kept the money to promote his own unhallowed views of aggrandizement. On the other hand, he persevered in his career of spoliation and outrage against the surrounding towns and villages, with such unwearied pertinacity and success, that he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable body of troops, composed, however, of the most licentious and disorderly profligates, thus brought together, by the hope of unrestrained plunder and robbery, from every part of an ill-governed country.\*

While his affairs were in this successful train, the governor of Bahar, an Ameir of the Lohauny tribe of Afghans, happened to demise; leaving no person on the spot qualified to take charge of the province in his room. Sheir Khaun, and his banditti, did not permit the opportunity to escape them. They suddenly entered the country, and possessed themselves of an incalculable booty, with which they returned in perfect security to their ordinary haunts. Not long afterwards he made an unexpected attack upon Olûgh Mirza, who happened to be placed within his reach, and, by his superior address, succeeded in obtaining a complete victory over that chief. On his return from this last undertaking he plundered Banares; and his resources both in men and money having now prodigiously accumulated, he proceeded to take possession of Patnah, and the whole of the adjoining territory. At Sourudj-gurr, which is the boundary of Bengal in this quarter, he engaged and defeated the troops of the ruler of that province; in consequence of which, he established himself also in possession of a considerable part of the

\* We must, nevertheless, here observe that the history of Sheir Khaun is given by Ferishtah, in terms infinitely more favorable to the renown of the illustrious Afghans; and it is very probable, that Abûl Fazzel may have been too powerfully influenced in his account, by his partiality for the house of *Teymûr*.

country in that direction. This produced, however, an arduous war with Nusseib Shah the sovereign of Bengal, which continued with various success for the period of a twelvemonth; great part of which was, however, taken up with the siege of *Gour*, the ancient capital of the province.

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Among the extraordinary circumstances furnished in the story of this successful adventurer, we are here told that becoming apprized that there lived in the service of the Rájah of Oudessiah, or Orissá, at the time, an astrologer of singular skill in his profession, he sent to invite him to his camp, in order to consult him as to the issue of those ambitious designs on which, doubtless at this period, his attention must have been deeply and awfully engaged. The Rájah would not, it seems, permit his astrologer to comply with the invitation; but the latter contrived, nevertheless, to announce to Sheir Khaun by letter, that for the period of a twelvemonth, he would not be able to accomplish his views on Bengal. At the expiration of that period, however, the date of which he expressly indicated, his efforts would be crowned with success, adding, moreover, that the event would be attended by a very singular phenomenon; for on the very day of its accomplishment, the majestic stream of the Ganges would be fordable for the space of one hour. All which came to pass precisely as had been foretold by the astrologer. And it was at this stage of the history of Sheir Khaun, that the absence of Homayún on his distant expeditions into Gújerat and Malwah, afforded to the Afghan that opportunity for the extension of his aspiring views, of which he did not neglect to avail himself.

The attention of Homayún having, at all events, been seriously attracted towards the provinces to the east-ward, by the alarming progress of this enterprising chief, and a resolution having been finally adopted to employ his resources in that direction, he hastened to make the necessary arrangements for the security of the capital, previous to his departure. Among these we find that the government of Dehly was allotted to Meir Fakeir Ally, a person who had been employed in appointments of distinguished trust under his father; while that of Agrah was conferred upon Meir Mahommed Bukhshiy, an officer in his own particular confidence. Madgaur Nausser Mirza, his uncle's son, was destined to remain in charge of Kalpy, the territory of which had been

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consigned to him in jagueir; Kanouje and his possessions in that quarter were allotted to the care of Nour-ud-dein Mahommed Mirza, the husband of Gûlrung Begum the sister of Homayûn, and father of Se-leimah Sûltan Begum, one of the wives of Akbar. These preliminaries dispatched, Homayûn finally quitted Agrah at the head of his troops, part proceeding by water, and part by land; the Emperor himself occasionally embarking on the river *Jumna*, and at other times mounting his horse and taking his course through the adjoining territory along the banks. He was accompanied, it may be worthy of remark, on this occasion, by both his brothers Asskery and Hindal Mirzas, and by the commanders whose names are here sÿbjoined. Ibraahim Beg Tchabouk, Jahangueir Kûly Beg, Khossrou Beg Koukeltaush, Tereddy Beg Khaun, Kouje Beg, Tereddy, or perhaps Beirdy, Beg Etawah, *Beyram Khaun*, Kaussem Hÿsseyne Khaun the Ouzbek, Boujêk Beg, Zauhed Beg, Doust Beg, Beg Meirek, Hadjy Mahommed Baba Kûshkah, Yâkoub Beg, Nihaul Beg, Roushen Beg, Moghûly Beg; and many other chiefs of distinguished reputation, who will hereafter appear to have borne a part in the expedition, although it may not have been found expedient to notice them in this place.

When the army had thus descended to the vicinity of Tchunaudah, or Chunâr, where Sheir Khaun had, at present, established his head quarters, Mahommed Zemman Mirza, who, on his expulsion from Gûjerat, had obtained, through the intercession of Maussûmah Sûltan Begum his wife, the sister of Homayûn, a promise of pardon, was permitted after some humiliating formalities to approach the royal presence, and once more restored to favor. Sheir Khaun, on the other hand, when the actual approach of the Moghûls became known to him, after having provided amply for the defence of Chunâr, and consigned it to the command of his son Kûttûb Khaun, with a competent garrison, prudently quitted that fortress, and withdrew into Bengal; of which he was now it seems, in complete possession, together with incalculable riches. Shortly afterwards Homayûn encamped before Chunâr, of which it was, immediately determined to undertake the reduction.

Roumy Khaun, whose character has been already under notice, having quitted the service of Sûltan Bahauder, after the fatal dispersion at Mundsour, held at this period the post of Meir Autesh, or master of



ordnance, in that of Homayûn; and to him, from his acknowledged skill in the attack of fortified places, was entrusted the superintendance of the siege. In a shorter space of time than might have been expected, this able officer, on a bridge of boats which he threw across the Ganges for the purpose, completed a covered gallery of planks, so admirably constructed as to confirm, in an eminent degree, the opinion which had been conceived of his superior skill; for, by means of this gallery, he contrived to approach the walls of the place in such security, that a great part of them was mined, and blown up, with a rapidity which surpassed all calculation. In consequence of this, Kùttûb Khaun, the governor, made his escape, leaving his garrison, to the number of two thousand men, to capitulate for their lives. The fortress was now surrendered to the officers of Homayûn; and that monarch, in conformity with the pledge which had been given through the intercession of Roumy Khaun, seemed disposed to liberate the garrison with impunity: but, Mûeyud Beg Douldy, who had equal access to the royal presence, under the sanction of a pretended order from the empefor, caused the whole, without exception, immediately to lose their hands. For this foul blot brought upon the imperial clemency, he escaped with a severe reprimand from Homayûn; while Roumy Khaun, together with the government of Chunâr, which was conferred upon him as the present reward of his services during the siege, received the most honorable and distinguished proofs of imperial favor. He fell, however, not long afterwards, a victim to the jealousy of rival courtiers; and was removed from the scene by a dose of poison.

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The success which attended his exertions in the reduction of Chunâr, encouraged Homayûn to proceed without delay in his designs against the Bengal territory; and Nusseib Shah, the prince of that country, who had recently arrived in his camp severely wounded, and grievously complaining of the injuries which he had sustained from the unjust violence of the Afghan, did not a little contribute to confirm him in his resolution. In the mean time, he conferred the government of Jounpour upon Ameir Hindû Beg, one of his most distinguished nobles, and Beg Meirek, another experienced commander, was selected to take charge of the important station of Chunâr. The imperial army was then put in motion, proceeding, as before, partly by water, and

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partly by land, down to Patnah. Here, some of the nobles most sincerely attached to the interests of their sovereign, ventured to represent to Homayûn, that as the rainy season was actually arrived, it would be advisable to postpone the further prosecution of the design against Bengal, until the return of dry weather; since the country was known to be extremely unfavorable, if not totally impracticable, for the operations of cavalry, during the monsoon. Nussèib Shah, however, whose judgment may be allowed to have been in no slight degree influenced by the desire of speedy vengeance, unfortunately prevailed to the contrary; employing the argument not less specious than solid, that the sooner the Afghan was assailed in his usurpation, the less difficult it would prove to dispossess him. In compliance, therefore, with the importunities of this provoked and injured man, the troops were directed to continue their march.

At Bhaugulpour, it had been determined to separate the army into two columns, Mirza Hindal, with about six thousand men, being here detached across the Ganges, with instructions to proceed along the opposite, or left bank, of the river. On his arrival at Mongueir, however, information was communicated to Homayûn, that Jullaûl Khaun, the son of Sheir Khaun, who, subsequent to the death of his father, assumed the title of Isslaum, or Seleim Khaun, with Khowauss Khaun, Peir-e-Mereid, Sermušt Shaun, Heybet Khaun Niqazy, Pahaur Khaun, and other Afghan officers, at the head of fifteen thousand men, had taken post at the town of Gahdy, or Guhrry, which was considered the gate, or key of Bengal, on that side, and seemed determined to maintain it against all attack.

To comprehend the subject more clearly, it may be necessary to explain that, on assuring himself of the actual approach of Homayûn, far from entertaining any design of directly opposing his march, Sheir Khaun had resolved to withdraw into the hilly region of Tchaharkund, in order, when the Moghûls should have entered Bengal, to return by that route into Bahar; where he would not only be able to find a place of security for the spoil accumulated during his recent expeditions, but to produce sufficient disturbance, and alarm, in the rear of the imperial army. He therefore left Jullaûl Khaun, and the troops under his orders, in the neighborhood of Guhrry; with instructions, when the Mo-

ghûls should have approached within a certain distance, and it should be announced that he himself had reached the station of Sheirpour, to make the best of their way to join him at that station, without, on any consideration, exposing themselves to the risk of a conflict with the imperialists.

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Homayûn having, however, advanced a body of nearly six thousand men, from Bhaugulpour, under Ibrauhim Beg Tchabouk, Jahangueir Kûly Beg, Beyram Beg, and other commanders, and these troops having, shortly afterwards, approached Gubry, Jûllaul Khaun, in total disregard of his father's instructions, suddenly attacked them in their camp, with his whole force; and coming upon them, at the same time, with superior numbers and all the advantages of surprise, he appears to have defeated them with the loss of several officers of distinction, notwithstanding the most gallant exertions on the part of Beyram Khaun, who repeatedly rallied the Moghûls, and broke through the squadrons of the enemy. This check is expressly ascribed to the absence of timely support, and to the defect of concert among the imperial generals. But the result was no sooner made known to Homayûn, than he hastened in person to repair the mischief, although exposed to considerable danger from the sinking of the yacht which conveyed him, near the village of Gohlgaum. The Afghan troops appear to have now withdrawn without awaiting his approach, leaving the Moghûl monarch to prosecute his designs in this quarter, without interruption. The districts of Tîrhût and Puhriah had, at his own request, been allotted to Mirza Hindal, and that prince was at this crisis dismissed to arrange the affairs of his new jagueir; with instructions, at the proper period, to enter the province of Bengal from that side. In the meantime, Homayûn continued to advance into the country, without further resistance; and thus, in the course of the nine hundred and forty-fifth of the hidjerah,\* was that productive and fertile province added to the dominions of the house of Teymur.

On the other hand, Sheir Khaun and his Afghans, carrying with them the best part of the treasures of the country, drew off through the territory of Tchaharkund, and arrived without accident in the neighborhood of Rohtâss; of which impregnable fortress this enterprising adven-

\* Commencing 29th of May, A. D. 1538.

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turer contrived to obtain possession by the following stratagem—if stratagem that may be called, which originated in the blackest perfidy. Immediately on his arrival, he dispatched a message to Rajah Chintaman, a Brahmen, the independent governor of the fort, in which, after reminding him of numerous favors formerly bestowed, he gave him to understand that the hour of arduous emergency had at last overtaken him; and that he should venture to claim at his hands, what ought never to be denied by the generous to the distressed, an asylum in Roh-tass for the women and children of himself and his warlike followers; a piece of service by which he would command his eternal friendship. By these and a thousand other flattering professions, the simple and unsuspecting Râjah permitted himself to be at last imposed upon; and his artful deceiver proceeded without delay to carry his perfidious plan into execution. Having provided for the purpose six hundred covered doulies, a species of litter well known in the east, he secretly placed in each of these, two armed soldiers, and sent them thus concealed, with the female attendants running as usual beside the litters, for admission into the fort. As had been agreed upon, they were introduced without suspicion, and having rendered themselves masters of the place without much difficulty, an impregnable asylum was thus finally secured for the families of the designing Afghan and his followers, which encouraged him without disquiet, to prosecute his views of more extensive usurpation. But the object to which his attention was earliest directed, was to cut off all communication between the troops in Bengal, and their resources in Hindûstaun; which he found it not difficult to accomplish, by sending out detachments to seize the outlets through Bahar.

While Sheir Khaun thus contrived to establish an admirable basis for the support of his operations, Homayûn and his troops, equally delighted and intoxicated with the luxurious amœnities of Bengal,\* seem to have forgotten all other objects in the gratification of their voluptuous propensities. It was at such a period that, uniting with others of a turbulent and ambitious spirit like his own, Mirza Hindal, against the consent of his royal brother, and in the very height of the rainy season, proceeded towards Agrah, which, in defiance of the most urgent intreaties to the contrary, from court, he reached in a short time afterwards. There

\* Like Hannibal and his Carthaginians at Capua.

he immediately entered, in private, on the maturation of those rash and unprincipled schemes, on the sovereign power, that led to the fatal results which now soon followed in rapid succession. The opportunity thus laid open to his view, was not neglected by Sheir Khaun, who appeared immediately before Banares, of which he obtained possession with no great difficulty, putting the governor Meir Fuzzely to death without ceremony. From thence he proceeded upwards, without delay, towards Jounpour; the government of which, on the death of Ameir Hindû Beg, had recently devolved to Bâba Bég Jullâeir, the father of Shâhum Khaun. Neither did that chief neglect to employ all the means within his reach, in order to strengthen the defences of the place against the attack with which he was immediately threatened.

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At this crisis it happened that Yûssuf Bég the son of Ibrauhim Bég Tchabouk should have been at Jounpour, so far on his way from Oudeh, or Oude, to join the army in Bengal, and it seemed to afford to this young soldier no small amusement to scour the country in different directions, not less for the purpose of procuring intelligence, than of watching for an opportunity to distinguish himself in a conflict with the enemy. Regularly apprized of his proceedings, Sheir Khaun resolved to interrupt them; and making a forced march, accordingly, at the head of two or three thousand horse, rather unexpectedly appeared in his view. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his followers, on the rashness and inutility of combating against a force so manifestly superior, Yûssuf Bég prepared to engage the Afghans the instant he saw them, and together with many of his party, perished sword in hand in the unequal conflict. On the day following, encouraged by this partial success, the enemy no longer delayed the investiture of Jounpour. The exertions of the loyal governour for the defence of the place continued, however, unabated; and dispatches had been transmitted, at the same time, to demand relief from the Mirzas in Hindûstaun, and to announce his danger to Homayûn.

Alarmed by the reports which assailed him from every quarter, Meir Fakeir Ally the governor of Dehly, hastened from thence to Agrah, where all the arguments he could devise were employed to persuade the misguided Mirza Hindal into a just sense of his duty. And he, at last, succeeded in prevailing upon him to cross to the opposite bank of the



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Joun, or Jumna, engaging Mahommed Bukhshy the governor of Agrâh, at the same time, to furnish all the assistance in his power, in order to enable the Mirza to proceed without delay to the relief of Jounpour. Fakeir Ally hastened next towards Kalpy, in order to persuade Yadgaur Nausser also of the immediate necessity of assembling the troops of his jagueir, for the purpose of forming a junction with Mirza Hindal, at Korah, or perhaps Kurrah, on the Ganges; from whence he proposed that they should march with united force to raise the siege of Jounpour. Just, however, as matters had been thus far placed in train, Khossrou Beg Koukeltaush, Hadjy Mahommed Bâba Kushkah, Zauhed Beg, and Mirza Nuzzer, with several other chiefs, whom the spirit of turbulence and discontent had led to desert the army in Bengal, suddenly presented themselves to Mirza Nûr-ud-dein Mahommed, who had, as recently observed, been left in the government of Kanouje; and this prince appears to have been easily prevailed upon to write to Mirza Hindal in their behalf, soliciting his intercession with Homayûn for the pardon of these contumacious deserters.

Still actuated by his ambitious and disloyal views, Mirza Hindal immediately dispatched, by an officer in his confidence, to announce to Yadgaur Nausser and Fakeir Ally, in terms which by no means indicated disapprobation, the arrival of these Ameirs; who, on their part, in expectation of his answer, took up their residence at Koul, or Koel, in the Doaub, which was the jaguir, or fee, of Zauhed Beg. The messenger of Mirza Hindal, apprized on his journey of their removal, proceeded immediately to that place, and there he received from these malcontents, an explicit avowal of their pernicious designs. Without the smallest disguise they informed him, that they no longer acknowledged the authority of Homayûn; and they declared, that if Mirza Hindal, as they were well aware he had it long in contemplation, would at once openly assume the imperial dignity, they were ready to enrol themselves under his standard, and would support him with a perseverance of zeal that should equal, if not surpass, his highest expectations. Otherwise, it was their determination to offer themselves to Mirza Kamraun, in the Punjaub; from whom, at all events, they expressed their confidence of a reception equal to their most sanguine hopes.

Mahommed Ghauzi Toghâi, who was the person entrusted, on this

occasion, with the message from Mirza Hindal, returned immediately to his employer, and apprized him in secret with the result of his interview. He acquainted his master at the same time, that in his judgment he had the choice of two alternatives; either to accede to the proposal of the malcontents, of investing himself with the imperial authority, and to invite them at once to his court—or by such means as could be devised to get these turbulent and refractory rebels into his power, and consign them to the wholesome meditations of a prison. Mirza Hindal, however, whose brain was still itching with the designs of unhallowed ambition, rejoiced in the opportunity of securing to his views, the resources of these disloyal men; and sending for them accordingly, proceeded, by all the blandishments in his power, to conciliate their attachment—being now determined to persevere inflexibly, in the prosecution of his unjust and unnatural designs.

When, on the other hand, in the midst of his sensual indulgences, Homayûn became apprized of the loss of Banares, of the danger of Jounpour, and the districts in that quarter, and of the hostile proceedings of his ungrateful brother, his first step was to dispatch the Sheikh Behlowul, one of the most respectable of his class among the nations of India, and eminently distinguished in the imperial favor, to Agrah; with instructions to employ the influence of age and experience, in order to dissuade the misguided prince, if not yet too late, from the prosecution of his absurd plans, and to point out to him the immediate and urgent necessity of uniting heart and hand, in opposing the usurpations, and destroying the formidable power of the Afghans. Thus authorized, the venerable Sheikh appeared, rather unexpectedly, in the neighborhood of the station where Mirza Hindal had, for the present, established his head quarters; and that prince proceeded to receive him with every outward mark of respect and kindness. The prudent and well directed counsels of this venerable personage had, at first, their just weight in bringing the Mirza to relinquish his unjust pretensions, and to resolve, once more, on carrying into execution the object of raising the siege of Jounpour. On the following day, Mahommed Bukhshy the governor of Agrah was sent for, and again required to furnish the necessary supplies in money, cattle, stores, and equipments of every description; all which he engaged to produce to the utmost extent of the demand,

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Matters had not, however, proceeded in this train for more than four or five days, when the sudden arrival of Nûr-ud-dein Mahommed from Kanouje, by entering immediately into the views of the discontented Ameirs, contributed afresh to reanimate the hopes, and to revive the unwarrantable plans of the seditious. Accordingly, when Mahommed Ghauzi Toghâi, the agent of Mirza Hindal, presented himself again to communicate with the Ameirs so often alluded to, they unanimously recurred to their original opinions; and, as a pledge that his employer had altogether, and unequivocally acceded to their terms, they now demanded, with united voice, that Sheikh Behlowul, the venerable personage already noticed, who had so officiously disconcerted all their measures, should be publicly put to death; which would be to all the world a final proof, that the Mirza had irrevocably abandoned the cause of his royal brother, and enable them, with the greater confidence, to devote themselves to the interests of the new sovereign.

The return of his agent on this occasion, determined Mirza Hindal, in conjunction with Nûr-ud-dein Mahommed, to proceed, without further procrastination, in his inauspicious plans of usurpation. The unfortunate Sheikh Behlowul, who was unsuspectingly engaged in forwarding the equipment of the troops destined for the relief of Jounpour, was now dragged from his abode in the city, and conveyed across the Jumna, to the sands which lie at a short distance from the imperial gardens; where the same Nûr-ud-dêin Mahommed, acting under the instructions of Mirza Hindal, immediately caused him to lose his head. Shortly afterwards, the malcontent Ameirs came to a personal interview with Mirza Hindal, and, in an evil hour, proceeded to bestow upon him the regalities of the Khotbah and sikkah; although this did not pass without considerable resistance in the bosom of his own family. On the part of his mother, Dildaour Aghâtcheh Begum, in particular, who received him in deep mourning on the occasion, as well as on the part of the other princesses of the imperial family, the most urgent remonstrances were employed, to dissuade him from the prosecution of his rash designs; all which he treated with disdain, alleging that every thing made use of to oppose his wishes, did but fan the flame



within his breast. Mahommed Bukhshy, also, ventured to expostulate with him rather freely, on the unnatural perfidiousness of his conduct, charging him in direct terms, with the murder of the innocent and unoffending Sheikh, and with some species of inconsistency, in sparing a personage so comparatively unworthy of his forbearance as himself. The prince, however, condescended to soothe the resentment of this chief, and finally compelled him to attend his person, in the undertaking for which he shortly afterwards put his troops in motion.

Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, on the other hand, as soon as he became acquainted with these untoward and contumacious proceedings, hastened immediately from Kalpy, and, accompanied by Ameir Fakeir Ally, made the best of his way, by the route of Gwaljar, to the metropolis of Dehly; which he exerted his utmost zeal and activity, to place without delay in the best possible state of defence. Mirza Hindal had reached Hamidpour, in the neighborhood of Feyrouzabad, when he discovered that his design had been anticipated by the diligence of Yadgaur Nausser and his associate; but, on consulting with his Ameirs, he determined, nevertheless, on prosecuting his march towards Dehly; which he accordingly invested a short time afterwards, being further reinforced on his way, by the greater part of the jagueirdaurs, or imperial feudatories, in this quarter. Yadgaur Nausser and his colleague on their part were, however, not the less determined to defend the place to the last extremity, adopting the precaution, at the same time, of sending to Mirza Kamraun, to announce their situation, and to demand his immediate presence; in order, if possible, to extinguish these dangerous commotions. As these proceedings, on the part of his brother Hindal, did not exactly accord with his own views, Mirza Kamraun obeyed the summons without the smallest delay; and it was, indeed, no sooner ascertained that he was arrived, on his march from Labour, at the town of Sunput, between Pauniput and Dehly, than Mirza Hindal suddenly abandoned the siege, and withdrew towards Agrah.

On approaching the suburbs of Dehly, Mirza Kamraun was met by Fakeir Ally, who prevailed upon him, without entering the town, to continue his march, also, in the direction of Agrah; while the attention of Yadgaur Nasser was employed as before, in providing for the defence and loyalty of the city of Dehly. Far, however, from any in-

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ention of remaining at Agrah under these circumstances, Mirza Hindal, immediately on the approach of Mirza Kamraun, drew off towards Alwer; but the latter prince, on his arrival at Agrah, making it his most urgent request with his mother, the princess Dildaaur Aghâcheh already mentioned, that she would prevail upon Hindal to return, her maternal influence was so successfully employed, that she brought him at last, with his kumberbund, or girdle, round his throat, that is to say, under circumstances of the most degrading humiliation, to the presence of his brother. Mirza Kamraun, on the day following, received also the submission of the fugitive and rebellious Ameirs, to whom, probably in the name of their offended sovereign, he undertook to extend the pledge of forgiveness. Not long afterwards, the whole proceeded, now together, across the Jown; for the purpose, as they professed, of co-operating, most zealously and cordially, in the measures for defeating the dangerous projects of the enterprising and aspiring Afghani; but, being led into perverted paths by the influence of an untoward and malignant destiny, this was a consummation in which they were never permitted to share.

It has already been shewn that that region of abundance, the rich and fertile kingdom of Bengal had, by a course of events hitherto sufficiently auspicious, been brought to submit, almost without resistance, to the authority of Homayûn; and it now appears that that monarch had fixed his residence in the ancient capital of the country—the great lords of his court being, at the same time, remunerated for their services, by magnificent dotations in jagueir in different parts of the kingdom. Instead, however, of devoting some part of their attention to provide for the security of their newly acquired possessions, the faculties of these pampered plunderers appear to have been entirely absorbed in laying up materials for the indulgence of their sensual, and luxurious propensities. Hence originated that total neglect in every department of government, which afforded, to the restless and turbulent spirits ever on the watch in all countries, an opportunity to spread confusion and alarm; and things were rapidly approaching that point, at which the slumbering mischief, awakening in full strength, must inevitably have produced the most fatal consequences. Intelligence that could be relied upon had not, indeed for a long time, reached the head-quarters of

Homayûn, and such slight intimations of the danger as became known to individuals in attendance on his person, no one was found bold enough to announce to him; the impression on the minds of all being unfortunately of that nature, that no unpleasant communications must be permitted to disturb the now infatuated monarch, in his delirium of sensual enjoyment.\*

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By degrees, however, the refractory proceedings in the neighborhood of the Jumna, became so notorious, that some of his officers, more devoted to the substantial welfare of their sovereign than swayed by the considerations of personal convenience, ventured at last to disclose the truth to Homayûn. Roused at once to a sense of his situation, the monarch instantly convoked his Ameirs, and announced his intention of returning without delay towards Agrah; although the whole country was at this moment in a state of inundation, and the season entirely adverse to the movements of troops in any direction. But, when the stability of his power was at a stake, all physical obstacles seemed to vanish from the contemplation of Homayûn. It became, however, expedient, as a preliminary step, to select some person, in whose valour and fidelity he could confide, to undertake in his behalf the government of Bengal; and his choice fell upon the Zauhed Beg, who has been already mentioned among the malcontent Ameirs at Agrah. But as this man, unmindful of the fame acquired in a long continued course of faithful service, pusillanimously abandoned his trust, and fled over to the standard of Mirza Hindal, the post was necessarily transferred, with a division of troops competent to the support of his authority, to Jahangueir Kûly Beg: after which Homayûn, in the very heart of the rainy season, proceeded on his return to the metropolis of the empire.

When, on the other hand, reports were conveyed to Sheir Khaun, that the imperial army was in motion from Bengal, and that the princes had quitted Agrah, with the professed design of arresting his progress, that chief abandoned the siege of Jounpour without ceremony, and immediately withdrew towards Rohtass; his resolution being already formed to avoid an action with the Moghûls, and to re-enter Bengal, exactly by the same road by which he had quitted it, that of Tchar-kund. The arrangements of this able commander were, at the same

\* It may be proper to observe, that he was, at this period, in the thirty-first year of his age.

A. H. 946. time, concerted with such admirable skill, as to be easily altered according to circumstances, should any thing occur during the march of the imperial army, on its return, to render such alteration advisable; and thus we find him ultimately hanging upon the rear of that army, watching his opportunity to attack it under cover of the night, and when least prepared to resistance. He acquired, however, additional confidence when, on its arrival at Purtuhn, probably Patnah, he discovered the utter inferiority of the force with Homayûn, and its deplorable deficiency in equipments; and he accordingly ventured without further hesitation, at the head of an army equally formidable in point of numbers and efficiency, to press nearer upon the Moghûls, eagerly exploring on every side for that advantage of which he was prepared to avail himself.

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In these circumstances, no one having been able to ascertain with any degree of precision, either the situation, force, or designs, of the enemy, Eben Ally Kurâwel Beggy, the captain of the scouts, undertook the execution of this important service; and having succeeded in making the necessary discoveries, hastened, through the medium of Mirza Mahommed Zemmaun, to convey the result to Homayûn. When, therefore, the fact became known to the impetuous and ardent young monarch, that the insolent Afghan was so close upon him, his indignation was excited in no ordinary degree; and although the imperial troops had already crossed the Ganges, as it should seem to the left bank, in full march towards Agrah; although the most pressing arguments were employed to dissuade him from such a step, under such disadvantages of force and equipment—when his cavalry were in a state of inefficiency, entirely worn down with the exertions of such a march, through a country so completely under water—he resolved on crossing the river, to the right or southern bank, and on giving battle to the enemy.

Here we are called upon to remark, and the experience of ages has, it is alleged, furnished repeated example, that when the ministers of destiny have been charged, by an inscrutable providence, to implant in the breast of some favored mortal, that spark of celestial energy which is to exalt him above the ordinary lot of humanity, the trials of adversity are also strown in his path, in order to bring to the proof the

intrinsic worth, the unsullied brilliance, of the inestimable gem to be displayed in his character. And hence, when the manifestation of that *star*, which had been transmitted through successive generations from the bosom of the illustrious Katchùly Bahauder, was at hand, it ought not to be considered extraordinary if some calamitous reverses should precede in the fortune of Homayùn ; who was thus impelled, contrary to the urgent solicitations of his nobles, to engage in a conflict of incalculable hazard, and inadequate object, with the impure and perfidious Afghans.

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At the station of Yohssah, then, a dependency on the subordinate government of Bhoujepour, Homayùn placed himself directly in front of his pursuers ; but, as the two armies were still separated by a black and turbid stream, here called the Keinaus, or Keneinauss, supposed the Karamnassa river, the imperial troops proceeded to throw a bridge across, by which they passed to the opposite side. Hostilities immediately commenced between the advanced detachments of the two powers; in which, notwithstanding their disparity of force, and the deplorable deficiency of their equipments, the advantage is alleged to have uniformly rested with the Moghùls, with considerable loss to the Afghans. The contest being, however, protracted beyond his utmost expectations, and his ungrateful brothers, with resources at command abundantly adequate to that, or any other object, permitting themselves to be withheld by views of perverted ambition, from repairing to his relief, the affairs of Homayùn underwent, at last, a most unfavorable and alarming change. In the mean time, Sheir Khaun, whose address was not inferior to his courage, did not omit, at convenient intervals, to dispatch his agents to the camp of the Moghùls, for the purpose, as he pretended, of soliciting an accommodation ; while at others he continued to exhibit every proof of the most inveterate hostility: until, by the execution of a stratagem which reflects the highest credit upon his military skill, he at length completely succeeded in laying asleep the vigilance of his imperial antagonist. For, leaving a part of his foot, and the lowest description of his troops, with fire arms and rockets, in front of Homayùn's advanced posts, in order to occupy the attention of the enemy, he suddenly retired with the main body of his army, two marches to the rear; and the Moghùls, already sufficiently

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elated with their advantage in the recent conflicts, and little suspecting the crafty design of the Afghan, proceeded to repose themselves in their encampment, in a state of the most fatal security.

As might have been foreseen, one night when the charge of watching over the general safety of the camp rested with Mahommed Zemmann Mirza, so often referred to in these pages, that commander acquitted himself of the important trust with such culpable and shameful negligence, as furnished to the adventurous Afghan the opportunity which he so anxiously courted. Sheir Khaun, who had never for a moment lost sight of his object, after marching the whole of the preceding night, most unexpectedly presented himself at dawn of day in the rear of the imperial encampment; and having divided his troops into three columns, one led by himself, and the other two by his sons Jullaoul Khaun, and Khowauss Khaun, respectively, the whole poured in amongst them, before the Moghûls could saddle their horses, buckle on their armour, or place themselves in any shape, in a posture of defence. Homyân, lost in astonishment at this fatal effect of the remissness of his generals, had mounted his horse in the appalling certainty that the evil was beyond redemption, when three of his most faithful followers, Bâbâi Jullâeir, Tereddy Beg, and Kouje Beg, threw themselves in his way; and his only request was that they would hasten, if possible, to bring off the princess Hadjy Begum. They found the tents of the princess, however, already surrounded by the enemy; and they all three of them gallantly perished sword in hand, in their effort to execute the orders of their sovereign—together with Meir Pehlewaun Buddukhshy and many others, who nobly sacrificed their lives in the same attempt.

The crisis was indeed pressing in the extreme; but the exertions of a trembling female were unequal to the attempt of breaking through the circle of armed barbarians, which enclosed her tent; and she was therefore consigned to the protection of that providence, which, in the hour of danger, was never known to withdraw its watchful care over the destiny of this illustrious family. On the present occasion, it was happily so ordained, that not even the breath of hostile violence was permitted to intrude itself within the precincts of the sacred sanctuary of the haram. In fact, the national respect for female modesty so universal in the East, was not, in the moment of victory, forgotten by the warlike

chief of these ferocious plunderers. The most scrupulous decorum was observed towards his illustrious captive, the instant he found that she was in his power; and he not only shrouded her from the gaze of vulgar curiosity, but caused her to be finally conducted to a place of safety, with every mark of respect due to her sex and dignity, and to the character of her imperial consort.

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In the mean time, Homayûn had made for the river side; but here a fresh misfortune awaited him, in the destruction of the bridge, and he perceived no alternative of escape but by plunging on horseback into the stream. In the struggle it was his lot to be soon dismounted; but his better destiny interposing for the present in the shape of a Sukka, or common water-carrier, he at last succeeded, through his assistance, in swimming safe to the opposite bank. Finding himself once more safe on terra firma, he naturally enough enquired of the man who had been so instrumental to his deliverance from a watery grave, what name he bore; and being told in answer that it was plain Nizaum, the monarch observed in reply, that to him indeed in every sense of the word, he had proved himself a Nizaum-ul-awlya, which was the name of a Mahomedan Saint, of great celebrity in his days; and in the enthusiasm of his grateful feelings, he promised his deliverer on the spot, that if ever it was his fortune to be restored once more in safety to his throne, to put him for half a day in actual possession of the sovereign dignity, together with all its honors and advantages.

The fearful discomfiture, of which the above is but a brief and imperfect description, is here recorded to have taken place at the passage of Yossah, or Joussah, on the banks of the river Ganges, [in a preceding part it is however said to have been the Karamnassa], on the ninth day of the month of Suffur, of the nine hundred and forty sixth of the hidjerah. Among those who perished on the occasion, we find the name of Mirza Mahommed Zemman, to whose culpable remissness in the first instance, may be very justly ascribed the disastrous termination of this eventful day; and with him fell many other Ameirs of the highest distinction in every class, together with some thousands of the very flower of the Moghul troops.

Accompanied, on the other hand, by his brother Mirza Asskery, and

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a very slender retinue, Homayûn fled with all the celerity of which he was capable towards Agrab; where he fortunately arrived a short time afterwards, without further accident. Here, with at least all outward demonstration of respect and duty, he was immediately visited by Mirza Kamraun; and, at the expiration of a few days, Mirza Hindal from Alwer also, having contrived, through the interposition of Kamraun, and of his mother, to secure a favorable reception, repaired to the presence of his brother, and experienced from him, considering the aggravated nature of his offences, a forgiveness and a generosity, almost without example. In the mean time, Homayûn's attention was most anxiously devoted to hasten those arrangements by which he hoped to avenge and repair the disgrace and loss of the recent disasters; which originated, indeed, in no small degree, in gross mismanagement, and defect of all concert among the principal feodatories of his government. To aid him, however, in the prosecution of his honorable design, he was now joined in rapid succession, by numerous Ameirs from all parts of the Empire, with their respective contingents of troops.

One day while employed at this crisis in giving dispatch to the affairs of his government, it has been considered of sufficient importance to relate, that the poor waterman, to whom he was so materially indebted for the preservation of his life, ventured to present himself before the throne of Homayûn, in order to claim the fulfilment of his promise. Strictly faithful to his engagement, the generous monarch no sooner recognized his deliverer, than he descended from his throne without the smallest hesitation; and causing him to take his place, for the space of half a day precisely, permitted him to exercise without controul the various functions of sovereign power—several decrees and ordinances which he undertook to circulate during this period of ephemeral authority, being carried into execution with the most scrupulous punctuality. What was, however, of far more solid advantage to the man, he was forthwith elevated to permanent rank and distinction, and both himself and all related to him, placed in a state of independence and affluence, so as to be perfectly secure against the pressure of every future want.

This singular incident, however otherwise unimportant in its bearings, is described to have occasioned some serious expostulations from



Mirza Kamraun, and afforded a convenient pretext for that spirit of discontent and disaffection, which he was already sufficiently disposed to encourage against the authority of his royal brother.

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But while these proceedings were going on at Agrah, the able and warlike Afghan did not suffer his energies to slumber over the contemplation of his signal victory at Youssah; on the contrary, he determined to avail himself without delay, of the opportunity thus gained, to repossess himself of the kingdom of Bengal. For this purpose he marched immediately to the frontier of Bahar in that direction, and there encamped; detaching his son Jullaul Khaun, at the head of a competent force, in order to make himself master of that much envied territory. Jahangueir Kúly Beg, who had been left, as we have recently seen, in charge of the province, is described to have acquitted himself, for some time, with considerable resolution in defence of his government; but being feebly, and very inadequately, supported in his exertions by the several jaguirdaurs, who were not to be weaned from their luxurious indulgences, he was finally compelled to relinquish all contest in the field. He then took protection with some of the Zemindaurs, or native chiefs; but being prevailed upon to accept of an unauthorized, or insidious, treaty with the Afghans, he was shortly afterwards cut off, together with a great number of those who had continued to adhere to his fortune. Thus again master of Bengal, Sheir Khaun led his victorious troops next to the reduction of Jounpour, and the districts in that neighborhood; all which appear to have now submitted to his authority without material resistance. Acquisitions so rapidly obtained did not contribute to abridge the ambitious views of the Afghan; and his younger son Kúttúb Khaun was detached, shortly afterwards, with an indiscriminate, and perhaps irregular banditti, towards Kalpy and Etawah; which extended in fact, the baleful mischiefs of treason and revolt, to within sixty miles of the walls of Agrah.

As soon, however, as intelligence of this last daring intrusion was announced to Homayún, a respectable force was dispatched without loss of time, under Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, and Kaussem Hússeyne Khaun the Ouzbek, whose jagueirs lay in that quarter, together with Eskunder Súltaun, who had undertaken the management of some of the tenures, annexed to Kalpy, in behalf of Mirza Kamraun, to repel the invaders.

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In a battle, to which he was immediately brought by these distinguished commanders, Kùttâb Khaun was killed, and the force under his orders either destroyed, or for the present entirely dispersed. Homayûn continued, in the mean time, at Agrah, unremittingly employed in restoring and completing the equipments of his army; and not less in an unavailing endeavor to fix the wavering attachment of his brothers, and other relatives, by bringing them to a just sense of their real and mutual interests. In this respect, neither advice nor expostulation seems to have produced any impression upon the perverted and refractory spirit of Mirza Kamraun; although the dangerous crisis in which they stood, so obviously indicated the necessity of extinguishing every spark of private animosity, and of uniting together the resources of the whole family, in order to defeat the formidable projects of the common enemy. Of the perfect competency of this prince's cordial support at such a crisis, to fulfil, to their utmost extent, the just expectations of his brother, there could exist but little doubt, since he had with him on the spot, not much less than twenty thousand hardy and well disciplined veterans; and the slightest sense of gratitude towards that brother, who had loaded him with favors; who had put him in possession of the noble territory from Kabûl and the land of Dawer on the Indus, on the west, to Samaunah eastward; and who had otherwise distinguished him by a thousand proofs of regard and liberality, should have taught him that he was not to be forsaken in this his hour of peril and dire necessity. But the conclusions of ambition are not, it seems, to be estimated by the ordinary feelings of mankind. Mirza Kamraun, equally unmindful of the ties of gratitude, of the suggestions of natural affection, and of the dictates of common policy, chose to abandon his noble brother to his fate. And when Homayûn condescended to intreat, if he were himself not disposed to share in the hazards of the impending contest, that at least he would leave a part of the force in his pay, to aid in repressing the already overgrown usurpations of the Afghans, he continued deaf to every solicitation, and, availing himself of some slight pretext of illness, he determined on withdrawing into the Poojau—first of all dispatching the greater part of the troops in his service, under the care of Khoujah Kulan Beg, towards Lahour. Nay, more than this, he is accused of the still more perfidious design of holding out the example of defection, in

the hope that it might be extensively followed throughout his brother's army. He shortly afterwards quitted Agrah altogether, and proceeded also towards Lahour; conceiving that he made a sufficient sacrifice in leaving a division of three thousand men, from the large force at his disposal, under the orders of Mirza Abdullah the Moghûl, and this from the premises we were not exactly prepared to expect, to support the cause of his family at the very crisis of its destiny.

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With Mirza Heyder, the son of Mahommed Hûsseyne Gûrekan and uncle's son of the late emperor, who had recently accompanied Mirza Kamraun to the metropolis, Homayûn was, however, more successful in his remonstrances; for when, under his pretext of ill health Kamraun importuned this chieftain to return with him into the Punjaub, and the latter indicated, in consequence, to Homayûn, an inclination to comply, the monarch very reasonably urged, that if he calculated on the ties of consanguinity, the claims were exactly equal between them; if on the ordinary ties of friendship, he could easily prove that the stronger were on his side—but if the pursuit of honorable fame was his object, there could not be the smallest demur, and he would not hesitate to remain where he must be immediately employed against the inveterate enemy of his race. “With regard to the plea of illness,” observed Homayûn, “thou art neither a physician nor a judge of medicines, that thou shouldst be required to attend my brother; and as to his conception that he will find in Lahour a place of safety, it is a most palpable and dangerous mistake. For if any misfortune should be the result of his unmanly and impolitic desertion in the present instance, he will discover to his cost, that there cannot remain for him, within the whole circumference of Hindûstaun, the smallest chance of security. You will, in truth,” continued Homayûn, “have nothing left but a choice of evils; for should victory declare in my favor, with what countenance, or with what grace, would you be able to meet the intelligence? To judge from myself I should conceive that the remorse and shame would be so overwhelming, as to rivet your eyes forever to the earth. But should defeat and disaster be my destiny, [which Heaven forbid!] in the honorable conflict in which I am about to be engaged, most deplorably do you deceive yourselves, if you calculate that you will be permitted to continue unmolested at Lahour; and they are the very

A. H. 946. "basest of flatterers who have disguised the truth, and persuaded Mir-  
 A. D. 1539. "zà Kamraun to be of that opinion." In short, under the guidance of  
 Abûl Fazzel. a better destiny, Mirza Heyder, instead of suffering himself to be won  
 by the solicitations, or misled by the example, of Mirza Kamraun, chose  
 the more honorable course of sharing the fortune of Homayûn.

Here, in a strain not unusual with him, our author suspends the narrative to remark, that when the ministers of a mysterious destiny have been employed to produce some stupendous change in the affairs of this world, and the consummation may happen to clash with the narrow views and expectations of man, so far from furnishing any cause of indecent, or presumptuous complaint, it should the rather excite a sentiment of awful gratitude and admiration; and in this light he conceives, that we ought to consider the deplorable disunion which, at such a crisis, an Almighty providence permitted to prevail between relatives, in other respects, so nobly and worthily disposed. Neither in this view will it appear extraordinary that, regardless of the manifest superiority of the enemy's force, Homayûn, borne away by an ardent spirit, and his native intrepidity of mind, should, as we are about to shew, have been impelled to commit himself in a contest against such formidable odds.

Dispensing, however, with preliminary movements, the historian conveys us at once, with Homayûn and his army, to the station of Bhoujepour on the Ganges; Sheir Khaun, with a very numerous force, encamping, shortly after his arrival, on the opposite bank of the river, for the purpose of disputing the passage with the Moghûls. Homayûn, on his part, notwithstanding the evident disparity of number which was to sustain him in the undertaking, determined nevertheless to attempt the passage; and for that purpose, in a few days, a bridge was accordingly completed and thrown across the river. In these circumstances, either to divert the attention of the enemy from the head of the bridge, or for some other object which is not explained, about one hundred and fifty of the imperial cavalry, distinguished for their courage and activity, after disencumbering their horses of their saddles and caparisons, at once plunged into the stream of the Ganges, and swam sword in hand to the opposite shore.

After having, with considerable slaughter, beaten back the enemy employed to oppose their landing, and otherwise exhibited the most

distinguished proofs of courage and intrepidity, these fearless warriors were drawing off for the purpose of resuming their station with the main body of the imperial army, and had already reached the head of the bridge, when the Afghans, who had by this time rallied in superior force, set on a trained elephant, one of those which had fallen into their hands on the fatal discomfiture at Joussah, to dismantle, or destroy, the bridge. The piles, or perhaps the fastenings, which secured it to the bank of the river, were accordingly soon destroyed by the efforts of this stupendous animal; but the moment this had been effected, a cannon shot from the Moghûl troops on the opposite bank, at once shattered the legs of the elephant, and dispersed the enemy; so that this adventurous band was permitted to make good its retreat without further interruption. The design of crossing the Ganges at this point, appears, however, to have been thus defeated, since we find the imperial army now proceeding by slow and cautious marches, along the same bank of the river towards Kanouje; one of the largest of the enemy's vessels on the river, which had probably attempted to annoy the troops in their progress, being sunk by the Moghûl artillery.

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Subsequent to this, for the period of more than a month, the neighborhood of Kanouje became the scene of frequent conflicts, between detached parties of the contending armies, without any thing that could lead to decisive advantage on either side; but, at the termination of that period, a circumstance occurred which greatly contributed to accelerate the final catastrophe.

Mahommed Sûltan Mirza, being the grandson, by a daughter, of Sûltan Hûseyne Mirza prince of Khorassaun, could boast his descent in a direct line from the invincible Teymûr; and he had accordingly risen to the highest distinctions, in the service of the warlike and royal Bâber. On the demise of that monarch he had, as we have already noticed on a former occasion, availed himself of the opportunity to take up arms against the authority of Homayûn; but, as should ever be the lot of those who violate the obligations of gratitude, having been defeated in his design, he threw himself on the mercy of his benefactor, was generously forgiven, and restored to favor, in as great a degree as if his loyalty had never been impeached. Being, however, by nature, of a discontented, refractory, and inconstant disposition, the crisis of danger in which the

A. H. 947. government of Homayûn now stood, was too appalling for the wavering  
 A. D. 1540. and uncertain character of such a man; and he accordingly embraced  
 Abûl Fazzel. an early opportunity to forsake the cause of his prince, and together  
 with his two sons, Olûgh Mirza and Shah Mirza, absconded from the  
 imperial encampment.

The example operated with the most pernicious effect on the troops  
 of Homayûn, since it immediately produced an alarming desertion; par-  
 ticularly among such as a happier destiny had not ordained for nobler  
 purposes. In this dilemma, Homayûn, conceiving that any further de-  
 lay might be attended with consequences the most fatal, and that he  
 might be left to combat for victory without an army, determined at all  
 hazards to cross the Ganges, and at once give battle to the enemy. For  
 this purpose therefore, or at all events, to place some obstacle in the  
 way of this disgraceful desertion, he threw a bridge across, and passed  
 immediately to the opposite, or left, bank of the river; without, howev-  
 er, neglecting to intrench his camp, and to distribute his artillery on  
 such points, as would be most useful to frustrate any sudden attempt  
 on the part of the Afghans. Shortly afterwards, Sheir Khaun's troops  
 made their appearance in great force directly in front, adopting the same  
 precaution of covering their camp with intrenchments; and a series of  
 skirmishes daily ensued, such as must be expected unavoidably to oc-  
 cur, between the advanced parties of two hostile armies, so closely ap-  
 proximated to each other.

The sun was now about to enter the tropic of Cancer, and the peri-  
 odical rains had commenced with their usual violence. Unfortunately,  
 the spot which had been chosen for the imperial encampment was so  
 situated, as, in a short time, to be under water from end to end; and it  
 became indispensably necessary to change the position of the troops,  
 without a moment's delay, to some more elevated ground, where they  
 might be relieved from the effects of the inundation. A more conveni-  
 ent spot was accordingly determined upon, and arrangements were  
 made for offering battle to the enemy, on the following morning, should  
 he appear disposed to quit his intrenchments, in order to disturb the  
 operation; otherwise, it was directed that the army should proceed to  
 take up its ground in the new position. On the tenth day of Mohur-  
 rim of the nine hundred and forty seventh of the hidjerah,\* early in the

\* 16th of May, 1540.

morning, Homayún, accordingly, drew out his troops in order of battle; his cannon and mortars, under the superintendance of Mahommed Khaun a Turkish officer, aided by the sons of Ally Kúly, together with Hus-sun Kholfaut, and Oustaud Ahmed, another Turk, being disposed along the front, and chained together, according to the then established practice. The Emperor in person took post in the centre of the main body; Mirza Hindal was advanced immediately in front of the centre; Mirza Asskery commanded the right, and Yadgaur Nausser Mirza assumed the direction of the left wing. In the Târikh Rêshidy, a work composed by himself, Mirza Heyder, to whom we have recently had occasion to advert, is stated to describe that in his order of battle, Homay-ún placed him immediately on the left of the imperial station in the centre; so that the right of the division under his orders was in direct contact with the left of the division under the personal command of the Emperor: but the reference is here particularly introduced for the purpose of recording, that there were numbered, on this day, not less than twenty-seven Ameirs, with standards, between Mirza Heyder's division and the extreme of the left wing.

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Whatever might have been the general expectation, Sheir Khaun appeared but little disposed, on this occasion, to conceal himself behind his intrenchments; on the contrary, he drew out immediately, forming his troops into five distinct divisions—one of which, the least in apparent strength, he posted just without the entrance of his camp. Three others advanced immediately upon the Moghúls; the fifth remaining, to be employed as occasion might require, under his own orders. Of the three divisions which led into action, that under Jullaul Khaun, and Sermust Khaun, composed for the greater part of the Ni-auzy tribe, approached the vanguard of the the centre, under Mirza Hindal. Another division, formed of the tribe of Gurrerauny, under Mûbaurez Khaun, Bahauder Khaun, and Râey Hússeyne Jelwauny, drew up, in front of the left under Yadgaur Nausser Mirza; while the third, led on by Khowauss Khaun, opposed itself to Mirza Asskery and the right wing of the imperial army.

The action commenced with extraordinary fury, between Mirza Hindal and the troops under Jullaul Khaun, the latter being thrown from his horse in the course of the conflict. The left wing under Yad-

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gaur Nausser, successfully repulsed the division in its front, and drove the troops of which it was composed, in confusion upon their own centre. But the experienced Afghan chief, perceiving the danger, and instantly leading his own division into battle; while Khowauss Khaun, with his division, fell furiously on the right wing of the Moghûls under Mirza Asskery, the greater part of the Ameirs in that wing, unaccountably gave way, without striking a single stroke. At this appalling crisis, forgetting the ordinary maxims of prudence in the magnitude of the danger, and although it might be considered inconsistent with the majesty of the throne to mingle in the confusion of an indiscriminate attack, Homayun twice desperately charged into the very thickest of the enemy's squadrons, and on each occasion, had his spear shivered to pieces in his hands.

But the individual prowess of the generous Homayûn, however conspicuously exerted, was insufficient to balance the failure of support on the part of his brothers, and the no less base and shameful dereliction of duty on the part of his Ameirs; inasmuch as the effects of human courage must always be unavailing against the fixed and unerring decrees of an over-ruling providence. It is, at the same time, further intimated, that rather than be condemned to forbear any longer with the perfidious practices of the worst of enemies, disguising themselves under the mask of friendship, Homayûn evinced a determination to perish, at once, amidst the obvious and more glorious hazards of the field of battle. From this he was, however, ultimately dissuaded by the earnest zeal and intreaties of the brave men who yet adhered to his fortune; and so far, in deference to the ordinary speculations of human reasoning, our author alleges that he is willing to admit: but to those who are accustomed to penetrate beyond the exterior surface of things, it would not be difficult to shew that the Almighty power, which governs the universe, permitted the designs of treason to succeed on this occasion, in order, by the contrast, to give greater effect to that event which, at no very distant period, was to irradiate the world, in the birth of the illustrious *Akbar*; and, peradventure, to attest by repeated proofs, the exalted virtue of Homayûn, which, like gold from the hands of the refiner, or steel from those of the furbisher, was to emerge with brighter effulgence from the trials of adversity—these things



being, indeed, rather designed as lessons of experience and admonition to the just, than in any shape as in retaliation for crimes.

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But, with the speculations of Abûl Fazzel on the scheme of omnipotence in the government of the world, the reader is, in some degree, already acquainted, and it would, in this place, be unnecessary to enlarge any further on the subject. We shall therefore proceed with the narrative to state that on the eventful catastrophe thus briefly dispatched, the fugitive Ameirs, after retiring from the contest, in the disgraceful manner already indicated, made the best of their way to the Ganges, which ran, it seems, at the distance of about a farsang, or three miles and a half, from the field of battle; and plunging precipitately into the stream, there, for the greater part, received in a watery grave that just punishment which was due to their cowardice and disloyalty. Homayûn, on the other hand, mounted on an elephant, succeeded in gaining the opposite side of the river; and there dismounting, he was, for some time, employed in vain, in looking for a place where he might ascend the bank, which hereabouts happened to be exceedingly steep and inaccessible. Fortunately, a soldier, who had also effected the passage of the river in safety, here presented himself to Homayûn, and taking him by the arm, assisted him to the top of the bank, without further accident. On inquiry, he found that the man to whose assistance he was indebted on this occasion, was a native of Gheznin, in the service of Mirza Kamraun; and he was warmly assured that he should not be forgotten in the royal bounty, if the opportunity should ever arrive to remunerate him for his timely support. At this moment Mûkuddum Beg, a superior officer, also in the service of Mirza Kamraun, came to the spot; and, recognizing the person of Homayûn, as a pledge of his sincere homage and respect, immediately presented the emperor with the horse on which he rode; which was of course, most gratefully accepted, and the most liberal assurances of future acknowledgement bestowed in return.

Homayûn now bent his melancholy steps, once more, towards Agra; being on his way to that city, successively joined by the princes, his brothers, and those who had escaped from the field of battle. But, on his arrival near the town of Bhankapour, or Behganû, for the name is given thus differently, the inhabitants of the place contumaciously;

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combined to prevent the imperial troops from purchasing the necessary supplies; and otherwise betrayed a disposition so entirely hostile, as to menace the lives, if they did not absolutely proceed to the extremity of cutting off several, of those who unfortunately fell into their hands. When this instance of seditious insolence, which pretty clearly exemplifies the refractory spirit which, at this period, seems to have extended itself to every part of the imperial territory, was made known to Homyân, the Mirzas Asskery, Yadgaur Nausser, and Hindal, were directed to march without delay, and give battle to this disloyal assemblage; whose force had, in a short time, unaccountably accumulated to nearly thirty thousand horse and foot. Mirza Asskery had, however, the effrontery to decline his part in the service, for which he was most deservedly and severely reprov'd by Mirza Yadgaur Nausser; who did not scruple in very plain terms to ascribe the whole of their present distresses, to the absurd and senseless want of concord evinc'd, on all occasions, by him and his misguided brothers, and which no disasters seem'd sufficient to correct. Determined, on the other hand, to carry into execution the orders of Homyân, Yadgaur Nausser, and Mirza Hindal, proceeded immediately in quest of the rebels, whom they accordingly attacked, and defeated, with considerable slaughter; and having thus signally chastized these insolent villagers, soon afterwards triumphantly rejoined the main body of the army—while Mirza Asskery, who affect'd to complain of harshness of treatment, became, as he too well deserv'd, the object of his brother's severe and just resentment. Homyân then continued his retreat, without further obstacle, to Agrah.

The Empire was, by this time, in a state of total distraction, from the spirit of tumult and disloyalty by which it was agitated, from one extremity to the other. On the day immediately after his arrival, Homyân, with this conviction on his mind, repair'd therefore to the residence of Meir Reffeia-ud-dein, a Seyud of the Souffy sect, equally respectable for his learning and profound political sagacity; and it was with the advice of this discreet personage, now finally determin'd to retire altogether, for the present, into the Punjaub—it being no unreasonable persuasion that, if Mirza Kamraun, returning to sounder principles, and to the guidance of a happier destiny, could be once prevail-

ed upon to afford that assistance which the emergency of affairs, and the general interests of the family, so imperiously demanded, the fatal breach in the fabric of government might still be perfectly repaired.

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With these just and reasonable expectations, Homayûn proceeded, accordingly, on his retreat towards Lahour; Mirza Asskery taking his departure about the same time, for Sumbul on the higher Ganges, and Mirza Hindal in the opposite direction towards Alwer. On the eighteenth of the month,\* just eight days after the fatal discomfiture near Kanouje, Homayûn was joined near Dehly by Kaussem Hûseyne Sûltan, and Beg Meirek, so that a considerable force might be supposed to have re-assembled round the person of the sovereign. On the twentieth of the same month,† Homayûn quitted the ancient metropolis of Dehly; and, on the twenty second, near the town of Rohtek, or Rodack, he was further joined by the Mirzas Hindal and Heyder. On the twenty third, finding that the inhabitants of the town persisted in shutting up their gates against him, he was compelled to encamp before the place, which it required several days to reduce to submission. On the seventeenth of the succeeding month of Suffur,‡ the Emperor reached Sehrind, or Serhind, from whence he continued his march without further interruption, to the neighborhood of Lahour; not far from which city, near the palace of Doulut Khaun, he was now met in a friendly manner, by Mirza Kamraun, who conducted him with every appearance of respect, to the gardens of Mounshy Khaujah Doust, esteemed the most beautiful and delightful in the whole country, and, on this occasion, selected for the abode of Homayûn. Mirza Hindal was accommodated in the gardens of Khaujah Ghauzy, where, at this period, Mirza Kamraun also kept his court; and not long afterwards, Mirza Asskery, from Sumbul, found his way to Lahour, where he took up his residence, in the mosque of Ameir Wully Beg. Neither did Homayûn remain long at Lahour, before Shums-ud-dein Mahommed, the soldier who had lent him his assistance to climb the bank of the Ganges, on his flight from the battle near Kanouje, made his appearance, and experienced the most liberal reception from the grateful monarch.

By the first of the former month of Rebbeia,|| the whole of the bro-

\* 24th of May, 1540. † 26th of May. ‡ 22d of June. || 5th of July, 1540.

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thers, together with most of the surviving Ameirs, and their followers, in the interest of the Teymûrian family, had assembled at Lahour. But, notwithstanding the disastrous experience of recent events, and the heavy inflictions by which they had been visited in every quarter, all was yet insufficient to bring them to a just sense of their errors. No reverse, no chastizement, no consideration, in short, seemed sufficiently powerful to induce them, in any point, to act with good faith and integrity, towards one another; and although they met in council, time after time; although they pledged themselves in the presence of Homayûn, under the most solemn engagements, to proceed with concert and unanimity, in all their future undertakings; and although an instrument to this effect was formally drawn up, and regularly attested under the signature of every Ameir on the spot, all seemed unavailing, all fell short in the performance of, and some most basely violated their engagements.

Nothing, indeed, was omitted on the part of Homayûn, to impress upon his brothers the vital importance of a cordial co-operation of the whole, in order to bring about the re-establishment of their power, not less by every argument of ordinary policy, than by the example almost before their eyes of those fatal events, which had ruined the noble kingdom of Khorassaun, on the death of Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne. For it must have been fresh in their recollection, that although that able and successful monarch had left behind him not less than eighteen sons, to that moment uniformly prosperous in all their undertakings, with a government firmly established, and resources to an extent which seemed to have no limit, yet, through the absurd and senseless disunion of the brothers, was that great country, for so many years the very chosen retreat of peace, security, and enjoyment, in a period shorter than could well be conceived, delivered over to every species of outrage and calamity, and finally transferred altogether to the tyranny of Shâhy Beg, the Ouzbek; not a vestige of the family surviving the change, Baddeia-ûz zemaun alone excepted, who sought the protection of the house of *Othman*, while the memory of the whole was deservedly consigned to the contempt and reprobation of all mankind.

When, however, pursuing the course of his argument, he called upon them, further, seriously to reflect upon the opprobrium, with which they

would be loaded, by the wise and good of every age and nation, if through a similar career of folly and imbecility, they could suffer an empire like that of Hindústaun, an empire won for them by their renowned sire, at the expence of so much exertion, fatigue, and personal hazard, to be wrested from them after all, by a people so abject and despised as the barbarous Afghans—When he implored them to bestow upon this subject their most serious consideration, to discard the senseless jealousies which threatened to overwhelm the whole in one common destruction, and by an entire change of conduct, to entitle themselves to the blessings of mankind—when, finally, every thing that the most consummate prudence could suggest, or that could be derived from the experience of other times and other nations, was employed on the part of Homayûn, to convince them of their errors, and to warn them of their danger, the very men whose signatures to the common pledge of unanimity might be said to be scarcely yet dry, forgetful of every engagement, proceeded, with as much pertinacity as ever, each to develope some selfish and narrow plan, some incongruous views of private ambition, which were alone in contemplation.

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Thus, on his part, Mirza Kamraun rather insidiously proposed that Homayûn, and the other princes, should retire separately, for a few days, into the recesses of the neighboring mountains; while he undertook to convey the wives and families of the whole to Kabûl, and after having lodged them there in safety, to return, without delay, to rejoin his associates. Mirza Hindal and Yadgaur Nausser were of opinion, on the other hand, since at present there appeared no prospect of giving battle to the Afghans with any reasonable expectation of advantage, that they should retire altogether towards Bukkur on the Indus; and, having secured the country in that neighborhood, that they would be able, with the resources there doubtless to be found, to undertake, with every prospect of success, the reduction of the opulent province of Gûjerat. After which, they expressed a confident belief that, there could be no great difficulty in recovering the whole of Hindústaun. Mirza Heyder, again, considered it most advisable that they should return immediately, and occupy the acclivities of the hills, all the way from Sehrind to Saurung;\* that is, as far as we are now qualified to judge, all across the

\* For this line of defence, we might, however, look more naturally to the ranges of hills behind, that is, to the westward of Sehrind, between the Kuggur and Setlege rivers.

**A. H. 947.** sources of the Kuggur, Sereswaty, and Jumna rivers, from Sêhrind to  
**A. D. 1540.** Sahaurungpour; while on his part, with a reasonable force, and for this  
**Abûl Fazzel.** he required only the space of two months, he undertook to subjugate the rich and delightful country of Kashmeir, than which there did not on earth, as he affirmed, exist a more desirable, or secure retreat: and thither, when they became apprized of its reduction, they might without difficulty convey their wives and families. At the same time, he calculated that, with all his wheeled carriages and artillery, in which consisted his only superiority, and on which he chiefly relied for victory, Sheir Khaun would not be able to reach the mountains, in less than four months; and that, in the mean time, his army would be wasting away with severe service, fatigue, and exertion.

But as the words and designs of these princes possessed but little in unison, their councils could not be expected to lead to any useful conclusion, and they accordingly separated without coming to any sort of agreement; although Homayûn continued his admonitions to the last, in the hope that Mirza Kamraun, yielding, after all, to the dictates of his better judgment, might yet be prevailed upon to recede from his selfish and perfidious plans. Kamraun was, however, not to be diverted from his object; it being his unalterable determination to leave his brothers to perish in detail, while he made his retreat good to his government of Kabûl; there, as he conceived it, remote from the scene of danger, to indulge, without interruption, in his luxurious propensities. In these circumstances, while he yet sought to keep up the expectations of Homayûn, that at the proper opportunity he might still be induced to unite cordially with him, to repel the dangerous encroachments of the common enemy, and at the same time contrived, under various pretexts, to protract the period of execution from one day to another, the iniquitous policy of Kamraun carried him so far at last, as actually to dispatch Kauzy Abdullah Suddur, his metropolitan, with secret proposals of amity to Sheir Khaun, and with instructions to conclude a definitive treaty with that chief; engaging, on his part, provided the government of the Punjaub was continued under his authority, in a short time to prove the sincerity of his friendship, by the most important services—thus conceiving that he would be permitted to secure the attainment of his own pernicious and unprincipled views of ambition, through the assistance of the most inveterate enemy of his race.

Sheir Khaun, whose address formed the most prominent feature of his character, notwithstanding the decided predominance of his fortune established in the great victory near Kanouje, had not yet ventured to advance to the northward of Dehly. From this he was indeed deterred by the accounts conveyed to him of the force accumulating at Lahour, and he derived, as may be well imagined, the most flattering encouragement from the communication of these perfidious proposals; and the reception which he gave to the Suddur, who, to considerable intelligence, united much natural depravity of disposition, was as favorable, as the information which he conveyed, of the total absence of cordiality among the royal brothers, was animating to his own most sanguine expectations. The answer which he gave to the proposals were of course entirely conformable to the views of Mirza Kamraun; and every consideration was employed on the part of the envoy, in order to induce the Afghan to advance without further delay towards the Punjaub. Before he came to a final resolution on this point, Sheir Khaun; however, thought it prudent, to dispatch, in company with the Suddur when he returned, a subtle agent of his own, in order to bring him a correct report of the actual state of affairs. In consequence, an interview took place, shortly afterwards, between Mirza Kamraun and this personage, in one of the gardens of Lahour, on the very day on which he was giving, to the abused and unsuspecting Homayûn, a most sumptuous entertainment at his palace. The same crafty Suddur was, upon this, again dispatched to communicate with Sheir Khaun, now encamped on the river of Sûltanpour, between the Setlege and the Beiah; and he no longer hesitated, on the representations of the envoy, to pass that river to the west-ward. Of this event intelligence was immediately conveyed to Homayûn, by Mûzuffer the Tûrkomaun, who had been employed to scour the country in that direction; and who accompanied his report in sorrow, with the information that his own brother's son, Jelleidah Beg, an officer of approved merit and fidelity, had fallen in a skirmish with the Afghans.

In consequence of the information thus obtained, Homayûn, and the Teymûrian Mirzas, considered it no longer prudent to remain at Lahour; and accordingly, towards the close of the latter Jummaudy, \* re-

\* End of October, 1540.

A. H. 947. tiring across the Rauvy, at this time fordable, they proceeded thence by  
 A. D. 1540. successive marches to the Tchunaub, which they reached, without ac-  
 Abûl Fazzel. cident or interruption, a short time afterwards.

At a former period when, as already noticed, he was proceeding on his expedition to expel the Persian prince, Saum Mirza, from Kanda-haur, Mirza Kamraun had left Mirza Heyder, it seems, in charge of the government of Lahour, during his absence. While he continued in the exercise of his delegated authority on this occasion, several of the native chiefs of Kashmeir, dissatisfied with the ruler whom fortune had placed over them, had presented themselves to Mirza Heyder; in the expectation that, through his influence, they might procure from Mirza Kamraun the assistance of a body of troops, in order to obtain for themselves the government of that delightful province. In this, however, they were for the present disappointed; since the influence of Mirza Heyder was not, at the moment, sufficiently powerful with his principal to obtain for them, to the prejudice of the more immediate concerns of domestic convenience, any thing that could avail to the execution of their designs. Nevertheless, at a period not long subsequent, when Mirza Hindal threw off the mask from his ambitious projects, in publicly usurping the sovereign authority at Agrah, and when Mirza Kamraun was hastening from Lahour with such alacrity to put him down, Mirza Heyder contrived, by some means or other, to form a respectable force; which he placed under the orders of Bâba Joujuc, or Tchotchuc, one of the most experienced officers in the service of Kamraun, with instructions to accompany the Kashmirian chiefs above-mentioned, and to put them in possession of the country.

But that officer finding some pretext or other to evade the execution of his instructions, until reports came abroad of Homyân's first fatal discomfiture at Joussah, the design was then entirely laid aside; and the Kashmirian chiefs withdrawing towards Nousheher and Rajour, or Rajwari, there continued, in the recesses of the neighboring mountains of Kashmeir, patiently awaiting the return of some circumstances more favorable to the attainment of their object. They never ceased, however, from importuning Mirza Heyder, by letter, with representations on the advantages that might be derived from the possession of Kashmeir; and as these representations were regularly communicated



by that prince to Homayûn, the plans which he had, for some time past, had in contemplation, of fixing his retreat in that favored and delightful region, assumed a more settled form, and he determined at last to carry them into execution, without delay.

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On his arrival on the banks of the Tchunaub, Homayûn, accordingly, dispatched Mirza Heyder before hand, with a division of troops to Nousheher, with instructions to obtain a conference with the chiefs, by whom he had been so long importuned to undertake the reduction of Kashmeir. At Nousheher he was ordered to remain until he should be joined by Sekunder Touptchey, whose jagueir was situated in the neighborhood; after which he was to prosecute his march towards the mountain ridges which encircle Kashmeir, where he would be further joined by Khaujah Kullan, an Ameir whose name we have already had some occasion to mention, and who enjoyed considerable distinction in the court of the late Emperor Bâber. And it was when he should become apprized of the junction of this last officer with Mirza Heyder, that Homayûn determined to direct his course to the same quarter. But while he continued, expecting these advices, on the banks of the Tchunaub, a fresh train of misfortunes assailed him in the desertion of the Mirzas Kamraun and Asskery, with the whole of their adherents, who immediately proceeded in the direction which leads across the Indus towards Kabûl; and the seceding party was joined, not long afterwards, on the banks of that river, by Sûltan Mahommed Mirza, and his son Shah Mirza, whose perfidy and ingratitude on a former occasion cannot yet have escaped the recollection of the reader. This alarming defection seems to have produced, through the persuasion of the Mirzas still attached to his fortunes, an immediate and entire change in the plans of Homayûn, since, on the first of Rudjub,\* we find him also on full march towards the Indus; and, on the same day, he experienced another alarming defection, in the departure of the Mirzas Hindal and Yadgaur Nausser, to which they are said to have been induced by the counsels of Beg Meirek, who had previously forsaken his duty.

Just at this crisis, Kauzy Abdullah Suddur, recently mentioned as employed by Mirza Kamraun in his communications with Sheir Khaun, was on his return with a party of Afghans, and together with his asso-

\* 31st of October, 1540.

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A. D. 1540.  
Abûl Fazzel.

ciates, now fell into the hands of some of the light troops in the service of Mirza Hindal. The captives were of course conducted to the presence of that prince, and the unfortunate Afghans were immediately put to death; while the agent of domestic treason was permitted, through the intercession of Meir Bâba Doust, to drag on his wretched existence for some time longer. The Mirzas Hindal and Yadgaur Nausser continued, however, for the space of twenty days afterwards, to wander about, in equal perplexity and incertitude, without being able to determine what measures to pursue, or to what quarter to shape their course.

On the other hand, Homayûn, justly relying on the power of his creator, and on the resources of his own undaunted mind, was directing his steps, as nearly as conjecture could enable him through a trackless and unpeopled solitude, equally destitute of provision and water, for the territory of Bukkur; when, one day hearing the sound of a distant kettle-drum, he naturally sent out to ascertain whence it arose; and his scouts returned with the intelligence that not more than three kôsse, or about six miles, off, the Mirzas Hindal and Yadgaur Nausser were also exploring their way through the desert, in quest of some secluded spot where they might find relief from hunger and famine, and security against the pursuit of the enemy. Meir Abûl Bukka, who had but recently separated from Mirza Kamraun to attach himself to the more righteous cause of Homayûn, was now dispatched to point out to the two Mirzas the direction in which the Emperor was marching, and endeavor to prevail upon them to put themselves, once more, under the orders of their sovereign. In this, at such a crisis, it was perhaps not difficult to succeed; and the princes rejoining the imperial standard accordingly, the whole then proceeded together towards the retreat which they all expected to secure in the territory of Bukkur. In the mean time, Khowauss Khaun, one of Sheir Khaun's most distinguished generals, with a numerous body of Afghans, was in close pursuit of them; but, although the force now left with Homayûn was out of all proportion inferior in numerical strength, the Afghan chief never hazarded a single attack; and towards the latter part of the month of Sha-baun,\* the Emperor happily succeeded in making good his retreat, without further loss, to the station of Outchah, or Outch, a little distance above the confluence of the Beiah and Indus.

\* End of November, 1540.

Some time afterwards, when he approached the territory of Bukhshûi Lengah, one of the most powerful Zemindaurs in this quarter, Beg Mahommed Bakawul and Ketchek Beg, two of his officers, were dispatched by Homayûn, with an appropriate dress of honor, an offer of the title of Khaun-e-jahaun, and the insignia of the standard and kettle-drum, provided that chief would attest his loyalty by furnishing the necessary supplies of grain to the army. The Zemindaur met the deputation in person; and, although he conceived it prudent to decline the invitation to appear at court, in other respects exhibited sufficient proofs of a disposition to accommodate, if not to declare himself subject to the authority of Homayûn; since the merchants of the country were permitted, by his orders, to convey to the imperial encampment every species of supply, and an ample equipment of boats was, at the same time, furnished for the passage of the troops on their march towards Bukkur. A competent advanced guard under the orders of Yadgaur Nausser, now regularly preceded the main body of the army; which, on the twenty eighth of Ramzaun,\* arrived, in good order, on the confines of the territory just mentioned. Ten days previous to this period, the office of Suddur, or ecclesiastical judge, had been conferred upon Kauzy Gheyauth-ud-dein Jaumy; a personage here described as qualified for his exalted appointment, not less by his distinguished mental endowments, than by his consanguinity with the imperial house of Teymûr.

After surmounting a variety of obstacles, and some hardships, in the course of their wearisome march from the Punjaub, the army finally encamped at the town of Louhry; on the [left] bank of the Indus, just opposite to the fortress of Bukkur which is pretty generally known to stand on an island in the river. Homayûn immediately took up his abode in a pavilion erected with some taste, in a very fine garden without the town; the royal retinue being distributed in different quarters, among the other gardens and country houses in the neighborhood. Mirza Hindal, however, proceeded four or five kôsse further down, and, some days afterwards, crossed to the western side of the river; and thither he was soon followed by Yadgaur Nausser, who, for some reason or other, chose to place the Indus between him and Homayûn. In the

\* 25th of January, 1541.

A. H. 947.  
A. D. 1540-41.  
Abûl Fazzel.

A. H. 947.  
A. D. 1541.  
Abûl Fazzel.

mean time, the whole of the surrounding territory had been entirely laid waste by Sûltan Mahommed, the tributary governor of Bukkur under Mirza Shah Hûsseyne Beg, of the ancient tribe of Arghûn; who had then shut himself up in the fort, securing all the river craft at anchor, under the walls of the place, on the island side of the river. This Shah Hûsseyne Beg, it may be necessary to remark, was the son of Mirza Shah Beg Arghûn, who, on his expulsion from Kandahaur by the emperor Bâber, as noticed on a former occasion, retired to this part of the country; of the whole of which, from Bukkur to Tattah, he contrived in a short time to render himself completely master. Immediately on his arrival at Louhry, a letter had been dispatched by Homayûn to Sûltan Mahommed, this governor of Bukkur, to invite him to his presence, and to request that the fortress under his orders might be put in possession of the Moghûl troops. To this he replied, that being the vassal of Shah Hûsseyne, it would be inconsistent with his allegiance if he were to appear in the presence of Homayûn, before his lord paramount had first paid his visit; neither could he reconcile it with the principles which he professed, were he to deliver up the post consigned to his charge, without the express orders of his superior.

Finding it expedient to overlook this act of contumacious resistance, Homayûn, as his next resource, determined to try the effect of a deputation to Shah Hûsseyne himself; and for that purpose, the Ameirs Tasher Suddur, and Semundur, two of his most confidential servants, with the most flattering proposals, were now dispatched to Tattah, the seat of that prince's government. The deputation was very respectfully treated by Shah Hûsseyne; and Sheikh Meirek, the most eminently distinguished of the descendants of the Sheikh Pouran, in times long past held in the highest veneration by the race of Arghûn, was appointed by the Shah, to accompany the agents of Homayûn on their return, with suitable presents, and a letter to the following import, addressed to that monarch. The country, as therein described, was, from the nature of the soil, and scanty productions, calculated to furnish but very slender resources even to its ordinary population. That of Hadjikan, on the other hand, in the possession of a numerous people, with lands cultivated to the utmost perfection, produced grain and the other means of subsistence, in the greatest profusion. If therefore he might be per-

mitted to give an opinion, the interest of the royal cause would be best consulted by an immediate removal of the army to that quarter; where on reducing the country, the troops might repose themselves in the midst of abundance, and he should not be the less at hand to acquit himself of his visit of homage. In the mean time, he was anxious to acknowledge that the appearance of the imperial standard in his neighborhood, would ever be considered by him as the most auspicious event that could have befallen him. Nevertheless, that the apprehensions by which he was still haunted, were of a nature not to be at once dispelled; but the moment they became tranquillized in any tolerable degree, he would be found, without a failure, by the side of the imperial stirrup. He concluded by stating that when he should have dispatched this visit of homage, it would require no extraordinary exertion of courage, or activity, since that appeared to be the most important object in view, to put the imperial armies in possession of Gâjerât; and that opulent province once more brought under suitable regulation, there could exist but little doubt of the speedy restoration of the authority of the august house of Teymûr, throughout the whole of Hindûstân.

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Such, in substance, were the fallacious professions in which this insidious petty sovereign thought fit to indulge, with no other intention than to deceive; but Homayûn was not at this moment in circumstances to enforce obedience. He therefore contented himself with detaching Mirza Hindal towards Patter, perhaps Hattery, lower down the Indus, proposing to remain, with the main body of his troops, for the five or six succeeding months, at Louhry; in the expectation that something might yet occur, to produce a disposition more favorable in the mind of Mirza Shah Hûsseyne. But in order to give to Mirza Hindal at once the most conspicuous proof of unabated confidence, and of his anxiety to distinguish him beyond all mankind, Homayûn, while he awaited the developement of these more favorable occurrences, proceeded to pass some time with that prince in his cantonments, as soon as they became established in the neighborhood of Patter.

Towards the commencement of the year nine hundred and forty eight,\* the period now approaching in which the world was to be irradiated by the star of the illustrious *Akbar*, Homayûn found leisure to

\* April May 1541.

A. H. 948.  
A. D. 1541.  
Abûl Fazzel.

espouse the lady Hameidah Baunû Begum, entitled Mereiam Makau-ny, the daughter, as it would appear, of Seyud Ahmed Jaum, surnamed, for the fervor of his zeal perhaps, Zendah Peil—the vivid, or the raging elephant. His stay in the territory of Bukkur was, however, so long protracted, and the disposition of the native chiefs continued so unfavorable and hostile to his interests, that the district became at last entirely exhausted and desolate; and the Moghûl camp was in consequence reduced to the utmost distress, through the extreme difficulty, if not impracticability, of procuring the necessary supplies for subsistence. Hence, the princes his relatives, ever occupied in forming some unprincipled and ungrateful project, some absurd speculation, were to be no longer restrained from carrying them into execution; or, in this instance perhaps, more properly speaking, they determined, in the application of their own personal and independent exertions, to seek immediate relief from the necessities which bore so grievously upon them. The example of disunion was, however, on this occasion again, first openly set by Mirza Hindal; whose hostile designs had, peradventure, never been sincerely laid aside, and who was further encouraged, at such a crisis, to proceed immediately to Kandahaur, in compliance with the invitation recently received from Karatchah Khaun, the governor of the place on the part of Mirza Kamraun, through the pernicious counsels of Yadgaur Nausser. On reaching Kandahaur in safety, some time afterwards, Mirza Hindal failed not to convey to Yadgaur Nausser intelligence of his arrival, together with a desire that he would repair to join him without delay; but, information of the design having been early communicated to Homayûn, Meir Abûl Bukka, at the earnest intreaty of his master, proceeded to the quarters of the same Yadgaur Nausser, in order, if possible, to bring him back to a just sense of his duty.

The agent of Homayûn, either through the admonitions of prudence, or the more powerful assuasives of self-interest, prevailed, it seems, after some difficulty, upon the temporizing and changeling chief to forego his disloyal intention, and obtained from him a promise to recross the Indus immediately to the eastern bank, with a professed resolution to devote his most zealous exertions, for the future, to the service of Homayûn; but upon conditions that could have been extorted, from the latter, by the extremity alone to which he was reduced. These were,

that when the Empire of Hindústaun should be recovered by their united force, a third part of the whole should be allotted to Yadgaur. In the mean time, on their expected return to Kabûl, that the city of Gheznein, together with Tcherrek,\*, and the dependencies of Louhgehr, formerly bestowed upon the mother of this prince by the late Emperor, should be definitively placed under his authority.

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This arrangement appears to have been concluded on the sixteenth of the former Jummaudy, of the nine hundred and forty eighth of the hidjerah;† and Abûl Bukka was returning, in the course of the day following, in a boat across the Indus, when he was way-laid, and suddenly attacked, by a party from the garrison of Bukkur apprized of his proceedings. Through some fatality or other, being totally unprepared for such an attack, he was mortally wounded by an arrow; and, although he survived to reach the Moghûl camp, he expired, the day next afterwards, to the infinite regret of Homayûn; who, on this occasion, in terms of undisguised and bitter resentment, deplored that refractory and hostile spirit on the part of his brothers—that inertness, perfidy, and ingratitude, among the vassals of his bounty—which, in the first instance, had lost him the Empire of Hindústaun, and since, accumulated upon him a train of evils so fatal and overwhelming. And yet he declared, that if all the misfortunes by which he had hitherto suffered were placed on one side, and this last, by which he had been deprived of the services of the faithful Abûl Bukka, on the other, he should feel it difficult to decide whether the preponderance did not lay with the latter. Neither can it be denied, observes our author, that the merit of Meir Abûl Bukka was of that exalted stamp, which justly entitled him to the testimony here borne to it, by him who best knew, and who was of course best qualified to give it its proper estimate. But although with the infirmity of our common nature, Homayûn so far gave way at first to the emotions of grief and disappointment, yet, instructed by the dictates of an excellent understanding, and by the example of some of the best and wisest of mankind, he recollected that the afflictions of this world, are no more than salutary corrections for our good; and he, at last, piously submitted to the dispensations which he was destined to experience, under the decrees of an ever just and mysterious providence.

\* It is not certain whether this be the name of a town, or a district.

† 6th of September, 1541.

A. H. 948.  
A. D. 1541.  
Abûl Fazzel.

Five days subsequent to the unfortunate occurrence above adverted to,\* Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, in conformity with the recent arrangement, recrossed the Indus, and was admitted to a conference with Homayûn; from whom, as was most usual with that generous monarch, he experienced a very kind and indulgent reception. In the mean time, Sheikh Meirek, the envoy of the prince of Tattah, was permitted to take his leave; with letters to his master apprizing him that all his wishes would be punctually complied with, provided, by his appearance in the presence of Homayûn, he would give the only pledge that could be accepted, of the truth and sincerity of his professions. Mirza Shah Hûsseyne, however, without the smallest design of fulfilling them, continuing, in his dispatches, to hold out expectations, that at the proper period he would not fail to repair to the imperial encampment, Homayûn determined, at last, to submit to the imposition no longer; and, accordingly, consigning the blockade of Bukkur, together with the government of the adjoining territory, which, from a state of frightful desolation had risen in the course of a few months, under the influence of a just and benignant monarch's presence, into one of the highest prosperity and abundance, to Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, he proceeded, on the first day of the latter Jummaudy,† along the Indus downwards in the direction of Tattah. While descending the river on this occasion in a boat, and having arrived in the vicinity of Sehwaun, Fezzeil Beg and Tersoun Beg, the one a brother of Munnâeim Khaun, the other of Shahum Khaun respectively, accompanied by some other individuals, not more in the whole than twenty, observed a party of the garrison rushing from that fortress, for the purpose of attacking them on their passage. Without, however, waiting for the assault, the whole of the Moghûls instantly threw themselves on shore, and fell upon the enemy, who immediately fled before them; part of the pursuers even entering the gates of the town with the fugitives. But finding themselves beyond all chance of support, they prudently withdrew in time, to re-join the main body of their countrymen.

On the seventeenth of Rudjub,‡ Homayûn in person arrived before Sehiwaun, and immediately proceeded to invest the place. The garr-

\* About the 13th of September.

† 21st of September 1541. About the breaking up of the rainy season. ‡ 5th November.



son had, however; previously destroyed, or demolished, every garden and dwelling house in the neighborhood; and in short every thing that could in any shape afford either shelter or subsistence to the invaders.

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In addition to the inconvenience produced by these precautions on the part of the enemy, the siege had not been prosecuted to any serious extent, when Shah Hússeyne contrived most effectually to cut off every species of supply from the country, and the Moghûls were thus soon reduced to the greatest possible difficulties. For, being equally discouraged by the horrors of scarcity and the labours of a protracted siege, a spirit of desertion seized not only on the ordinary classes of the soldiery, but on some of the most distinguished individuals, both of the court and army. Among these, indeed, we find included, names that we should not have sought for in such a catalogue—Meir Taher Suddur for instance, and Khaujah Gheyauth-ud-dein, and Moulana Abdul Bauky, who actually went over to the camp of the prince of Tattah; and Meir Berrekah, and Mirza Hussun, and Zuffer Ally the son of Fakkeir Ally Beg, and Khaujah Ally Bukhshy, all of whom forsook the imperial standard, to join the troops under Yadgaur Nausser near Bukkur. To these we are compelled to add the names of Munnâeim Khaun himself, and of his brother Fezveil Beg, with some others not less distinguished in the transactions of the times, who prepared to withdraw from the service of their benefactor, in this crisis of heavy distress; but, information of their design having been privately conveyed to Homayûn, it was for the present defeated, by placing the person of the former nobleman under immediate restraint.

It becomes here necessary to make a brief digression to the proceedings of Yadgaur Nausser, who had been left to preside, as we have recently noticed, over the territory, and to continue the blockade of Bukkur; for which objects he had established his head-quarters at the station of Louhry. While thus situated, he was twice attacked by surprise by the garrison of Bukkur; but being compelled, in absolute self-defence, to oppose the most active and vigorous resistance, he successfully foiled the attempt on both occasions; and on the last with considerable loss to the enemy, in consequence of which they no further presumed to molest him. In another shape he was, however, more triumphantly assailed, by the insidious practices of Mirza Shah Hússeyne

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the ruler of Tattah; who, no longer placing any restraint on the indulgence of his hostile inclinations, about this period dispatched a certain Bâber Kûly, his keeper of the seals, to persuade Mirza Yadgaur that, being himself now far advanced in years, with no one to share with him in the fatigue and solitudes of government, he had, however, an only daughter, whom, together with all his treasures, he was willing to bestow upon the Moghûl prince, whenever he should express himself disposed to accept of her; after which, with their force united, there could be no material difficulty in accomplishing the reduction of Gûjerât, so anxiously desired by all parties.

Unfortunately, the understanding of Mirza Yadgaur was, it seems, of too flimsy a texture not to be seduced by the fallacious professions of the crafty and designing, in any circumstances; and that obliquity of judgment which is usually the attendant of imbecility, easily led him to stigmatize his character with the foul stain of disloyalty and treason: while an atom, a single spark, of generous spirit and just reflection, would have equally restrained him from forsaking the path of integrity and duty, and from yielding to the insidious proposals of an enemy.

When, however, in the distress of his troops, Homayûn sent a message to request that Yadgaur Nausser would proceed, without delay, to draw off the attention of Shah Hûsseyne, who had so effectually cut off the supplies of the Moghûls, the Teymûrian prince, altho' in his heart already a determined apostate from his allegiance, yet, in some measure to preserve appearances, did not hesitate to dispatch, as is customary, his tent equipage in advance, on the road which led towards the enemy; the same predominating spirit of apostacy, nevertheless, prevailing still to chain him to the spot, without, in himself, proceeding one step towards the execution of his orders. But when, in consequence of these unwarrantable delays, the intervention of Sheikh Abdulghuffour, a person descended from the most respectable of his class in Tûrkestaun, and whom he had indeed advanced to the office of steward of the household, was further employed by Homayûn, in order, if possible, to bring the changeling Mirza to his presence; and, when that ungrateful traitor basely proceeded to violate his trust, by instilling into the mind of the factious prince, notions diametrically the reverse of his instructions, even appearances were no longer regarded; and the field

equipage which had been previously sent in advance, was finally recalled, for which no reasons could be assigned but what were equally absurd and unsatisfactory.

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In these circumstances, perceiving that fortune was forever disposed to frustrate all his views, and that his army was reduced to the last extremity of hunger and famine, Homayûn considered that it would be no longer prudent to remain before the walls of Sehwaun; and he accordingly withdrew from that place on the seventeenth of Zilkaudah, of the year nine hundred and forty eight,\* proposing to retrace his steps upwards along the Indus, towards Bukkur. At such a crisis, among other proceedings of unwarrantable hostility of which, at the instance of his new ally, Yadgaur Nausser permitted himself to incur the guilt, was the violent seizure of a supply of wheat, and other provision, on its way to the camp of Homayûn; which had been furnished by some of the native chiefs still well affected to his government, and which they were forwarding in boats on the Indus. The unoffending agents employed in this service, he caused, furthermore, to be delivered up to the vengeance of the prince of Tattah; by whom, in resentment for the zeal which, on this and some other occasions, they had evinced for the cause of Homayûn, they were all immediately put to death.

In spite, however, of this undisguised violation of allegiance, and of a thousand other proofs of equal perfidy and ingratitude, Homayûn was not to be diverted from his system of lenient forbearance; confiding that a sense of conscious remorse would yet finally prevail with his improvident relative to make amends, in some shape or other, for his disgraceful apostacy. The imperial troops had, nevertheless, no sooner arrived in the neighborhood of Loubry, than Yadgaur Nausser actually marched out for the purpose of making an attack upon Homayûn, who was necessarily constrained, by this intelligence, to put himself in a posture of defence. A faithful, but yet prudent adherent of Yadgaur's, of the name of Haushem Beg, who happened at the moment to be in attendance on Homayûn, becoming, however, at the same time, acquainted with what was in agitation, rode forward without delay; and forcibly seizing Yadgaur by the stirrup, by an unreserved application of honest reproach, expostulation, and remonstrance, at last succeeded

\* 3d of March 1542.

A. H. 948. in dissuading him from his unprincipled and rash design, and in pre-  
 A. D. 1542. vailing upon him, at the very crisis of its execution, to return to his  
 Abul Fazzel. station at the river-port of Louhry.

But the baneful spirit of desertion which had formerly seized the troops of Homayún, although checked for the time, had never been thoroughly extinguished, and now broke out afresh among the most distinguished of his followers. In the list of those who thus shamefully abandoned the cause of their benefactor, the author is constrained to record the name of Kaussem Hússeyne Súltan the Ouzbek, who at this period went over to Mirza Yadgaur. Discouraged then by the cruel disappointments by which his plans in the territory of the Indus had been hitherto continually frustrated, although these disappointments might have been directed, in the scheme of an inscrutable providence, to the wisest ultimate results—disgusted by the repeated failures in human virtue, which the touchstone of experience was perpetually discovering to his view—harrassed on oneside by the unprovoked disloyalty of his soldiers, and on the other by the ever-recurring neglect of support, if not of actual hostility, on the part of his brothers—and not less disgusted by the blind fatuity which seemed to govern the actions of his relatives, than completely wearied out by the persecutions which seemed destined never to remit, on the part of an adverse fortune—it is not surprising that the idea of secluding himself from the world and its perplexities, should have recurred to the mind of Homayún with redoubled force; and that he should again seriously meditate on the alternative of a voyage of devotion to the sanctuary of Mekkah, and of withdrawing at once from all further intercourse with mankind. From this, by the prayers and intreaties of the faithful few, who, through every change of fortune, had still adhered with unshaken loyalty to the cause of their sovereign, he was, however, with some difficulty dissuaded; finally consenting, at their recommendation, to avail himself, on this occasion, of a short period of repose, by retiring into the country of Maldeu, the Ràjah of Joudehpour, who had repeatedly conveyed to him the warmest professions of attachment—who was possessed of resources abundantly adequate to the restoration of his affairs—and who would doubtless, as they persuaded themselves, gladly embrace the opportunity of evincing the perfect sincerity of his professions.

In compliance, accordingly, with the wishes of his followers, Homayûn prepared for his departure; but first of all he dispatched Ibrahim Eyshek Aga, [lord chamberlain], with a letter to Mirza Yadgaur, admonishing him, once more, to return to his allegiance, since, as he conceived, he must by this time have enjoyed sufficient leisure to reflect upon the inevitable results of his disloyal and unnatural conduct. That prince, however, whose course was impelled by the influence of an untoward destiny, was not to be reclaimed from his errors; and he persisted therefore in his plan of remaining behind in the vicinity of Louhry. Homayûn then, consigning him to his fate, on the twenty-first of Mohurrim, of the year nine hundred and forty nine,\* proceeded on his march towards Outchah. A considerable part of the period between that date and the eighth of the former Rebbeia,† must have been consumed in the march, since at the latter date he is described as finally quitting Outchah, directing his course to the right hand towards the territory of Maldeu. On the fourteenth of the same month,‡ he encamped near the fortress of Deurâwul—on the twentieth,§ upon the plains of Wasselpour—and on the seventeenth of the latter Rebbeia,|| he arrived within twelve kôsse, or about four and twenty miles, of Bikaneir.

In the course of his march, however, some of the more wary of Homayûn's officers conceiving a suspicion of the designs of Maldeu the Râjah, did not omit to communicate what they felt to their master; and it had been accordingly, some time since, thought advisable to dispatch Meir Semunder, distinguished for his prudence and discretion, to the Râjah's court, in order, if possible, to ascertain how far his professions were to be relied on. And it was about the period now under consideration, that this personage returned to announce, that although there appeared in all the Râjah's proceedings the semblance of every thing fair and amicable, yet through the whole it was not difficult to discover, that there was not a single ray of sincerity to distinguish them from the blackest falsehood.

In these circumstances, Homayûn had prosecuted his march to the very confines of the territory of Maldeu, when a person introduced himself into the camp of the Moghûls, of the name of Singâi Nagoury, described to be in the particular confidence of the Râjah; and to have made

\* 6th of May, 1542. † 21st of June. ‡ 27th of June. § 3d of July. || 30th of July 1542.

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A. H. 949. his appearance on this occasion, in the disguise of a merchant, exhibiting  
 A. D. 1542. ing a diamond of extraordinary value, for which he affected to be in-  
 Abûl Fazzel. quest of a purchaser. This did not contribute to dispel the suspicions, which had now taken hold of Homayûn, whose prudence had possibly, by this time, derived strength from the experience of frequent misfortune; and he directed that the conduct of the pretended merchant should be narrowly watched. For, as he observed on the occasion, the jewel which he offered for sale was not of a description to be acquired in the common course of commercial speculation, but rather from its transcendant value, such as is won by the sword of some triumphant warrior, or bestowed by the bounty of some magnificent and puissant prince. The result was such as to render the Moghûl monarch still more cautious in his proceedings, and to draw from him the highest commendations of the judgment and sagacity of Meir Semunder.

Before he committed himself further to the designs of the Hindû chief, Homayûn, therefore, determined to employ another of his servants, of the name of Râeymul Souny, in order to try whether, by the light of a superior understanding, some additional insight might not yet be obtained into the actual views of Maldeu. Such discoveries in this respect as he should be able to make, he was to communicate as opportunity might occur; but if precluded, by any apprehensions of personal risk, from conveying the necessary information in writing, he was instructed to make it known by the following very simple preconcerted signs. If the intentions of Maldeu were discovered to be sincerely amicable, the messenger was to grasp with one hand the four fingers and thumb of the other; but if the contrary, he was to take hold of his little finger alone.

Homayûn, with his small force, now took his departure from the town of Pehloudy,\* here stated to lay within thirty kôsse, or about sixty miles, of Joudeh, or Joudpour, the residence of the Rajah; and, after proceeding two or three stages, he had already encamped by the side of a great pond, or lake, called the Koul-e-Jougy, or the lake of the Jougy, when the messenger of Râeymul Souny presented himself, and exhibited to Homayûn the token of hostility, by holding his little finger alone. Other indications soon followed, which put the question out of all doubt, the

\* Perhaps Pulendy.

perfidious Rájah having, by this time, advanced a considerable force in the direction of Homayûn's approach; under the pretence that it was for the purpose of conducting him with the greater honor into his capital. His designs were, however, now too clearly understood, and Homayûn conceived it prudent to return, without a moment's delay, towards Pehloudy.

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Whatever might have been the intentions of Maldeu at the commencement of these proceedings, a point on which there existed some difference of opinion, many affirming that he entertained originally the most friendly views, and that he did not discard them until wrought upon by the promises and threats of Sheir Khaun—and, peradventure, by a closer examination of the broken fortunes of Homayûn—there was in fact, at this crisis, no longer any room to doubt that he was determined on hostility; and the sordid and perfidious designs of the man to whom he had been about to commit his destiny, being in his judgment thus sufficiently ascertained, the Moghûl monarch hastened to prepare for the worst. His preparations did not, however, require any very complicated arrangements; the principal extending only to the detaching of the veterans Tereddy Beg Khaun, and Munnâeim Khaun, with the greater part of his slender force towards the rear, in order to frustrate any immediate attempt upon his camp on the part of the Rájah's troops; and, if a favorable opportunity should occur, to give them a specimen of what they were to expect from the superior prowess of the Moghûls. There remained with Homayûn the females of his family, under the protection of the residue of the fighting men, composed of the most devoted of his followers; among whom were included the Ameirs Sheikh Ally Beg, and Tersoun Beg Jullâeir, the sons of Bába Jullâeir, together with Fazzel Beg and some others, in the whole not exceeding twenty in number. To these must, however be added some of the imperial household slaves, a few artizans, and some literary men attendant on the court, among whom we find particularly named, Moulâna Tauj-ud-dein, and Moulana Tchaund an eminent astronomer.

When, however, after quitting Pehloudy, Homayûn had succeeded in reaching Sautelmeir without accident, a body of Maldeu's troops suddenly made its appearance, in consequence of the detachment em-

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ployed, as above noticed, to cover the retreat of the imperial party, having taken a wrong direction, and thus permitted the enemy to pass without observation. Possessed of the steadiness of the rock in the crisis of danger, Homayûn instantly turned about to face it, directing the greater part of the women to dismount, in order to place the men with arms on horseback, and dividing his already diminutive force into three small squadrons. Sheikh Ally Beg, with three or four of his associate warriors, pressing directly towards the enemy, fortunately found them engaged in a narrow défile; in which situation instantly attacking them, he succeeded in beating them back with considerable slaughter, and after a very slight resistance. Highly rejoiced at his very providential escape, Homayûm did not forget to render his homage of thanksgiving to the author of all victory; after which, he bent his course for Jesselmeir, where on the first of the former month of Jummaudy,\* he encamped without further interruption from the enemy. At that place, shortly afterwards, he was joined by the division which by its devious march had exposed him to such imminent danger, and which had indeed undergone the most painful anxiety in consequence of the reports which were circulated of Homayûn's perilous situation.

Râey Lounkurren, the Rajah of Jesselmeir, did not appear disposed to give to the wandering monarch a more favorable reception than the other neighboring powers; on the contrary, he stationed a strong guard on the reservoir of fresh water near the town, in order to prevent the Moghûls, exhausted with fatigue and thirst in their arduous march through the desert, from obtaining that relief which their distresses so urgently demanded. But the resistance of such men against the courage of despair, animated, almost to madness, by the agonies of thirst, produced no other effect than to exhibit an useless proof of the hostile spirit of the Rajah; and Homayûn, after plentifully refreshing his wearied followers, was enabled to continue his march southwestward for Amerkote, with recruited vigor. At that place, after again sustaining, amidst the sands of the desert which extends in that direction, all the evils that could arise from a scarcity, if not a total privation of the means of subsistence, and of water, he at last arrived in safety, on the

\* 12th of August, 1542.



tenth of the former Jummaudy;\* experiencing from Râna Pursaud, the Hindû chief in possession, every proof of kindness, respect, and hospitality. And here he determined to remain for a few days, in order to allow to his exhausted companions a short interval of repose after their recent painful and laborious exertions.

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During his late distress and embarrassments, Homayûn, in order to alleviate the more urgent necessities of those who continued attached to his destiny, had applied to some of his principal officers, and among others, to the veteran Tereddy Beg Khaun, for a part of that wealth, which all had accumulated through the channel of his hitherto exhaustless bounty; and they had, it appears, evinced an undutiful and unexpected repugnance to make the smallest sacrifice to accommodate his wishes. In consequence of this, on his arrival at Amerkote through some arrangement with the Râjah rather ambiguously stated, he proceeded to take from them without ceremony, not more, however, than was just sufficient to make a trifling distribution among his people, returning far the greater part to these sordid and ungrateful individuals. Gracious heaven! ejaculates our author, could it be expected that the auspicious event about to dawn upon the world in the birth of the illustrious Akbar, should have produced much influence in securing the loyalty of the ordinary classes of mankind, when the most renowned and distinguished nobles of the land could be found, in the crisis of his deepest distress, thus deplorably unmindful of what they owed to the unbounded liberality of their sovereign!

But, to proceed with the narrative; although the exigency of the times required that Homayûn should himself continue his march towards the Indus, the situation of the princess Hameidah Sûltan, now far advanced in her pregnancy, no less urgently demanded that she should be lodged in some place of security and repose. On the first of Rudjub, therefore, of the nine hundred and forty-ninth of the hidjerrah, † that princess was conducted by his orders into the castle of Amerkote; and having there consigned her, with a few faithful attendants, to the protection of an all-gracious providence, the care-worn monarch again took his departure westwards. Just four days afterwards, namely, on Sunday night the fifth of Rudjub, ‡ in this secluded

\* 21st of August.

† 10th of October.

‡ 14th of October, 1542..

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spot amidst the sands of the desert,\* that event occurred in the birth of AKBAR, which was not less calculated to alleviate the present sorrows of an afflicted parent, than destined, at a future period, to produce such felicitous results in tranquillizing the distractions of a turbulent world.

When intelligence of this happy event was communicated to Homayûn, he had not yet advanced on his march to the distance of more than four farsangs, or about fourteen English miles; and it was received, although not entirely unexpected, with the most lively sensations of gratitude and joy. A scene of cheerful festivity succeeded, to the full extent of his now circumscribed resources; for not one was excluded from a liberal participation, in the still undiminished bounty of this magnanimous prince. We have seen that it was in consequence only of the earnest intreaties of his Ameirs, that Homayûn at first abandoned his design of retiring from the world, and was induced to rest his hopes on the hospitality of the unworthy Râjah Maldeu; and it was not less from an indulgence of the same paternal and compliant spirit, that he now once more sought the banks of the inhospitable Indus; it being the general expectation of the companions of his fortune, that the local rulers might, peradventure by this time, have forsaken their system of hostility, and might be induced to make some reparation for their recent injurious proceedings; although Homayûn is stated, on his own part, to have entertained but very slender hopes on the subject.

As he approached the territory of Sind, it was, however, early ascertained that the hostile spirit of the natives was, in fact, but little abated—that the adherents of the Arghûn family were assembled in superior force, in the neighborhood of Jown—and that they were determined to give battle to the troops of Homayûn, or, at all events to oppose his entrance into the country. In consequence of this discovery, it was found expedient to detach a part of the Moghûl small force, in advance, under the orders of the gallant Sheikh Ally Beg Jul-lâeir; whose family, from father to son, appear to have inherited, with-

\* In a former part of his work, describing the circumstance at large, the author states that Amerkote lay in the 25th degree of latitude, and in the 105th of longitude, from the Jezzâeir-e-khaledaut, paradise, or fortunate Islands; which, calculating from the meridian of Fero; would place it in the longitude of Calcutta. Arrowsmith places it, however, exactly on the line of 70.

out exception, the same distinguished zeal and self-devotion, from the very earliest dawn of the Teymúrian glory to the present moment. Homayún, with the remainder of his troops, followed at a convenient distance in the rear; and Sheikh Ally, equally animated by the confidence of support, and by a firm belief in the final ascendancy of his master's fortune, although with numbers out of all proportion inferior, did not hesitate to attack the enemy, the instant they came in view, and he appears to have dispersed them without material resistance. Homayún now encamped in the vicinity of Jown; where, about the close of Shabaun,\* he was happily joined by the infant Akbar, his mother, and the whole of their attendants from Amerkote, which place they are previously stated to have left on the eleventh of the same month.†

The situation of Jown, lying on the banks of the Indus, is here described to have been, in many respects, most singularly delightful; surpassing every thing in the territory of Sind, for the beauty of its gardens, the flavor, variety, and abundance of its fruit and vegetables, and the neighboring rural scenery was doubtless materially improved, by the numerous subordinate streams which meandered in every direction. There were other circumstances, moreover, that rendered it at this particular period, a most desirable place of residence for Homayún; who immediately took up his abode in sight of the town, among the gardens with which it was then surrounded on every side. Hostilities with the Arghúnians continued, however, with little intermission; in the course of which, Homayún lost several of his most distinguished and faithful followers, and among others, the loyal and intrepid Sheikh Ally Beg Jullâeir, abovementioned, who fell in an action with Sûltan Mahommed, of Bukkur; in which Tereddy Beg is accused of having either unnecessarily abandoned his brave associate, or of having otherwise, in some shape or other, dishonorably betrayed his duty. Homayún was deeply affected by this misfortune, which with other reverses, or mortifications, experienced about the same crisis, considerably abated the desire which he had previously entertained of proceeding towards Bukkur; and indeed, finally determined him to bend his course in the direction of Kandahaur. While thus contending with difficulties under every form and variety, a circumstance occur-

\* Beginning of December, 1542

† 19th of November,

A. H. 950.  
A. D. 1543.  
Abûl Fazzel.

red, from which he appeared to derive more than ordinary consolation.

During one of the conflicts in which the troops of Homayûn were now almost perpetually engaged with the natives of the country, they found themselves one day unexpectedly supported by the presence of an unknown warrior; whom, from the astonishing prowess with which he fought, they seemed for a moment to consider something more than human. But, when he discovered himself to be the justly celebrated Beyram Khaun, a shout of triumph arose from the Moghûls not less appalling to the enemy, than exhilarating and satisfactory to the generous Homayûn. It appears, that after the disastrous discomfiture near Kanouje, where he had most eminently distinguished himself by his courage and self-devotion, this warlike chieftain had effected his escape, in the first instance, towards the district of Sumbul; and there, at Lukkunpour, he had obtained the protection of Metter Sein, one of the most considerable Zemindaurs of the country, until his retreat was made known to Sheir Khaun, the victorious Afghan. By that powerful conqueror an agent was then dispatched to demand an immediate surrender of the person of the gallant fugitive; and the Zemindaure, being destitute of any adequate means of resistance, found himself under the necessity of complying with the demand: in consequence of which, Beyram Khaun was, however reluctantly, delivered up to the officers of the Afghan, to whom he was presented not long afterwards, while on his march towards the province of Malwah.

He experienced, at first, a reception not less favorable than distinguished from Sheir Khaun, who employed some very flattering expressions, in order to win him over to his designs; and, among other things, he is said to have observed to him, that the man who possesses the genuine spirit of truth and loyalty can never be in the wrong. To this the noble captive is said to have replied, that it was even so—the truly faithful will never err from the right way.

Beyram Khaun continued with the army of the Afghan until it reached the vicinity of Bûrhanpour, the capital of Khandeiss; when, in company with Abûl Kaussem, recently governor of Gwalior, he contrived to effect his escape towards Gûjerat. But, on their way to that province, they were both seized by the ambassador of the Afghan chief, who was on his return from the same country, and who had received information of their flight. Abûl Kaussem from possessing some ad-

advantage in point of person and appearance, was the first taken into custody; and here a generous contest ensued between the two friends, with respect to their identity—Abûl Kaussem persisting in the declaration that he was himself Beyram Khaun, whom he represented as the servant who, in repeatedly asserting the contrary, thus rashly sought to devote himself to destruction, for the preservation of his master. In consequence, however, of the uncertainty in which the question was involved by this curious debate, Beyram Khaun obtained an opportunity, of which he did not omit to avail himself, of continuing his journey into Gûjerat.

A. H. 950.  
A. D. 1543.  
Abûl Fazzel.

The unfortunate Abûl Kaussem was conducted shortly afterwards to the camp of Sheir Khaun; who, incapable of appreciating the exemplary generosity of his motives, caused him to be immediately put to death, on subsequent occasions, frequently observing that from the moment at which Beyram Khaun made use of the ambiguous reply recently adverted to, he suspected that that loyal chief would never be induced to compromise his allegiance. On the other hand, on his safe arrival in Gûjerat, Beyram Khaun was kindly and hospitably received by Sûltan Mahommed, the reigning prince; who employed many urgent importunities to retain him in his service, without effect. He then procured permission to proceed, as he professed, on a voyage to Mekkah, and came to Surat; from whence, by some means or other, but it could scarcely be through Hurduwaur, as stated in the manuscript, he succeeded, on the seventh day of Mohurrim of the nine hundred and fiftieth of the hidjerah,\* as we have just described, in regaining the presence of his sovereign.

And here, at the hazard of incurring perhaps a considerable degree of ridicule, although our author relates it as a serious fact, illustrative of that divine energy which was impressed upon the character of Akbar, from the moment of his birth, we should be unfaithful to our original, if we omitted the following statement altogether; however it may be entitled to little consideration, otherwise than as a very ordinary nursery story. The royal infant had now surpassed the seventh, and was entering into the eighth month from his birth; having been suckled from the first by Jeijy Auttekah, and exhibiting from the very beginning an

\* 11th of April, 1543.

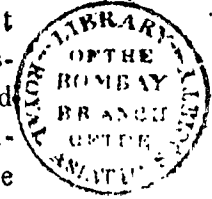
A. H. 950. unaccountable aversion for Mauhem Auttekah, and his other nurses.  
 A. D. 1543. The result of this was a representation to Homayún that the wife of  
 Abúl Fazzel. Meir Gheznûi, the above-named Jeijy Auttekah, had produced the en-  
 vied preference in the child, through the operation of magic; and the  
 innocent woman became not a little afflicted by the injurious calumny.  
 One day, however, when no others were present but herself and her il-  
 lustrious charge, this miraculous child, to her utter astonishment, sud-  
 denly spoke, and, like the divine Messiah of the Christian dispensation,  
 desired her to dispel her apprehensions, and be of good cheer; for that  
 she held on her bosom the Sun of heaven's vicegerency, which should  
 convert her sorrows into the purest joy. At the same time, he caution-  
 ed her to beware of any premature disclosure of the secret, which  
 had been thus unfolded to her, since it was associated with some most  
 important points in God's mysterious providence. At a period long  
 subsequent, the nurse related that beyond description rejoiced at what  
 she heard, she felt her anxiety and vexation at once forever removed;  
 and it naturally followed, that her care and tenderness, towards her im-  
 perial nursling, redoubled. She, however, for many years preserved the  
 secret inviolate; until, indeed, the royal Akbar had been firmly seated  
 on the throne of Hindûstaun.

At that period, while the young monarch was one day engaged on a  
 hunting party, in the neighborhood of Paullum, not far from the metro-  
 polis of Dehly, an enormous and frightful serpent appeared in the road,  
 which appalled the very bravest of his attendants. Akbar himself, how-  
 ever, with equal intrepidity and presence of mind, instantly approached  
 the horrible reptile; and seizing it by the tail, by some means or other  
 contrived to secure it, without the slightest accident. Yússuf Mahom-  
 med Khaun, the brother of Mirza Azziz Koukeltaush, having witness-  
 ed this extraordinary proof of courage and presence of mind in the  
 youthful monarch, could not forbear, on his return, describing the cir-  
 cumstance, with expressions of surprise and admiration, to his mother,  
 the above-mentioned Jeijy Auttekah; and she then conceived herself  
 at liberty to disclose the secret of the nursery, altogether, as she affirm-  
 ed, exhibiting an undoubted presage of the future grandeur of their il-  
 lustrious sovereign.

In dismissing this subject, Abúl Fazzel finally alleges that he rests

his authority for the truth of both the circumstances here related, as well on the immediate information of Jeijy Auttekah, the favorite nurse of his sovereign, and mother of the highly distinguished Mirza Azziz Koukeltaush, as on that of many other respectable individuals, on whose discretion and veracity he reposed the utmost confidence—but the passages, continues he, in the life and reign of my illustrious master, transcending the ordinary limits of human agency, which occurred under my own personal observation, will be recorded at large on a future occasion, to serve at the same time, for the improvement of those who look no further than the surface of things, and as an exemplar for the guidance of such as are accustomed to dive, into the more mysterious operations of an invisible power.

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Without, however, accompanying Abùl Fazzel in his remarks on the advantages to be derived from the lessons of adversity—without enlarging on the manner in which the same lessons are applied by the wise and good, so very different from what is usually seen in the vicious practices of the unreflecting, the profligate, and improvident—we shall proceed with the narrative to describe that Homayûn, when he had finally determined on withdrawing towards the mountains of Kandahaur, conceived it would be expedient, in the first instance, to enter into some species of arrangement with Mirza Shah Hússeyne, the prince of Tattah. This object accomplished, he calculated that he should be able to prosecute his design with the greater security; and then having lodged his infant son in the citadel of Kandahaur, he concluded that he might at length be permitted to perform the pilgrimage to Mekkah, which had again become the subject of his serious contemplation, with fewer apprehensions for the fate of his family. He was yet deliberating on the means of carrying his design into execution, when a dispatch arrived from the prince of Tattah himself; who had, through some channel or other, received intimation of his wishes, and who now transmitted proposals for an immediate accommodation of their differences. To these proposals, as they perfectly accorded with his present views, Homayûn very readily gave his assent; neither were the adherents of the family of Arghûn backward in expressing their joy at the termination of hostilities, from which they had suffered very considerably; and their satisfaction was attested by some very valuable presents conveyed to

A. H. 950. the court of the Moghûl monarch, together with very ample apologies  
 A D. 1543 for their recent refractory conduct.  
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On the seventh of the latter Rebbeia,\* at all events, of the year nine hundred and fifty, Homayûn commenced his march from Jown for Kandahaur, taking the route of Sewy, or Sehwaûn, near which place he was, probably, to cross the Indus. But at the period under consideration, the fortress of Kandahaur was held by Mirza Asskery, under the authority of his brother Kamraun; and that prince, impelled no less by his own unabated hostility of mind, than authorized by the instructions of his adopted superior, became no sooner apprized of the approach of Homayûn, towards the province over which he presided, than he determined on measures for intercepting the march, and if possible to seize the person of the injured monarch; and he actually proceeded on this design, after having placed the fortress entrusted to his charge in a competent state of security against attack. Homayûn does not, however, appear to have experienced any material human obstacle to his progress, until he reached the confines of Shaul; a district not more than three farsangs, or about eleven miles, from Kandahaur.

In the neighborhood of this district, two of Homayûn's attendants, who had hastened onwards to find out the watering place, were taken prisoners by a party of the troops of Mirza Asskery, stationed here for the purpose of conveying the earliest intelligence of his brother's approach. One of the prisoners, however, watching an opportunity, most fortunately effected his escape; and communicated to Homayûn the first positive information which had yet reached him, of the designs of his enemies, and which the prisoner had accidentally collected from the conversation of his captors. In consequence of this information, which seems to have been entirely unexpected, Homayûn at once abandoned his design of proceeding to Kandahaur; and instantly turned short towards Mustung, possibly in the direction of the neighboring province of Seiestaun. Pâyendah Mahommed, an officer in his confidence, received, nevertheless, his permission to continue the journey to Kandahaur; taking with him a letter to Mirza Asskery from his brother, again expostulating with him, in the mildest language, on his unprovoked and unaccountable hostility. But neither advice nor expostulation

\* 9th of July, 1543.



were of any avail with that perverse and misguided prince, who proceeded, on the contrary, in his hostile preparations with increasing pertinacity; notwithstanding the endeavors of Kaussem Hûseyne Sûltan, Mehedy Kaussem Khaun, and several others of his party, to dissuade him, even on considerations of ordinary policy, from compelling Homayûn to take refuge in the Persian territory, which they alleged must be inevitably followed by the most serious embarrassments. The suggestions of Meir Abûl Kheyr, and of others of a more malignant spirit, confirmed him, in spite of all, in his hostile resolutions, and he accordingly marched, in the early part of the ensuing day, on the direct road towards Mustung.

When he had proceeded a few miles on his march, it occurred to Mirza Asskery to demand, if any of those who accompanied him were acquainted with the road; and no one appearing disposed to reply in the affirmative but Jubby, or Hubby, Bahauder, the Ouzbek, a stipendiary in the train of Kaussem Hûseyne Sûltan, who had undertaken to be one of the party on this occasion, Asskery observed that he was perfectly satisfied of the competency of the man, because he now recollected that he had held a small jagueir in that part of the country. The Ouzbek was then directed to take the lead, and point out the road to his associates; but as he represented the total inability of his horse, Tersoun Berlas consented, at the particular desire of the Mirza, although not without considerable demur, to lend him that on which he rode. The Ouzbek had, however, formerly served under the standard of Homayûn in Hindûstaun; and a sense of paramount duty, at this moment, resuming its influence over his mind, he had advanced but a very short distance at the head of the troops, when he suddenly gave the reins to his horse, and proceeded full speed, without stopping, until he found the tent of Beyram Khaun; to whom he announced the impending danger, and by whom he was immediately conducted into the presence of Homayûn.

Some of the attendants were now sent to request that Tereddy Beg Khaun, and others of the vassal chiefs with the imperial army, would convey to the tents of the Emperor, without delay, the number of horses, not many, that might be required for the removal of the royal family; but, incapable of estimating the pure happiness to be derived

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from the reflection of having performed a piece of service of such urgent and vital importance, these sordid men positively refused to comply; and Homayûn was proceeding to mount his charger, in order to punish this foul and perfidious delinquency on the spot; when he suffered himself to be finally dissuaded by the expostulations of Beyram Khaun, who intreated him to consider the pressure of the occasion, and to remit the chastizement of the traitors to the vengeance of eternal justice, which sooner or later would doubtless overtake them. Homayûn, therefore, accompanied by a few only of his most devoted and faithful followers, quitted his camp, and made directly for the trackless wilds of the neighboring desert; conceiving afresh, at this crisis of peril, the design of passing through Irâk, on his pilgrimage to Mekkah, so often determined upon and again relinquished.

In the hurry of departure he did not, however, omit to provide that Khaujah Mauzzem, Nedeim Koukeltaush, Meir Gheznûy, and Khaujah Amber, the superintendant of the haram, should take charge of the litter of Hameidah Sûltaun, the mother of Akbar; with instructions to convey her in any way that might be found practicable, to join him in his flight, leaving his infant son to the protection of the Almighty, in perfect confidence that no evil should befall him. This piece of duty they contrived to accomplish with equal diligence and success, rejoining the royal party in the desert without accident; but when the whole had proceeded together a short distance on their retreat, the day closed, and was followed by a night of utter darkness. In these circumstances, after reminding him of the rapacious spirit and sordid love of gold, which notoriously predominated in the nature of Mirza Asskery, and suggesting that at this moment, there could be but little doubt, he was engaged in examining, and taking an account of the effects acquired by his unrighteous capture, Beyram Khaun proposed to his master instantly to return, and make an attack upon his unnatural brother, while totally unprepared for any thing of the kind; concluding, that their leader once taken off, his adherents who had all of them, in some shape or other, formerly tasted of the bounty of Homayûn, would naturally be impelled to return to their allegiance. To this, however, from a bias in his character strongly repugnant to deeds of deliberate bloodshed, Homayûn, although he entirely concurred in the equal advantage and practicability

lity of the plan, without hesitation declined to accede; declaring, that having finally determined on his journey into strange and distant lands, he could not now prevail upon himself to abandon his design; and accordingly, recommending his infant son afresh to the protection of *him*, who was its surest defence against evil, he continued his march towards the desert.

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On the other hand, Mirza Asskery, on approaching the vicinity of Mustung, had dispatched Meir Abûl Hussun Suddur on before him, in order, if possible, by engaging Homayûn in discourse, to detain him from proceeding on his retreat; and this personage had presented himself, accordingly, just as the monarch was mounting his horse, announcing that he had matters to communicate from Mirza Asskery, which were of the highest importance; and thus endeavoring, under all the pretexts that the genius of falsehood could devise, to protract the moment of departure to the very last. Providentially suspecting his purpose, Homayûn did not suffer himself to become the dupe of such an artifice, but hastened, as we have just seen, on his way into the Persian territory. Almost immediately afterwards, Mirza Asskery entered the encampment; having previously employed Shah Wullid and Abûl Kheyre, with a considerable force, to surround it in every direction, in order to prevent all possibility of escape. He now became apprized, through the report of the Suddur, of the seasonable information conveyed by the loyal Ouzbek; and of the subsequent precipitate flight of Homayûn. Tereddy Beg Khaun, with the train of refractory stipendiaries, lost no time in presenting himself to Mirza Asskery, from whom he experienced, however, a reception very different from what, in his folly, he might have taught himself to expect; being, together with the whole of his perfidious associates, committed to the custody of those, from whose vigilance there was little chance of escape. And thus early was he instructed to prepare for the miserable lot with which offended heaven hath been not unfrequently seen to visit, even in this world, such as basely forsake their benefactors in the hour of distress and danger.

To Meir Gheznûy, the foster-father of the infant Akbar who was early introduced to his presence, Mirza Asskery vehemently protested that he had no other object in his undertaking, than merely to secure

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an interview with the Emperor, and therefore affected great astonishment that he should have been induced to commit himself to the horrors of the desert; after which he demanded what was become of the young Mirza his son. Meir Gheznûy informed him in reply, that the young prince was in his tent; on which, directing him to take a camel-load of fruit from his travelling equipage, for the use of his infant relative, and telling the Meir that he would shortly follow, Mirza Asskery withdrew to one of his own tents; where, precisely as had been represented to Homayûn by his acute and intelligent minister, accompanied by two or three ordinary writers, he passed the whole of that night, inspecting, and taking an inventory of, some of the royal effects, which had been thus unexpectedly placed at his disposal.

On the day following, about the hour of the morning repast, Mirza Asskery, causing his great drum to be beaten, proceeded to take possession of his brother's encampment, pitching his own tents immediately before the entrance of the imperial pavilion. The whole of those who had been found in the encampment, were immediately collected and brought into the presence of this domestic plunderer; and Tereddy Beg Khaun in particular, was now finally transferred to the safe keeping of Shah Wullid. The disobedient vassals who had so shamefully betrayed their allegiance were, all of them, committed at the same time to the care of different bands of Mirza Asskery's troops, in order to be conveyed to Kandahaur; where, at a period not long subsequent, the greater part of them perished under the torture. Tereddy Beg was himself completely fleeced of his property; and thus early atoned for his misdeeds—if atonement that may be called, which bore so small a proportion to the enormity of his offences.

But to return to the infant Akbar; it is said that when conveyed, by Meir Gheznûy and his nurses, to the presence of Mirza Asskery, and it was expected that he should have exhibited some indications of surprise and terror, at the menacing looks designedly cast upon him by his hostile kinsman, the high born child evinced, on the contrary, the most perfect indifference; and this is described to have occasioned considerable displeasure in the mind of Asskery, which he could not restrain himself from betraying in the remark, that the boy would have belied his birth, if he had not shewn the unbending disposition derived

from his father. A little afterwards, attracted by the seal ring which depended from a collar of various colored gems round the neck of Mirza Asskery, the child stretched out its little hands to take hold of it; and the Mirza, with perfect good nature, immediately drew it off his neck, and presented it to the child. This circumstance in other respects so trivial, was, however, immediately construed, by men of shrewder, or more reflecting minds, into a striking presage of the imperial destiny, which, at no very distant period, awaited the acceptance of this illustrious scion of the house of Teymûr; when the stream of royal authority which had been permitted, for a time, to desert its natural channel, should be finally restored to its course, through the ever-flowing beneficence of the fountain of all perfection.

Mirza Asskery, accompanied by his infant captive and his attendants, now returned towards Kandahaur; when, on their way, availing himself of an opportunity to approach the litter which conveyed the royal child, Kougjy Bahauder, a person high in the confidence of Asskery, privately whispered to Meir Gheznûy, that if he could prevail upon himself to entrust his illustrious charge to his care, he would engage to restore him to the arms of his parents. To this proposal Meir Gheznûy prudently replied, that had there not existed some very forcible reasons to the contrary, his royal father would doubtless have taken the child away with him, in the first instance. Whether these reasons continued to operate he could not presume to be the judge; but, at all events, without the most positive instructions to authorize him, he would not, for an instant, permit himself to abandon his precious charge. Bahauder here explained that he had formed a resolution immediately to seek the presence of Hodayûn, wherever he was to be found; in order, at a period when the whole world seemed to have forsaken him, to devote the remainder of his life to the service of that injured monarch; and that he had hoped, by restoring to him the person of his only son, to render his reception the more welcome. As this, however, was a happiness to which it appeared that he must not presume to aspire, he had only to request that he might at least be furnished with some token to exhibit as a proof, that he had actually seen, and recently parted with, the royal infant in perfect safety. On this Meir Gheznûy untied the fillet, or small turban, with which the child's brows were encircled,

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A. H. 950. and presented it to him; and the soldier set off in quest of Homayûn,  
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On the eighteenth of Ramzaun of the year nine hundred and fifty,\* just five months and seven days after the troops of Homayûn had left their encampment at Jown on the Indus, Mirza Asskery conducted his infant captive into Kandahaur, in the citadel of which place, near his own person, he immediately lodged him. The child was, however, attended by his several nurses, Maubem Aghah, Jeijy Auttekah, and Auttekah Khaun; his early education being, at the same time, committed to the particular superintendance of Sûltaunum Begum, the favorite consort of Mirza Asskery; and she is acknowledged to have fulfilled her trust with exemplary tenderness and integrity. Our author here proceeds to describe with sufficient minuteness, a variety of circumstances in the infancy of the royal Akbar, all indicative of his future grandeur; but, as they are scarcely of adequate importance to the reader of a distant age and country, it would be inexpedient to introduce them into these pages. It would, indeed, have been very desirable to have marked the intermediate stages, in a country so little known to Europeans, as that between Sehwaun and Kandahaur; but this, from the total silence of the original from which we write, we are precluded from attempting. All the information to be derived from the narrative, on this subject, seems confined to the simple fact, that the march must have occupied, as above noticed, a period of more than five months, although the geographical distance does not exceed six hundred miles. Having, in the mean time, conducted the expatriated, and hitherto unfortunate Homayûn, to the extremity of his hereditary dominions, we shall now leave him to prosecute his adventurous journey into the territories of the Persian monarchy; and return to take a rapid sketch of the proceedings of his more successful opponent, the warlike and enterprising Afghan, on the plains of Hindûstaun.

After crossing the Beiah, the second of the five rivers coming from the east-ward, Sheir Khaun, then, is stated to have proceeded in his marches with a circumspection which bordered on timidity; being in perpetual apprehension that the troops of Homayûn, still in respectable force on different points around him, were only watching an op-

\* 14th of December, 1543.

portunity to avenge their recent defeats. Hence, his line of march was usually preceded by formidable bodies of cavalry and infantry, in constant order of battle. But, at the expiration of some days, when the perfidy of Mirza Kamraun, and the general disaffection which had seized the Moghûls, became notorious through the neighboring provinces, the necessity of these timid precautions was at once removed; and the victorious Afghan, experiencing no further obstacle to his advance, soon made himself master of Lavour. From thence he proceeded, shortly afterwards, to Khoshaub and Behrah, and the territory in that direction, where he halted for some time; having dispatched his agents to require the presence of Sûltan Saurung the Gohggur, and Sûltan Adam, two of the most powerful Zemindaurs in that part of the Punjaub. But, as each of these chiefs had experienced, respectively, from the generosity of the departed and illustrious Bâber, some favors of essential importance, of which, in spite of the vicious example of the times, they thought fit to retain a lasting and honorable recollection, they treated the summons with indifference, if not with disdain; and the Afghan advanced in consequence to Huttia, one of the principal stations of the Gohggurs\*—perhaps Bahotti, of which name there appears, in modern maps, a place on the left of the Behaut north of Khoshaub, from whence he detached a considerable force, in order to reduce that intractable nation to some species of submission. The Gohggurs, however, defended themselves with undaunted resolution; successfully repelling their invaders, great numbers of whom they captured and actually sold for slaves.

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Sheir Khaun appeared now disposed to march in person against these independent and warlike tribes, but from this, on consultation with his principal officers, he was finally dissuaded; it being very prudently urged, that the Gohggurs, in possession of inaccessible mountains, covered on all sides by narrow and intricate defiles, were not to be successfully attacked otherwise, than by a plan of operations systematically and skilfully arranged, and deliberately carried into execution. It was therefore proposed that a competent division of troops should be permanently stationed on that frontier, so disposed as to be able, at the same time,

\* Kakares and Gickers are the names by which these tribes are indifferently distinguished by other writers.

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to keep up a war of incursion into the territory of the obnoxious tribes, and to provide against the probable attempts of Homayûn's armies. In order to effect this, however, with the greater security, it was further recommended that a respectable fortified post should be immediately established in the country, as a place of arms and retreat, in case of emergency; so that, in process of time, these refractory hords, gradually penned up within their fastnesses, would be ultimately wearied out, and compelled to submit to authority. In the mean time, it appeared indispensably expedient that Sheir Khaun himself should return without a moment's delay into Hindûstaun; in order to secure the establishment of his power in that extensive and opulent region.

In conformity with the plan thus suggested, Sheir Khaun immediately laid the foundations of the fortress of Rohtass, on the right, or western bank of the Behaut; nearly opposite to the place called Jeihlum, a name by which the river itself is sometimes distinguished. Then, leaving in the neighborhood a sufficient force to carry into execution his designs against the Gohggurs, he returned by a succession of marches to the metropolis of Agrah. Not long afterwards, he engaged in the siege of Gwaliar; which still held out for Homayûn, under Meir Abûl Kaussem, recently spoken of in describing the escape of Beyram Khaun. Having, however, exhausted his whole stock of provisions, that unfortunate officer was compelled to deliver himself up, together with the impregnable fortress consigned to his charge, to the Afghan. Sheir Shah now found leisure to devote a few months to the arrangement of a regular system of government for his extensive conquests in Hindûstaun; the whole of which, with the exception of the favorite province of Bengal, which was probably reserved as an immediate appanage of the throne, he subdivided into forty-seven distinct departments. Another regulation, which our author has thought of sufficient importance to particularize beyond others, was that by which all the horses of his cavalry were required to receive a distinctive government mark from a hot iron; and in short, as he further contemptuously remarks, this successful usurper conceived perhaps that he might command the applause of succeeding generations, by merely reviving some of those numerous regulations of Sûltan Allâ-ud dein, which he had heard described in the history of Feyrouz Shah.



Having dispatched these necessary arrangements, Sheir Khaun conducted his troops against Pourun Mul, the Rajah of Râeyssein and Tchundeiry; whom, on the faith of an insidious treaty, he persuaded to quit the protection of his works, and place himself at his mercy; and whom, at the suggestion of some iniquitous professors of the law, and sophists, who frequented his camp, he then basely betrayed to slaughter. He now returned once more to Agrah; where his attention was for a time devoted to the general improvement of the communications between the remote parts of his dominions. For this it cannot be denied that he adopted the most effectual and liberal plan, when it is here recorded, that, after the example of some of his predecessors in the kingdom of Bengal, all the way from Sennaungauun in that province, to the river Indus—a distance, according to Ferishtah, of fifteen hundred kôsse—he caused to be erected at intervals of a kôsse from each other, along the whole of the road, serâis, or fixed refreshing places, or hotels, with every species of convenience for the accommodation of every caste of travellers, whether Mahomedan or Hindû.\* Recovering from a dangerous fit of illness, by which he had been attacked while at Agrah employed in these benevolent pursuits, he next engaged in hostilities with Maldeo, Râjah of Adjmeir, Nagour, and other celebrated towns in the same quarter; of the whole of which, either through perfidy, or superior address, he also succeeded in obtaining possession. From thence, with his characteristic celerity of dispatch, he led his troops against Tchitour and Runtempour; the governors of which, either through fraud or stratagem, were likewise compelled to lay at his feet, the keys of both those stupendous fortresses.

Leaving a sufficient force to secure the stability of his conquests in this quarter, he traversed the country to the eastward, and entered the territory of Dehndirah; where he proceeded to invest the celebrated fortress of Kalinjer. And here, on the tenth day of Mohurrem, of the nine hundred and fifty-second of the hidjerah,† when he had just completed his approaches both above and below ground, and had on some points raised them to a level with the works of the place, he finally

\* According to Ferishtah, the same was done on the whole of the road from Agrah to Mandou, and both roads were planted on each side for the whole distance, with the most useful variety of fruit trees, &c. &c.

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perished in consequence of an explosion among his own combustibles—perhaps, as is explained by Colonel Dow, by that of one of his own shells. In the original of Ferishtah, the event is, however, briefly recorded in the following terms.

After the reduction of Runtempour, which he bestowed in jaguair on his eldest son Auddel Khaun, Sheir Khaun proceeded towards *Kalinjer*, by this author represented as the very strongest fortress in Hindustan. In consequence of the atrocious breach of faith, which had been observed in the instance of Ràjah Pourun Mul, the governor of *Kalinjer* refused to submit, and accordingly prepared for hostilities; and the fort was therefore invested by the Afghan. When his approaches had, however, been brought sufficiently close to the works of the besieged, and Sheir Shah was in one of his batteries, observing the effect of certain Hookkabs, or pots, loaded with gunpowder, which were occasionally discharged into the fort, one of these hookkabs, perhaps a shell, striking the top of the wall, unexpectedly rebounded back, and bursting among a heap of other materials of annoyance of the same description, the whole immediately exploded. By this explosion the Shah, together with Sheikh Khaleil, one of his pupils, or principal favorites, and Moulana Nizaum Dauneshmund, and Derria Khaun Shirwauny, was most dreadfully scorched; and in this state he was conveyed to his tents, continuing, as often as he could find breath, and his senses returned, to call upon his troops—still fiercely urging them on to the attack, and dispatching his attendants one after another, to stimulate and direct their efforts. Towards the close of the day, which is here pronounced to have been the twelfth of the former *Rebbeia*, of the year already mentioned,\* it was announced to him that the fort was in possession of his troops; and he instantly breathed his last. The particular year of this event is exactly preserved in the sentence “z’autesh mûrd”—he died by fire; the Persian letters of which numerically applied give the total 952.

The character of this truly celebrated, able, and warlike monarch, has been delineated, with equal justice and impartiality, by Colonel Dow in his history; and to that work we do not hesitate to refer the reader. The subject is indeed dismissed by Abúl Fazzel, with this

\* 23d of May.

brief remark, that he governed the noble empire of Hindûstaun, through the medium of every species of fraud and imposture, for the period of five years, two months, and thirteen days. On the eighth day after his decease he was succeeded, to the prejudice of the elder brother, by his younger son Jullaul Khaun; who, together with the vacant throne, for which he was entirely indebted to his immediate proximity to the spot, assumed the title of Isslaum Shah, which title, by an easy transition, was soon generally softened into Seleim Shah; and of him it is also simply stated, that, in the enormity of his crimes, he even surpassed the arch-usurper his father. When, however, continues our author, for purposes which we dare not scrutinize, a mysterious providence had permitted the power of this turbulent and perfidious family, to flourish for a few fleeting years, like the glow worm of the night beside the beams of Teymûrian glory, that same providence, after a short career of wickedness, finally levelled them with the dust; and the world was thus, at last, effectually relieved from the vices of this polluted race.

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Abûl Fazzel.

In a former page, we left Mirza Heyder engaged in preparations for his expedition into Kashmeir; and it may be here permitted to recur to the proceedings of that prince. It appears that, on reaching the station of Nousheher, he was, in conformity with the instructions of Homayûn, regularly joined by the several officers who had been directed to unite in the expedition. But, when he had already entered some of the passes leading into the country, that fatal disunion occurred among the troops of Homayûn, which has in the preceding pages been sufficiently dilated upon; and Khaujah Kullan Beg, yielding either to the unsettled disposition of his own mind, or to the invitation of Mirza Kamraun, suddenly withdrew to join the standard of that prince. The example immediately extended to others; and Mirza Heyder was soon left to prosecute his undertaking, with no more than the stipendiaries in his own pay, and a few of those who had repaired to join him under the personal authority of the Emperor. Knowing, however, that this delightful province was laboring, at the time, under all the horrors of anarchy and civil dissention, the Mirza determined on advancing; and on the twenty second of Rûdjub of the year nine hundred and forty-seven,\* he accordingly proceeded through the pass of Panouje, or Pa-

\* 21st of November, 1450.

A. H. 950. noach, and shortly afterwards obtained possession of the greater part  
 A. D. 1543 of the country without resistance.  
 Abûl Fazzel.

At the period under consideration Kashmeir had not, indeed, for a long time, acknowledged the predominance of any individual, or particular ruler; the several native chiefs exercising an independent authority over such parts of this elysian province as occasionally fell under their power. There was, it seems however, one who had recently raised himself to some sort of nominal pre-eminence, and this person had either received or assumed the title of *Nauzek Shah*; which very well corresponded with the unrivalled amenities of the country. On the recurrence of the rainy season, which is described to have set in with considerable violence, Gaujy Beg, the chief through whose exhortations, principally, Mirza Heyder had been induced to undertake the reduction of the province, perceiving his own views defeated by the establishment of Mirza Heyder's power, with the natural perfidy inherent, it seems, in the character of the Kashmirians, suddenly withdrew from the country, to seek the protection of Sheir Khaun; taking with him the sister of Issmâeil the son of Mahommed Shah, formerly prince of Kashmeir—whom, in order to secure a favorable reception, he presented to the victorious Afghan. Through the medium of such an offering he rendered himself sufficiently acceptable to Sheir Khaun; and a force of two thousand Afghans, under Allawul Khaun and Hûsseyne Khaun Sherwauny, was immediately dispatched by that monarch, to reconduct him into the province. In the mean time, Ebdal Maugury, on whose support he chiefly relied for the permanence of his power, dying of a dropsical complaint, Mirza Heyder, after lodging his family in Indrakoul, a post of great strength and security, found it expedient to retire into the more inaccessible parts of the country; and being now abandoned by the whole of the Kashmirians, he was thus compelled for the space of three months, with a few of his own followers, to lead an unsettled and precarious life among the mountain ranges, with which the country abounds. At last, on monday the twentieth of the latter Rebbeia of the nine hundred and forty eighth of the hidjerah,\* the opportunity occurred, and he ventured to give battle to the enemy; whom, although amounting altogether to a force of five thousand com-

\* 12th of August, 1541.

batants, including natives and the auxiliary Afghans, he succeeded in defeating with great loss. By this victory, Mirza Heyder rendered himself, at all events, undisputed master of Kashmeir.

A. H. 950.  
A. D. 1543.  
Abûl Fazzel.

Accordingly, for ten years afterwards, Mirza Heyder had an opportunity of devoting himself with laudable zeal and assiduity to the restoration of the affairs of the province—to watch its gradual recovery from a state of desolation and ruin—and he enjoyed the proud satisfaction of seeing it once more overspread with elegant and flourishing towns. At the same time, he actively encouraged the introduction, from all parts of the world, of every species of manufacture and ingenious invention. Yielding himself, however, more than all, to cultivate the fascinations of music in every branch, this latter circumstance, combined perhaps with the soft luxuries of the enchanting climate, and bewitching local scenery of Kashmeir, produced in the event, effects extremely inauspicious and debilitating; for while he suffered his faculties to be absorbed in the indulgence of this fascinating propensity, Mirza Heyder gradually lost sight of two most essential virtues—those of moderation and circumspection; one of them the right, and the other the left arm of prosperous power. But his grand and fatal error, after succeeding so fortunately in the reduction of this beautiful and charming province was, it seems, when, merely to conciliate the attachment of the native chiefs, he continued the regalities of the Khotbah and Sikkah, to the pageant Nauzek Shah; instead of assigning them, as his allegiance and sense of duty should have dictated, to his imperial benefactor then struggling with adversity. Yet in this it is to be hoped, remarks our author, that he must surely have been rather governed by the necessity of accommodating with the temper of the times, than by any spirit of disloyalty, of which the examples were, however, already sufficiently numerous. After all, when on his return from Persia, his imperial relative had subsequently repossessed himself of Kâbul and its dependencies, Mirza Heyder found it expedient to concede to him the honors, of which he had been so long and unwisely defrauded.

When, on the other hand, Mirza Heyder once permitted himself to deviate from the maxims of a just and beneficent government, and resigned himself to the indulgence of his passions, the perfidious charac-

A. H. 950.  
A. D. 1543.  
Abûl Fazzel.

ter of the Kashmirians, which had been merely kept in check by the prudent measures of a vigorous administration, again displayed itself; and this inherently vicious people, returning to their treacherous practices, proceeded, without compunction, under the mask of friendship, to carry into execution the most hostile designs. That which, however, contributed most essentially to the accomplishment of their plans, was the system which they adopted, to separate the infatuated prince from his troops; the best of whom they contrived, under various pretences, to disperse into different quarters, some towards the confines of Tibet, others towards Pukkely, or Puhkoli, and the remainder towards Rajoury, on the opposite extremities of the province.

Having brought a multitude of others to unite in the conspiracy, and finally prevailed upon Hadjy Bekkaul, to whom Mirza Heyder had unfortunately entrusted the entire management of affairs, to engage in their design, the principal conspirators, Eiddy Rania, and Hûseyne Maugury, son of Ebdal Maugury formerly mentioned, proceeded without further delay, at the head of their accomplices, in quest of the unsuspecting victim of the combination. In the neighborhood of Khaunpour, about midway between Srinuggur, the ancient metropolis of the country, and Hammeirahpour, they came upon the unfortunate Mirza; by night, as he was on his way to the palace of his perfidious minister Khaujâh Hadjy, in order to set at large one of his servants of the name of Kâra Bahauder, who was in confinement. He was instantly put to death by one of the conspirators, of the name of Kummaul Zhezheny; although it is by others stated that he was accidentally killed, on the occasion, by an arrow from one of his own attendants. The death of Mirza Heyder is, however, recorded to have taken place, under whatever circumstances, some time in the course of the nine hundred and fifty-eighth of the hidjerah,\* or about ten years subsequent to his final subjugation of Kashmeir.

The narrative will next be employed, in the same cursory manner, to trace the proceedings of the ambitious and ungrateful Mirza Kamraun. It appears, then, that after his ill omened separation from Homayûn, that misguided prince, at the head of his followers, went off immediately in the direction of Kabûl; but on his arrival in the neigh-

\* A. D. 1551, commencing January.

borhood of Khoshaub, it occurred to him to suspend his march; in order to invest himself with the fleeting and forbidden attributes of a throne, to which he was not entitled. In this he conducted himself exactly as all others are known to do, who, equally unmindful of the claims of justice, and of the dictates of true benevolence, blindly and wickedly presume to erect their own fortune on the distresses and downfall of their fellow men. It cannot therefore be surprising that, in the issue, he should most justly be condemned to reap the fruit, of what he had thus sown in iniquity and ingratitude. Shortly afterwards, when he found it convenient, he prosecuted his march, by the route leading towards Deinkôte on the banks of the Indus.

A. H. 950.  
A. D 1543.  
Abûl Fazzel.

Here he was joined by the Mirza Mahommed Sûltan, and his son Olûgh Mirza, who had recently failed in an attempt to gain possession of Mûltaun. Mirza Kamraun continued on the left bank of the Indus for a considerable time; until indeed the exhausted state of the country, and the scarcity of subsistence, compelled him to prepare for removal. Throwing therefore a bridge across, he passed to the opposite side of the river; and from thence proceeded, not long afterwards, for Kabûl, where he appears to have immediately established his authority without resistance. Thus, observes our author, referring to the expulsion of Homayûn, when the stately lion has retired to the cover of its native forests, the timid stag may brouze abroad in safety; and when the hawk has taken to its nest, the woodcock may venture to wing its devious flight, fearless of attack.

Gheznein with the territory in that quarter, was consigned by Mirza Kamraun, as soon as he had been joined by him, to his brother Mirza Asskery; and, much about the same time, Khaujâh Khawund, or Khound, Mahmoud, was dispatched into Buddukhshaun, to require the submission of Mirza Sûliman. The messenger being, however, sent back by that prince with an unfavorable, and perhaps a disdainful reply, Kamraun led his troops in person across the mountains, into the province; and an action taking place near the station called Baury, in which the advantage inclined to the side of the invaders, Mirza Sûliman proposed an accommodation. This was acceded to, on his engaging that the honors of the mosque and mint should run in the name of Mirza Kamraun. The province was, however, dismem-

A. H. 950. bered of several districts, which were bestowed by Mirza Kamraun  
 A. D. 1543. on some of his own officers ; after which he returned to Kabûl.  
 Abûl Fazzel.

In the mean time, intelligence was conveyed to Mirza Kamraun, that his brother Hindal had made himself master of Kandahaur ; in consequence of which, he immediately drew together the troops of his government, and proceeded at their head to invest that celebrated fortress. Mirza Hindal, after sustaining a siege of six months, being reduced to extremity by the total consumption of his means of subsistence, found himself, however, constrained to demand a capitulation. This was obtained without much difficulty, and the place was accordingly delivered up to Mirza Kamraun; by whom, in addition to his former government of Gheznein, it was now conferred upon Mirza Asskery.

Mirza Kamraun then returned to Kabûl, taking with him his captive brother Hindal, to whom, after having treated him for some time with great severity, he at last pretended to be reconciled; and as a proof of his sincerity, he condescended to put him in possession of the town on the royal canal of Kabûl, which, in honor of the imperial Akbar, at a subsequent period became distinguished under the name of Jullaul-abad. His authority is said to have been about this time, or shortly afterwards, further acknowledged by the ruler of Sind; the same who was engaged in the hostilities, recently described, with the persecuted Homayûn; and every circumstance appeared to unite, for a while, in contributing to lull him into a state of perfect security. From this he was, however, in a slight degree awakened by fresh hostilities with Mirza Suliman, who had embraced his opportunity to violate the recent treaty of peace, and to recover the places of which he had been deprived, in Buddukhshaun.

He now marched a second time into that province; and having defeated Mirza Suliman in a battle near Enderaub, the latter prince was compelled to shut himself up in the fortress of Zuffer. In this place he was immediately and closely besieged by his enemies, who, by totally cutting off his supplies, seemed confident of constraining him to an early surrender. In this emergency he was basely forsaken by his native subjects, and the total failure of subsistence reducing him to despair, he had no alternative left than to submit to the mercy of his be-



siegers. Kaussem Berlas, and Mirza Abdullah, and others under their orders, were now appointed, by Mirza Kamraun, to provide for the government of Buddukhsaun; after which, accompanied by Mirza Suliman, and his son Mirza Ibrahim, as his prisoners, he returned again to Kabùl, which for a month afterwards, exhibited all the display of the most splendid triumph. In the season of prosperity which followed, he lived, however, utterly unmindful of his duty towards his maker, and of his sacred obligations to redress the injuries of the aggrieved; until indeed the returning ascendancy of his exiled brother's fortune, enabled that prince to recoil upon his adversaries; when, as will be shewn in its proper place, the ambitious Kamraun was not suffered to escape the retribution so justly due to his multiplied acts of treason and ingratitude.

A. H. 950.  
A. D 1543.  
Abùl Fazzel.

Of Mirza Hindal it will be sufficient to say, that when at the period which produced so many examples of turbulence, disaffection, and treachery, he also pursued the course of ingratitude, this prince proceeded immediately towards Kandahaur; where Karatchah Khaun, the governor on the part of Mirza Kamraun, after hastening to give him a friendly reception, quietly delivered over to him the keys of his charge, together with the authority which he possessed over the surrounding territory. But he had not continued to enjoy his fancied power, for many months, before he was stripped of it, in the manner just described, by his more successful brother Kamraun; thus furnishing to the world, if that were of any utility, another example of the remorse and disappointment, in which the designs of a distempered and unprincipled ambition, are, almost invariably, destined to terminate.

It remains to notice the result of those undutiful and factious proceedings, into which Yadgaur Nausser had permitted himself to be misled by the insidious flatteries of the governor of Tattah. It has already appeared that this prince had, by some means or other, formed an establishment at Lohry, in the neighborhood of Bukkur, on the Indus; but not more than two months after the departure of Homayûn, to the north-west,\* he had a sufficient opportunity of discovering, in a variety of instances, how little reliance was to be placed on the faith of this unworthy representative of the race of Arghoun; and that all his

\* Qu.

A. H. 950. specious professions had their foundation in the blackest falsehood.  
 A. D. 1543. He found it therefore expedient, without loss of time, to relinquish  
 Abúl Fazzel. his visionary prospects in this quarter; and in spite of the intreaties  
 of his best friends, who remonstrated against the imprudence of attaching  
 himself to the cause of Mirza Kamraun, and the perfidy of forsaking  
 that of a just and virtuous sovereign, he finally determined on re-  
 pairing to Kandahaur. Yadgaur Nausser happened to reach the vi-  
 cinity of that place just at the crisis of the siege, in which it had been  
 reduced to the last extremity by Mirza Kamraun; and having been  
 admitted to a friendly interview, he accompanied that prince, at the  
 conclusion of the siege, on his return to Kabúl.

From that city an agent was now dispatched, on the part of Mirza  
 Kamraun, to the ruler of Tattah, Mirza Shah Hússeyne, with a request  
 that the princess Sheher Baunú Begum, one of the daughters of the  
 emperor Bâber, and the consort of Yadgaur Nausser, together with her  
 son Mirza Sunjur, who had, by some accident or other, been separated  
 from the troops of her husband, and left in the neighborhood of Buk-  
 kur, might be conveyed without delay, and with all the respect to  
 which by her exalted rank she was entitled, to his presence at Kabúl.  
 This request was immediately complied with; but through some un-  
 pardonable neglect, or oversight, on the part of the Arghúnian, the  
 convoy by which the princess was accompanied, was sent through a  
 desert and inhospitable tract, equally destitute of forage and water, so  
 that the greater part perished ere it reached its destination; and when  
 the survivors had, with indescribable fatigue, at last made their way  
 good to the station of Shaul, already described as within a short dis-  
 tance of Kandahaur, they were attacked by a dangerous and malignant  
 fever; to which the greater part of them, including the illustrious prin-  
 cess whose person they had been employed to secure, now fell victims.  
 And thus, of the whole escort consisting of nearly three thousand indi-  
 viduals, but a very few escaped to complete their journey to Kanda-  
 haur.

## CHAP. XIV.

**W**E now resume the thread of the narrative to attend the forsaken Homayûn in his precarious journey through the sandy and inhospitable tract, between Kandahaur and the neighboring Persian province of Seiestaun; and the first circumstance that claims our notice is the institution of a species of knighthood, for so it may be considered, called the order of the Tchoul, or Joul, which the fugitive monarch, at this conjuncture, conferred upon the faithful associates of his exile. While he wandered in these circumstances through the appalling solitude, in apparent uncertainty whither to direct his course, he fortunately fell in with the captain of a band of robbers, whose name was Hauty Beloutch, by whom he was immediately conducted, in a very respectful and friendly manner, to the place of his residence; and who, after treating him with the kindest hospitality, became his guide to the adjoining territory of Gurrumseyr, the sultry region so called, to the westward of Kandahaur.

A. H. 950.

A. D. 1543.

Abûl Fazzel.

Meir Abdul Hey, the leading man of the district, although from mistaken motives of prudence, he neglected the opportunity of presenting himself in person to Homayûn, afforded him, nevertheless, all the assistance in his power, to alleviate his immediate distresses. At the same period also, Khaujeh Jullaul-ud-dein Mahommed happened to be engaged in this quarter, in collecting the revenues for Mirza Asskery, and Bâba Doust, one of his Bukhshies, was employed by Homayûn to invite him to his camp. More disinterested, and less circumspect than his colleague, this personage joyfully embraced the opportunity to evince his sympathy in the misfortunes, and his attachment to the cause of the distressed monarch; at whose disposal, without the smallest reserve, he immediately placed the whole of the property in his hands, whether in specie or other effects. In compensation for this very seasonable supply, he was then invested by Homayûn, with the office of Meir Samaun, or steward of the household.

A. H. 950.  
 A. D. 1543.  
 Abûl Fazzel.

During his short stay in Gurrumseyr, on this occasion, Homayûn, beyond measure disgusted with the repeated proofs of treason and ingratitude, to which he had been so widely exposed, again, in the discourse which he addressed to his followers, indirectly intimated a design to withdraw from the world. But from this, and at his time of life perhaps, with no great difficulty, he was once more dissuaded by his friends; who urged the manifest disregard of moral obligation; and of the claims of humanity, which would be laid to his charge, should he persist in the design of burying in seclusion talents such as his, in the revolution of ages so seldom exhibited on earth, and so eminently calculated to promote the happiness of mankind. They further suggested that it would not be difficult to reconcile his duty towards God, with that which every virtuous man owed to the society of which he was the member; the utmost they required being, indeed, as they stated, that, while in private he communed with his Creator, he should in public exert himself for the good of his fellow creatures. They reminded him, lastly, of what was due to the rights of the illustrious infant, of whose final exaltation to supreme power, they expressed the most unreserved and assured belief.

In consequence of these intreaties, and of the further representations of his still faithful followers, it was therefore now determined to appeal to the generosity of the Persian monarch; in the confidence that the ties of hereditary friendship would be an inducement with him to render the assistance, which it was so abundantly in his power to afford. On the first of Shavaul, accordingly, of the nine hundred and fiftieth of the hidjerah,\* a letter was dispatched, in charge of Tchouly Bahauder, one of the newly created knights probably, communicating to Shah Tahmasp, the first of that name, son of Shah Ismâeil, and second monarch of the race of S' ffy, from Homayûn, an unreserved relation of the circumstances by which he had been thus driven to claim an asylum in the Persian court. On the envelope of the letter is said to have been written the following sentence, probably by the hand of Homayûn himself; "Much hath this aching head endured amidst the waters—much among the rocks and mountains—and much among the sands of the desert—but all is past."

\* 27th of December 1543.

Having dispatched his application to the court of Kazvein, Homayûn proposed to remain a few days longer in the territory of Gurrumseyr; but a message being shortly afterwards received from Abdul Hey, announcing that Mirza Asskery was about to send a large force into the district, which was very shortly expected to make its appearance, and recommending that the imperial head quarters might be removed into Seiestaun, before it was too late, Homayûn, taking all things into consideration, conceived it prudent to avail himself of this piece of advice. He accordingly retired into Seiestaun, to be more immediately under the protection of the Persian government, and there crossing the Heirmend,\* proceeded not long afterwards to encamp by the side of a Koul, or fresh water lake, into which that river discharges itself—doubtless the lake of Zerrah, at the western extremity of the province. Ahmed Sûltan Shaumlû, the king's lieutenant, if we are to credit the author's statement, contemplated the arrival of the royal fugitive, as an occurrence of singular good fortune; and he hastened accordingly to visit, and afford to the august stranger, every proof of the most liberal hospitality. Homayûn continued in the neighborhood for some days, amusing himself and his followers in hunting the Keshlekdaugh; a species of animal of which, if it was not the zebra, we must confess our ignorance. It might, however, have been any other streaked or spotted animal of the chase—the spotted deer for instance;—or it might possibly have been the name of a mountain, the scene of these amusements.

After recreating himself for several days in the manner thus described, Homayûn proceeded to the capital of the province, bearing the same name of Seiestaun; where the governor sent his own mother and the women of his family, to attend upon the princess Hameidah Baunû, always referred to under the appellation of Mereiam Makauny—in station like Mary—at the same time, placing the entire revenue of the country at the disposal of his imperial guest. Here, among other personages introduced to the presence of Homayûn, was Hûseyne Kûly Mirza, the brother of the lieutenant of the province; who had repaired into Seiestaun, in order to complete his arrangements for a pilgrimage to Mekkah, and who on this occasion, held with Homayûn frequent conversati-

A. H. 950.  
A. D. 1543-44.  
Abûl Fazzel.

\* This is sometimes written Hindmend.

A. H. 950.  
A. D. 1543-44.  
Abûl Fazzel.

ons on the subject of religion. During one of these conferences, the Mirza remarked that the doctrines of the two cardinal sects, the Sheiahs and Sounnies, had long been the subject of his most serious inquiries; that he had carefully and anxiously perused all that had been written on either side; and the conclusion he had been able to draw was, that according to the Sheiahs, anathema upon the memory of certain of the prophet's companions, was meritorious in the sight of God, while the same with the Sounnies was accounted the grossest heresy, or infidelity. "Now" concluded he, "it is very certain, that merit with God forms no part in the calculations of the infidel." The remark so favorable to the Sheiahs, was highly applauded by Homayûn, and he employed all the influence of intreaty to retain this nobleman in his service; but as he had already determined on the visitation to Hejauz, and the necessary arrangements had been completed, he civilly declined all advances on that subject.

In these circumstances, Hadjy Mahommed Bâba Kushkah, and Hussun Koukah, who had availed themselves of an opportunity to withdraw from the standard of Mirza Asskery, both presented themselves to Homayûn; to whom they undertook to propose that he should immediately return east-ward, to the territory of Dawer, the intendant of which they represented as zealously disposed to favor the royal cause. They stated, moreover, that Haleimah Beg, the governor of Bost, seemed also equally well inclined to return to his allegiance. In short, they held out the strongest expectations that Mirza Asskery would speedily be deserted by the greater part, if not by the whole of his troops; and that Kandahaur, and its dependencies, must then necessarily submit to the authority of Homayûn. When, however, these insidious representations became known to Ahmed Sûltan, the lieutenant of Seiestaun, and he could discover that the purpose of these men was, if possible, to prevent the projected journey into Irâk, that nobleman hastened, without delay, to the presence of Homayûn, and with an apparently sincere regard to his interests, most strenuously urged the expediency, as well as the certain advantage, of his appearance at the Persian capital; at the same time assuring him that these men had no other object, in what they proposed, than to betray their sovereign into the hands of his enemies. At all events, his remonstrances prevailed

with Homayún, and it was finally determined to proceed into Irák; the governor of Seiestaun offering to accompany him immediately by the route of Tubbus-killeky, which would conduct him by the shortest way, through Isfahaun, to the capital. But as Homayún expressed a particular desire to visit Heraut, the whole proceeded towards the fortress of Awek, or Auvek; touching on the district of Ferah, on their way to that celebrated city.

A. H. 950.  
A. D 1543-44.  
Abûl Fazzel.

Our attention is now claimed towards the success of Homayún's dispatch to the Persian monarch, who is described to have expressed himself indeed highly rejoiced at the opportunity, thus furnished, of entertaining the imperial exile at his court; and as a testimony of the satisfaction which he experienced, the imperial state drums at the metropolis were directed to strike up for three days successively. A reply full of respect and encouragement, and, in terms the most flattering and consoling, inviting the royal fugitive to hasten to court, was immediately prepared; and, together with a number of very valuable presents, delivered to the messenger, who was then dismissed on his return, after having experienced the most friendly and honorable reception. Instructions were, at the same time, conveyed to the several authorities, on the road by which the Moghûl monarch should pass towards the capital, enjoining them to provide in the most splendid manner for his reception throughout his journey; which they were required to consider as an event reflecting the very highest lustre on the reign of their master.

The mandate transmitted on this occasion to Mahommed Khaun, the governor of Heràt and Khorassaun, descends, indeed, to the very minutest circumstance to be attended to, in the reception and accommodation of the royal stranger; and is given at full length, by our author, as a precedent most worthy of imitation by all such as, at any future period, might be called upon to discharge the same sacred claims of humanity and hospitality. But as this piece would occupy, at its present stage, by much too large a portion of the work, extending to six full pages of manuscript, closely written in the original, we must be content to exclude it altogether. What may be considered more to the purpose is, that the letter from Kara Sûltan Shaumlû, announcing the arrival of Homayún in Seiestaun, does not appear to have reached Kazvein before the twelfth day of Zilhudje;\* although this seems contradic-

\* 6th of March 1544.

A. H. 950. tory to what will presently appear; and we are therefore warranted in  
 A. D. 1543 44. considering that it must have been a month earlier.

Abûl Fazzel.

However this may be, Homayûn had no sooner reached the territory of Ferah, than his messenger returned, accompanied by an envoy from the court of Persia, to announce the satisfaction evinced on the part of Shah Tahmasp, on intelligence of his arrival; and it was then that he finally determined, in compliance with the general wish of his followers, to accept of the invitation, now expressly communicated from the Persian monarch, to repair to his capital. In consequence of such resolution he proceeded accordingly towards Herât; being met, at the close of every subsequent stage, by the most distinguished inhabitants of the neighboring territory, vying with each other in activity and zeal, to fulfil the instructions of their sovereign, and to provide for the adequate entertainment of the royal stranger. In the mean time, an immense concourse of people of all classes from the surrounding districts, and particularly from the several towns of Jaum, Terbet, Serkness, and Esfrâein, crowded to Herât, on intelligence of his approach; in order to witness the entry of Homayûn.

The moment it was announced, by a message from Tatar Sultaun and the other personages who proceeded to meet the Moghûl monarch, that he was arrived within a short distance of the Ziauretgâh,\* Mahommed Khaun, accompanied by the principal Ameirs of the province, and the more distinguished inhabitants of Herât, hastened to the head of the bridge called the Pûll-e-maulan, the bridge of the oilwoman perhaps, to receive the august stranger; and there, together with his own protestations of zeal and attachment, presented the salutations of his sovereign. Directions had, in the mean time, been previously given, that the whole of the roads from this place to the gardens of Jahaunârâ, should be kept regularly swept and watered; and that the whole of the respectable inhabitants, tradesmen, and ingenious mechanics, belonging to the city, should present themselves, every day, regularly arranged on opposite sides of the road, in expectation of the arrival of Homayûn. When the procession reached the station of Dilfezzâ, the

\* A very satisfactory description of the present state of the favorite city of Herât, will be found in a paper inserted in the Annual Register for 1817, from the journal of Capt. Pottinger; whom the author of these pages is happy to recognize as a brother officer, likely to do credit to the long neglected establishment on which he serves.



shahzâdah Sùltan Mahommed Mirza presented himself to the illustrious traveller; whom, with the nobles of the province, he now conducted to the palace appointed for his residence in the Jahaun-arâ gardens contiguous to the city. On this occasion, all the way from the Ziauretgâh,\* to the Pùll-e-maulan, and from thence to the above mentioned gardens, making altogether a distance of between three and four farsangs,—ten and a half to fourteen miles,—the hills and vallies were entirely covered with the population of Herât and the neighboring towns, assembled to behold the spectacle.

A. H. 950.  
A. D. 1543.  
Abùl Fazzel.

It is here stated that Homayûn entered Herât, or at all events, the gardens in the vicinity appointed for his residence, on the first of Zilkaudah of the nine hundred and fiftieth of the hidjerah;† but in order to make the circumstances of the relation correspond, which would otherwise be irreconcilable, we conceive that this date should be altered to the first of Zilhudje,‡ and that, in the mandate of Shah Tahmasp, to the twelfth of Zilkaudah preceding.§ and all will then appear perfectly intelligible.

A splendid and sumptuous entertainment had been provided by Mahommed Khaun in the gardens of Jahaun-arâ, at which he laid before his imperial guest, the presents prepared for his acceptance; neither was any thing omitted on the occasion that could in any shape contribute to console him under the recollection of his recent misfortunes. In short, Herât, and the beauties of the neighborhood, presented so many attractions to Homayûn, that he determined to remain there for some time; more particularly as the festival of the new year, when the sun enters Aries, was almost immediately at hand. During his stay, whenever he found himself disposed to visit any of the places which so numerously decorate this favorite city and the vicinity, he was invariably attended by the same Mahommed Khaun; and the same magnificent arrangements were prepared for his reception, whether his inclinations led him to recreate in the delights of the garden of the Gauzergâh, of the Baugh-e-muraud, of the Baugh-e-Kheyabaun, the Baugh-e-zoghoun, of the Baugh-e-sepeid, or the gardens of the white palace;

\* So called from its being a place of religious resort—perhaps it was the tomb of Abdullah Ansaur.

† 25th of January 1544.

‡ 24th of February.

§ 5th of February 1544.

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As soon, however, as the festival of the new year was over, Homayûn commenced his journey for Kazvein; it being arranged that he should not neglect the opportunity of presenting himself by the way, at the shrine of Ally Ruzza, at Mûsh-hedd. In the mean time, Ahmed Sûltan the governor of Seiestaun, whose attentions had been unremittingly zealous and respectful, had been honorably dismissed to his government; Homayûn and his splendid retinue reaching the town of Jaum, about one hundred miles to the northward of Herát, on the fifth of Zil-hudje\*—doubtless it should be the fifth of Mohurrem nine hundred and fifty one, corresponding with the 28th of March, a few days after the vernal equinox. Here he visited the tomb of Zendah Peil Ahmed Jaum, a celebrated Peir formerly mentioned. Without noticing the intermediate stages, Homayûn is represented to have arrived in the neighborhood of Mûsh-hedd [170 miles] about nine or ten days afterwards; being here met by Shah Kûly Sûltaun Estaudjlù, the governor of this part of Khorassaun, who conducted him into the sacred city, on the fifteenth of the month of Mohurrem.† Homayûn proceeded immediately to the mausoleum of Imaum Ally Ruzza, for the performance of his devotions, taking up his abode, for several days, on the verge of the hallowed edifice.

From Mûsh-hedd he returned south-wards for nearly one hundred miles to Neyshapour, being met at some distance from that city, by Meir Shums-ud-dein Ally Sûltan, governor of these districts, by whom he was conducted, with the customary honors, to his residence in the town. On this occasion, Homayûn availed himself of the opportunity to view the sapphire, or rather turquoise mine, Kaun-e-Feyrouzah, in the neighborhood of Neyshapour; after which he continued his march to Subbuzwaur, and from thence to Bestaum. Adjacent to this latter place is described to have been then existing a fountain of water, into which, through the operation of a Telessem, or Talisman, in times

\* 28th of February.

† 7th of April 1544.

long past therein suspended, whenever any impure substance was cast, an extraordinary turbulence in the superincumbent air was instantly produced, occasioning such a whirlwind of dust and atoms, as to darken all around. From this, observes our author, we can only derive another proof of the innumerable materials deposited by the wisdom of omnipotence, in the store house of nature, of which the understanding of man is too circumscribed to comprehend either the properties or effects.

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From Bestaum the royal exile continued his journey to Ezrauny, of which we have no information, and from thence successively to Damaghaun and Semnaun; in the neighborhood of which latter place, at Soufiabad, he took up his abode in the mausoleum of Allâ-ud-doulah Semnauny. Wherever he came he was received, without variation, by the local authorities at the head of the resident population in their most splendid array, and with all the honor and solemnity that could be due to the most exalted of sovereigns. An intercourse by messenger was, at the same time, regularly kept up with the Persian court, the Shah dispatching, by frequent opportunities, such presents as by their rarity or utility might be worthy the acceptance of his imperial visitor.

In these circumstances, Homayûn prosecuted his journey to the ancient city of Rey; Shah Tahmasp removing about the same time from Kazvein, to take up his ordinary summer quarters near Sâltauniah and Sourlik. Not long afterwards, Homayûn proceeded to Kazvein, recently the abode of the Persian monarch; where he was received with the same formalities and distinguished respect as he had uniformly experienced during the whole of his progress. From Kazvein, after a few days repose, which were, however, devoted to a survey of the many sanctified spots with which the place abounds, the celebrated Beyram Khaun was dispatched to the presence of the Shah; who had not yet reached his destined quarters, when that nobleman was permitted to discharge the duties of his mission. Immediately on the return of Beyram Khaun, Homayûn appears to have quitted Kazvein, on his way to Sâltauniah; the camp of Shah Tahmasp being now stationary between Ebher and that city, the whole distance being apparently not more than five and twenty miles. Arrived in the neighborhood of the

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encampment, a number of the Persian nobility in their several classes appeared to pay their respects to Homayûn; after them Behram Mirza and Saum Mirza, the brothers of the Shah, presented themselves; and last of all, on some day in the former month of Jummaudy of the nine hundred and fifty first of the hidjerah,\* Shah Tahmasp, in person, proceeded to meet his imperial visitor. The interview passed in mutual expressions of esteem, and in the kindest inquiries on the part of the Shah; after which the royal stranger was conducted to a magnificent pavilion, or summer palace, which had for a considerable period employed the utmost skill of the most exquisite painters and sculptors; and which was now, for the first time, opened for the reception of Homayûn. Here he partook of an imperial and sumptuous entertainment, at which the Shah repeated, in the warmest terms, his professions of zeal and attachment, and his sympathy in the misfortunes of the royal exile.

During their conference on this occasion, the Persian monarch is said to have observed, as nearly as we can render the passage, that in enabling the illustrious Bâber, the father of his royal visitor, to achieve the conquest of Hindûstaun, the creator of the universe had placed in the hands of the Teymûrian family, a key which might yet lead to the subjugation of many and powerful regions; but with respect to any errors or failures that might recently have occurred in the management of affairs, it was too notorious that the evil was beyond the controul of Homayûn—that in truth it was to be entirely ascribed to the fatal want of concert, and disunion, which marked the proceedings of his disaffected brethren; for among all the variety of efficient causes, that which is known to produce the most important results, to dissolve the best cemented fabrics of government, is a cordial co-operation to the same object between members of the same family. In this persuasion, he only desired, for his part, to be considered in the light of a younger brother, zealously prepared to afford him every assistance in his power. And to this end such arrangements should be put in immediate activity, and such a military force equipped, as would be abundantly adequate to restore him to his authority—nay, should circumstances require it, he declared that he was perfectly ready to accompany

\* July or August, 1544.

Homayún in person, in order to re-establish him in the possession of his hereditary dominions. A. H. 951.  
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With such, and many other professions equally generous, liberal, and sincere, Shah Tahmasp exerted himself to dispel the sorrows, and encourage the expectations of his guest. Day after day was destined to witness the same superb succession of entertainments, and the same protestations of truth and attachment. But, exclaims our author, why should an obscure and humble individual attempt to describe a spectacle in which the principal parts were performed by two such august personages? What verbal description can furnish any adequate idea of the beauty and variety displayed in the innumerable pavilions, and canopies of cloth of gold, and velvet, and *taujah-bauf*, the peculiar manufacture of Tebreiz, here set on foot—or of the curious tapestry hangings, and silken carpets, spread in every direction, above, below, and around? What probable estimate can be formed as to the noble Persian horses, the camels, and mules, all gorgeously and gaily caparisoned; as to the numberless pieces of rich apparel, to the swords, and cuisses, set with precious stones, suits of sable and ermine, and every description of beautiful and valuable furs; the vests of gold brocade, velvet, *taujah-bauf*, satin, and *Mùshudjer*,\* as well European, Yezdian, and Kashmirian, goblets, and salvers, and candelabras, of gold and silver enriched with rubies and topaz, and other articles of plate, of the same precious materials and workmanship; and lastly to the superb and highly ornamented tents and tent equipage, and carpeting, in size and beauty wonderful to behold, together with every thing suitable to the state and grandeur of a powerful monarch, which were daily presented for the acceptance and accommodation of Homayún? Of all these I say, what possible estimate can be formed of the extent and value? without mentioning the vast property distributed individually to every class and member of the royal retinue, in specie and every article of supply. On the part of Homayún, indeed, as might have been expected, these were few, but very rare and costly. At the entertainment given to the Shah, when he returned the first visit of his imperial guest, the latter placed before him a diamond, alone equal in value to the revenues of many a province, and also a bulse of rubies from the

\* A sort of flowred satin, of silk and cotton mixed.

A. H. 951. mines of Buddukhshaun, two hundred and fifty in number, of propor-  
 A. D. 1544. tionate beauty and rarity. Nevertheless it is affirmed, that whatever  
 Abûl Fazzel. might have been the extent of the charges incurred by the Shah and  
 his officers, from the entrance of Homayûn into the territories of the  
 Persian empire, to the moment of his departure, they were actually  
 reimbursed, one way or other, in at least a two-fold proportion, on the  
 part of the royal exile.

From the summer quarters of Sourlik, the two monarchs proceeded  
 together to Sûltauniah, where the same course of festivity was contin-  
 ued, as we have already had occasion to notice. There were, how-  
 ever, not wanting those who had baseness enough to disturb this har-  
 monious interchange of kind offices, and to engender suspicious jea-  
 lousies in the minds of the royal friends. But, fortunately, the misun-  
 derstanding was not permitted to be of any duration, every uneasiness  
 being early dispelled by sincere and mutual explanation. Among the  
 recreations with which, in daily variety, the beneficent Shah Tah-  
 masp sought to amuse his imperial guest, was the Shekaur-e-kummer-  
 ghah, or royal circular hunt; the different species of wild animals, and  
 beasts of the chase, being driven in for the purpose by the Shah's troops  
 from various points, on a circumference of ten days journey in dia-  
 meter, towards the fountain head of Saoukh, or Soukh-belaugh, which  
 is the first stage on the way to Sourlik, and was, on this occasion, fixed  
 upon as the centre of assemblage. Here according to practice, when  
 the two monarchs had first exercised themselves to satiety, in dealing  
 slaughter among the unnumbered animals thus driven together, the  
 princes Behram Mirza and Saum Mirza, were then permitted to take  
 their share in this indiscriminate destruction of game. After these  
 followed the principal Ameirs of both courts, such as Beyram Khaun,  
 and Hadjy Mahommed Koukeltaush, and Shah Kûly Sûltan, the  
 keeper of the seal, and Roushen Koukah, and Hûsseyne Koukah, and  
 sundry others in the train of Homayûn; and of the officers of the Shah,  
 Abdullah Khaun Estadjlû, who was the son-in-law of the late Shah  
 Ismâeil, with Abûl Kaussem Kholfa, and very many others whose  
 names it would be further unnecessary to particularize: and, last of  
 all, the mixed and impatient multitude was admitted, and every sol-  
 dier and camp follower was allowed to seize, and bind, and carry off,

as much as he thought proper of the numerous victims of the hunter which lay before him.

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There is, at the same time, one circumstance recorded to have taken place on this occasion, which, under a more equitable system of legislation, might be supposed to have cast considerable gloom on the enjoyments of the concluding day. A latent grudge had, it seems, long subsisted in the bosom of Behram Mirza, one of the brothers of the Shah, against Abûl Kaussem Kholfa, a chief of some distinction among the vassals of the empire; and the former appears to have delayed his vengeance, only until he could find a favorable opportunity of quenching it in the blood of the obnoxious chief. Accordingly, when he observed that all others were sufficiently engaged in attending to the objects of the chase, he seized his opportunity; and, in an instant, transfixed the unfortunate nobleman through the body with an arrow, in consequence of which he expired on the spot. From a culpable deference to the rank and power of the assassin, however, this act of malignant bloodshed was never made known to Shah Tahmasp.

The royal armies were now directed to form again on the circumference, reducing the circle inwards to the neighborhood of the Howz-e-Sûliman, or reservoir of Sûliman, where, on closing to the centre, the two monarchs proceeded to satiate themselves afresh with this species of harmless slaughter. To all was added this day the two favorite games of Tchougan-bauzy, and Kebek-andauzy—the former a species of horse goff—the latter we are not able to explain. In the course of this, however, having probably signalized their skill, the faithful Beyram Beg was invested with the title of Khaun, and Hadjy Mahommed Koukah with that of Sûltan. But, what was of much higher importance, before the entertainment closed, which was given on this occasion, a *Toumaur*, or royal mandate, for the immediate assemblage and equipment of a body of twelve thousand horse to be placed under the orders of Mirza Mûrâd, one of the Shah's own sons, was definitively issued, for the purpose of assisting Homayûn to re-ascend the throne of Hindûstaun. In addition to prince Mûraud, the following distinguished commanders were selected for the accomplishment of this undertaking. Bedaugh Khaun Kajaurléh; Shah Kûly Sûltan Afshaur, governor of Kermaun; Ahmed Sûltan Shaumlû, the son of Mahommed

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Khaleifah ; Sunjaub Sûltan Afshaur, governor of Ferah ; and among many more, whom it would be unnecessary to particularize, Hûseyne Kûly Sûltan Shaumlû, the brother of Ahmed Sûltan governor of Seiestaun, and Mahommedy Mirza, the grandson of Jahaun Shah Mirza, more generally known by the name of Shahwerdy Beg. To these were added moreover, three hundred Kourtcheis, royal guards, or household troops, with an abundant equipment of all things necessary to render this noble auxiliary force in every respect complete for service.

On the beautiful plains of Miaunah, celebrated for the mildness and purity of the climate, after treating his august visitor to a third circular hunt, near Aukziauret, the last stage on the way towards the summer quarters of Sereik, perhaps the Sourlek already mentioned, Shah Tahmasp paid his last visit to Homayûn ; the two illustrious monarchs here taking their final leave of each other in terms of the utmost politeness and mutual regard.

From Miaunah, imitating the example of his august ancestor the invincible Teymûr, Homayûn now directed his course for Tebreiz and Ardebeil ; having first dispatched his favorite consort the mother of Akbar, now pregnant with her second child, accompanied by a suitable escort and a numerous train of domestics, under the care of Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, whom on this occasion he invested with the command of the troops, instructing him, at the same time, to proceed by the road to the right hand towards Kandahaur. The twelve thousand Persian horse destined to aid him in the recovery of his dominions, were dismissed to their several habitations about the same crisis, in order to complete their equipments, and other necessaries for the expedition ; the Shahzâdah being directed to join the standard of Homayûn, at the head of those troops, as soon as he should have reached the banks of the Heirmund, in Seiestaun already described.

His progress on this occasion led Homayûn first to the celebrated city of Tebreiz, or Tauris ; at a short distance from which, near the embankment raised by Meiran Shah to confine the stream which runs into the town, from the foot of Mount Sehpand in the neighborhood, he was met by the chief magistrates and principal inhabitants—the city having been decorated for his reception in the gayest colors, by command of Shah Tahmasp. Here he was entertained with suitable splendor by



the governor; and all sorts of games were exhibited for his amusement. Among these are particularized the Kerrek-dowauny, a species of exercise with which we must for the present remain unacquainted, and the Peiaudah-tchougan-bauzy, or foot goff, a sort of game in which the Tebrizians are said to have particularly excelled, but from which, in consequence of certain indications of a turbulent spirit, they had, at this period, been for some time interdicted. The restraint had however been now taken off, by instructions from the Shah, in order to promote the gratifications of Homayûn. The various edifices which embellish the city, and the monuments of their grandeur erected by the monarchs of former ages, were also visited in succession; furnishing indeed ample subject of reflection, on the ever recurring mutability of fortune, and the instability of human glory.

When he had employed himself for a sufficient time in surveying the the curiosities of the place, he felt an unwillingness to leave it, without examining the astronomical apparatus, for which it had been long celebrated; and he accordingly directed Beg Mahommed, one of his equerries, to find him out a *Gurrah*, or celestial globe, which he was desirous of inspecting before he finally departed. The officer, who was probably an Indian, with equal simplicity and ignorance, brought him the next day, a number of horses, [*gourrah*], which he conceived his master wished to purchase for his journey. Much amused with the absurdity of the mistake, Homayûn received it, however, as an omen auspicious to his departure; and having made a purchase of the whole lot, and finished his survey of this fair city, he quitted Tebreiz very shortly afterwards, and proceeded towards Ardebeil.

Arrived at Semaspy, a small town apparently not far from the last mentioned city, Homayûn was met by the several Sheikhs descended from Sheikh Seffy, and related of course in various degrees to the family on the throne of Persia; and with them, by the whole of the principal inhabitants, who presented themselves for the discharge of every office of zeal and service, during his stay at Ardebeil, where he remained, accordingly, for the period of one whole week. From thence he prosecuted his journey successively to Khelkhaul, Taurom, and Jezzerbeil; at which latter place, celebrated for the mild temperature of its climate, and the deliciousness of its fruits, particularly for a species of

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A. H. 951. pomegranate without stones, he continued for three days. Nothing  
 A. D. 1544. further is related of his journey until he appeared again at Subbuzwaur,  
 Abûl Fazzel. where he re-joined the main body of his followers, and where he found  
 that his beloved consort had produced him a daughter. During the  
 whole of his progress he continued to experience from the local author-  
 ities, and from all classes of the inhabitants, the same unabated respect  
 and attention, and a degree of hospitality, which appeared to increase  
 rather than diminish with the exercise, so long as he remained within  
 the limits of the Persian monarchy. From Subbuzwaur Homayûn pro-  
 ceeded once more to Mûsh-hedd, where he now continued for some  
 time, awaiting the re-union of the troops under Shahzâdah Mûraud,  
 who were to accompany him on his return towards the frontiers of Hin-  
 dûstaun.

Avoiding all further minuter digressions,\* we shall proceed to relate  
 that quitting Mûsh-hedd by the route of the Karvanserâi of Terek,  
 and the fortress of Gâh, and leaving Herât, on this occasion, apparently  
 on the right hand, Homayûn finally re-entered Seiestaun; on the bor-  
 ders of which he was now joined, according to appointment, by the  
 force under the Persian Shahzâdah, and the Ameirs who accompa-  
 nied him. Not long afterwards the whole proceeded together into the  
 district of Gurrum-seyr. On the present occasion, very differently  
 from what formerly occurred, Abdûl Hey, or Heya, the intendant of  
 the district, hastened from his castle of Lukki, and with a bow sus-  
 pended to his neck, cast himself at the feet of Homayûn, making the  
 most abject apologies for his conduct in declining to present himself  
 to his sovereign, when on his retreat into Persia. The same liberal  
 spirit, and indulgence towards the errors of others, which uniformly  
 distinguished the actions of this humane monarch, led him as usual to  
 accept of the apologies of his repentant vassal, and to admit him once  
 more into favor.

In this place it may have been very proper to put upon record the

\* While he remained at Mûsh-hedd on this occasion, he dispatched Moulana Nûr-ud-dein Mahommed Terkhan, to invite Sheikh Abûl Kaussem Jûrjauny, and Moulana Êlias Ardebeily both of them eminently distinguished for their talents and learning, to his court; and it was in consequence of this that they subsequently joined him, on his return to Kabûl, where they became engaged in completing the memoirs contained in the Dourret ul tauje.

names of those faithful nobles and others who, stedfast in their allegiance, had adhered to the fortune of their sovereign, during the short, and certainly not very troublesome exile, from which he was now so happily returned. Among these the first, and not the least distinguished in fidelity and zeal, was the able and gallant Beyram Khaun. Next was Khanjah Mauzzem, half brother to the Princess Hameidah Sûltan, the mother of Akbar. This person had, however from the first, indicated a very turbulent disposition, and in the sequel, as will be seen in its proper place, could not be prevented from engaging in the most unwarrantable scenes of blood and depravity. Next in the enumeration is Aukkel Sûltan, the son of Auddel Sûltan the Ouzbek, who was a grandson, by the mother's side, of Sûltan Hûseyne Mirza of Khorassaun. This person also, it is discouraging to remark, although in the outset eminent in zeal, became in the issue notorious for his ingratitude. Fourth was Hadjy Mahommed Koukah, the brother of one who had held the most distinguished rank among the Ameirs of the court of Bâber. Hadjy Mahommed was himself a man of the most exalted personal courage; and Shah Tahmasp was repeatedly heard to declare that such were the men, of whom, if possessed of the choice, it behoved every discreet and prudent monarch to make the selection for the employments of his government. He was no less remarkable for his activity and skill in every species of manly exercise, and he received from the Shah, during his residence in Persia, the premium for striking, or throwing, the Kebek in the game of Kebek-andauzy, as formerly noted. Fifth was Roushen Koukah, who discharged the office of Koukeltaush in the household of Homayûn, and, during the journey to Persia, was for some time entrusted with the care of the imperial jewels. Certain embezzlements being, however, discovered to have taken place in the precious deposit consigned to his care, he was, for several days, placed under restraint; although finally pardoned through the unexhausted lenity of an indulgent master. Sixth was Hussun Beg, the brother of Mohurrem Koukah, one of those who perished in the fatal discomfiture on the Joussa. He was a man of the purest morals, and most liberal disposition, and although in the office of Koukeltaush to Mirza Kamraun, yet chose to attach himself inseparably to the fortunes of Homayûn. Seventh was Khau-

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jah Meksoud, a native of Herât. This was a person also of the strictest integrity, and most unblemished life, in consideration of which he became particularly attached to the suite of the princess Hameidah Sûltan, by the side of whose litter he usually rode during the journey. He was, moreover, the father of Seffy Khaun and Zeyne Khaun, two noblemen who rose to distinguished rank under the succeeding reign of Akbar, the former being, however, killed in the campaign of Gûjerât. Eighth was Khaujah Ghauzy the Tebrizian, distinguished for his skill in arithmetic, and the science of numbers. He was also well acquainted with history, and the memorials of former times. At the period when Homayûn withdrew from Lahour towards the lower Indus, this person forsook the party of Mirza Kamraun, and attached himself to the destiny of his legitimate sovereign; by whom he was placed at the head of his exchequer. Subsequent to that, however, he was for a long time banished the royal presence; but towards the decline of life, when strength and intellect became equally impaired, he was nevertheless admitted to the court of Akbar. Ninth was Ameir-uddein Mahmoud, also a native of Heraut, not less distinguished for his skill in arithmetic, than for his unparalleled dexterity in arranging the most perplexing, and intricate accounts. He was moreover extremely skilful in writing the Shekustah, or running-hand, usually employed in correspondence, or other matters requiring celerity and dispatch. For some time he was placed by Homayûn in the appointment of Bukhshy, at a subsequent period, about the person of young Akbar during his minority; and the latter prince, on his accession to the throne, advanced him to the highest dignities of the state, ultimately bestowing upon him the proud title of Khaun-e-jahaun. Tenth was Bâba Doust the Bukhshy, also a very skilful accountant, which he sufficiently proved by his protracted services in the office of the Exchequer. Eleventh was Derwaish Mahommed Bungally. He belonged to one of the religious establishments at Herât, was a person of singular simplicity of manners, and of the soundest principles. He had been left with Jahaunguir Kûly Beg in Bengal, and was the only person who exerted himself to make good his escape from that province to the presence of his master. Twelfth was Husun Ally Eyshek Agassy, [first master of the ceremonies] distinguish-

ted for his undaunted courage and invincible intrepidity of mind. This officer had repeatedly signalized his zeal and attachment by the most meritorious services ; but a favorite youth in the train of Homayûn, of the name of Yâgoub, having been privately assassinated in an old building near Tebreiz, by some Kuzzulbaush, or ordinary Persians, and a misunderstanding being known to subsist between Hussun Ally and the minion, he became implicated in the crime of murder; and for this reason being prevented from accompanying the imperial standard on its departure, he was under the necessity of remaining in Irâk: although, at a subsequent period, when Homayûn had been reinstated in his authority at Kabûl, he was again admitted to the presence.

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Thirteenth, in this enumeration, was Ally Doust Baurbeggy, the son of the just mentioned Hussun Ally. He followed the imperial standard to Mûsh-hed, and continued, from first to last, to evince his attachment by the most zealous services. Fourteenth was Ibrauhim Eyshek Agassy, another of the gentlemen ushers perhaps, and one of the most zealously devoted among the servants of the imperial court. Fifteenth, Sheikh Yûssuf Jouly, or Tchouly, who claimed his descent from Sheikh Ahmed Yessûi. He was a man of independent spirit, and unblemished manners. Sixteenth, Sheikh Behlowul, descended from some of the most venerated Sheikhs of Tartary. He was also an officer of considerable merit. Seventeenth, Moulana Nûr-ud-dein, a person not inadequately skilled in astronomy and geometry ; and having at an early period accompanied Kauzzy Bûrhaun, the Khowaufite, to the court of the late Emperor Bâber, he became in time a frequent associate in the convivial parties of Homayûn. He ultimately received from Akbar the distinguished title of Terkhan. Eighteenth was Mahommed Kaussem Mou-tchei, who, at a subsequent period, served with considerable distinction, under Homayûn, in Buddukhshaun. He was nearly related to Meir Mahommed Tchalabaun, and in the province just mentioned, was employed in the same branch of service, apparently that of director of the barges, perhaps of pontoneer. In Hindûstaun, on the accession of Akbar, he became Meir Bahar, or prefect of the marine, or admiral: and building a beautiful and splendid villa, on the banks of the Jown, or Jumna, he there quietly conducted his frail bark to the harbour of death. Nineteenth, Heyder Mahommed Aukhtah Beggy, one of those

A. H. 951. grown old in the service of the imperial court. Twentieth, Seyud  
 A. D. 1544. Mahommed Tekkeiah, a very brave officer, singularly expert in every  
 Abûl Fazzel. martial exercise, and, accordingly, he bore away the prize at Herât, in  
 the game of Kebekandauzy. Twenty-first, Seyud Mahommed Kauly,  
 a native of the just mentioned city of Herât. For a few days while  
 at Bukkur, he was invested with the office of Ameir-e-auddel—min-  
 ister of justice; and he was included in the number of those admitted  
 to a seat, in the imperial circle. Twenty-second, Hafez Sûltan Ma-  
 hommed, surnamed Rûkhnah—the fracture, perhaps fracturer. This  
 person had joined Homayûn near Bukkur, in the disguise of a men-  
 dicant, and apparently made himself known by reciting two favorite  
 couplets in verse. Becoming enrolled among the Eytcheks, he en-  
 joyed considerable favor under the succeeding reign of Akbar. Ne-  
 vertheless engaged in the rebellion at Sehrind, it would be unworthy  
 of the subject of these pages to take any further notice of such an  
 ingrate. Twenty-third, Mirza Beg, the Belowtch, whose father had  
 enjoyed in Khorassaun, the dignity of head of the tribe of that name.  
 Twenty-fourth, Ameir Hûsseyne, the son of the abovenamed Be-  
 lowtch. Twenty-fifth, Khaujah Amber Nauzer—an eunuch, super-  
 intendant of the department of the women to Homayûn; and he re-  
 ceived from Akbar the title of Ettebaur Khaun. He was moreover  
 one of the chamberlains attached to the retinue of the princess Ha-  
 meidah Sûltan. [Merreiam-makauny]. Twenty-sixth, Aurref Tou-  
 shek-tchei—keeper of the wardrobe. He was a Maumlûk, but pro-  
 fessed to be of the race of the Seyuds. Under the authority of Akbar,  
 he obtained the title of Pahar Khaun, and was otherwise employed in  
 appointments of the highest trust. The author concludes his list  
 with the names of twelve others, domestics and household slaves,  
 whom it would be here unnecessary to particularize.

Let us now, for a moment, attend to the effect produced on the con-  
 duct of his adversaries, by the rumours which announced the return  
 of Homayûn. The instant, then, the alarm was communicated to  
 Mirza Kamraun, considering that the crisis of reconciliation was long  
 since past, the first idea that occurred to him was to secure the person  
 of the infant Akbar; and for this purpose, the brother of Khuzzer Khaun,  
 Hazaurah was immediately dispatched, to convey the young prince-

from Kandahaur to Kabùl. On the arrival of this person at Kandahaur, the object of his mission occasioned some debate in the councils of Mirza Asskery, many endeavoring to dissuade him from the impolicy of sending away the young prince; whom, on the contrary, they urged him by every consideration to detain at Kandahaur, as the surest instrument of reconciliation with his elder brother; since by restoring the child to its august parent, he could always ensure forgiveness for the errors of his former conduct. Others maintained, however, that it was his interest to comply with the views of Kamraun, without the smallest reserve; since the nature of his dispute with Homyùn, was such as to preclude all hope of effectual reconciliation, by whatever means attempted.

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Unhappily the latter opinion prevailed with Mirza Asskery; and the young prince was accordingly sent off towards Kabùl, in the midst of rain and snow, and in the very depth of winter. He was accompanied, at the same time, by his infant sister Bukhshy Baunù Begum, and his two principal nurses, Jeijy Auttekah, the mother, as we have already observed, of Mirza Azziz Koukeltaush, and Mauhem Auttekah the mother of Audhem Khaun, and most of his other attendants; at the head of whom was Shums-ud-dein Mahmoud of Gheznein, the husband of his favorite nurse, who was distinguished by the title of Auttekah Khaun. To preserve the greater secrecy in the transaction, they were instructed to address the infant prince by the appellation of Meirek, and his sister by that of Beitchah; nevertheless, on their arrival at Kolut one of the first stages; and putting up at the habitation of one of the Hazaurahs, or native chiefs, for the night, the exalted rank of the royal child was discovered by the simple majesty alone which beamed on his forehead; and the master of the house could not withhold himself from proclaiming, the very next morning, that the heir apparent of the throne had reposed under his roof the night before. In consequence of this discovery, the brother of Khezzer Khaun, who had charge of the escort, conceived it expedient to hasten the journey towards Gheznein, and finally to Kabùl; where the whole arrived without accident, not long afterwards. The royal infant was there lodged by Mirza Kamraun in the mansion of Khaunzâdah Begum, the sister of Bâber;

A. H. 951. and, on the following day, at a public audience in the garden of She-  
 A. D. 1544. her-ará, his princely nephew was introduced into his presence.  
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Without, however, enlarging on the particulars of this interview, during which the little Akbar was put to wrestle with his cousin Ibrauhim Mirza, the son of Mirza Kamraun, from whom, although his elder by several years, he bore away the prize of a painted kettle-drum; nor on the consequent mortification of Kamraun, since it might be construed to prognosticate future more important triumphs, it will be more satisfactory to return to the proceedings of Homayûn and his Persian auxiliaries, subsequent to their entrance into Gurrumseyr. The first object, then, towards which they turned their views, was the siege and reduction of Bost, here described to be included in the territory of Gurrumseyr, and subordinate to the provincial government of Kandahaur. Seyud Ally Sûltan Teklû, or Toklû, a Persian commander, with a division of his countrymen, was selected for the execution of this piece of service; and that officer proceeded accordingly to invest the fortress in question, which was defended for Mirza Kamraun by the two local jaguirdaurs, Shauhém Jullâeir, and Meir Khilidje. As he was, however one day, directing the operations of the siege, the Persian commander was unfortunately killed by a musquet shot from the works of the town; but instead of discouraging, this circumstance appears to have added fresh stimulus to the ardor of the besiegers; since they continued their exertions with greater activity than ever, after conferring the command on the son of the fallen general, although a youth of not more than twelve years of age, and at the same time dispatching to announce to the Persian court, a report of what had happened. Not many days afterwards, the garrison finding themselves gradually straitened in their resources within, and entirely cut off from all hope of relief from without, determined to convey to Homayûn proposals of submission; to which, through his accustomed lenity, he readily acceded. Homayûn now encamped under the walls of the fort; and the two commanders, Shauhém Jullâeir and Meir Khilidje, being conducted to his presence, each with a quiver suspended to his throat, were not only admitted to pardon, but generously enrolled among the vassals of the empire.

While Homayûn remained encamped near Bost, on this occasion, a



report was circulated that Mirza Asskery was collecting his treasure, and preparing to withdraw towards Kabûl, and a great part of the Persian auxiliaries, with not a few of the royal troops, were not to be restrained, in consequence, from hastening immediately to Kandahaur; although Homayûn himself, on the faith of undoubted intelligence, and peradventure from a wish that his brother's retreat might be unmolested, expressly assured them, on the contrary, that Mirza Asskery was determined to maintain his ground to the very last extremity. The result was as might have been expected. For, appearing before Kandahaur like a disorderly rabble unprepared to meet with resistance in any shape, these refractory bands found themselves suddenly exposed to a tremendous discharge of canon and small arms, from all the works that could be brought to bear upon them. Their loss in killed and wounded was severe; and it is probable that they would have been entirely cut to pieces by the garrison, part of which had sallied from the town to attack them, were it not for the activity and exertions of some distinguished officers, both Moghûl and Persian, who hastened to cover their retreat, and succeeded with some difficulty in repulsing the assailants.

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The consequences might, indeed, have been more extensively fatal, if Mirza Asskery had not obstinately disregarded the pressing importunities of Jemeil Beg, one of his best officers; who sent to intreat that he would himself come down from the fort at the head of the remainder of his troops, and take a part in the action—assuring him of the utter disparity of the force opposed to him, and that this once disposed of, there would remain but little further to do. Fortunately, Mirza Asskery entertained an opinion that his adversaries were too well acquainted with the strength and circumstances of the garrison of Kandahaur, to expose themselves to such unwarrantable risks. He expressed his conviction that the force of Homayûn was not limited to the number which had now shewn themselves—and that, without a doubt, they were well supported by ambuscades in the rear, prepared to act the moment the occasion might require it. He was therefore, as he alleged, not so inexperienced as to become the dupe of such a feint; on the contrary, that he should attend the more cautiously to the security of his post, and decline all hazard of a contest in the open plain, until he should be joined by Mirza Kamraun.

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Thus happily rescued from that imminent destruction to which, by a criminal disregard of discipline, and the sordid love of pillage, they had so rashly exposed themselves, the troops of Homayûn had perhaps some cause to rejoice in their unmerited escape, as in a sort of victory. At all events, Homayûn himself was not unmindful of the gracious interposition of providence in this early manifestation of favor. Not many days afterwards he broke up from his encampment before Bost; and on saturday the seventh of Mohurrem, of the nine hundred and fifty second of the hidjerah,\* he appeared at the head of his whole force, under the walls of Kandahaur; fixing his head quarters in the garden of Shums-ud-dejn Ally, the Kauzzy of the town, obliquely fronting the Derwauzzah-Mashour—gate of the cloth-workers, or perhaps weavers. Arrangements were expedited, without a moment's delay, for the commencement of the siege—the ground for opening the trenches was regularly divided—the proper officers were nominated to superintend the operations—and partial conflicts daily occurred in the environs of the place, between the troops of the garrison and their besiegers.

To enter at length into the minutix of the operations of a siege, although pregnant with interest and amusement to a particular class, might nevertheless prove oppressively tedious to the generality of readers. We shall therefore confine our narrative to such particular passages as may be essentially necessary to the illustration of the subject before us. Finding, then, that Mirza Asskery seemed determined on resisting to the last extremity, Homayûn, when he had continued for some time before Kandahaur, conceived that it might yet be possible, by opening a correspondence once more with Mirza Kamraun, to recal the brothers to a sense of their common interests; and for this purpose he selected his faithful general Beyram Khaun, who was accordingly instructed to proceed to Kabûl, with two confidential letters which he was to deliver to Mirza Kamraun. After experiencing some obstruction from the Hazaurah tribes between Kandahaur and Gheznein, whom he succeeded in chastising for their insolence, Beyram Khaun finally reached Kabûl; where he was honorably received, and permitted without restraint, to execute the objects of his mission. Among other indulgences, of which, on particular application, he was allow-

\* 20th of March 1545.

ed to avail himself, was a visit to the hope of the empire, the yet innocent and princely Akbar; and this indulgence was at the same time extended to separate interviews with the Mirzas Híndal, and Súli-man, and Yadgaur Nausser, and Olúgh Mirza, all of them residing, at this period, at Kabûl, although not all under circumstances of equal freedom from restraint.

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When, however, he had detained him at Kabûl for about six weeks, in a state of indecision between the belief of his inability to contend any longer against his brother, with any prospect of success, and the fatality by which he was irresistibly withheld from hastening to be reconciled to him, Mirza Kamraun, after a thousand importunities, at last consented to the departure of Beyram Khaun. But this consent does not appear to have been even then obtained, before he had prevailed upon Khaunzaudah Begum, the elder sister of the emperor Bâber, already spoken of as entrusted with the care of young Akbar, to accompany the envoy to Kandahaur; ostensibly, because, as he pretended that his advice had but little weight with Mirza Asskery, the intreaties, the remonstrances, of this respectable lady on the spot, might have the desirable effect of inducing him to surrender the place to Homayûn; but, in reality, should circumstances finally concur to put this important place in possession of the imperial troops, to intercede with the emperor for the present indemnity of his perfidious brother; who was, in truth, actuated in his determined resistance, by the express instructions of Kamraun.

In the mean time, Mirza Asskery, who was already sufficiently disposed to concur in the hostile designs of Kamraun, was devoting all the resources in his power towards a vigorous defence of Kandahaur, having planted a numerous and well appointed artillery on the fortifications, in every direction. The place was in itself, as stated in the narrative, extremely strong; the ramparts being no less than sixty cubits thick, and constructed, from the plinth upwards probably, of masses of clay dried in the sun, of all materials the most difficult of subversion by the effect of artillery. The Moghûls from without were, however, not less indefatigable in their exertions, which excited the astonishment and applause of the Túrkman, who composed perhaps the strength of the Persian auxiliaries; and who were impelled

A. H. 952. by the examples of dauntless intrepidity thus placed before them, to  
 A. D. 1545. emulate the exertions of their allies. Nevertheless, owing to the able  
 Abûl Fazzel. and vigilant precautions of Mirza Asskery who, to prevent all possibility of collusion with the besiegers, although it evinced considerable want of confidence in the attachment of his followers, never permitted the same guards to occupy the same post upon the works for more than one day, successively, the Persian generals, perceiving, that the siege was protracted far beyond their expectation, and that of all the imperial vassals not one yet appeared disposed to join the standard of Homayûn, began to grow tired of the service, and to agitate the design of returning homewards.

Happily, from some circumstances in the conduct of these auxiliaries, discovering the design in agitation, Homayûn determined to push the operations of the siege with additional vigor; and for this purpose, removing one night from the entrenchment which he usually occupied before the town, he effected a lodgement on the side of the old city of Kandâhaur; where he immediately threw up a strong and formidable breast-work, within a stone's throw of one of the principal gates, near what was denominated the Tchaur-derrah—the four passages; perhaps the Barbican.\* On the following morning the Tûrkmauns in the service of the Persian monarch, observing the boldness and ability with which this operation had been executed; in a moment resolved to make a desperate effort at once to carry the place; and rushing forward accordingly, from all sides, pressed so daringly inward on that particular point of his defences, that Mirza Asskery became beyond measure alarmed at his danger. Under these apprehensions he therefore conceived it immediately expedient to dispatch, by a certain Meir Tauher, the brother of Khaujah Doust Khawund, a letter to Homayûn, requesting a cessation of hostilities, until the arrival of their common aunt Khaunzâdah Begum, then on her way from Kabûl; through whose introduction he alleged that he should be able to present himself to his offended brother, with greater self-possession, and confidence of a kind reception. To this, with his usual generosity, Homayûn very imprudently consented; and the garrison being thus left for several days unmolested, the perfidious Asskery proceeded in secret, under

\* With equal probability it might have led to four passes in the neighboring mountains.

his mask of affected humility, to add every possible repair and strength to his works.

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On the arrival of Beyram Khaun, accompanied by the same Khaun-zâdah, Mirza Asskery, however, contrary to the faith of his engagements, and to the urgent intreaties of that respectable female, who had been permitted to enter the fort on a visit to her nephew; suddenly threw off his mask of moderation, and resumed his original plans of determined and unabating hostility; in which he carried his presumption to the extremity of detaining his venerable relative in the fort of Kandahaur, instead of allowing her to return to the camp of Homayûn. Convinced therefore at length, that he had nothing to expect from this unnatural brother but unmitigable animosity, that monarch now resumed the operations of the siege with greater activity than ever.



In the mean time, while things were thus drawing to a crisis, the prospects of Homayûn were not a little improved by the arrival of Olûgh Mirza, the son of Mahommed Sûltan Mirza; a grandson by the female line, of Mirza Sûltan Hûseyne of Herât, so often mentioned in these pages. To him were added Sheir-afkunn Beg, the son of Kouje Beg, and Fezzeil Beg, brother of Munnâeim, or Monneym, Khaun, and Meir Berrekah, and Mirza Hussun Khaun, both sons of Meir Abdullah, one of the Seyuds of the Subbuzwaury branch of the Benni Mokhtaur; with many others who had recently quitted Kabûl, and rejoiced in the opportunity of once more appearing in the presence of their acknowledged sovereign.

Mirza Kamraun had, it seems, for a short time past, thought it expedient to place the person of Olûgh Mirza under a sort of restraint at large; consigning him for the greater security, week and week about, to the custody of some particular individual who became responsible for his safe keeping. When, however, the charge of this obnoxious, or suspected chief, devolved to Sheir Afkunn, that officer, who labored also under some apprehensions with respect to the displeasure of Mirza Kamraun, at once determined on the liberation of his prisoner; and, together with the individuals just mentioned, accompanied him, without further delay, in his flight to Kandahaur; where, it would be almost unnecessary to remark, they were all very graciously received by Homayûn. Olûgh Mirza was rewarded, in particular, by an imme-

A. H. 952. diate grant of the territory of Dawer, doubtless that which is distin-  
 A. D. 1545. guished in the maps by the appellation of Rauer, and of which Bost is  
 Abûl Fazzel. the chief town. Kaussem Hûseyne Sûltaun the Ouzbek had quitted  
 Kabûl at the same time, indeed, with the other fugitives, on this occa-  
 sion, but losing his way in the night, and wandering into the Hazaurahs,  
 or Afghan establishments in the neighborhood, he did not reach  
 the camp before Kandahaur for some days afterwards; when he made  
 his appearance in wretched plight, miserably lame, and plundered of  
 every thing which he had about him.

Not long after this, Duddah, or perhaps Dawah, Beg, one of the  
 Hazaurah chiefs, together with the whole of his tribe, joined Homayûn,  
 bringing letters from the greater part of the Ameirs and principal  
 inhabitants at Kabûl. This circumstance produced the most lively  
 satisfaction throughout the Moghûl camp, and altogether removed  
 every symptom of discontent from among the Persian auxiliaries, who  
 were thus induced, afresh, to unite cordially in the general effort to  
 obtain possession of Kandahaur. The garrison had, moreover, by this  
 time, relaxed very perceptibly in the vivacity of their resistance; and,  
 by billets attached to their arrows, conveyed from the ramparts daily  
 intelligence of the proceedings of Mirza Asskery, and encouraged the  
 besiegers to persevere in their exertions, since their adversaries were  
 already reduced to the very extremity of distress.

Matters, indeed, arrived at such a crisis at last, that Asskery's most  
 distinguished officers, one after another, began to desert him, followed  
 by the cannoniers and foot soldiers, who contrived to let themselves  
 down from the works, and escape into the country. The first to set the  
 example among the Ameirs was Khezzer Khaujah Khaun, who seized  
 the earliest favorable opportunity to precipitate himself from one of  
 the bastions, which lay nearest to that part of the trenches occupied by  
 Homayûn, and to throw himself upon the mercy of that generous  
 monarch. Next came Múeyud Beg, who let himself down from the  
 ramparts by a rope, and sought the royal presence. These were follow-  
 ed by Issmâeil Beg, formerly attached to the court of the emperor Bâ-  
 ber, and who was equally distinguished in the council and in the field.  
 He was accompanied, on this occasion, by Abûl Hussun Beg, the ne-  
 phew of Karatchah Khaun, and by Mûnower Beg the son of Nour Beg.

In the course of one of the following nights, Khezzer Khaun Hazaurah also effected his escape from the fort, and retired towards the mountains of Lekky, followed by between two and three thousand of the men of his tribe. He was, however, pursued at day-light by some of the troops of Homayûn, and narrowly escaped capture by concealing himself in the cavity of a rock.

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It became thus pretty evident that the fort of Kandahaur could not be much longer defended against the returning re-ascendancy of Homayûn's fortune, and the persevering devotion of his troops; and Mirza Asskery being at length awakened from his dream of security and strength, it is very possible that he should have experienced considerable embarrassment in the midst of so many difficulties, convinced as he was that he now possessed neither the means of escape, nor the power of opposing the progress of the besiegers any longer. In this extremity, he sent to make known to Homayûn that he was ready to deliver up the fort into his hands, demanding, at the same time, that he might be permitted to withdraw towards Kabûl. To this, however, Homayûn peremptorily refused to accede; and Asskery perceiving that any attempt to over-reach was now in vain, finally resolved to avail himself of the only alternative left, in the mediation of Khaunzâdah Begum, who was accordingly sent out to intercede for pardon with Homayûn. As appears to have been early foreseen, the intermediation of this respectable princess produced the desired effect in his favor; and a promise was obtained, in compliance with her intreaties, that the multiplied injuries of which this perverse and perfidious man had been the occasion, should be again forgiven.

On Thursday the twenty fifth of the latter Jummaudy, of the nine hundred and fifty second of the hidjerah,\* Mirza Asskery, relying upon the assurances thus obtained, ventured, without further demur, to accompany his venerable relative to the camp of Homayûn; by whom, in the presence of all his officers, and of the generals of the Kuzzulbaush, his Persian auxiliaries, severally arranged according to their stations, he was received with awful formality. Previous to his introduction he had indeed been compelled, in the first instance, to submit to a very degrading ceremony, the faithful Beyram Khaun being instructed to

\* 2d of September, 1545.

A. H. 952. suspend a naked sword to his neck, in which state the humbled prince  
 A. D. 1545. was then ushered into the presence of his royal brother. Yes! exclaims  
 Abûl Fazzel. our author, notwithstanding the repeated proofs of mortal hostility  
 which he had experienced at his hands, and in obvious disregard of the  
 best interests of his government, and the common maxims of prudence  
 which sustain the basis of thrones and empires, Homayûn, yielding to  
 the mere impulse of his own compassionate disposition, at once consented  
 to cancel the black catalogue of offences accumulated upon his  
 ungrateful brother; at the same moment evincing a desire to overwhelm  
 him afresh with the most abundant proofs of kindness and generosity,  
 to be returned, on the very first occasion, by the same course of treason  
 and disloyalty.

It was, however, from a sense of gratitude to heaven for this first  
 substantial proof of returning prosperity, that Homayûn is said to have  
 been determined in his earliest indications of indulgence towards the  
 crimes of his brother, and he began by directing that the sword which  
 hung suspended to his neck, should be removed; after which, and the  
 due performance of the usual ceremonies of personal homage, as to his  
 sovereign lord, he was permitted to seat himself. This dispatched,  
 Mahommed Khaun Jullâeir, and Shauhém Khaun, and Mokeym  
 Khaun, and Shah-e-Seiestaun, together with thirty more of the principal  
 individuals of the garrison, with their swords and quivers also  
 suspended to their throats, were next conducted to the presence of  
 Homayûn, before whom they were then permitted to make their prostrations.  
 Of these, Mokeym Khaun and Shah-e-Seiestaun were ordered to be detained,  
 and what is here called a Zhûlaunah to be fastened from their feet to the neck;  
 but what sort of fastenings these constituted, unless they were gyves, we  
 cannot explain. And thus, at all events, after an irregular sort of siege,  
 of about five months and ten or twelve days, the important fortress of  
 Kandahaur was placed at the disposal of Homayûn.

The whole of the succeeding night, to the dawn of the following day,  
 was devoted, it seems, to celebrate this welcome prelude to future  
 triumphs, with all the fascinations of vocal and instrumental music; in  
 the course of which the most admired singers and musicians then known  
 were employed to dispel the recollection of past calamities, and to re-



cite, from ancient lore, all that might serve as an example for the future. When, however, the entertainment was at its height, and the minds of all were elevated to the most exalted pitch of convivial enjoyment, a letter which had been written by Mirza Asskery to the Beloutchies and other roving tribes, at the period when Homayûn had taken to the bordering desert, was designedly produced, by the monarch's instructions, and communicated to his brother through some of the guests. From a state of comparative happiness, the wretched man was instantly thrown into one of the bitterest mortification and regret. In short, it was finally resolved that Asskery should be detained in custody for some time, and at regular periods brought to make his obeisances at court; until, deriving instruction from salutary restraint, a returning sense of duty might entitle him to a more extended enjoyment of the royal clemency.

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In the course of the day following Homayûn, accompanied by Mahommed Mûraud Mirza, and the other Persian commanders, made his public entry into Kandahaur, where he fixed his abode for that and the three succeeding days. On the fourth day, in concurrence with the secret arrangements of his own breast, and possibly not less in discharge of his engagements with the Persian monarch, he finally delivered up the city to Mûraud Mirza, and withdrew, himself, to the gardens laid out by his father on the river Arghundaub in the neighborhood. And here, in the refreshing shade of the groves and plantations, he proceeded to inspect the accounts now laid before him of the accumulated treasure and various effects of Mirza Asskery; the whole of which, with his usual disinterested liberality, he immediately distributed to relieve the numerous wants of his followers.

In the mean time, on intelligence of the reduction of Kandahaur, and a report that Homayûn was preparing to march towards Kabûl, Mirza Kamraun took the alarm; and suddenly removing the young Akbar from the mansion of Khaunzâdah Begum, where he had hitherto resided, to his own palace within the castle of Kabûl, he there consigned him to the care of his own favorite consort. At the same time, seizing the person of Shums-ud-dein Mahommed, or Mahmoud, of Gheznein, well known by the title of Auttekah\* Khaun, from his situ-

\* Foster-father perhaps.

A. H. 952. ation about the person of the young prince, he threw him into a prison, or  
 A. D. 1545. dungeon, where he was exposed to every species of indignity and incon-  
 Abûl Fazzel. venience. He then proceeded to consult with his Ameirs as to the mea-  
 sures which it would be advisable to adopt with regard to Mirza Sûliman,  
 whom he had deprived of the government of Buddukhshaun. Mòulla  
 Abdul Khaulek, one of those who had been employed as the Mirza's  
 preceptors, and who had for some time despaired of being otherwise  
 admitted to hold any appointment of consequence in the state, boldly  
 recommended, that in order to conciliate the friendship of that prince  
 he should be immediately set at large, and the government of which  
 he had been divested freely restored to him; in the persuasion that, at  
 a moment of emergency, his assistance might prove of the most essen-  
 tial value.

Other circumstances, however, concurred at this crisis, very mate-  
 rially to hasten the enlargement of Mirza Sûliman; for, not many days  
 before, Meir Nuzzer Ally and other chiefs in Buddukhshaun, had con-  
 trived to possess themselves of the fortress of Zuffer, and to secure the  
 persons of Kaussem Berlas, and other officers employed in the govern-  
 ment of the province. Having so done, they dispatched to announce  
 to Mirza Kamraun, that if he sent Mirza Sûliman into the country he  
 should be immediately re-invested with the government; if not, that  
 the officers whom they held in custody should be put to death with-  
 out mercy, and the country delivered up to the Ouzbeks. In conse-  
 quence of this menace, Mirza Sûliman with his son Mirza Ibrauhim,  
 and his mother Hurrim Begum, was immediately set at large, and per-  
 mitted to proceed towards Buddukhshaun; but, when he had just  
 reached the station of Pâei-minaurah, a well-inhabited halting place  
 on the road, he was overtaken by a messenger from Mirza Kamraun,  
 who had already repented of this involuntary act of grace; and who  
 now requested that he would immediately return to Kâbûl, as he had  
 some affairs to communicate, of which it would be highly imprudent  
 to speak, but at a personal interview. With his suspicions awakened  
 by such a message, it would have been extraordinary if Mirza Sûliman  
 had submitted to put himself any more in the power of his oppressor;  
 and he therefore merely sent a letter to apologize for his refusal, and  
 to explain, that as he had at a happy conjuncture taken his leave, he

could not perceive any reasonable expediency for his return to Kabûl. In the mean time, he added, that if Mirza Kamraun had in reality any thing of importance to communicate, he trusted that there would be no difficulty in committing it to paper, and conveying it to him through some confidential person. Mirza Súliman then made the best of his way into Buddukhshaun, where he no sooner arrived than he openly cancelled all engagements with Kamraun.

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While his attention was yet occupied with these occurrences, the selfish and ambitious Kamraun was doomed to witness another serious defection, in the departure of Yadgaur Nausser; who also withdrew, about the same period, towards Buddukhshaun. In short, every circumstance seemed to indicate that fortune was at last preparing to retaliate upon this unhappy man, his own example of perfidy and ingratitude, insomuch that in the course of a very few days, not one of his kindred Mirzas remained about him, but Mirza Hindal; whom he therefore conceived it expedient to attach to his interests by all the proofs of confidence in his power to exhibit. To him, therefore, he devolved the charge of pursuing, and bringing back, the fugitive Yadgaur, assuring him, at the same time, under the most solemn pledge, that, of the territory in his present possession, and of all that might at any future period be reduced under his authority, one third part should be faithfully allotted to Mirza Hindal. To all these things, as far as words could be of any value, Hindal appeared to signify a very cordial assent; but, having been long since wearied out by the capricious fancies of Kamraun, he rejoiced in the first opportunity that offered to relieve himself: and he had, accordingly, no sooner passed the Pâeiminaurah, already mentioned, than, instead of proceeding in the direction of Buddukhshaun, he suddenly turned off to the left, and made the best of his way to join Homayûn.

This unexpected desertion threw Mirza Kamraun into the most embarrassing perplexity, and he seemed, for a time, to lose the faculty of attending to, or directing, the most ordinary affairs of his government; neither does there appear to have existed among his associates, or the officers of his court, a single individual sufficiently devoted to his welfare, to tell him one sincere, or wholesome truth. The greater part of his people, indeed, either wilfully closed their eyes upon his

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errors, or were incapable of perceiving what might contribute to relieve him from his embarrassments. Others who possessed sufficient judgment to distinguish the means by which his distresses might have been in some degree alleviated, were deterred, probably by their inferiority of rank and importance, from expressing their opinions. To speak more pointedly, for the lesson is rather instructive, Mirza Kamraun was exposed to two inconveniences, either of which in any situation would be sufficient to produce the most serious misfortunes. Some there were, as we have seen, who could not presume to address him under any circumstances. Others were of that class who, anxious to keep the prince in good humour, did not always find it seasonable to disclose what they knew for his interest; because, from his inveterate self-will and perverseness of disposition, they had experienced that the disclosure was never welcome, and that it usually ruffled his temper: a circumstance which they well knew to be uniformly succeeded by loss of rank and power, in some shape or other, to the unfortunate intruder. Never, continues our author, for a moment recollecting that it is, on the contrary, the surest proof of genuine zeal, and faithful attachment, to sacrifice every consideration of selfish convenience, to the welfare of him to whom we are bound by our allegiance—and that to govern their conduct by such unworthy considerations, at such a crisis, was the very worst of treasons. Thus, at all events, unendowed with the faculty of judging for himself by the lessons of experience, and destitute of the aid of disinterested and faithful counsellors to guide him in his actions, the unhappy Kamraun proceeded to accumulate one fatal error upon another, until his misfortunes became, at last, irretrievable.

Having, on the other hand, succeeded at length in arranging the affairs of Kandahaur, Homyân resolved, as soon as he found himself completely at leisure, to conduct his troops to the reduction of Kabûl; preparatory to which, he now broke up from his agreeable retreat in the gardens of Bâber, and removed to the Gûmbuz-e-seffeid, or white portico, in the mausoleum of Hussun Abdal, where he again encamped for the present. Here he continued to deliberate with his officers, for some time, on the best means of carrying his design into execution; while the greater part of the Persian auxiliaries, disgusted with the

tedious delays of the service, separated from the army without authority, and returned into their own country; and others, by their importunities, obtained a sort of constrained permission to follow the example. But worse than all; Bedaugh Khaun and the other Persian commanders, under the orders of the son of Shah Tahmasp, little regarding the impoverished state of the country, proceeded to exercise over the unfortunate inhabitants every species of violence and extortion; as if, by such unwarrantable practices, it were ever possible to secure a life of ease and undisturbed tranquillity. They were very shortly undeceived; for the oppressed inhabitants of the city in particular, of every class and description; hastened, without reserve, to lay their grievances before Homayûn, loudly demanding redress of injury. And here, as was very natural, the generous monarch felt himself under considerable embarrassment, lest, in satisfying the demands of justice by inflicting punishment on the oppressors, he might give offence to his good ally the king of Persia; or by suffering the guilty to escape entirely unpunished, they might be encouraged to extend their malpractices, an hundred-fold, against the unfortunates still subject to their authority—his conscience pretty distinctly reminding him that by this latter course, he should most surely incur the just vengeance of an offended God. Nevertheless, such were the difficulties of his situation, that he was in some measure constrained to postpone the redress of those grievances, until circumstances should arise more favorable to his just designs.

His arrangements for the expedition to Kabûl being now in sufficient forwardness, Homayûn sent to Bedaugh Khaun to request that some proper places, within the fort of Kandahaur, should be allotted for the accommodation of the women, and for the security of such effects as he should find it necessary to leave behind him. To this, with an ignorance of what was due to the situation of his illustrious suitor, for which, considering the terms in which the request was conveyed, there existed no apparent apology, the Persian commander peremptorily refused his consent. In consequence of this, the principal generals of Homayûn, unanimously declared that the possession of Kandahaur was a measure without alternative; since it was indispensably necessary, in the arduous undertaking in which they were about to engage, that their minds should be completely at rest, with regard to the security of all that they

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might be compelled to leave behind. Still anxious, however, to testify his gratitude for the services, and his regard for the virtues of Shah Tahmasp, Homayûn forbore to authorize any proceeding that might compromise the safety of his troops; and it was accordingly determined, that this contumacious refusal of the claims of hospitality, as it would very naturally appear to the Moghûls, should be left, together with preceding misdeeds, to that just retribution by which, at some period or other, it would doubtless be overtaken.

In the mean time, Mirza Mûraud the son of the king of Persia, who had nominally commanded the auxiliary force, paid the common debt of nature; and the ministers of Homayûn availed themselves of this circumstance, to renew their importunities with their sovereign—to represent that the winter was now at hand, and that the idea of carrying their families and effects with them through the intervening mountainous districts at such a season, appeared a dangerous, if not an impracticable scheme. They again therefore very pressingly urged the impolicy of leaving Kandahaur in the hands of the Tûrkomauns; now that the Persian prince was no more; and, especially, when their refractory disposition had been already proved in such a variety of instances, notwithstanding the express injunction which they had received to accompany the imperial standard in all its movements, and to devote their very existence, if necessary, to support the claims of their master's august ally. They further employed a multiplicity of arguments to give additional weight to their remonstrances; and among others they urged that it was totally unworthy of his imperial power, to withhold any longer that redress from the persecuted inhabitants of Kandahaur, which their injuries so loudly demanded. Neither was it probable, as they stated, that so just a proceeding should give offence to the respectable monarch who swayed the sceptre of Persia. They called upon him to recollect the distance of the march to Kabûl, and the number of Hazaurah tribes, and other Afghans, all hostile to his cause, who occupied the whole of the intervening territory; which rendered the possession of some place of security in their rear, a circumstance of vital importance; and so suitable to their purpose, in every respect, there did not in the whole country exist but one place, and that was Kandahaur. Last of all, they therefore proposed that

Bedaugh Khaun should be immediately required to deliver up that fortress by fair means; otherwise, they demanded that they might be permitted, without further delay, to take possession of it by force of arms. At the same time, they suggested that a letter might be dispatched to the court of Shah Tahmasp, apprizing him in friendly terms of the causes which had produced this apparently hostile proceeding; confident that that excellent prince, who was equally distinguished for his prudence and his love of justice, would entirely concur in the necessity.

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To Hadjy Mahommed Khaun Bâba Koushkah, who took the lead in these remonstrances, Homayûn repeated his repugnance to the employment of any violent measures, from an unwillingness to endanger the lives of any of the Shah's troops, in the service of Bedaugh Khaun; but he, nevertheless, signified his consent that some stratagem might be devised to obtain possession of the fort, if possible, without coming to actual hostility. A person was accordingly sent to announce to Bedaugh Khaun, that, as the imperial troops were about to take their departure, it had been found expedient that Mirza Asskery should be confined in the fortress of Kandahaur; and that it was expedient the Persian commander should take charge of him during their absence. To this, Bedaugh Khaun appears to have very readily assented; and it was immediately arranged that several divisions should then take their stations, secretly, on the different avenues leading to the town, under the following commanders, prepared to enter the place the moment an opportunity offered. Beyram Khaun took post with one division, near the Derwauzah Kendegaun. Olûgh Mirza and Hadjy Mahommed, with another division, lay before the Derwauzah Mashour; while Mûeyud Beg, with a third division, proceeded towards the Derwauzah Noujâei. Just at dawn of day, however, anticipating the enterprize of his brave associate, Hadjy Mahommed approached the Mashour gate, and a string of camels loaded with forage happening, fortunately, to be going in at the same moment, he promptly availed himself of the opportunity to enter, under cover of the packages thus conveniently presented to mask his approach. The keeper of the gate now came forward to oppose his entrance, and persevering in his endeavor to close the gate, notwithstanding it had been announced to him that, in conformity with orders from Bedaugh Khaun, it was

A. H. 952. the escort of Mirza Asskery conducting him into the fort, Hadjy Ma-  
 A. D. 1545. hommed at last drew his sword, and struck off his arm. A number of  
 Abûl Fazzel. the Moghûls had now reached the spot, and being opposed in consider-  
 able force by the Persians, who advanced, on the first alarm, to defend  
 the entrance into the city, a conflict of some obstinacy ensued, in  
 which many of the garrison were put to the sword; but, as Beyram  
 Khaun succeeded, about the same time, in forcing his way through  
 the Derwauzah-kendegan, the fortress was shortly afterwards in pos-  
 session of Homayûn's troops, the Persians retiring altogether into the  
 citadel.

At noon of the same day, Homayûn in person entered the city by  
 the same Derwauzah-kendegan, the gate of the dikes, or perhaps of the  
 engravers, ascending in the first instance the bastion, called the Aukh-  
 tchah tower; the whole of the inhabitants testifying their gratification  
 at the auspicious change by the loudest acclamations of joy. Very  
 shortly afterwards, at the intercession of Heyder Sûltan, the governor,  
 Bedaugh Khaun, was admitted to the presence of Homayûn; and having  
 made the requisite apologies for his contumacious behavior, was al-  
 lowed to return peaceably into his native country. Beyram Khaun  
 was then invested with the command of this important fortress, and a  
 letter immediately dispatched to Shah Tahmasp; advising him that  
 the late governor, regardless of the royal instructions of his sovereign,  
 having presumed to dispute the orders of Homayûn, it had been found  
 expedient to remove him, and to transfer the government of Kanda-  
 haur, to the same Beyram Khaun, still subject to the authority of the  
 Persian monarch.

In the mean time, unmindful of the clemency to which alone he was  
 indebted for the enjoyment of life, Mirza Asskery, taking advantage  
 of the moment in which all were so anxiously engaged in the design of  
 seizing Kandahaur, succeeded in effecting his escape from custody. In  
 a few days, however, an Afghan appeared at Kandahaur to announce  
 that the fugitive lay concealed in his dwelling, and to desire that the  
 proper persons might be sent to secure him—but in such a way as to  
 prevent him, the Afghan, from being suspected of having any concern in  
 the discovery. Shah Mirza and Khaujeh Amber were accordingly dis-  
 patched to the abode of the Afghan; where they found the unhappy



fugitive under a coarse blanket, from whence they brought him to the presence of his brother. Again impelled by the natural mildness of his own disposition, not less than by a religious regard to the dying instructions of their common father, Homayûn overlooked his offences; committing him, however afresh, to the custody of Nedeim Koukeltaush, one of those who enjoyed his particular confidence. The province of Kandahaur was now distributed among his principal generals according to the following allotment. The district of Puttery, or Pattery, was conferred upon Olûgh Mirza; that of Lehû fell to the share of Hadjy Mahommed Khaun; the territory of Dawer was assigned to Issmâeil Beg; Kulaut and its dependencies to Sheir Afkunn; Shaul to Heyder Sûltaun; and, in the same arrangement, all others of the imperial vassals, without exception, received particular jagueirs, every one according to his rank and station in the service.

Having adjusted the affairs of Kandahaur thus to his entire satisfaction, Homayûn now prepared for his actual departure on the expedition to Kabûl; and first of all, his attention was directed to provide a place of security for his royal consort, the mother of Akbar, who was accordingly conveyed to a suitable habitation within the fort. At this crisis, among the circumstances which contributed beyond his hopes to favor the designs of Homayûn, the following is described to have operated with most material advantage. A great Kauffelah, or caravan, of Merchants, from Hindûstaun, had recently arrived in the neighborhood; and having derived a profit, to the extent of their expectations, on the sale of the various commodities which they had brought to market, laid out a considerable part, if not the whole, in the purchase of a great number of horses of the breed of Irâk, from the Turkomauns who served with the troops of the king of Persia. The leading men of the caravan now proposed to Homayûn to accept of the whole of these, for the use of his army, on the sole proviso that they should be paid for, as soon as he should be again in possession of the throne of Dehly; rejoicing, as they said, in the opportunity of proving themselves, by this humble piece of service, among the most zealous advocates of the imperial cause. Considering this liberal and advantageous proposal as a signal instance of divine favor, Homayûn very readily agreed to it; and accordingly gave directions that promissory notes, at the discretion of

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the holder, should be made out, and delivered to the merchants, to the full amount of their demand. After which, proceeding in person to the summit of an eminence in the vicinity of Bâba Hussun Abdal, formerly mentioned, where the horses were probably conveyed for inspection, Olûgh Mirza, and Beyram Khaun, and Sheir Afkunn, and Heyder Mahommed, one of the equerries, there received orders, after making a selection for the royal stables, to permit the remainder to be distributed, to the principal officers first, and then to the troops in general. And thus was the matter adjusted, not less to the satisfaction of the dealers, than to the relief and accommodation of the whole army.

Homayûn was thus enabled to commence his march, without further delay, towards Kabûl, proceeding to the neighborhood, in the first instance, of the castle, or fortress, of Sattery, or Pattery; where, in consequence of the previous arrangements of their chief, Duddah, or Dabab, Beg Hazaurah, formerly mentioned, he found the inhabitants so well disposed to do him every kind of service, and the country in other respects so extremely agreeable, that he determined to remain there for some time, in order to repose and recreate himself. From thence, having discharged the last solemn duties to the remains of his illustrious kinswoman, Khaunzâdah Begum, who died at this place after an illness of some duration, Homayûn prosecuted his march, apparently without interruption, until compelled to suspend it by an alarming mortality which, from some insalubrity in the climate, and the inclemency of the season, attacked and carried off great numbers of the troops, and among others of some distinction, the Heyder Sûltaun occasionally mentioned above.

Mirza Hindal, it may be necessary to observe, had previously joined his royal brother in the neighborhood of Kandahaur, and had been received by him with the humanity and indulgence inseparable from his character. The arrival of this prince had, indeed, produced more than ordinary satisfaction throughout the army; and, what was of no little importance, had set the example of desertion among the most distinguished officers in the service of Mirza Kamraun, to such a degree, that they now quitted Kabûl, and came over to his adversaries in entire squadrons. The severity of the weather appearing, however, to increase, instead of abating, Mirza Hindal, although the followers in his

train were but comparatively few in number, took the liberty of representing to Homayún that it was advisable to return to Kandahaur until the close of winter; and that it was obviously more consistent with prudence to defer the expedition to Kabúl to the commencement of the ensuing spring, when they would be able to prosecute the design in more favorable weather, and with recruited strength and improved equipments. Homayún at first said not a word in reply; but the moment the conference broke up at which this opinion was broached, he dispatched a message to the Mirza, by Seyud Berrekah, to the following effect. The monarch desired it might be remembered, that while yet unapprized of his coming, and of the separation of Yadgaur Naušser from the cause of Mirza Kamraun, he had not, in himself, felt the slightest hesitation to embark in his design; and now, that circumstances had arisen so unexpectedly favorable to his views, he was curious to know what adequate reasons there existed to prevent his proceeding? If the hardships endured by his people had influenced Mirza Hindal in his advice, he had only to say that the territory of Dawer, and the districts in that quarter, were entirely at his disposal, there to retire and pass the winter, if he so thought fit; and for his own part he should be perfectly satisfied if he, Mirza Hindal, made it convenient to join the imperial standard, after the reduction of Kabúl should have been accomplished.

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Mirza Hindal felt himself, in consequence, so sensibly ashamed of his error, that the subject was entirely dropped; and Homayún, with unabated confidence in the justice of his cause, and well grounded hopes of success, finally proceeded on his march. Not long afterwards, Jemeil Beg, the brother of Bapous, or Pâbouss Beg, whom Mirza Kamraun had selected to be the Ataulik, or preceptor, of his son-in-law Auk Súltan, and placed in command of Gheznein, voluntarily made his submission to Homayún, at the same time soliciting a pardon for the offences of his brother. On the other hand, when the royal army had advanced to the station of Sheikh Ally, not far from Niauman and Arghundy, Mirza Kamraun began to exhibit some uneasy apprehensions at the approach of his adversaries; and he thought it expedient to detach Kaussem Berlas, with a division of troops, on the road towards Kandahaur; while Mokhless Tirhetty, the director

A. H. 952. of his ordnance, was made to convey a park of artillery to the village of  
 A. D. 1546 Dourry, not far from the residence of the above mentioned Bâpous Beg;  
 Abûl Fazzel. where he was instructed to dispose his guns in such a manner as at once to menace the approach of the enemy, and peradventure to check the secret designs of this officer. At the same time, the families of those who resided in the neighborhood were removed, to places within the fortifications of Kabûl: so that every precaution having been thus taken for the security of his capital, the confidence of Mirza Kamraun seemed to revive, and he proceeded, in heedless arrogance, to establish his head-quarters without the city, near the palace of Bapous Beg, already mentioned; where he completed his arrangements for the battle which he finally proposed to give to his brother's army.

When his general Kaussem Berlas had, however, with his division, proceeded as far as the station of Tegnah, or Tegnah-Khummaur, [the vintner's pass perhaps], he was vigorously attacked by the advanced guard of Homayûn's troops, under Khaujah Mauzzem, Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, and Sheir Afkunn; by whom he was compelled to retreat with considerable precipitation. In consequence of this success, when the distance which separated the two hostile armies was now reduced to a very narrow space, Mirza Hindal, at his own earnest request, was placed at the head of the advance; and the imperial troops had no sooner passed the Tengui-e-Khaujah-Poushteh range, and taken up their ground in the neighborhood of Arkendy, perhaps Arghundy, than they were joined by the Ameirs Bâpous and Jemmeil, with the whole of their followers; as well as by Shahverdy Khaun, the jagirdaur of Gurdaiz, Bunguesh, and Nughz;—all of whom, as might have been expected, were favorably received by Homayûn. These were followed, in a short time, by Mússauheb Beg, the son of Khaujah Kullan Beg, together with very many more, who experienced also from the grateful monarch a reception equally kind and liberal. Things were, in short, arrived at such a crisis, when the Bapous Beg recently introduced to our notice, and who to all appearance possessed considerable influence in the country, embraced the earliest opportunity of pressing upon the attention of Homayûn, that this was not a season for delay. On the contrary, that it behoved him to hasten onwards with all practicable celerity, in the event of which there did not exist the smallest

doubt but that he would be speedily joined by the greater part, if not by the whole, of the troops of Mirza Kamraun. The advice was too reasonable to be disregarded by Homayûn, and he accordingly expedited his march towards Kabûl.

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Almost immediately afterwards, Karatchali, or Kerautchah Khaun, another very powerful Ameir, hastened to present himself to Homayûn, and, like those who preceded him, was most graciously received. In short, through all these alarming defections, distinguishing at last pretty clearly the catastrophe that awaited him, unless he took some early steps to avert it, Mirza Kamraun came to the resolution of sending two of his remaining Ameirs, Khaujâh Khawund Mahmoud, and Khaujâh Abdulkhaulek, to propose certain terms of accommodation, and to solicit a reconciliation with Homayûn. When these two personages were introduced to the presence of the emperor, there remained between the adverse squadrons of the two armies not more than the distance of half a kôsse, or perhaps something more than an English mile; and the monarch declined making any definitive reply to their proposals, previous to that interview which he trusted must shortly take place between him and his ungrateful brother. In other respects he expressed himself most favorably disposed, and the messengers were dismissed after a very civil reception: but, what was of more essential concern, Homayûn at once suspended his march altogether. The object of his insidious brother in dispatching the two Khaujâhs on this hollow mission, was indeed nothing more than to gain time, and, as far as possible, to delay the approach of the imperial troops; in order that he might avail himself of his opportunity to withdraw secretly from the scene of danger. Accordingly, when the ensuing night was sufficiently advanced, Kamraun hastened privately to the citadel of Kabûl; and taking from thence his son Ibrauhim with some others of his family, retreated with all diligence, by the way of Beinj-hessaur, towards Gheznein. The flight of Kamraun was early made known to Homayûn, and Mirza Hindal, with a competent division, was immediately detached in pursuit of the fugitive; while Bâpous, with some troops in whose discipline and attachment the monarch reposed his confidence, was sent into Kabûl, in order to protect the garrison and inhabitants from outrage, and to assure them of the royal favor.

A. H. 952. The submission of Kabûl, which immediately followed on this occasion, is stated to have taken place on wednesday the twelfth of Ram-  
 A. D. 1545. zaun, of the nine hundred and fifty-second of the hijerah ;\* Homay-  
 Abûl Fazzel. ûn making his public entry into the city, about two hours after sun-  
 set on the same evening. The flight of Mirza Kamraun, and the re-  
 duction of his capital were, however, it seems, in the estimation of  
 Homayûn, considered as circumstances of trivial importance, when  
 compared with the restoration to his embraces of his darling son, the  
 illustrious Akbar, now exactly two years, two months, and eight days  
 old ;† an event which he now hailed with the most grateful satisfac-  
 tion. On the day following, seated on his throne, Homayûn received  
 the homage of all the Ameirs, and principal inhabitants, and in short,  
 of all classes of the people, on the spot, subject to his authority. He  
 then finally took up his residence in the citadel of Kabûl, where he  
 continued during the whole of the ensuing winter;‡ devoting his whole  
 attention at once to the service of his Creator, and to the general  
 welfare and happiness of the people committed to his care. Not long  
 afterwards, he discovered, nevertheless, that two of the most distin-  
 guished among his adherents, Khaujah Mauzzem, and Mûkuddum Beg,  
 were actually engaged in a design to forsake his standard, and go over  
 to Mirza Kamraun ; in consequence of which, the one was banished  
 towards Kashmeir, and Khaujah Mauzzem was deservedly deprived  
 of the royal favor, and degraded from all employment.

On the return of spring, Homayûn found leisure to recreate himself  
 and his court in a series of sumptuous entertainments, which were pro-  
 vided by his command in the Artah, or perhaps, Ortah Baugh ; a gar-  
 den which, at this period, flourished in great beauty, in the neighbor-  
 hood of Kabûl. But, at this stage of our labors, we have no longer  
 room to indulge in copying the diffuse and florid strains of Abûl Faz-  
 zel; and henceforward, our attention must be employed to confine the  
 narrative to those circumstances only, which may be indispensably  
 necessary to keep up the thread of the history, to that period at which the  
 noble minded Homayûn finally determined on returning into Hindûs-

\* 16th of November, 1545,

† Referring, however, to the period of his birth in the preceding chapter, it will be seen  
 that he was strictly speaking three years, one month, and one day old.

‡ That of 1545-46.

taun. Before the festivities in the Artah Baugh were brought to a conclusion, the mother of the princely Akbar rejoined her husband, from Kandahaur, having been conducted from that place by the Ameirs Kerautchah Khaun, and Mûssauheb Beg: and she must have experienced singular delight at the extraordinary instance of recognition among a crowd of other females, evinced by her child, when restored to her arms after so protracted a separation. Not long afterwards, Yadgaur Nausser Mirza, who had reached Kandahaur sometime subsequent to the departure of the imperial standard, and had been hospitably entertained by Beyram Khaun, also joined Homayûn at Kabûl. The circumcision of Akbar now followed, on which occasion, the royal Homayûn, in common with the Ameirs of his court, condescended to engage in the athletic games exhibited in honor of the ceremony; himself wrestling with Imaum Kûly, one of the Kourtcheis, or captains of his guard, and Mirza Hindal with his kinsman Yadgaur Nausser.

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Among the assignments in jagueir which took place about this period, it may be convenient to notice that the government of Gheznein was allotted to Mirza Hindal, and the territory of Dauer and Pattery, conferred afresh upon Olûgh Mirza; and among the occurrences of the same crisis, it may be proper to mention the embassy from Shah Tahmasp, which now presented itself to congratulate Homayûn upon his recent success. Another from Mirza Sûliman, in Buddukhshaun, arrived about the same time. To this latter mission it was, however, announced that the only proof of the sincerity of Mirza Sûliman's professions which could be accepted, was his personal appearance in the presence of his sovereign. There were others who embraced the opportunity to present themselves to Homayûn, and among these was Meir Seyud Ally, a chief of great distinction among the Afghan, and Beloutchy tribes, residing in the neighborhood of Douky, here stated to be a dependency on Hindûstaun, and now graciously conferred upon this chief. Another was Loung the Beloutch, a personage of distinguished eminence with his tribe, who now appeared before Homayûn, accompanied by several of his brothers, and was remunerated for this proof of voluntary zeal, by a grant of the districts of Shaul and Mustang, formerly mentioned.

Notwithstanding the repeated proofs of clemency which he had experienced from Homayûn, Yadgaur Nausser was not, however, to be

A. H. 953. withheld from engaging in fresh intrigues against the authority of his  
 A. D. 1546. benefactor and it became, therefore, necessary to confine him alto-  
 Abûl Fazzel. gether to the citadel of Kabûl, close by the spot where the person of  
 Mirza Asskery was also held in safe custody.

Having received intelligence which placed the hostile designs of Mirza Sûliman beyond all manner of doubt, Homayûn, towards the commencement of the nine hundred and fifty third of the hidjerah,\* prepared to march into Buddukhshaun; and having again committed his son to the protection of heaven, in the citadel of Kabûl, he quitted that city and proceeded two stages to the station of Kârabaugh, where he encamped for the present. It had been found expedient that Mirza Asskery should accompany the expedition; but with regard to Yad-gaur Nausser it was now determined to put him beyond the possibility of any future attempts against the authority of his imperial kinsman. Mahommed Ally Toghài, who had been left in command of Kabûl, was accordingly directed to apply an effectual extinguisher to the turbulent spirit of this prince. It is something singular that the governor of Kabûl should have actually declined the execution of the sanguinary mandate, however just in its principle; and his apology is not less remarkable. From him, said he, who has never killed a sparrow, it can scarcely be expected that he should embrue his hands in the blood of a fellow creature. Overlooking for the present the extreme simplicity of the man, in thus daring to trifle with the orders of his sovereign, Homayûn next made choice of Mahommed Kaussem Mou-tchei, to carry into execution this severe, but necessary, act of justice; and the life of the unhappy prince was terminated by the application of the bow-string, on the self-same evening.

Homayûn now ascended the mountains, without further delay, and proceeded into Buddukhshaun, to the vicinity of Enderaub; where he encamped in the gardens of Ally Kûly, a respectable native of that town, either then living, or formerly resident, in the place. Mirza Sûliman had entrenched himself, with the determination of disputing possession of the country to the very last extremity, at the station of the arrow-makers, a place also dependent on, and at no great distance from Enderaub. He was, however, immediately attacked; and, after a

\* Commencing 3d of March 1546.



very gallant resistance, driven from his camp, by a division of Homayûn's troops under the orders of Mirza Hindal, aided by Kerautchah, and Hadjy Mahommed Khauns, and accompanied also on this occasion, by several distinguished officers of the guards of the king of Persia, who had proceeded with the expedition from Kabûl.

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A. D. 1546.  
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In consequence of this victory, the majority of the native chiefs of Buddukhshaun came in and submitted to Homayûn; Mirza Sûliman, with a few followers, having finally retired beyond the main branch of the Oxus, which runs through this part of the province. Konduz, with the territory in the neighborhood, was now conferred upon Mirza Hindal; and the remainder of the province was, at the same time, regularly distributed in fee, according to their respective stations, among the imperial generals; Munnâeim Khaun being appointed, in particular, to collect the revenues in the district of Khoussset, and Bâpouss to a similar trust at Taulekan. Homayûn had, by this time, advanced to the town of Kouthem, and, after making such arrangements as appeared most necessary to the security of his government in that part of the country, was proceeding, for the purpose of passing the winter, to the fortress of Zuffur; when, on his arrival at Shakhdaun, a station about midway between Kouthem and that fortress, he was attacked by a very serious fit of illness, which confined him to the spot for a period of nearly two months. On this occasion, having continued for four days successively in a state of insensibility and stupor, some very alarming apprehensions were excited, and the most unfavorable reports were instantly in circulation. In consequence of these reports many of the princes and principal feudatories were induced to quit their stations, and to present themselves at the head-quarters of their sovereign, without invitation. The adherents of Mirza Sûliman also began to raise their heads in different places, and possibly to prepare the way for the return of their master.

At such a crisis, with a spirit of loyalty of which the times afforded but few examples, Kerautchah Khaun, at the head of a faithful band attached to the cause of their sick sovereign, came and pitched his tent at the very entrance of the imperial pavilion; having previously secured the person of Mirza Asskery, on whom the views of the turbulent and disaffected principally rested, and confined him to the same tent

A. H. 953. with himself. He caused his own bed, moreover, to be laid on the very  
 A. D. 1546. threshold of Homayûn's apartment, whom he unremittingly attended  
 Abûl Fazzel. in person, in order to see that every thing was administered that could  
 contribute to the relief and comfort of the suffering monarch. On the  
 fifth day, however, the crisis of the disorder having terminated favorably,  
 Homayûn was restored to his faculties; and Meir Berrekah entering  
 about the same time to make his usual obeisances, could not suppress  
 the transport which he felt at observing that his master was in a  
 state of convalescence. After the king had assured him that God, in  
 mercy to his transgressions, had thus vouchsafed his restoration, Meir  
 Berrekah proceeded to describe the confusion and dismay that had pervaded  
 all classes, during the crisis of his disorder, and to do justice to  
 the determined zeal and important services of Kerautchah Khaun; who  
 was immediately sent for, and now received from the lips of his sovereign  
 the most flattering acknowledgements for his unshaken loyalty.

Mirza Hindal, and the other jaguirdaurs who had hastened together to  
 the imperial encampment on intelligence of Homayûn's disposition,  
 now returned to their stations; and matters seemed on all sides gradually  
 re-settling into tranquil repose. In the midst of this deceitful  
 calm, on the evening of the twenty first of Ramzaun,\* and under the  
 pretext of zeal for his religion, Khaujah Mauzzem, whose turbulent  
 disposition, like a noxious weed, seems to have stifled every virtuous  
 feeling, having formed a conspiracy with other disorderly persons, suddenly  
 entered the abode of Sûltan Mahommed Reshid, one of the ministers,  
 and instantly put him to death. This personage held the dignity  
 of Vezzeir, at the period under consideration, and was thus basely  
 assassinated while partaking of some refreshment after the inanition of a  
 rigorous fast, which probably furnished the pretext for the zeal of his  
 murderers; but the true cause was, probably, the share which, on a former  
 occasion, he had had in detecting the perfidious designs of this same  
 Khaujah Mauzzem. The assassin and his accomplices, for the present  
 however, effected their escape to Kabûl, although shortly afterwards  
 they were seized; and cast into prison, by order of Homayûn; who, it  
 must be confessed, appears on this occasion more indulgent towards  
 the crime of murder, than towards that of resistance against his authority,

\* 14th of November, 1546.

although it is possible that he may only have postponed the just punishment, until he should return to Kabûl.

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Abûl Fazzel.

Being at last restored, in some degree, to health, Homayûn quitted the station of Shakhdaun, and pursued his march to Zuffur, of which, unless it be the town to which the modern maps have assigned the name of Badakshan, we must confess our ignorance; and here, in a very short time, all remains of his disorder were entirely removed, a circumstance which is described to have diffused universal satisfaction throughout the empire. About this conjuncture the districts of Gahmurd, [perhaps Ghuinrud] Zohauk, and Bâmian, were conferred upon Sheir Atkunn, the son of Kouje Beg, with a promise that when Homayûn should return to Kabûl, he should be favored with a further grant of the territory of Ghourbund, at the foot of the mountains north-west of that capital. In the mean time, the residence of Homayûn in Buddukhshaun, is said to have occasioned some very alarming apprehensions throughout the neighboring regions of Tartary, and more particularly among the Ouzbeks, at Balkh, who could not then discover any advantage in hostilities with so warlike a monarch.

While that monarch, however, seemed to consider his affairs in a train so prosperous, and continued to amuse himself in hunting, and other recreations, in Buddukhshaun, his brother Kamraun most unexpectedly surprised and re-possessed himself of the city of Kabûl; where, among others, in spite of recent obligations, the first to join him was the very Sheir Afkunn, whom we have just mentioned as so eminently distinguished in the favor of his sovereign.

As it might lead us too far out of the regular course of the narrative, we are compelled to decline entering at large into the previous proceedings of Mirza Kamraun, on his retreat from Kabûl towards Gheznein, and finally, on his failure to obtain possession of the latter place, from thence to Bukkur and the territory on the lower-Indus—into the circumstances of his reception by Shah Hûseyne Arghûn, the prince of Tattah, to whose daughter he had been long betrothed, and whom he now espoused—or into the means by which, with the assistance furnished by his father-in-law, on intelligence of the indisposition of Homayûn, he was on this occasion enabled to make himself successively master of both Gheznein and Kabûl; and again to pos-

A. H. 953. sess himself of the person of young Akbar, the cherished hope of every  
 A. D. 1547. zealous friend of the house of Teymúr. It will be sufficient to remark  
 Abùl Fazzel. that the surprise of Kabùl was indeed so complete that Mahommed  
 Ally Toghài, the scrupulous governor, was actually taken while en-  
 joying the luxuries of his bath, and, in a state of nudity, brought to the  
 presence of Kamraun, who with his own hands put him instantly to  
 death; and the same Mirza Kamraun demanding of Hadjy Mahommed  
 Essess, a respectable officer who went to visit him in the course of the  
 day, if in his departure and return there were not something singular,  
 it has been thought not unworthy of record, that the Hadjy should have  
 replied, rather drily, "true sir! you went away at night, and returned  
 in the morning."

While he treated his captives, and the inhabitants of Kabùl, who  
 had been thus betrayed through the disgraceful remissness, and entire  
 neglect of the most ordinary precautions on the part of Homayûn's  
 officers, with every species of oppression, and even sanguinary cruelty,  
 Mirza Kamraun early applied himself, nevertheless, to make the most  
 active preparations in men and arms, and every other requisite, in order  
 to support his precarious authority. In a very short time he succeed-  
 ed, accordingly, in collecting round his standard a numerous body of  
 soldiers from the warlike population of the neighboring territory. He  
 was in these circumstances giving audience, one day, to the different  
 chiefs who presented themselves, in his palace in the citadel of Ka-  
 bùl, and among these to Wulleid Beg and Abùl Kaussem, with several  
 others of the Kourtcheis, or guards, of the king of Persia, who had ob-  
 tained permission to return into Irâk, and were now introduced to pay their  
 respects to the usurper, when it happened that the royal Akbar should also  
 be present on the occasion, and the servants of Kamraun, like bees round  
 a grocer's stall, were crowding into the assembly. At such a moment it  
 occurred to Abùl Kaussem that an opportunity was thus offered of  
 performing a most useful and acceptable piece of service, to the mon-  
 arch whose cause he had been employed to promote; and he secretly  
 whispered to Wulleid Beg, that it would only be discharging a debt of  
 gratitude, if with the thirty resolute followers whom they had at their  
 elbows, they availed themselves of the confusion of the assembly, to  
 dispatch Kamraun, and to bear the blooming shoot of the imperial fa-

mily, alluding to the royal child, in triumph to the arms of his sorrowing parent. Wulleid Beg, however, whose heart was not sufficiently steeled against the horrors of such a scene, shrunk from the proposal, timidly observing that being merely travellers on the spot, he considered it an act of officious intrusion, if they presumed to interfere in any shape, much more so to engage in an attempt so apparently rash and extravagant—the chain of sublunary events has indeed its termination so unalterably attached to some particular period, by the laws of everlasting destiny, that either to anticipate, or protract, must be equally beyond the scope of human exertion.\*

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On the other hand, when intelligence of these unfavorable and alarming changes were conveyed to Homayûn, he prepared, notwithstanding the rigors of winter, to return without delay, through the pass of Aubderrah, for the purpose of restoring his authority, and repressing the dangerous designs of his ambitious brother. It became, however, expedient, first of all, to enter into an accommodation with Mirza Sûliman; to whom he accordingly agreed to cede afresh the districts in Buddukhshaun, formerly allotted to that prince by the emperor Bâber. At the same time, in addition to the territory of Kondûz already assigned to him, the districts of Enderaub, Khoussét, Gahmurd, and Ghoury, with other townships, were now further conferred upon Mirza Hindal. By the heavy snow, which fell for several days without intermission, Homayûn was detained for some time at Taulekan; but availing himself of the first cessation, he prosecuted his march to Konduz—not a little to the joy, as it is said, of the Ouzbek tribes, who felt themselves relieved from the most alarming anxiety, by his departure from their neighborhood. Having, at the request of his brother Hindal, remained at Konduz, to celebrate the festival of the tenth of Zilhudje,\* he again continued his march; and proceeding successively across the ranges of Shebertû, and Reig-gûzzer, finally encamped his troops at the station of Khaujâh-seyauran.

In the mean time, Sheir Ally, an officer of distinguished character in the service of Mirza Kamraun, had employed his utmost diligence

\* It is not easy to decide whether this remark belongs to Abûl Fazzel; or to the Persian, as an apology for the coldness with which he received the spirited proposal of his companion,

† 31st of January, 1547.

A. H. 954. to fortify, against Homayûn, the pass of Aubderrah, in the interven-  
 A D. 1547 ing mountains of Hindû Koh; but being attacked and defeated by a  
 Abûl Fazzel. division of the imperial troops under Mirza Hindal and Kerautchah  
 Khaun, that officer retaliated for the discomfiture, by plundering the  
 baggage in the rear of the army; which after descending the pass, en-  
 camped without further obstacle, at Tcharekauran, or Charikaran, a  
 station which is still to be recognized in modern maps, to the North-  
 west of Kabûl. Here the author is constrained to acknowledge that  
 Homayûn was forsaken at this crisis by many of his most distinguish-  
 ed officers, the greater part of whom had, indeed, left their families  
 in Kabûl, on their departure for Buddukhshaun; and among these  
 we find in particular the name of Mirza Sunjur Berlaus, the son of  
 Sûltan Jenneid, and sister's son of the illustrious Bâber, who with se-  
 veral others, now embraced the opportunity to go over to the enemy.  
 In these circumstances, when he had continued for some time station-  
 ary in the neighboring districts, endeavoring in various ways to sup-  
 port the drooping courage of his troops, the perplexed monarch sum-  
 moned a council of war; at which he particularly requested that all  
 would declare their opinions, with perfect freedom from reserve.

The result of this consultation was an opinion generally expressed  
 that, since it appeared to be the determination of Mirza Kamraun to keep  
 within the cover of his works, the success of the imperial cause would  
 be, for the present, best promoted by leaving Kabûl on one side; and  
 removing towards Poury and Khaujeh-bustah, the more conveniently  
 to secure the subsistence of the army. Homayûn accordingly de-  
 camped from Zemmah; but when he had for a short distance retraced  
 his steps, to the west, it suddenly occurred to him, that if he proceed-  
 ed, as had been determined upon, in the direction of Khaujeh bustah,  
 it would be immediately concluded that he was retiring once more to  
 Kandahaur; which would be the occasion of desertion among his fol-  
 lowers, far more extensive and alarming than what he had already to  
 regret; the greater part of them having, as we have just seen, their fa-  
 milies at Kabûl, and it was but natural that they should be anxious to  
 revisit them. He therefore boldly determined on making an attempt  
 to possess himself of the city; considering that if Kamraun could, by  
 any means, be constrained to come to a battle, nothing on earth was

more desirable; but at all events that the pretext for desertion would be thus removed, and he should be able to put his army under convenient shelter from the severity of the weather.

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Having taken his final resolution, Homayûn sent, without a moment's delay, for Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, to whom he explained the nature of his plan; which met, of course, with enthusiastic approbation. In conformity with the design now agreed upon, the same Hadjy Mahommed, with some other commanders devoted to the service, returned, accordingly, at the head of a division of the army towards Kabûl, by the way of Minaur koutel; while Homayûn in person, with the main body, proceeded by that of the Payan Koutel, another ridge or gauht, which, in that direction, possibly traverses the approach towards the city. When, however, Mirza Hindal with an advanced division, had reached the village of the Afghans, not far from the tomb of Bâba Sheshpurr, he was vigorously attacked by the whole, or a very superior, force of Mirza Kamraun, under the apostate Sheir Afkunn, and a very desperate conflict immediately ensued. Thus, perhaps unexpectedly, assailed, the troops of Homayûn are acknowledged to have given way; although Mirza Hindal himself, with a few who remained stedfast to their duty, continued to maintain his ground with equal gallantry and self-devotion, until supported by a fresh body of troops, dispatched to his assistance by Homayûn, the moment he became apprized of his danger, under Karautchah Khaun, and Meir Berrekah. Almost at the same crisis, Hadjy Mahommed Khaun with his division; also made his appearance, most seasonably, and the event remained no longer doubtful. The enemy were entirely defeated, and their general, the ungrateful Sheir Afkunn, became a prisoner in the hands of the conquerors. Being conducted immediately to the presence of Homayûn, that prince with his usual clement spirit would have been contented merely to put him under a little salutary restraint, and, after a short time, to reinstate him once more in his rank among the imperial vassals; but in consequence of some strong remonstrances from Kâratchah Khaun and certain other chiefs yet faithfully attached to the authority of Homayûn, who bore in deep resentment the recent treachery and ingratitude of Sheir Afkunn, he was, without further ceremony, put to death on the spot. Ho-

**A. H. 954.** mayûn then advanced upon the town, directing his attack by the  
**A. D. 1547.** Kheyabaun quarter; and the troops employed in pursuit of the fugi-  
**Abûl Fazzel.** tive garrison pushing on to the Derwauzzah-ahenein, or iron gate, Mirza Khezzer Khaun, and others of the tribe of Arghûn, instantly made off for the Hazaurah, or Afghan vallies, followed by the whole of their dependents. In consequence of this, the Sheherbund, or fortified suburb, was taken possession of by the imperialists, without further resistance.

On the same day Homayûn took up his residence in the gardens of Karautchah Khaun; and a considerable number of the prisoners taken in the recent conflict, were here put to the sword without mercy. Nevertheless, the arrival of Sheir Ally, who contrived to make his way through the besiegers, is said, in a great degree, to have restored the confidence of the garrison of Kabûl. Homayûn, on his part, after successively visiting the gardens of the diwaun Khaun, and the Artahbaugh, formerly mentioned, finally removed his head-quarters to the hill of the eagles; which is described to command, or overlook, the fortifications of the town, or perhaps the citadel. A fire from every species of artillery was now opened upon the place; the besieged, on their part, making frequent and formidable sallies, to disturb and retard the operations of their adversaries. During one of these, while employed to select a spot nearer to the town for the construction of a new battery, Hadjy Mahommed Khaun was wounded in the arm by Sheir Ally himself. Not long afterwards, however, a detachment of the garrison, employed under the same Sheir Ally and Tereddy Mahommed Tchengtcheng, contrary to the advice of the latter officer, on an expedition to plunder a caravan of merchants, who had arrived at the station of Tcharikaran, with a numerous adventure of horses, although the design against the defenceless merchants was successful, was intercepted on its return, and compelled to withdraw towards Gheznein. Neither did these marauders then entirely escape punishment, for being immediately pursued by a division of the imperial troops, they were overtaken and defeated in the pass of Sejawund; and the greater part of their ill-acquired booty wrested from them—all that could be fairly recognized, being restored to the owners by the justice of Homayûn.

All that remained alive of the prisoners taken on this, and perhaps



on the former occasion, were now brought in front of the besieger's batteries, and there, by various methods, publicly put to death under the eyes of the garrison. For this, Mirza Kamraun instantly retaliated, by consigning the wife of Bâpous Beg to the common Bazar, and by shedding the blood of his three innocent and helpless children, the eldest not more than seven, and the youngest but three years of age; whose dead bodies he threw from the top of the parapet, opposite the batteries occupied by Karautchah Khaun, and Mûssaheb Beg. At the same time, he caused Serdaur Beg the son of Karautchah Khaun, and Khodadoust the son of Mûssaheb Beg, to be suspended alive from the battlements; while a message was conveyed to the two chiefs inviting them to behold the spectacle, and declaring that unless they either gave him free egress to quit the place, or prevailed upon Homayûn to raise the siege, both their sons were destined to share the fate of the children of Ameir Bâpouss. Karautchah, who at this period held the office of first minister of state without controul, instantly replied aloud that not only their sons, but their own lives and all they possessed on earth, would be willingly devoted to serve the cause of their sovereign. Nevertheless, they adjured Mirza Kamraun to beware of plunging himself deeper in guilt, by further embruing his hands in innocent blood; for which, they desired him at the same time to remember, it was so easy to retaliate a thousand fold. If, on the contrary, he would be induced to take the only step which could now save him from destruction, by repairing at once to the presence of his magnanimous brother, Karautchah Khaun here openly pledged himself to exert whatever influence he possessed, to promote his views. Both Karautchah Khaun and his associate were, in the mean time, consoled under their apprehensions by the highest applause of their master; and although Mirza Kamraun does not precisely appear to have carried his threats into execution against the children of the two chiefs, he proceeded, nevertheless, to gratify his vindictive spirit, by every species of violence and outrage towards the helpless families of his besiegers; among other brutal enormities, causing the unprotected and unoffending wife of Mahommed Kaussem Mou-tchei, to be publicly suspended by the breasts.

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Had his atrocities terminated here he might still, perhaps, have been

A. H. 954. allowed some claim to indulgence—but not so. Conceiving that it  
 A. D. 1547. might be possible to ensure his own safety by an act of inhumanity:  
 Abûl Fazzel. almost without precedent, he went so far as to set his nephew, the yet  
 young and innocent Akbar, exactly in the face of the besieger's artil-  
 lery; and in such a situation that it was indeed scarcely less than a mi-  
 racle, that he should have escaped the unceasing fire of the imperialists.  
 directed to the spot. By some chance or other the attention of Sum-  
 bul Khaun, the general of artillery, while watching the effect of his  
 ordnance, and the other missiles, and who possessed the visual faculties  
 in singular perfection, was providentially attracted to the same spot;  
 and most happily recognizing the person of the young prince, and caus-  
 ing the fire to cease, at the same time that he gave a truce to the suffer-  
 ings of the garrison, rescued from the very jaws of destruction the  
 darling child of his master's affections. Abûl Fazzel does not indeed  
 scruple to declare in express terms, that the hands of the Gulandauz,  
 or cannoniers, were on the occasion suddenly seized with an unac-  
 countable tremor—that the balls and arrows flew wide of their mark—  
 that the matches refused their fire—and that the commander of artil-  
 lery feeling an indescribable chill running through his veins, the cir-  
 cumstance awakened his attention, and led to the discovery of the il-  
 lustrious victim exposed to the fire of his batteries. Be this, however  
 as it may, the proofs of inhumanity and cruelty exhibited on the part  
 of Mirza Kamraun, were of a nature so revolting that every just and  
 moderate man was led to predict that his fall was approaching; and the  
 exertions of his besiegers continuing, with an activity that rather in-  
 creased than abated, the unhappy prince was now soon reduced to the  
 greatest extremity.

Finding, therefore, all his projects of ambition, defence, and retalia-  
 tion, rendered otherwise utterly abortive, Kamraun determined to re-  
 cur to the more congenial system of deception; and affecting, accord-  
 ingly, a very becoming sense of remorse for what was past, finally em-  
 ployed the influence of Kârautchah Khaun to bring about a reconcili-  
 ation with his brother—to whose generosity he expressed a perfect wil-  
 lingness to submit himself and all that belonged to him. To these over-  
 tures Homayûn is described to have yielded his usual indulgent atten-  
 tion: but since it would have been entirely adverse to the selfish views.

of Mirza Hindal, of Karautchah Khaun, and Mússauheb Beg, nay of the majority, indeed, of the leading chiefs among the imperial vassals, always directed to scenes of turbulence and commotion, an interview between the rival brothers was an occurrence of which they never sincerely desired to witness the accomplishment. They contrived, therefore, to keep awake the apprehensions of Mirza Kamraun; to whom they conveyed a secret message, in which, after expostulating on the absurdity of resting any hope on the result of a conference with Homayûn, when all his means of resistance were at an end, they urged the absolute necessity of his withdrawing from the fort, without a moment's delay—making his retreat from a particular tower, through the battery of Hussun Ally Aga, an officer in the secret, and thus effecting his escape from the dangers by which he was on every side surrounded. Accordingly, on the night of Thursday the seventh of the former Rebbeia, of the nine hundred and fifty fourth of the hidjerah,\* Kamraun, quitting the fort by the Durwauzzah-ahenein, and taking the course indicated to him by his friends in the camp of Homayûn; fled with all the speed in his power on the road to Buddukhshaun; trusting to the contingency of receiving aid from Mirza Súliman, or, at all events, that he should be able to make another effort for the recovery of his power through the assistance of the Ouzbeks. The moment his flight became known, Hadjy Mahommed Khaun was dispatched in pursuit of the fugitive, Homayûn then re-entering Kabûl, without further resistance, and being thus once more happily restored to the embraces of his family.

Aided, on the other hand, as was shrewdly suspected, by some sort of collusion on the part of his pursuers, Mirza Kamraun made good his retreat across the mountains; and being joined shortly afterwards by Sheir Ally, and others attached to his cause, found no great difficulty in gaining possession of the fortified post of Ghoury, near one of the branches of Hindû Koh, looking towards Balkh. Mirza Súliman, however, contrary to his hopes, rejecting all his solicitations for aid, he was finally compelled to bend his steps to the city just mentioned; in order to claim the assistance of Peir Mahommed Khaun sovereign of the Ouzbeks, at this period the prevailing power in that part of the

A. H. 954:  
A. D. 1547.  
Abûl Fâzzel.

\* 26th of April, 1547.

A. H. 955, territory on the Oxus. The castle, or fortress, of Ghoury was, however, soon recaptured by Karautchah Khaun, and other generals detached by Homayûn to restore his authority in the country; although these were very shortly afterwards compelled to retreat in their turn, at the approach of Mirza Kamraun, accompanied by Peir Mahommed and a powerful reinforcement of the troops of Balkh. Upon this, as the emergency indeed seemed to require it, Homayûn hastened in person to encounter the danger; but, for the present, his entrance into Buddukhshaun was effectually prevented by a fall of snow, which blocked up the passages of Hindû Koh, and constrained him to return to Kabûl, there to pass the approaching winter.\*

After placing Mirza Kamraun in possession of the major part of Buddukhshaun, Peir Mahommed withdrew to Balkh, leaving, however, a considerable force to support the authority of his ally. In the mean time, while yet engaged in preparation to resume his expedition, Homayûn found himself suddenly deserted by three of his most distinguished generals, Karautchah Khaun, Bâpous Beg, and Msssaueh Beg, together with many others, to the number of three thousand horse; all of them seduced from their allegiance through the malignant suggestions of the ungrateful Karautchah, now grown insolent beyond endurance, through the possession of uncontrolled authority. Being, however, immediately pursued, they were for the moment overtaken, and obliged to disperse at Ghourbund; but night coming on, and the insurgents breaking down the bridge near that place behind them, they succeeded in effecting their escape by different ways, and finally joined Mirza Kamraun some time afterwards, at the station of Kouthem, in Buddukhshaun. On this occasion, Homayûn was for the present content to mark his displeasure at the perfidy of these men by parodizing their names; that of Karautchah for instance, he perverted into Kârabukht, ill-destined, or reprobate—Issmâeil Beg's was changed into Khurrus, bear—(ursa)—Mûssaueh Beg's into Mûnaufek, hypocrite—and that of Bâpous into Deyouss, cuckold, or pandar—referring to the exposure of his wife in the public bazar, by the enemy.

His arrangements being, however, at last completed, Homayûn, on the fifth of the former Jummaudy, of the year nine hundred and fifty

\* Of A. D. 1548.

five,\* proceeded in earnest on his second expedition into Buddukh-shaun. As far as the station of Gùlbahar, on the other side of Kàrabaugh, he was accompanied by the young Akbar and his mother; but from that station they were sent back to Kabùl, under the care of Mahommed Kaussem Mou-tchei, who was invested, on this occasion, with the government of the city. The officers of Mirza Kamraun entrusted with the defence of Enderaub, were, on the other hand, no sooner apprized that the advanced guard of the royal troops had ascended the passes of Hindù Kôh, than they withdrew from that place, and retired to join their master; Homayún in person encamping in the neighborhood very shortly afterwards. Being joined at Enderaub by his brother Hindal Mirza, and many of the feudatory chiefs of Buddukh-shaun with their followers, Homayún immediately placed that prince at the head of the vanguard of the army; and the whole now proceeded towards Taulekan, which was known to be defended by the fugitive Ameirs, together with Mirza Abdullah, and a strong garrison of the troops of Mirza Kamraun. Before the imperialists could however reach Taulekan, Mirza Kamraun, with all the troops he could collect at Zuffur and Kouthem, and the neighboring territory, had hastened to the support of his friends; so that when the advanced guard of Homayún, on the fifteenth of the latter Jummaudy, † had just crossed the Bangui, one of the smaller branches possibly of the Oxus, they found that prince at the head of a very superior force posted on an eminence in their front, called the Jelleissan; and they were constrained, as it would seem, to recross the river in the greatest confusion, leaving their baggage to be plundered by the enemy. At this perilous crisis, Homayún with the main body of the army appeared on the river side, and was about to pass, immediately in presence of his adversaries; but some of those whom he had employed to survey the country and procure intelligence, representing the ford as extremely dangerous, from the rocks, and cavities in the bed of the river, and reporting a more favorable spot by a mill about a kôsse higher up, where, from the greater stability of footing, he would be able to cross with less hazard, he availed himself of the information; and proceeding immediately to the place, effected his passage, accordingly, without difficulty.

A. H. 955.  
A. D. 1548.  
Abùl Fazzel.

\* 11th of June 1548.

† 21st of July, 1548.

A. H. 955.  
 A. D. 1548.  
 Abûl Fazzel.

The march of Homayûn was now directed towards the rising ground, on which Mirza Kamraun had taken post with the main body of his troops; and Futtah-ullah Beg, the brother of Roushun Koukah, who had been sent in advance at the head of a smaller division, was already engaged with the enemy, and had been beaten from his horse, when the imperial standard fortunately appeared to support him, and Kamraun now tamely declined the contest, to shelter himself behind the walls of Taulekan.\* In that place he was immediately besieged by Homayûn; and having defended himself with considerable resolution until the twelfth of Rudjub,† in expectation of relief from Peir Mahommed the Ouzbek, he found it expedient, on that day, to submit to the mercy of Homayûn—stipulating only for permission to proceed on pilgrimage to Mekkah, and consenting to deliver up the whole of the fugitive Ameirs into the hands of their offended sovereign. On these terms, accompanied by Bâpous Beg, who, after all, at his particular request, had, with a few others, been permitted to attend him, Mirza Kamraun finally quitted the fortress of Taulekan, and proceeded on his way to Arabia. In the mean time, Karautchah Khaun, his son Serdaur Beg, with Mûssauheb Beg, and others of the apostate nobles who had forsaken the standard of their benefactor, were now conducted to his presence, with their swords and quivers suspended to their throats, in order to receive from him the just award of their crimes. With singular humanity, and with the most soothing expressions of concern and indulgence, towards the errors by which they had been led astray, Homayûn, on this occasion also, most generously forgave them all.

Not many days afterwards, namely on the seventeenth of the same month of Rudjub,‡ when he had yet made but little progress on his journey to Hejaz, Mirza Kamraun, availing himself of the counsels of his friend Mirza Abdullah, suddenly returned to the camp of Homayûn; from whom he experienced a reception equally kind and fraternal, and to whom he was once more, to all appearance, sincerely reconciled. On the same day, Mirza Asskery was released from his fetters, and permitted to resume his place at court. The unexpected return of Kam-

\* We are not perfectly satisfied that this should not be Beylekan, or Bacalam, about forty miles to the westward of Enderaub. † 16th of August, 1548.

‡ 21st of August.

raun appears, indeed, to have given extraordinary expansion to the kinder feelings of Homayûn, which displayed themselves in language the most sympathizing and conciliatory, during his conference with this ungrateful and unworthy relation.

A. H. 955.  
A. D. 1548.  
Abûl Fazzel.

The subject of an expedition against Balkh was now brought under consideration; but, finding that the opinions of those whom he consulted on the occasion were not yet sufficiently matured for his purpose, Homayûn conceived it advisable to defer coming to any thing definitive, until he should have reached Naury, here described as a station in Buddukhshaun, where the road branches off in two directions—the one leading immediately towards Balkh, and the other towards Kabûl. On his second day's march from Taulekan, coming to the spring head of Bundgûshâ, not far from the station of Eshekmesh, on the very spot where, many years before, his father Bâber, on the submission at that place, of his brothers Khaun Mirza and Jahaunguir Mirza, had caused the date of the event, to be inscribed on the rock, Homayûn also, not less rejoiced at a similar occurrence, there caused the return of Kamraun, and the conjunction of the four brothers, to be now commemorated on a part of the same rock.

Proceeding from Bundgûshâ to the before mentioned station of Naury, the attention of Homayûn was there employed in making a fresh allotment of the territory of Buddukhshaun. In this the district of Khotlan, then better known by the name of Kûlaub, to the boundaries of Mour and Kaurenguein, was assigned to Mirza Kamraun, Tchauker Khaun being commissioned as his Ameir-ul-oomra, or lieutenant general. Asskery Mirza was also destined to accompany him, with the district of Kaurenguein for his jaguir. The arrangement was, however, at this early stage, by no means satisfactory to Mirza Kamraun; although he appeared to acquiesce in it for the present, from a consideration of the recent act of generous clemency exhibited on the part of his brother. The fortresses of Zuffur and Taulekan, with some other purgunnahs, were allotted to Mirza Sûliman and his son Mirza Ibrauhim; while Kondûz, and Ghoury, and Gahmurd, and Bakalan, and Eshekmesh, and Naury, were conferred on Mirza Hindal, with Sheir Ally for his Ameir-ul-oomra. It was now, also, finally arranged that the enterprize in contemplation against Balkh, should be postponed to the following year.

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At the last conference held between the brothers, on this occasion, Homayûn called for a bowl of Sherbet; and having first taken a draught, presented the same to Mirza Kamraun, and so successively to each of the other princes; with a request that they would all follow the example, in confirmation of the solemn pledge of perpetual and inviolable friendship, by which they had just mutually bound themselves. The whole now separated; the several Mirzas proceeding towards their respective jaguirs, and Homayûn to Khouset, on his return towards Kabûl, by the route of Perrian. This latter place was a fortress then in ruins, formerly erected by Teymûr, when he had succeeded in chastizing the Hindûs of Kettour; and which it was now proposed to put in a state of repair and defence, with the new name of Islam-abad. When the imperial army reached the spot, Pehlewaun Doust, the Meir Berr, surveyor general perhaps, or superintendant of fortifications, accordingly received instructions to restore and strengthen the whole of the works, distributing the labour as usual, in adequate proportions between the several generals; and thus, in the course of seven days only, as it would appear, the entire was again completed, including the gates, and battlements, and sung-andauz, or Balistæ, with every requisite to place it in a competent state of defence: Beg Meirek, an officer of trust, was then left in command of the place; Homayûn proceeding to view the silver mine in the neighborhood, which was, however, found too poor to defray the charge of working. The monarch now pursued his march across the mountainous range to the banks of the Punje-sheher river, where he encamped near the Koutel, or gauht: perhaps, of Ashtergueraum. And finally, towards the commencement of the winter, the earth having already put on her garb of snow, he terminated his march, without further accident, in the neighborhood of Kabûl; into which he made his public entry on the second of Ramzaun of the year nine hundred and fifty five,\* that being the auspicious day selected by the court astrologers.

It was at this conjuncture that Meir Semunder arrived with dispatches, and a profusion of presents, from Mirza Heyder in Kashmeir; describing, for the thousandth time, the unrivalled amoenities of that delightful province, and inviting Homayûn in very pressing terms,

\* 4th of October 1548.



to hasten without delay to share in the enjoyments there to be found, in endless variety. The more important object of the mission appears, however, to have been, to urge the recovery of the Moghúl conquests in Hindûstaun; an undertaking towards which every argument, that he could draw, either from reason, experience, or invention, was now employed on the part of Mirza Heyder, to stimulate the ambition of Homayûn. To these dispatches the monarch replied in terms of corresponding kindness; acknowledging that although constrained by present circumstances to postpone the recovery of his possessions in India, to some more favorable opportunity, it was a design which had never yet been dismissed from his contemplation. About the same crisis we find recorded, among other minor events, the death of Olûgh Mirza the son of Mirza Mahommed Sûltaun; who was killed in an imprudent attack, upon some of the Hazaurahs, or independent cantons, if we may be so permitted to call these independent tribes, in the neighborhood of Gheznein; to which he is, indeed, described to have been impelled by the rash counsels of Khaujah Mauzzem, formerly mentioned as under the displeasure of Homayûn. In the course of the same year may be also noticed an embassy from Abdurresbid Khaun, prince of Kashghâr, which was graciously received, and as promptly dismissed by Homayûn. And lastly may be remarked the arrival about this period, at Kabûl, of Abbas Sûltan, an Ouzbek prince, who received from Homayûn in marriage, the hand of his youngest sister, Gûltchehera Begum.

As soon as the weather became sufficiently moderate, toward the commencement of the nine hundred and fifty-sixth of the hidjerah,\* Homayûn, however disposed to prefer the attempt on Hindûstaun, or a visit to the beauties of Kashmeir, prepared to carry into execution his design against Balkh; previously dispatching to require that the Mirzas Kamraun, and Hindal, and Asskery, and Sûliman, and Ibrauhim, would be ready to join him, in conformity with their engagement the preceding year, on his arrival in Buddukhshaun. He was, however, detained on his march for nearly a month, at the station of Tchalauk, awaiting the arrival of Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, from Gheznein, and arranging other necessary concerns of his gov-

A. H. 956:  
A. D. 1549,  
Abûl Fazzel,

\* Beginning 29th January, A. D. 1549.

A. H. 956:  
A. D. 1549.  
Abûl Fazzel.

ernment. Proceeding at length to the station of Astaulef, Homayûn found himself, at that place, rather unexpectedly deserted by his newly chosen brother-in law, Abbas the Ouzbek; and while he continued his march from thence with the necessary deliberation, in order to afford to the several Mirzas sufficient time to repair to the appointed rendezvous, he was compelled by intelligence of some suspicious indications on the part of Mirza Kamraun, to turn back into the road for Punje-sheher, and direct his steps towards Enderaub. Halting three days at the latter place, he proceeded next to Naury, and thence to the plains of Neilberr, distinguished among the districts of Buddukhshaun, for fertility and verdure. He was here joined by the Mirzas Hindal, and Sûliman; Mirza Ibrahim being left, at the recommendation of his father, to provide for the security of Buddukhshaun.

From the neighborhood of Bakalaun the Mirzas Hindal and Sûliman, accompanied by Hadjy Mahommed Khaun and a strong division of the best troops, were sent forwards, in order if possible, to make themselves masters of Eybek, or Jybuk; one of the dependencies of Balkh, on that side most considerable in point of population, abundant in resources, and equally desirable to possess, from the known salubrity of the neighborhood. While the army was on its march at this crisis, it happened that one of the Yessawuls, tchoubdaur, or exempts, should have shot a panther, which he brought to lay before Homayûn; on which it was observed by Hûseyne Kûly Mohrdaur, (keeper of the seal) that among the Tatar tribes it was ever considered an omen of inauspicious promise, if an animal of this description was at any time killed, at the head of the troops on their march; and that he knew an instance in which the Ouzbek sovereign of Balkh had been induced, by such a circumstance, to suspend the movement of his army, when actually on his way to Herât.

Disregarding the hint, however, Homayûn continued to advance towards Balkh; and on the subsequent day his advanced guard appeared under the walls of Eybek; for the defence of which, Peir Mahommed had previously detached his own Ataulek, Khaubâh Mauk, with many of the most distinguished officers under his government. Knowing that the main body of the Moghûls was at hand, the Ouzbek

chiefs thought it prudent to confine their operations to the defence of the fort, which was immediately invested on all sides, and vigorously attacked by Homayûn. At the expiration of not more than two or three days, the garrison was constrained to demand a capitulation, which was of course granted without difficulty; and the chiefs being conducted to the presence of Homayûn, the place was put in possession of the Moghûls.

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A. D. 1549.  
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Being invited to partake of a royal entertainment given by that monarch, the Ataulek was rather surprised by a question from Homayûn, as to the best plan of accomplishing the subjugation of Mawur-un-neher. The captive chief very properly demanded with what consistency such a question could be proposed to a man in his situation? But Homayûn stating, in reply, that he must ascribe it to the air of truth and candor so conspicuous in his demeanor; and, being encouraged to communicate without reserve any thing that he might be disposed to mention, the Ouzbek chief, entirely won over by these obliging expressions, proceeded to remark that the ablest and bravest officers in the service of Peir Mahommed had fallen into his hands, by the surrender of Eybek, and that if he dispatched these the way of all flesh, Mawur-un-neher would be his without another stroke. On this, Homayûn, with generous feeling, observed that by every virtuous and liberal mind, such a perfidious breach of treaty would be forever stigmatized with just reprobation in any man, but more than all, in one whom heaven had placed in an exalted rank among the sovereigns of the earth. For his part, he had spontaneously granted to these persons a regular capitulation, which if he presumed to violate, there was no possible perversion of reasoning that could ever induce him to reconcile with the common maxims of justice, or with the dictates of a good conscience. The Ataulek then proposed to Homayûn, since he declined a measure which he himself seemed to consider not less vigorous, than well adapted to the circumstances of the moment, to detain him in custody, and agree to a treaty of peace with Peir Mahommed; engaging, in behalf of that prince, to cede to Homayûn, in such a case, the whole of the territory on that side of Khullum, to be added to his possessions in Buddukhshaun: and, furthermore, whenever he might finally determine on prosecuting his designs for the re-

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covery of Hindûstaun, that a body of Ouzbeks should be ready to accompany him, sufficient in strength and equipment to render the most essential and important services. But as all this was at variance with the arrangements of an eternal destiny, other measures obtained the preference, of which the result could not then be foreseen.

Although the situation of Eybek was in itself sufficiently attractive, and its productions beyond measure abundant and desirable, there existed yet another very cogent reason by which Homayûn was induced to defer his departure from that place, for many days. This was the expectation still anxiously cherished for the arrival of Mirza Kamraun. And in truth, were it not for the unfortunate delay occasioned by such a circumstance, there were many discerning and intelligent persons, who did not scruple to pronounce that Peir Mahommed, who was, at the crisis, destitute of any competent means of resistance, must have been either entirely destroyed, or compelled to submit to such terms as the conqueror might have thought fit to impose upon him. But the opportunity thus lost, the enemy was joined by Abdulazziz Khaun, and other Ouzbek chiefs, with reinforcements in sufficient strength to cope with the invaders without disadvantage, of which there existed otherwise but little expectation.

It becoming, however at last, absolutely necessary either to advance or retreat, Homayûn, after directing the Ouzbek chiefs captured at Eybek, to be conveyed on the road towards Kabûl, but retaining the Ataulek with his army, proceeded, successively by Khullum and Bâbashahû, to Astaunah, a well known station at no great distance from Balkh. Here, before he had been long encamped, his scouts brought him intelligence that the Ouzbeks were approaching in considerable force; and Homayûn, without delay, proceeded to arrange his troops in order of battle, as it would appear, at some distance from the ground which he had chosen for his camp. In the mean time, a large division of Ouzbeks, under one of their most distinguished commanders, made a sudden and desperate attack, upon the camp itself; which was, however, very gallantly and successfully defended by those who had been left for its protection, the assailants being finally repulsed, and one of their principal leaders brought a prisoner to the presence of Homayûn. Nevertheless, though the commencement of hostilities appeared thus

far favorable, the unsteadiness and insincerity of his Ameirs again operated to disappoint the fairest expectations of Homayûn, principally through the distrust and uneasiness which they contrived to spread throughout the army, by propagating the most discouraging and contradictory reports, respecting the designs of Mirza Kamraun. On the very day following to that on which they had made their ineffectual attempt on his camp, the whole force of the Ouzbeks presented itself in order of battle before the lines of Homayûn; Peir Mahommed in person commanding on the right, Abdulazziz Khaun in the centre, and the Sûltans of Hessaur in the left wing. The whole of the forenoon appears to have been consumed in arrangements preparatory to the conflict; but, from the period at which the sun reached the meridian, until night-fall, the armies engaged with equal fury and obstinacy in the work of mutual destruction. The Ouzbeks were, however, finally compelled to retreat; and were pursued, by the advanced guard of the Moghûls, across the intervening streams, to the very barriers of the city of Balkh. Homayûn evinced sufficient ardor to follow up the victory, and to advance his standard also to the gates of that metropolis; but in this he was audaciously opposed by the pusillanimity of his refractory Ameirs, who still pressed upon him the uncertain rumors by which they were haunted, of the hostile designs of Kamraun; their apprehensions of the treatment of their wives and families on the seizure of Kabûl by that prince; the inferiority of the imperial army on the spot, and the appalling superiority in numbers on the side of the enemy. Under all these considerations real and pretended, in short, they urged, in peremptory terms, the indispensable and absolute necessity of immediate retreat.

After a thousand struggles with his own conviction, Homayûn was at length constrained to yield to their remonstrances, and to consent that the army should draw off towards the pass of Derrahkezz, or perhaps it was Derrah-guzz, the pass of Bamboos; where, as it was a position of great strength, it was represented that he might halt for some time without risk, and not only be reinforced by the feudatory chiefs in that quarter, but obtain more positive information, with regard to the proceedings of Mirza Kamraun. After this, it was stated that he might engage with full confidence of success in the subjugation, not only of

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Balkh, but of the whole of the territory on the Oxus. Compelled thus by the usual failure of support from disaffected men, and with the city of Balkh in a manner at his mercy, Homayûn, without alternative, withdrew towards the pass in question; having first dispatched the Sheikh Behlowul to recal the advanced guard, which, as we have already observed, had pursued the flying Ouzbeks to the very gates of Balkh. In these trying circumstances, Mirza Sûliman, at the head of a strong division of the best troops, was the person selected to cover the retreat; which, although designed to terminate at the Derrahguzz pass, yet leading unfortunately along the direct road towards Kabûl, and the faithless and evil disposed gladly availing themselves of any pretext to throw the whole into confusion, a report was circulated that Mirza Kamraun was in full march for that metropolis; and that this was the true cause of the sudden retrocession of the army. It is therefore not surprising that a sensation of alarm should have generally seized the troops, and that they should in the end begin to disperse in various directions. Neither were the endeavors of Homayûn, nor of the officers still faithful to their duty, at all availing to bring back the fugitives; this being indeed contrary to the designs of an unerring destiny. For, observes our author, had Homayûn been permitted to advance his conquests on the Oxus, it is extremely clear that the emancipation of the oppressed and defenceless inhabitants of Hindûstân, must have been deferred to some very remote period, if not relinquished altogether. The result may be comprehended in a very few words.

Early apprized of the confusion exhibited in the movements of the Moghûl troops, the Ouzbeks, as usual, deriving courage from the dependency of their adversaries, suddenly recovered from their recent consternation, and appeared in close pursuit. Homayûn continued, for a long time, to expose his person with the most determined valour, in covering the retreat of his troops; until overpowered by numbers, and having had his horse killed under him, he was finally compelled to make his escape to a place of safety on one with which he was very seasonably supplied by Heyder Mahommed, his Aukhtah Beg, or grand equerry. The greater part of his troops, after witnessing the inevitable consequences of pusillanimous counsels, were entirely broken, and betook themselves to a disorderly flight, in every possible

direction. It would be superfluous labor to record the names of all those who were present with the army of Homayûn, on this disastrous expedition. Among the most distinguished commanders were the Mirzas Hindal and Sùliman, and the Ameirs Karautchah Khaun, who had, it is to be supposed, been in some degree restored to favor, Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, Tereddy Beg Khaun, Munnâeim Khaun, and others to the number of four or five and twenty, of the highest class of nobility; all associated, in some shape or other, in the perils and mistakes of the enterprize which we have thus briefly endeavoured to describe. At the expiration of the third day, Homayûn ventured to halt, with a few of his attendants, at the station of Tchaurtcheshmah, the four springs, where he was very shortly joined by others, who had also made good their retreat in various ways. From hence he dispatched advices to Kabûl, in order to relieve the apprehensions of his son, and the princesses of the imperial family; as well as to Reshid Khaun the ruler of Kashghâr, to whom he announced the failure of his views on Mawur-un-neher, which he distinctly ascribed, for the greater part, to the bad faith and refractory conduct of his brother-Kamraun.

The interval of another night conveyed Homayûn safe to Ghourbund, on the eastern side of the mountainous range of Hindû Kouh; another march brought him to Khaujah-seyauran—a third to Kâra-baugh—and a fourth to Mammourah, where he was met by the young Akbar, who now hastened to throw himself into the arms of his royal parent. And finally, when the favorable moment had as usual been ascertained by the astrologers, Homayûn once more re-entered the metropolis of Kabûl. It remains to state what befel the associates of his unfortunate campaign. Mirza Sùliman, during the retreat, embraced an opportunity of withdrawing into Buddukhshaun; Mirza Hindal to Kondúz, whither he was accompanied by Munnâeim Khaun; and many other Ameirs re-appeared successively at Kabûl. Shah Be-dauk, who had eminently signalized himself in the retreat, fell into the hands of the Ouzbeks; which was the case with four or five more of Homayûn's most devoted and confidential servants. The remainder, with few exceptions, appear to have ultimately succeeded in effecting their escape from the pursuit of the enemy.

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A. D. 1550.  
Abûl Fazzel.

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Abûl Fazzel.

During the confusion of so disorderly a retreat, the Ataulek Khaujah Mauk, and the other prisoners captured at Eybek, found little difficulty in regaining their liberty; but on their arrival at Balkh they made, of the humane and liberal conduct of Homayûn, a report so favorable as to excite the surprise, and claim the approbation of Peir Mahommed. In consequence of this, the whole of his Moghûl prisoners were immediately set at large, and conducted on their way to Kabûl; after having been treated with equal kindness and generosity, and without being exposed to the slightest further inconvenience.

If it were not already sufficiently obvious that in the generous Homayûn the milder virtues were carried to a fault—that by his frequent forgiveness of domestic treason, in particular, he had over and over again encouraged the revival of the same scenes of disloyalty and rebellion, and thus exposed his truest friends to endless hazards of life and fame, for the re-establishment of his power, we should be disposed to expatiate, with no ordinary complacency, on this spontaneous tribute of homage to his superior benevolence, coming from him whose capital he had so recently menaced with havoc and desolation, and from whence he had been compelled to retire, with such circumstances of disgrace and loss. Even as it is, we cannot but hold it out to our readers, among the rare examples of the kindlier feelings of our nature; and as a bright spot in the gloomy annals of oriental violence, to illuminate his course to the termination of these volumes.

With regard to Mirza Kamraun, whose conduct was so deeply implicated in the recent, as well as in former disasters, it will be sufficient to observe, that after disappointing his brother's just expectations of aid, in the expedition towards Balkh, and after having been defeated, at a subsequent period, by the Mirzas Hindal and Sûliman, in his attempts to obtain possession of Buddukhshaun, he at last determined, on the invitation of the perfidious Ameirs who infested the court of Homayûn, and at the head of whom was the traitor Karautchah Khaun, to proceed towards Kabûl; dispatching, however, in the first instance, to acquaint the injured monarch with his design, and to protest that his views, in thus obstruding himself once more into his presence, was to obtain forgiveness for the past, and for the future to devote himself with good faith and sincerity, to the service:



of his indulgent brother. On the repeated expostulations, and at the earnest intreaty of many of his more faithful captains, Homayûn prepared to counteract these insidious plans; and about the middle of the nine hundred and fifty-seventh of the hidjerah,\* he hastened with such troops as were present about his capital, towards Ghourbund, the direction in which it was understood that Kamraun was approaching.

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Having continued his march on this occasion to the river Baran, which seems to pass to the northward of Ghourbund, and being about to cross some of the smaller streams communicating with that river, certain of his attendants appeared to hesitate, and nicely sought, in different directions, for a spot where they might pass to the opposite side with the least personal inconvenience. Homayûn observed this circumstance of cautious self-regard with manifest displeasure; and he could not forbear quoting, to the disadvantage of his officers, the unparalleled zeal and self-devotion of the guards of Shah Issmâeil I. of the race of Seffy, who were known to cast themselves without scruple from the summit of the most fearful precipices, and to inevitable death, merely to follow the handkerchief of their sovereign.\* At such a crisis, nevertheless, Karautchah Khaun, and Mûssaheh Beg, with the other traitors combined against the interest of their benefactor, undertook to remind Homayûn that as the mountainous range in his front was intersected by numerous defiles and narrow passes, it would be advisable to station in each of them, a detachment of troops, in sufficient strength to prevent the approach of Mirza Kamraun; it being, in reality, the object of these perfidious men, as far as possible, to divide and disperse the royal army, at this period assembled in considerable force; in which, through the culpably complying temper of Homayûn, they too well succeeded. Hence it was that the Ameirs Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, and Berrekah, and Mirza Hussun Khaun, with several others, were sent off towards Zohauk, and Bami-an, and Mûnnaeim Khaun at the head of another respectable division, was advanced in the direction of Aulung; while the treacherous Ka-

\* July 1550.

† We are disposed to think that this refers to the disciples of the Sheikh ul Jubbul, or prince of Almowut, mentioned in oriental history; and the old man of the mountain of western writers,

A. H. 957. rautchah, and Mússauheb Beg, and Kaussem Hússeyne Súltan, with  
 A. D. 1550. the other disaffected chiefs who remained about the person of Ho-  
 Abúl Fazzel. mayún, regularly transmitted to Mirza Kamraun a daily account of  
 every thing that was passing in the camp of his adversary.

Thus instructed, Mirza Kamraun might venture to take his departure from Bamian and Zohauk, both then dependent on Kaból, directing his march for the pass of Kehjauk, and proceeding himself with the principal division of his troops; while Yessoun Doulut, Mùkuddum Koukah, and Bàba Sâeid with another division led the march in advance. Such then was the state of affairs, when one day towards noon, it was announced to Homayún by one of the natives, that Kamraun was approaching, and with designs evidently hostile. Still his evil genius, in the person of the perfidious Karautchah, interposed to deceive him, with expostulations on the absurdity of giving credit to the intelligence of an unknown and obscure peasant. The traitor, at the same time, artfully expressed an apprehension that if Mirza Kamraun, who was, as he chose to say, avowedly accompanied by a very insignificant force, should perceive the imperial troops in order of battle, he would necessarily take the alarm, and be thus prevented from approaching the royal presence. Homayún, whose mind, notwithstanding repeated experience, was yet a stranger to suspicion, suffered himself to be misled by the delusion; from which he was not awakened, until the designs of Kamraun were placed beyond all doubt by his appearance in hostile array. Then, and not before, he caused his generals to prepare for battle, immediately mounting his horse for the combat, which commenced almost instantly afterwards.

In order, however, to obtain a more distinct and convenient survey of the action, Homayún had taken post himself on an eminence which commanded a view of the adjoining plain; and from thence, in the spectacle, which now presented itself, of the troops in entire squadrons deserting his standard, and going over to the enemy, he beheld at last a decisive proof of the profligate duplicity, by which he had suffered himself to be so completely over-reached. In a paroxysm of indignation at this discovery, he rushed at once among the thickest of his adversaries, and for a moment, by the extraordinary prowess exhibited in his example, produced among those opposed to him, the

utmost consternation. Unfortunately his charger was transpierced by an arrow, from some unknown hand, on one of the flanks, and the monarch found himself exposed to the most imminent danger. At the same instant, Beg Bábâi, a native of Kûlaub, either inadvertently or by design, came upon him from behind, and made a stroke at him with his scimitar; but Homayûn at the same moment casting a fierce look at the soldier, his arm faltered, and he missed his stroke, which, as far as can be understood, only slightly grazed the monarch's leg. Providentially before he could repeat his blow, Mehter Segpâi, afterwards better known by the title of Ferhett Khaun, came up and beat off the assailant; and Homayûn, receiving from Mirza Nejeib, in exchange for his own wounded charger, the pyebald horse on which he rode, was enabled to renew the combat with greater chance of success.

In these circumstances of obvious hazard, a respectable and intelligent Yessawul, or exempt, of the name of Abdulwâhab, hastened to announce to Homayûn the actual defection of the perfidious Ameirs; and seizing his horse by the bridle, freely represented the necessity of yielding, for the present, to the force of an over-ruling destiny. Without alternative, Homayûn, therefore, determined on making the best of his way towards Zohauk, in which direction, as we have already seen, he had been persuaded to detach some of his most active and faithful generals; and the same Abdulwâhab, and another officer of the name of Mahommed Amein, having undertaken to make head against the enemy while he made his retreat, he accordingly receded from the conflict, accompanied by Ferhett Khaun, above-mentioned, and Sundul Khaun, with some few more attendants still devoted to the person of their sovereign. When he had withdrawn to a short distance from the field of battle, Homayûn, finding himself greatly exhausted with fatigue and the uneasiness of his wound, put off his coat of mail, and delivered it to Sundul Khaun; and that officer, without reflecting on the consequences, in the hurry of his retreat very unguardedly threw the armour away; and it subsequently fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom it was successfully employed, as a token to induce the governor of Kabûl to surrender his charge. On the day following, the fugitive monarch was joined by more of his officers; but of ten Ameirs, including Shah Budauk Khaun, Medjnoun Kakshaul, and Towlek Koutchin,

A. H. 957.  
A. D. 1550.  
Abûl Fazzel.

A. H. 957. whom he had dispatched to protect his rear and procure intelligence,  
 A. D. 1550. the latter was the only one who evinced sufficient loyalty to rejoin his  
 Abûl Fazzel. master; for which, and for his distinguished intrepidity during this  
 crisis of danger, he was very deservedly advanced to the appointment  
 of Kourbeggy, or captain of the imperial guards.

On the first cessation from toil, and the pressing danger of pursuit, Homayûn summoned a council of the few remaining Ameirs, in order to deliberate on the most advisable plan of proceeding, for the restoration of his affairs. Hadjy Mahommed Khaun, who had been invested with the government of Gheznein, and whose fidelity had become already more than questionable, proposed that they should return immediately towards Kandahaur; that being the direction in which he could more conveniently withdraw to his jaguir. But this was instantly rejected by Homayûn. Others, spurred on by the dictates of a more ardent courage, declared for returning without delay towards Kabûl; averring that, whilst yet intoxicated with the recent unexpected success, for which he was alone indebted to the treachery of individuals, it would not be difficult to wrest from Kamraun the fruits of his surreptitious victory. But the proofs of disaffection and disloyalty among those who enjoyed his confidence in an unlimited degree, were too recent in the recollection of Homayûn, to command any attention to these vaunting professions of zeal, however loudly repeated. Others again, whose views were more sincerely directed to the welfare of their sovereign, urged a continuance of their retreat into Buddukhshaun; from whence, when joined by the Mirzas Hindal, Sûliman, and Ibrauhim, they would be able to return with ample means to undertake the repossession of Kâbûl, without the hazard of failure. To this opinion, as most consistent with prudence, and the exigency of his affairs, Homayûn thought fit to subscribe; and he prosecuted his march accordingly towards that province by the way of Yekah Oulung—probably the Aulung formerly mentioned.

Here it becomes sufficiently apparent that it would be impossible to continue altogether the circumstantial details of Abûl Fazzel, within the narrow scope of the remaining pages of this volume; and we shall therefore submit to the reader the following passages borrowed from the work of Colonel Dow; which will serve to bring down the

narrative to that period of the history when the course of events seem naturally to have led to the final recovery of Hindústaun: reserving the sequel of the life and reign of Homayùn, for more circumstantial relation in the concluding chapter.

A. H. 957-59.  
A. D. 1550 52.  
Dow's History.

“Humaioon was now in great distress for money to pay the few troops who had continued faithful to his fortunes. He was obliged to borrow the horses, camels, and merchandise, of some great caravans, with which he mounted and paid his troops. He privately sent Bid-*da* [Budauk] Toglick [Towlek Koutchin] Mudgnow [Mudjnoun] and others, to the number of ten persons, to support his interest at Cabul, and to send him intelligence of what passed in that city. But of all these Toglick alone remained true to his interest, which they now found was greatly declined. Soliman, Ibrauhim, and Prince Hindal, returning with their detachments to join the king, he found himself again, in a condition to make an attempt to recover his kingdom; and he accordingly marched towards Cabul. Camiran, upon the approach of Humaioon, came out, and drew up on the banks of the Pungur [Punj-sheher]. Camiran was defeated with great slaughter, and in his flight he was obliged to shave his head and beard, and to escape in the disguise of a mendicant to the mountains of Limgan, [Linghânat]. Ashkary was taken prisoner, the perfidious Kirrachi [Karautchah] fell in the engagement.”

“Humaioon now returned in triumph to Cabul; where he enjoyed a whole year [1551] in peace and festivity. Intelligence was brought to him that the restless Camiran was again at the head of fifteen hundred horse, while some Omrahs [Ameirs] fled from the royal presence to Ghizni. The king marched against his brother, who fled towards the Indus, so that Humaioon without effecting any thing returned to Cabul. Camiran no sooner heard of his brother's return, than he returned again among the Afghans, to raise up more disturbances. Humaioon was under the necessity of taking the field a second time. He wrote to Byram [Beyram Khaun] who still held the government of Caudahar, to march against the Omrahs, who fled to Ghizni, and had invited Camiran to join them at that place. Camiran by the way of Peshawir, Bungish, and Curvez, [Gurdaiz] was then on his march towards Ghizni: but before his arrival Byram had come

A. H. 957 59. to Ghizni, and carried the revolted Omrahs prisoners to Cabúl. Ca-  
 A. D. 1550 52. miran disappointed of his allies, returned to Peshawir, and the king  
 Dow's History. directed his march to Cabúl."

"Before the arrival of Humaioon at his capital Mahommed, [Had-  
 jy Mahommed Khaun] one of the imprisoned Omrahs, found means  
 to escape a second time to Ghizni, from whence he was persuaded to  
 return, no doubt upon the most sacred assurances of pardon. Ashkary  
 [Asskery] having preferred a petition to the king, soliciting his en-  
 largement from prison, in order to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, was  
 now sent to Soliman, governor of Buddukhshaun, to proceed to Ba-  
 lich. Ashkari died in the year 961, on his way crossing the Arabian  
 deserts."\*

"Camiran was in the mean time levying troops among the Afghans,  
 and carrying on a private correspondence with Mahommed at Ghiz-  
 ni. The treason was discovered, and the old traitor condemned to  
 death.† Humaioon had by this time, marched against Camiran, but  
 he was surprized in his camp near Chiber [Tcheiberyaur, somewhere  
 between Gundemuk and Gheznein] on the night of the twenty-first of  
 Zicada 958;‡ upon which occasion Prince Hindal lost his life. Ca-  
 miran, however, gained no advantage but the death of his brother, be-  
 ing overthrown by Humaioon, and obliged to take shelter again among  
 the Patans. The king after this victory returned to Cabul, and in  
 gratitude to the memory of Hindal, who had well expiated his former  
 disobedience by his services and blood, he gave the daughter of that  
 prince, Rixia Sultana [Rekkeiah Sûltan Begum], to his son Akbar  
 in marriage. He conferred at the same time upon the royal pair, all  
 the wealth of Hindal; and appointed Akbar [at this period in the  
 tenth year of his age] to the command of his uncle's troops, and to his  
 government of Ghizni."

"The Afghans, a few months after these transactions, rose in favor  
 of Camiran. The king marched into their country which he laid

\* According to Abûl Fazzel, he died in the 965th of the hidjerah [1557], in some part  
 of the territory between Syria and Mekkah.

† He was regularly impeached and found guilty, under 110 several articles of accusa-  
 tion, either of which is said to have deserved the highest punishment of the law; and he  
 was accordingly strangled, together with his brother Shah Mahommed, the accomplice,  
 and reputed instigator of his crimes. Abûl Fazzel. ‡ 19th November, 1551.

waste with fire and sword. Finding, at last, that they got nothing but mischief to themselves, by adhering to Camiran, they withheld their aid, and expelled him from their country.”

A. H. 959-61.  
A. D. 1552-53.  
Dow's History.

“The desolate Camiran fled to Hindostan, and was reduced to solicit the protection of the emperor Selim, [Seleim Shah the son of Sheir Shah the Afghan] whom he beheld, by his own baseness, ruling his father's empire. But it was not to be expected that Selim would treat Camiran favorably. The unfortunate fugitive fled from the court of Dehli, and, like a poor vagabond, sought protection from the Indian prince of Nagercot. [Nuggurkote; according to Abûl Fazzel, it was at Jummu and Maunkote]. Being from thence driven by Selim, he fled among the Gickers. [Guickers, Guggurs, or Kakares].\*”



“Hyder, one of the posterity of Teymûr, then reigned in Cashmire. He requested the assistance of Humaioon to quell some disturbances in his kingdom. The king accordingly marched towards India, and crossed the Indus. Adam the prince of the Gickers, fearing the king's resentment, for giving protection to Camiran, imprisoned that unhappy man; and acquainted the king that he was ready to deliver him over to any body he should be pleased to send. The king dispatched Monim, [Mûnnâeim, or Mûneym Khau], to Adam, and Camiran was accordingly given up to him, and brought to the royal presence.”

“The Moghûl chiefs [Oulouss-e-Tcheghattâi, or race of Tcheghattâi] to a man solicited that he should be put to death, that he might distress them no more: but the king would by no means consent to imbrue his hands in the blood of his brother, however deserving he was of death. Humaioon on account of his lenity was threatened with a general sedition in his army; and every body openly complained of that merciful disposition in the king by which his subjects were so often involved in misfortunes. He was, at last, though much against his will, necessitated to permit them to render Camiran blind, by means of antimony.† Some time after this sentence was executed upon the unfortunate prince, the king went to see him. Camiran immediately rose,

\* A nation settled between the Indus and the Behaut. Abûl Fazzel.

† Meyl keshidund. The usual method of destroying the eyesight was, by holding a red-hot copper, or brass plate, to the eyes, until the visual nerve was annihilated. According to Abûl Fazzel this operation was executed upon Mirza Kamraun towards the close of the year 960, corresponding with November or December 1553.

H. 959-61.  
D. 1552-53.  
Jw's History.

and walked some steps forward to meet him, saying "the glory of the king will not be [ought] diminished by visiting the unfortunate!" Humaioon immediately bursting into tears, wept very bitterly: Camiran endeavored to comfort him by confessing the justice of his own punishment; and by way of expiating his crimes requested leave to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The request was granted, and he went by the way of Sind [Tattah]. Having resided three years at Mecca, he he died in that place, in the year 964.\* He left one son Carem, who was, some time after his father's [Homayún's] death, assassinated by the order of Akbar in the fort of Gualier; Camiran had also three daughters"†

"Humaioon being now delivered from the restless spirit of Camiran, began to extend his dominions. He first turned his arms towards Cashmire. Selim the Patan emperor of India having at that time advanced to the Indus, his omrahs represented to Humaioon that if he should enter Cashmire, as there was but one pass through which he could return, that Selim might block up his rear, and reduce him to great distress. The king, however, would not listen to their representations, but marched towards Cashmire. Having advanced about half-way, a mutiny arose in the army, and the greatest part of the omrahs refused to proceed, while others actually returned to Cabûl. This obliged Humaioon to take a circuit by way of Sind, ordering a fort called Bickeram to be built in his route. In Bickeram he left a garrison under one Secunder."‡

"When the king arrived in Cabul, [in the early part of the year 961],

\* According to Abûl Fazzel, he died at Meina, or Meena, of which name there still appears a town near the entrance of the Gulf of Persia, on the 11th of Zilhudje of the year 964; corresponding with the 4th of October 1557; after having thrice performed the pilgrimage to Mekkah.

† According to Ferishtah, Kamraun left one son whose name was Abûlkaussem Mirza; who was imprisoned by Akbar in the fortress of Gwaliar, some time in the 974th of the hidjerah; and who was finally put to death by that prince, when he was proceeding to quell the rebellion of Khaun-e-Zemaun. His three daughters were all of them united to suitable husbands.

‡ According to Abûl Fazzel the fortress of Bikraun was that more generally known by the name of Peshawer, which had been destroyed by the Afghans; and which Homayûn now caused to be repaired, and put in a state of defence, leaving Sekunder Khaun, an Ouzbek chief, in command.



he sent his son Akbar to his government of Ghizni, under charge of Jellâl.”

A. H. 961.  
A. D. 1553.  
Dow's History.

“In the course of this year, Humaïoon became jealous of Byram, by the calumny of some of his courtiers, who pretended that that great man was carrying on intrigues with the Persian government. The king marched towards Candahar by the way of Ghizni. Byram, who was quite innocent of the charge, when he heard of the king's approach, came out with five or six friends only, to congratulate him on his arrival, and to lay his offerings at his feet. The calumniators were disgraced, and he himself loaded with favors.

“Much about this time, [towards the close of 1553, after Homayûn had returned to Kabûl] an address was received from the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting Humaïoon that Selim the Afghan emperor of India was dead; and that all the tribes of the Patans were engaged in a civil war, that it was therefore a proper opportunity for the king to return and take possession of his empire. The king being one day on a hunting party, told some of his Omrahs that he was very uneasy in his mind, about the execution of his designs upon Hindostan. Some of them who were desirous of making the attempt, consulted among themselves, and hit upon a successful stratagem to bring the king to an immediate decision. They therefore told him there was an old method of divination by sending a person before, and asking the names of the three first persons he met, from which a conclusion good or bad might be formed according to their meaning. The king being naturally superstitious, ordered this to be done. He sent three horsemen in front, who were to come back, and acquaint him of the answers they received. The first who returned told the king that he had met with a traveller whose name was Dowlat—fortune or prosperity. [perhaps Augustus]. The next brought advice that he met a man who called himself Murâd—desire or inclination; and the third that he met was a villager whose name was Sâdit—happiness.”

Thus far we have been induced to avail ourselves of the brief narrative furnished by Colonel Dow on the authority of Ferishtah, although the succession of events be given with considerable variation, and certainly in more satisfactory detail, by the elaborate pen of Abûl Fazzl. To him therefore we shall recur for the concluding chapter of this work.

## CHAP. XV.

A. H. 961.  
A. D. 1553.  
Abûl Fazzel.

**B**EFORE we enter fully into the proceedings of Homayûn, preparatory to the recovery of his dominions in Hindûstaun, there is an obvious propriety in taking a cursory survey of the transactions in that country, subsequent to the death of Sheir Shah; who expired, as we have already seen, on the eleventh of the former Rebbeia, of the nine hundred and fifty second of the hidjerah,\* after having exercised all the functions of supreme power, without a competitor, for a period of five years, two months, and thirteen days. To him, through the intervention of the Ameirs on the spot, and at the expiration of eight days after his demise, succeeded his youngest son, Seleim Khaun; who was permitted, in the language of our author, to continue the same system of ambitious policy, for a further period of eight years, five months, and twenty one days, occasionally contending for the sovereignty, with his elder brother Auddel Khaun, and with Khowauss Khaun the lieutenant general, and originally the slave of his father.

Seleim Khaun is described to have made himself notorious throughout his own and the neighboring states, by his capricious follies, by his fraudulent practices to obtain possession of the property of those subject to his authority, and by his propensity to squander, without discrimination or object, the accumulated treasures which, by a mere contingency, had fallen to his lot. But since it is ever inauspicious to resist the authority of the sovereign, however irregularly constituted, the designs of his opponents terminated, in general, unfavorably for themselves. During a part of his reign he was engaged in various attempts to subjugate the rival tribe of Niauzy, who, under their leader Heybet Khaun,† had contrived to get possession of the Punjaub; and he finally succeeded in driving them for protection into the mountains of Kash-

\* 22nd of May 1545.

† Entitled Auzem Homayûn.

meir, where they are said to have disappeared into Mt. Hellauk.\* Seleim was, also, for some time employed in operations against the Gickers, already so often described as possessing the territory between the Indus and the Behaut; but as these latter were attached with some degree of fidelity to the exiled house of Teymùr, his efforts in that quarter were destined to be unsuccessful. He, however, completed the fortress of Rolitass, which had been commenced by his father; and, among the mountains of Sewaulek, or adjoining to them, conceiving some superstitious fears for the safety of his person, he erected the fort of Maunkout.

A. H. 961.  
A. D. 1553.  
Abûl Fazzel.

Subsequent to this, jealous of the designs of the turbulent Afghans, and tormented by the misgivings of his own conscience, Seleim Khaun resided, for a long time, in the impregnable fortress of Gwalier. Nevertheless, although his behavior towards his soldiers is described to have been such as to have given, to them at least, universal dissatisfaction, he is acknowledged to have conducted himself towards his subjects in general, with unimpeachable integrity. But, unless his character became changed as he advanced in years, we do not clearly perceive how this is to be reconciled with the former statement. He died, however, on the twenty second of Zilkaudah of the year 960,† having devised the succession, by will, to his son Feyrouz Khaun, a minor. In a few days this ill-destined youth was barbarously made away with by his uncle, Mûbaurez Khaun, the son of Nizaum Khaun, who, it will be remembered, was younger brother to Sheir Khaun; the assassin, together with the throne of his murdered nephew, usurping the ill-assorted title of Auddel Mahommed. It is here remarked, as a singular circumstance in the history of human events, that not only the son of the Nizaum Khaun just mentioned should have attained to sovereign power, but that the husbands of his three daughters should, each of them, have arisen to similar pre-eminence among their cotemporaries. These were the Seleim Khaun above noticed; and Sekunder Khaun Sour, and Ibrauhim Sour, both of them destined to occupy a place in the record of Abûl Fazzel.

The usurper Auddel Mahommed, wholly devoted to his pleasures,

\* I am not clear that this does not signify "that they were swallowed up in destruction." They were in fact cut off by the Kashmirians.

† 20th of November, 1553

A. H. 961.  
 A. D. 1550-52.  
 Abül Fazzel.

very soon consigned the affairs of government to the discretion of the celebrated Heimû, or Himmû; a man, according to our author, who by flattering the propensities of his superiors, contrived, from the very dregs of society, to raise himself, in the course of a few years, to the most elevated dignities in the state. Of this new adventurer it becomes here unavoidably necessary to speak somewhat at large.

Himmû then, from nature, possessed neither the advantages of an illustrious decent, the graces of person, nor the felicities of a virtuous mind; but providence, for purposes inscrutable to human discernment, seems to have selected him for elevated rank, in order, perhaps, as in many other instances, to punish the vices of the wicked, by placing them under the authority of one more profligate, and abandoned, than the worst of themselves. Small in stature, as comprehensive in understanding, this man was a native of Reiwaury, in the district of Meivaut, and belonged to the cast of Douhsser; the very lowest class of pettyshop-keepers in Hindûstaun—his occupation being, indeed, that of a retailer of salt in one of the most wretched back streets of the town. Becoming, however, in process of time, through his indefatigable assiduities, one of the tradesmen of the court of Seleim Khaun, he was, through a continuance of the same intriguing and artful system, finally enrolled among the officers of the household, to that monarch.

Of the influence thus obtained, he wickedly availed himself to bring every species of misfortune, and distress, upon those unhappily exposed to the operation of his malice. And yet, while decorating his house with the pillage of the oppressed, and secretly advancing his own corrupt and selfish designs, by all the means in his power, did he outwardly profess that he was exerting himself to promote the interests of his master. Far be it from me to intimate, exclaims our author, that he was amassing wealth for the use of his sovereign, and thus compelling him to strike the hatchet into his own foot. Yet it is obvious to remark, that many a ruler among the faithful has been implicated in the most serious errors, when desirous, in the pressure of business, of searching into the private life of individuals, he has condescended to employ the services of odious and profligate informers; considering, perhaps, that such means are warranted when the object is the punishment of crimes. It would, nevertheless, be well to reflect that, al-

though in employing these unworthy instruments, they may have flattered themselves that the fame and honor of obedient and truly loyal subjects can never be seriously affected, still these men, with fair exterior and malice in their hearts, once finding their opportunity, seldom scruple, however, specious the pretence, to attack the most loyal, where they perceive the prospect of private advantage; and that, in giving ear to such miscreants, they may have forgotten the selfish views by which they are actuated, and encouraging suspicions to the disadvantage of their very best friends, have thus unconsciously labored to their own destruction.

However, this may be, such was the influence which, through his specious manners, the artful Himmû succeeded in securing over the mind of Seleim Khaun, that he was finally obtruded into a principal share in the management of every department in the state. And, when upon the death of that prince, the government of the oppressed nations of Hindûstaun devolved, with the title of Auddel Mahommed, to the usurper Mûbaurez, the upstart discovered in the latter a total ignorance of affairs, he experienced but little difficulty in appropriating to himself the entire superintendance. Thus exalted to the highest power in the empire, he left the simple Mûbaurez, who received from his contemporaries the appellative of Auddily, for his imbecility, nothing but the name and shadow of the sovereign authority. Further extending his ambitious views, the perfidious Himmû then proceeded to possess himself of the treasures of Sheir Khaun and his successor, together with their establishment of elephants; dissipating, without remorse, and with lavish prodigality, the fruits of so many sanguinary victorjes, and thus engaging a numerous train of sordid and mercenary flatterers to promote his designs. He now, for a short time, assumed the title of Sunput Râi; but not long afterwards he usurped the more exalted one of Râjah, together with the name of Bikramanjit—at once absurdly and stupidly arrogating to himself the designation of an illustrious monarch, while he craftily continued the empty title of king to the pageant Auddily.

Nevertheless, he is acknowledged to have obtained many signal victories, over the enemies of his weak and luxurious master; and by some acts of surprising prowess, and consummate military skill, to have established a claim to the applause and admiration of all who heard of him.

A. H. 961.

A. D. 1553-54.

Abûl Fazzel.

A. H. 961.  
 A. D. 1553-54.  
 Abûl Fazzel.

To such a height of grandeur, indeed, was he elevated by the power of fortune, [operating, it is to be presumed, together with some degree of talent] that we find him at last opposing himself to the armies of the imperial Akbar; but as the character of that illustrious monarch was the touchstone of every quality, as might have been expected, he totally failed in the test; and both the schemes, and the existence, of this swarthy upstart, were finally swallowed up in the surpassing glory of his just and triumphant adversary.

But as the subject thus has led us to anticipate the course of the history, by some years, it becomes again necessary to recur to the proceedings of the unworthy Auddel Mahommed, whose example was calculated to excite nothing but contempt and derision. The result, almost natural of such imbecility of conduct, was the appearance of rival competitors in different parts of the empire; and among these, not the least formidable, was Ahmed Khaun Sour, the husband of one of the daughters of Nizaum Khaun, who held the government of the Punjab, and who now boldly aspired at the supreme authority, assuming the title of Sekunder Khaun: while Mahommed Khaun, who was nearly allied in blood to the warlike Sheir Khaun, and had for some time exercised the functions of government in Bengal, aimed at similar independence in that quarter. Nearer home, Ibrauhim Khaun Sour, who was married to the third of the daughters of Nizaum Khaun, as formerly stated, laid claim to the sovereign power over the whole of Hindûstaun. Shujayut Khaun, by the multitude nicknamed Sujawul, [the liberal perhaps] exhibited similar pretensions, and raised the standard of independence in Malwah; and in short the national turbulence of the Afghans broke out into scenes of commotion and revolt, in almost every quarter of this devoted country.

Sekunder Khaun, with the troops of the Punjab, and the lawless banditti whom he had collected in that quarter, proceeded towards Agrah; while Auddel Mahommed and Ibrauhim Sour, both directed their operations upon the same point. Through the craft of Himmû, Auddel Mahommed was, however, finally persuaded to withdraw to the eastward; but, in the vicinity of Agrah, a battle took place between Sekunder Khaun and Ibrauhim Sour, in which the latter was totally defeated, and compelled to seek for safety in flight. His father, Ghauzzi Khaun,

Sour, who was in possession of Beiaunah, retired, however, and successfully defended himself in the fortress of that name. The power of Sekunder Khaun was, in the mean time, prodigiously advanced, the whole of the territory from the Indus to the Ganges, submitting in general to his authority; and having now an immense force at his disposal, he prepared, in order to establish his sole authority on the destruction of his competitors, to proceed into the provinces eastward of the Ganges. But his aspiring projects were at once suspended by the reports which at this crisis reached him, that Homayûn was actually on his march, with the avowed design of recovering Hindústaun; and he found it accordingly expedient to detach a great part of his army, under Tatar Khaun and Heybut Khaun, for the immediate protection of the Punjaub.

A. H. 961.  
A. D. 1553-54.  
Abûl Fazzel.

Mahommed Khaun, on the other hand, who had asserted his independence in Bengal, evinced, at the same time, a determination to vindicate his authority, against Auddel Mahommed and all other opponents. In the vicinity of Tcheperkettah, [perhaps the Chircut of Dow, about thirty miles from Calpy] after several previous contingencies, he was at last encountered by Auddel Mahommed and his minister Himmú, and perished in the conflict. This event is described to have placed the treasures of Sheir Khaun and Seleim Khaun at the entire disposal of the crafty Himmú; who was thus enabled to prosecute his views of private ambition with greater notoriety, and additional success. In such circumstances he gave battle, with unvarying good fortune, successively to Ibrauhim Khaun Sour, and the other chiefs who opposed his designs, being victorious in every conflict; his daring intrepidity carrying him triumphantly through every difficulty, although from some deformity or personal defect, he was unable to ride on horseback, and usually fought from his litter mounted on an elephant. It is, at the same time further insisted upon, that for all his surprising successes—successes which surpassed the calculations of all who heard of them—he was in a great measure indebted to the unsparing distribution which he made of the accumulated treasures, that had, in a manner, gratuitously fallen into his hands.

After his victory in the neighborhood of Agrah, the attention of Sekunder Khaun Sour had been directed, as we have already observed,

A. H. 961-62. towards Bahar and Bengal; where, on the death of the late Mahommed  
 A. D. 1554-55. Khaun, his son Khezzer Khaun, in the first place, seated himself on  
 Abûl Fâzzel, the throne with the title of Bahauder Shah, and latterly, on the de-  
 mise of Bahauder Shah, his brother succeeded to the kingdom of Ben-  
 gal, with the title of Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein. At the same time, these  
 provinces were menaced on the part of Auddel Mahommed, and  
 Himmû; whose exertions, for a season, were fully employed in repress-  
 ing the designs of their numerous adversaries in different quarters.  
 But it would be premature, in this place, to enter more at large into the  
 history of these minor events; and the narrative must therefore now  
 recur to the main and original channel.

Homayûn became no sooner substantially apprized of the distractions  
 which thus afflicted the unhappy nations of Hindûstaun, from one  
 extremity of the empire to the other, than he determined, without fur-  
 ther delay, on carrying into execution the design which had so long  
 engaged his contemplations. Leaving therefore the females of his fa-  
 mily, with his younger son, at Kabûl, the government of which was,  
 on this occasion, consigned to Mûnnâeim Khaun, he proceeded, about  
 the middle of Zilhudje of the nine hundred and sixty first of the hid-  
 jerah,\* towards the Indus. Akbar, who had now entered his thirteenth  
 year, and who had already exhibited proofs of a vigour of understand-  
 ing beyond all precedent, accompanied the expedition; and the most  
 trivial occurrences on the march, were industriously exaggerated into  
 indubitable prognostications of the renown which was to illustrate the  
 destiny of this favorite scion of the stock of Teymûr. The whole force  
 that accompanied the standard of Homayûn on an enterprize of so much  
 magnitude, is stated, however, to have fallen short of three thousand  
 men; the faithful Beyram Khaun having remained behind at Kabûl, for  
 the final arrangment of some of the affairs of the monarchy, and to com-  
 plete his own equipments.

On the last day of Mohurrim, of the year nine hundred and sixty  
 two,\* the royal army encamped near Bikraum—the modern Peshawir;  
 where the exertions of Sekunder the Ouzbek appeared so satisfactory  
 to Homayûn, that he immediately conferred upon him the title of  
 Khaun. On the fifth of the succeeding month of Suffur, † the imperial

\* 10th or 12th of November, 1554. † 24th of December, 1554. ‡ 29th of December-



standard was displayed on the western bank of that branch of the Indus called the Nilaub. Here Homayûn found it advisable to make a halt of three days, during which he was joined, as might have been expected, by Beyram Khaun from Kabûl. During the same period, intelligence was conveyed to him that Tatar Khaun Kaushy, who had been entrusted with a considerable force for the defence of Rohtass, had abandoned that place, the moment he became apprized that the Tcheghatàian army had reached the Indus.

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In consideration of some former, and even recent, proofs of attachment on the part of Sûltan Audem, the Gikker chief, Homayûn was induced, at this crisis, to dispatch a letter inviting him to his presence; but, as his evil destiny would have it, the temporizing zemindaury spirit prevailed with that chief to decline the invitation; on the plea that he was under engagements to Sekunder Sour, who had carried away one of his sons, as an hostage for his fidelity. He alleged, indeed, with some plausibility, that were he to appear in the imperial camp, he would not only be chargeable with breach of faith, but expose, perhaps, an only son to certain destruction. Such an apology appeared, however, insufficient to the officers of Homayûn; and they accordingly suggested that this man should be disposed of, before they proceeded any further. But it seemed otherwise to Homayûn, who crossed the Indus in force shortly afterwards; and the Afghans, who still hovered in the neighborhood of Rohtass, having dispersed in various directions, the march of the imperial troops was every where unmolested, and the inhabitants of the country were permitted on all sides to enjoy that repose, which is to be found alone under the protection of a just and magnanimous government.

On reaching Kalanour, the Ameirs Shahaub-ud-dein Ahmed Khaun, Ashruf Khaun, and Ferhutt Khaun, were dispatched by Homayûn to Lahour, with a demand that, in order to avert the calamities to which the city might otherwise be exposed, the prayer for the sovereign, and the coinage of the country, should run in his name. About the same time, Beyram Khaun, accompanied by a respectable force under the Ameirs Tereddy Beg Khaun, Eskunder Khaun, Khezzer Khaun Hazaurah, and Issmâeil Beg, proceeded against Nesseib Khaun Punjbeyah, who had established himself in the town of Berhaunah. Ho-

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mayûn in person descended towards Lahour, which he entered without opposition, on the second of the latter Rebbeia.\* Towards the conclusion of the same month, intelligence was received that Shahbauz Khaun, a distinguished Afghan commander, had assembled a large force of his nation at Deibalpour, [on the Setlîje], with which he was evidently preparing for some offensive design: and the Ameirs Shah Abûl Maally, Ally Kûly Khaun Sheibauny, or Shebiauny, Ally Kûly Khaun Enderauby, and Mahommed Khaun Jullâeir, with a chosen division of the army, were immediately detached towards that quarter. The Afghan stood his ground with determined resolution, and a very severe conflict ensued; in which, through the ardent impetuosity of youth, the young Seyud Shah Abûl Maally was for some time exposed to imminent danger. From this he was, however, seasonably rescued by the valour and exertions of Ally Kûly Khaun; and the Afghans were finally defeated with considerable slaughter, after which the victors returned to Lahour.

It will here be necessary to attend for a short time to the proceedings of Beyram Khaun, and the division employed against Nesseib Khaun, above noticed; and it appears that on the arrival of the Mõghûl general in the district of Berhaunah, the Afghan fled after a slight resistance, leaving a considerable booty, in specie and effects, together with the whole of his family, at the mercy of his assailants. Under the plea of a vow which he alleged to have heard his master make, that there should be no prisoners, should providence ever enable him to undertake the recovery of Hindûstaun, Beyram Khaun, with enlightened humanity, caused the whole of the Afghan families, without distinction, to be collected together, and without the slightest injury conveyed immediately to the camp of Nesseib Khaun. He dispatched, at the same time, intelligence of his victory to Homyûn, together with the due proportion of the booty, in elephants, treasure, and other valuable effects. Beyram Khaun then advanced to Jalinder, a well known post between the Beyah and the eastern branch of the Setlîje; but here, in consequence of a misunderstanding between the imperial generals, although the Afghans continued determined on flight, they were permitted to carry off the whole of their property.

\* 23d of February 1555.

The dispute between the generals being, however, accommodated, through the interposition of the royal authority, Beyram Khaun established his head-quarters at Jalinder; distributing the troops under his orders with their respective leaders, in the neighboring districts on either hand. Among these the district of Matchiwaurah being allotted to Sekunder Khaun, [the Ouzbek] that commander conceiving that he saw a favorable opportunity, made a movement forwards, and took possession of Sehrind, with a very great accumulation of booty. Just at such a crisis, Tatar Khaun, and Heybut Khaun, and Mûbaurek Khaun, with a superior force of Afghans, made their appearance from the side of Dehly; and Sekunder, now considering that it would be the extreme of imprudence to remain at Sehrind, retreated without delay to Jalinder. By this he incurred the displeasure of Beyram Khaun; who insisted that he should have maintained his ground at Sehrind, and, in conformity with the maxims of military discipline, reported his situation to his general. After considerable debate it was indeed determined, by a majority of voices, to advance altogether from Jalinder; and the whole proceeded, accordingly, towards Matchiwaurah. Nevertheless, it was still objected, on the part of Mahommed Khaun, and other respectable officers, that it would be extremely imprudent to cross the Setlije, so near the setting in of the rains; and that under present circumstances, the most advisable plan was to secure the different fords and ferrying places, and to defer the passage of the river, until the violence of the season should have abated. But the general was not to be withdrawn from his purpose; and being supported by the declarations of Moulana Peir Mahommed, and Mahommed Kaussem Neyshapoury, and Heyder Kûly Beg Shaumlû, and many others of the most distinguished veterans, he finally proceeded across the Setlije, leaving Tereddy Beg Khaun, and the Ameirs of the opposite opinion, to follow at their leisure.

Beyram Khaun then distributed his force into four columns, retaining the centre column to himself; Khezzer Khaun Hazaurah was placed in command of that on the right, and Tereddy Beg Khaun, who had not remained long behind, received charge of that on the left; while Sekunder Khaun, with a select body of troops, formed the fourth column, in advance. The Afghans, informed of the inadequate strength with which the royal troops had crossed the Setlije, hastened without

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delay to meet them; and one day, late in the afternoon, with numbers greatly superior, proceeded to give them battle. The Moghûl generals had previously selected an advantageous position, by the side of a considerable fresh water lake, in which to try their strength with the enemy; and a severe and obstinate conflict accordingly ensued, in which, before victory could decide for either party, night overshadowed the combatants. The action continued, however, with little intermission; and an adjoining village being set on fire, as it would appear by the Afghans, they thus became, without intending it, the instruments of their own destruction. For the light from the flames extending to but a little distance around, but exposing them without cover to the fire of their adversaries, they perished in heaps; while every shot from them being dealt at random through the surrounding gloom, passed harmless through the air. They stood their ground, however, until the expiration of the third watch of the night; after which they fled in the utmost consternation, leaving to their opponents a complete victory, with all their elephants, and a very considerable booty.

On the day following, the victorious Moghûls proceeded to Sehrind, where Beyram Khaun determined to remain for the present, only detaching a division in advance under Ally Kûly Shebiauny, who had recently joined him.

Apprized, on the other hand, of these alarming successes on the part of the Moghûls, Sekunder Sour, at the head of eighty thousand horse, with an equipment in other respects most formidably prepared for resistance, advanced to repel the invaders; Beyram Khaun discreetly confining himself to the works of Sehrind, which he strengthened by all the means in his power, and dispatching, by repeated messengers, to announce his danger, and to solicit the immediate support of Homayûn. At this crisis the emperor happened to labour, rather unseasonably, under an attack of the cholic, and he was therefore constrained to delegate his son, the youthful and already ardent Akbar, to take his place at the head of the army. Before the troops had, however, proceeded to any considerable distance from Lahour, the health of Homayûn became sufficiently re-established; and he was induced, not less from motives of prudence, than from the impatience of separation from his darling son, to assume the personal command of the army. In the mean time, he conferred the government of Lahour upon Ferhutt

Khaun, and the foujédaury of the Punjaub on the Bâpouss Beg so frequently mentioned in the preceding narrative; while Mirza Shah Sûltan and Mehter Jouher, were on this occasion nominated to the posts of Amein and Khezzaunahdaur, the judicial and fiscal administrations of the province.

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The garrison of Sehrind had gallantly sustained the attacks of an enemy tremendously superior, for a period of fifteen days, when, to their infinite joy, on the evening of the seventh of Rudjub of the nine hundred and sixty-second of the hidjerah,\* the army of Homayûn presented itself on the plains before the town. The emperor established his head quarters in a garden close to the place; and a plan of operations, that seemed best calculated to bring these hostilities to a successful termination, was here definitively arranged. The army was in the present instance formed into four separate divisions, calculated to act independently of each other; one under the immediate command of Homayûn, another under that of the heir apparent, the third under Shah Abûl Maally, and the fourth under the able and warlike Beyram Khaun. Many a partial conflict now ensued, in which equal gallantry and self-devotion was repeatedly exhibited on either side; but as the bodies of the slain appear to have been with no less decency than humanity, mutually delivered over for sepulture, to the surviving friends of either party, as the occasion required, this circumstance, for reasons not easily discovered, unless it is that barbarous nations have no motive for virtue but superior force, furnished, to the inexperienced, matter for apprehension that the issue of the contest would be unfavorable to the imperialists; more especially when they contemplated the extreme disparity on the part of the latter. Others, however, better instructed in the motives of human action, drew, from the undaunted bearing of Homayûn's troops, the most encouraging presage of final victory; and more than all from the invincible fortitude of their sovereign, who was himself at once the example, and the source of confidence, to all around him.

Without producing any material advantage to either party, hostilities had thus continued for the space of nearly thirty days; when on the second of the month of Shabaun,† the duties of the army being on that day entrusted to the division of young Akbar, a considerable part

\* 27th of May, 1555. temp: Phil: & Mar:

† 21st of June, 1555.

A. H. 962. of the division under the orders of Khaujah Mauzzem, and Auttekah  
 A. D. 1555. Khaun, became seriously engaged with a body of the enemy, under  
 Abül Fazzel. Kâlapahar, the brother of Sekunder Sour, in person. As the circum-  
 stance of a general action was, at the moment, little in the contemplation  
 of the parties, the usual preparatory arrangements appear to have been  
 entirely omitted; yet, such being the appointment of destiny, the battle  
 soon extended itself in such a manner as gradually to draw within its  
 vortex the whole force of the contending armies. The issue proved,  
 however, decidedly favorable to the hopes of the youthful hero. The  
 day terminated, after considerable slaughter among the Afghans, in  
 the most signal victory on the part of the Moghûls; and an incalculable  
 booty, fell as usual on this spot, to the lot of the victors. Sekunder,  
 with the remnant of his troops, drew off towards the mountains which  
 enclose the territory of the Punjaub, to the northward. He did not,  
 however, effect his retreat without imminent personal hazard; for being  
 closely pursued by a soldier of the troops of Khaujah Mûsauffery, and  
 unable to disengage his sword from the scabbard to defend himself, it  
 is something surprising that he should, in such circumstances, have at  
 last escaped either death or captivity.

In the midst of triumphs, sufficiently splendid, observes our author,  
 to prostrate the strongest mind, Homayûn, on his part, preserved his  
 equanimity unshaken. With admirable good sense and forecast, he  
 seemed, indeed, to comport himself in a measure exactly fitted to the  
 gradations of his good fortune. However signal the success which  
 had crowned his exertions, he declared that it was a consummation  
 for which he was by no means unprepared; since it was his invariable  
 rule to keep his wishes subservient to that humble obedience which  
 was due from him to his creator. He had, as he alleged, uniformly  
 endeavoured, moreover, to regulate his actions on three fixed and pre-  
 determined principles; first of all, integrity of design; secondly, energy  
 in execution; and thirdly, moderation in success—never presuming to  
 arrogate to himself any merit in the accomplishment of his views how-  
 ever complete, nor to ascribe the issue to any other source than what  
 was derived from the agency of a just and unerring providence. In  
 short, to afford at once an example of humility to the powerful, and  
 to attest the fulness of his gratitude, Homayûn, far from permitting  
 these just conceptions to expire in mere mental acknowledgements,

proceeded on the spot, and in the face of the world, to offer in repeated prostrations, his pious tribute of praise and thanksgiving to the supreme disposer of events.

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And here the author conceives himself justified in the further remark, that although, among the examples of achievement which, on former occasions, produced the subjugation of Hindûstân, the victory of the warlike Bâber might be instanced as a model to all futurity; yet, whether we consider the astonishing disparity of force by which it was gained, or the immensity of the booty which was the result, with those who are capable of appreciating the circumstances, that victory will scarcely bear a comparison with the triumphant issue of the conflict at Sehrind; for which, indeed, in all the records of ages past, there will seldom, if ever, be found a parallel. It remains to state, that the battle was fought exactly at the summer solstice, and during a tempest of wind and rain; which, at the same time that it occasioned the destruction of multitudes of the vanquished, nevertheless, by retarding the pursuit, furnished to thousands an opportunity of escape from the carnage, which would otherwise have been denied them.

Secure in his victory, Homayûn became anxious to ascertain the merit of those who had particularly distinguished themselves in the battle; but as there appeared to exist, with respect to the individuals to whom the success of the day was to be pre-eminently ascribed, a considerable difference of opinion, he referred the matter to the discussion of his generals, with instructions to submit to him a report on the subject. In truth, intoxicated with vanity, and the transitory renown of some recent unimportant successes, Shah Abûl Maally indiscreetly conceived that the glory of this transcendent victory was due to himself; while the veteran Beyram Khaun, considering that the whole scheme of the expedition originated with him, and who had in reality, from the commencement of the service to the triumphant close, uniformly supported the opinion of his master, against a majority of his council, contended, with anxious solicitude, that the principal merit rested also with him. Nevertheless, others who reflected more deeply, and with less partial considerations on the subject, and who moreover recollected that the battle had been fought, and the victory achieved, under the immediate auspices of the princely Akbar, listened, with avowed displeasure, to these subordinate and arrogant claims; and the

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matter was, to the general satisfaction of all, finally set at rest by the decision of Homayûn, who determined that the honors of the victory belonged, in justice, to his heroic son, not yet arrived at the age of puberty.

But among the circumstances which, at this crisis of prosperity, produced considerable surprise, the author is constrained to mention the discovery of a suspicious correspondence between Khaujah Mauzem, and the vanquished Sekunder Sour; among whose papers several letters from that chieftain were found, reflecting, in insolent terms, on the conduct and character of his sovereign. These letters were of course communicated to Homayûn; who evinced no small degree of astonishment at such a discovery, and very naturally demanded some sort of explanation of a proceeding that appeared so unaccountably ungrateful. As the facts were undeniable, the accused nobleman endeavored to exculpate himself on the very ingenious plea, that the letters were written with the express design that they should fall into the hands of Homayûn; in order to afford him one of those opportunities for the exercise of his well known clemency of disposition, of which he never neglected to avail himself. And in this he might now indulge, by conferring upon the writer, such advancement in rank and dignity, as by his former services he might be thought entitled to. Although this plea was rather too singular to be entirely successful, the accused was no further punished, than by being consigned to the safe keeping of one of the officers of the court, who was probably responsible for his person.

Having provided, in an adequate degree, for the security of Sehrind, Homayûn now prosecuted his march towards Dehly, and came to Samaunah. From the latter place it was found advisable, at this crisis, to detach a competent force under Shah Abûl Maally and other respectable commanders, towards Lahour; in order to defeat any designs against that province, on the part of Sekunder Sour, should he find himself in sufficient strength to descend from the mountains. The administration of the government of the Punjaub was, at the same time, transferred in chief to the same Shah Abûl Maally, assisted by the officers subordinate to his authority. Not less invited by the amenity of the situation, than impeded by the heaviness of the rains, Homayûn had determined to remain at Samaunah, for some time: but a dispatch from Sekunder Khaun [the Ouzbek] arriving just at this pe-



riod, to announce that he had already taken possession of Dehly, without resistance on the part of the enemy, and urging the expediency of his early appearance on the spot, in order to ascend the throne of Hindûstaun, he found it advisable to alter his plan; and he accordingly quitted Samaunah. On Thursday the first of Ramzaun,\* he reached the station of Seleimguddah, somewhere on the Jumna, to the north-ward of Dehly; and, on the fourth of the same month,† he finally entered that ancient metropolis. On their way to the town on this occasion, young Akbar, to the astonishment of those who saw him, contrived to kill a Neilahgao with his sword only, a circumstance which was very easily converted into an omen most auspicious to the cause; and Homayûn, who had forborne the use of animal food from the commencement of the expedition, gave orders that a part of this should be jerked, or preserved dry, for his first meal, at the conclusion of the fast of Ramzaun.

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Thus once more in possession of Dehly, Homayûn proceeded to make a distribution of the recovered territory among his principal followers; and first of all, he assigned to the vassals of young Akbar, in trust for their lord, the government of Hessaur, and the districts in that quarter, situated on the river Sereswaty, to the west-ward of the metropolis. On Beyram Khaun he bestowed the territory of Sehrind, with a variety of Purgunnahs in that and other directions. Tereddy, Beg Khaun was sent to possess himself of Meivaut—Sekunder Khaun, of Agrah—and Heyder Mahommed, the grand equerry, of Beiaunah. The territory of Sumbul was bestowed in jagueir upon Ally Kûly Khaun. In short, on the re-ascendancy of Homayûn's happier fortune, the whole of Hindûstaun became again, in reality, what it has in metaphor been frequently denominated, the very garden of felicity; and all classes of men were admitted to a joyful participation in the smiling prosperity which diffused itself every where around—at least, as far as the advantages of a just and equitable government had been, at this period, allowed to extend themselves.

Homayûn took up his abode in the castle of Dehly, there devoting himself, with unremitting attention, to promote the designs of his all-beneficent creator, in dispensing to every part of the empire the influence of his upright and virtuous principles. While thus employed,

\* 19th of July, 1555.

† 22d of July.

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A. D. 1555.  
Abûl Fazzel,

Shah Wully Auttekah, from Kabûl, presented himself to announce the health and safety of the ladies of the imperial family, who had been left in that city; and more particularly to congratulate the monarch on the birth, by the lady Mah Tehoutchek Bègum, of a son, on whom he now bestowed the name of Furrukhfaul—Fœlix. The messenger was rewarded with the title of Sùltaun, and shortly afterwards dismissed on his return, with letters from his master, expressive of his unabated regard, and solicitude, for the happiness of his family.

It appears that in the neighborhood of Hessaur, on his way towards Kabûl, on this occasion, the same Auttekah Khaun, with his escort, consisting of about four hundred persons, was attacked, on the twenty fifth of Ramzaun,\* by the garrison of that place, under a distinguished Afghan chief, of the name of Rûstum Khaun; whom, however, notwithstanding a superiority of force of nearly ten to one, he successfully engaged, and beat back into the fort, with the loss of seventy men. He compelled the Afghan, moreover, after a siege of three and twenty days, to sue for a capitulation; and, together with seven hundred of his followers, to proceed under the care of two Moghûl captains, to the presence of the emperor at Dehly. The Afghan was permitted to do homage before the throne of Homayûn; and at the expiration of a few days, letters patent were delivered into his hands, investing him with the possession of a jagueir suitable to his condition; but, that the maxims of prudence might not be entirely overlooked, in the exercise of this liberal policy, it was stipulated that, as hostages for his allegiance, he should place certain of his children in custody of the garrison of Bikram [Peshawir]. To this stipulation he appears, however, to have felt considerable repugnance, and with the improvidence not unusual, it seems, in unprincipled and ill-regulated minds, only awaited an opportunity to make his escape; but Homayûn becoming apprized of his design, his person was properly secured, and consigned to the custody of Bèg Mahommed Eyshek Agassy—the lord high chamberlain.

Another occurrence, of somewhat more serious importance, that took place about the same period, although of such frequent example in the east as to promise but little of novelty in the relation, was the insurrection of Kûmber Diwaunah; an ignoble and obscure adventurer, originally a camp follower in the army of Homayûn. Not long after the

\* 12th of August-

victory at Sehrind, and the departure of the royal army from that place for Dehly, this personage embraced the opportunity to collect a disorderly banditti, with whom he proceeded to plunder the country round; securing them to his interest by invariably dividing the booty, without reserve, among his licentious followers. At the same time, with all the cunning of an artful dissembler, he continued to dispatch to the head quarters of the emperor, regular advice of his proceedings, so far at least as he thought it convenient to explain them. In this way he gradually over-ran the whole of the country from Sehrind to Sumbul, which latter place he chose for the seat of his ephemeral government; employing an adopted son, on whom he had conferred the title of Arref-ullah, to extend his depredations still further on, to Bedâwoon. Here he succeeded in subverting the power of Râi Jeysing Julwauny, another distinguished chief in the interest of the Afghans. Kumber then advanced to Gaunt-goulah, continuing to extend his career of pillage and robbery throughout the adjoining territory; but, venturing to give battle to another Afghan commander of the name of Rokken Khaun, without attending to the ordinary precautions of discipline, he was defeated, and fell back to Bedawoon.

A. H. 902.  
A. D. 1565.  
Abûl Fazzel.

It has been already remarked that this *intelligent madman* [diwaunah Aukkel], had regularly dispatched to the royal presence advice of his proceedings, and this was always accompanied with profuse expressions of loyalty and zeal; but it so happened that, between his words and his actions, there was to be discovered nothing in conformity. His presumption in conferring titles of nobility, of Khaun, and Suldaun, under his own authority, together with the insignia of the standard and kettle-drum, was, however, a direct encroachment on the prerogatives of royalty which could not be further overlooked. And yet the aberrations of mental insanity might have furnished some apology for, instead of aggravating the offences of an absurd and silly vanity; since he is described, on frequent occasions, to have abandoned his own habitation to the pillage of his own disorderly banditti, and the general excentricity of his actions, in other respects, exhibited very clear indications of derangement.

These irregularities had, more than once, been brought under the consideration of Homayûn; and instructions were at last transmitted to Ally Kûly Khaun, who had been recently nominated to the government

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of Sumbul, to send this turbulent madman to court; or, if he continued refractory, to punish him on the spot. Ally Kûly Khaun received these instructions just at the crisis in which, after his defeat by Rokken Khaun, the wretched Kûmber had returned to Bedâwoon. Accordingly, as soon as Ally Kûly Khaun had adjusted his concerns at Meirtah, he proceeded to Sumbul, and having further provided for the security of that part of the country, finally prosecuted his march to Bedâwoon, into which town he now sent a messenger to demand the attendance of the adventurer. The summons was peremptorily declined on the part of Kûmber, who alleged that, as well as Ally Kûly Khaun, he also claimed the honor of being a vassal of the imperial government; but that having, with the assistance of his own good sword alone, carved his way to the possession of the country, he did not conceive it at all expedient to acknowledge any subordinate authority whatever.

Hostilities immediately followed; but as the adventurer had yet scarcely recovered from the effects of recent defeat, he finally shut himself up in Bedâwoon, dispatching a humble memorial submitting his case to Homayûn. With his usual clemency, that monarch took his statements into consideration; and a person duly authorized was immediately sent from the presence, to remove his apprehensions, and conduct him to Dehly. Kûmber, in the mean time, continued to defend himself with equal vigor and resolution, behind the works of Bedâwoon; but when the siege had been protracted beyond his expectation, Ally Kûly Khaun ventured to dispatch two of his officers into the town, with some sort of message, which they were instructed to communicate to the insurgent, and these, to his misfortune, the latter thought fit to seize and detain. In short, availing themselves of some opportunity which was thus furnished to them, they found means to tamper with the garrison; the greater part of whom they brought over to the interest of the besiegers; after which they easily succeeded in securing the person of Kûmber: and before the conciliatory dispatch of Homayûn could reach the spot, the head of this unfortunate adventurer had been stricken off, and conveyed to the metropolis, by Ally Kûly Khaun. This premature severity is said to have incurred the displeasure of the emperor, which he did not fail to express in his communications to the Khaun; and he frequently, indeed, alleged to

his courtiers that he had been greatly disappointed in not being permitted to see this personage alive; whom, if he discovered any thing in his physiognomy that bespoke an ingenuous rectitude of disposition, it was, as he said, his intention to have treated with more than ordinary kindness.

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Another event which marked the period under consideration, and which it may be material to notice, was the disturbance produced in the government of Buddukhshaun, through the unwarrantable violence of Mirza Sûliman. This may be briefly explained in the following terms. When it was finally determined to proceed with the grand design against Hindûstaun, Tereddy Beg Khaun, who held the territory of Enderaub and Eshekmesh, in jagueir under the authority of Homayûn, received orders to join in the expedition; and accordingly, leaving a person in charge of the jagueir, that nobleman proceeded to his destination. Dishonorably availing himself of the opportunity, Mirza Sûliman hastened, without scruple, to engage in measures for securing these districts to himself; but first of all he endeavored, by artful management, to bring over the officer in charge to promote his views. Failing, however, in this part of his design, he openly proceeded to hostility, and laid siege to Enderaub. From thence, possibly unprovided with the means of a protracted resistance, Mokeym Khaun, the locum tenens of Tereddy Beg, boldly determined to cut his way out, sword in hand; and, with the whole of his family, finally made good his retreat to Kabûl, leaving the jagueir at the mercy of Mirza Sûliman.

But nearer to the seat of government, the attention of the reader will now be directed to the proceedings of Heyder Mahommed Khaun; who had, as formerly noticed, been sent to take possession of Beiaunah. Finding himself unable to keep the field against the Moghûl commander, Ghauzzi Khaun, the father of Ibrauhim Khaun Sour, who presided over the adjoining territory under the government of the Afghans, withdrew to defend himself behind the walls of the town; but, unhappily relying upon the example of good faith and honor displayed, on some recent occasions, by Heyder Mahommed, he ventured to place himself in his power; and the avidity of the rapacious Moghûl being irresistibly attracted towards the wealth of his captive, in direct violation of the most solemn engagement, he treacherously put him

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 A. D. 1555. to experience the connivance, and much less the approbation of so  
 Abùl Fazzel. just a monarch as Homayûn. Accordingly, Shahaub-ud-dein Ahmed, one of the stewards of the household, was immediately dispatched to inquire into the circumstances of this unauthorized, and audacious act of perfidy; in order that the course of public justice, which, through some contingency or other, appears to have been suspended since the commencement of the late expedition, might be once more thrown open to the world.

While Homayûn was thus employed in promoting the objects of a just government, and distributing to all around him the most liberal proofs of his bounty, some very unfavorable accounts began to reach him, with respect to the conduct of Shah Abùl Maally; the impetuous and arrogant young Seyud whom he had appointed to the government of the Punjaub. Intoxicated with his premature elevation, this officer had already contrived, not less by his arbitrary and oppressive exactions, than by his contemptuous disregard of the authority of his sovereign, to render himself universally odious. Homayûn, however, with whom he was a distinguished favorite, seemed at first disposed to ascribe these reports, to the malicious fabrication of such as were envious of his good fortune; but when it became notorious at court that Sekunder, the extruded Afghan, had descended from his retreat in the mountains—that the vain and aspiring Seyud had dared to supersede the meritorious Ferhett Khaun in the government of Labour, and appointed a dependent of his own to take his place—and, to put the seal to his delinquency, had actually laid his hands on the contents of the imperial treasury—the monarch thought it no longer safe to temporize; and he therefore conceived the design of vesting the chief government of the Punjaub, then reckoned the most extensive and important in the empire, in his son Akbar; assigning to Shah Abùl Maally, should it be found expedient, in exchange, the town of Hessaur, and the territory in that neighborhood. An additional motive for this arrangement, was the propriety of placing the province under the authority of the young prince, during the passage of the princesses of the imperial-family; who had been recently sent for from Kabûl, and were now on their way to Dehly. And, although the force already in the Punjaub might be considered fully adequate to repel any attempts on the part of Sekunder

Sour, the troops proceeding to that quarter under the orders of Akbar might, moreover, pass, as intended further to ensure the perfect tranquillity of the country against all possible contingencies.

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In the early part of the nine hundred and sixty third of the hidjrah,\* Akbar, now entering into his fourteenth year, took his departure for the Punjaub, accordingly; invested with ample powers, and accompanied by that experienced and able general Beyram Khaun, in the capacity of governor, together with a numerous retinue selected for the purpose, for their approved zeal, courage, and fidelity. On his approach towards Sehrind, the young prince was joined by Auttekah Khaun, and the troops employed with him in the recent operations at Hessaur: and it was on his arrival at the former mentioned place, that Akbar engaged in his service the Oostaud Azziz of Seiestaun; who had not long since been invested with the title of Roumi Khaun, and who was pre-eminently distinguished for his skill in gunnery, and the management of fire arms. Through the instructions which he received from this individual, Akbar is described to have become, in an inconceivably short time, and with the same aptitude which distinguished him in every pursuit, the most expert marksman of the age in which he lived. Such, indeed, is alleged to have been the singular facility with which this young hero completed himself in every acquirement, both of body and mind—such the rapidity with which he outstripped his masters in every science and accomplishment, that he already appeared to act under the influence of inspiration; and it is not surprising that the circumstance should have excited both astonishment and awe, in all who witnessed his unrivalled progress toward perfection.

Not long after his arrival at Sehrind, the young prince was further joined by the greater part of the imperial retainers, who had been serving in the Punjaub under the authority of Shah Abûl Maally; whom, in disgust with his absurd and dissipated conduct, they had successively quitted, on intelligence of the approach of Akbar. Preyious to his arrival on this occasion, Sekunder Sour, as already noticed, had ventured to descend from the mountains; but, on intelligence of the respectable force which was advancing, under the orders of the prince, he found it expedient to retire once more into the recesses of the same mountains. At the same conjuncture, Shah Abûl Maally, who had

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marched from Lahour to oppose the Afghan, returned to the seat of his government, on the retreat of the enemy; but the moment he had ascertained that the province was transferred to the heir apparent, and that he was approaching to take possession, the too aspiring chief saw no alternative but submission; and he, accordingly, hastened to meet the prince, on the banks of the Sûltanpour river, about midway between the Beyah and the Setlije.

From a filial respect to the regard which his father was known to entertain for this ambitious lieutenant, the young prince received him with adequate distinction; but when he retired to his tents, at the close of the interview, the arrogant Seyud, too highly elated by the favors which had been showered upon him by the indulgencé of Homyân, and too far intoxicated with the fumes of earthly ambition, conceived himself authorized to send a message of expostulation to Akbar; in which, after stating that the terms on which he stood with his sovereign were notorious to the world, and, more particularly, that the prince must recollect the distinction with which he was treated during the royal hunt on the Jûy-e-shahy, or king's canal near Kabûl, when he was permitted to eat from the self-same dish with his sovereign, he requested therefore to know how it came to pass, that with such a circumstance fresh in mind, Akbar, during the visit which had just taken place, should have assigned to him, on the contrary, his pallet of felt on one side, and a separate tray for his repast! To this arrogant interrogatory, the young prince, smiling at the indiscretion by which it must have been dictated, and with an intelligence beyond his years, enjoined the officer who brought the message, to tell his master in reply, that the observances of royalty, and the usages which prevailed in the intercourse of private friendship, were regulated on maxims widely different. At all events, that the relations which had been suffered to spring up between him and the royal Homyân, had no existence between him and the son. It did therefore seem strange that he should not have been able to distinguish this difference, and should have thought himself warranted to importune him with any such complaint as that which had reached him. This reply was not calculated to remove the apprehensions of Abûl Maally; and Akbar continued his march, without delay, towards the vallies of Mount Sewaulik, in quest of Sekunder Sour, who lay, at this period, in the districts about Maunkout.



When Akbar had, however, proceeded as far as Berhaunah, an express arrived with information for Beyram Khaun, that a dangerous accident had occurred to Homayûn: in consequence of which, conceiving it unadvisable to continue the march any further in that direction, the route of the army was immediately changed for Kalanour, with the design of suspending their movements for a few days, in that neighborhood. Not far from Kalanour, Nuzzer Sheikh Tchûly, the special messenger dispatched by Homayûn himself, in order to dispel any alarm which might have been occasioned by the report of his misfortune, entered the camp; and much about the same time, or very shortly afterwards, intelligence was communicated to Akbar, that his royal father was no more.

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While young Akbar was thus employed to provide for the security of the country of the five rivers, Homayûn continued at Dehly engaged in the necessary arrangements for effectually ridding the empire of all his enemies; in further extending the circle of his conquests; and in giving more perfect stability to the fabric of his government in general. In explaining these arrangements he frequently intimated the design of fixing, or rather of changing, the seat of authority, for the more convenient administration of affairs, alternately from Dehly to Agrah, and from thence to Jounpour, Kanouje, Lahour, and Mandou, respectively; assigning to each of these places, a permanent military force, under some prudent and skilful officer, and provided with resources in every respect so complete as to supersede the necessity of looking, on every emergency, for support from the neighboring provinces. At the same time, he described it as a part of his plan, that the troops in immediate attendance on his person, should never exceed, nor perhaps fall short of, the number of twelve thousand horse. And here, being already on the subject of arrangement, the author embraces the opportunity of laying before us in detail, the method in which Homayûn proceeded, in some respects whimsically enough, in the formation of his court.

First of all he signified his intention that a set of chairs of a particular form, of gold and silver, enriched with all sorts of precious stone, should be made up for the accommodation, on occasions of state, of the princes of the blood, and of those distinguished persons who enjoyed a particular share in the royal favor: for, said he, it is an undeniable

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truth, that however engaged in the commerce of the world, or in the sordid calculations of profit and loss, men of elevated minds, not yet admitted to the confidence of the sovereign, still aim at honorable distinction; neither is their attachment to be effectually secured, but by some such visible display of rank and splendor.

In early life, indeed, this respectable monarch is said to have exhibited in a variety of ways, strong proofs of a genius singularly inventive. Among others, when, on the departure of his father on the expedition to Kandahaur, he had been left behind to preside over the government of Kabûl, riding one day along the plains, and through the groves in the neighborhood of that city, he called to Moulana Rouhellah his tutor, to tell him that an idea had just occurred, of which he was determined immediately to try the effect. This was, of the three first individuals they should meet, from the names, and according to their import, to trace the outline of his future power. The Moulana observed that for this purpose the name of one person would perhaps be fully sufficient; but the prince rejoining, that he considered himself under the influence of some secret impulse, it was determined to abide by the original conception. Accordingly, when they had continued their ride a little further, a man was discovered in the twilight, of whom, on putting the question, they learnt that his name was Mûraud Khaujâh—Sir Desire. Shortly afterwards they observed a second person driving an ass loaded with fire-wood before him, whose name, on inquiry, they found to be Doulet Khaujâh—Sir Prospero. On which Homayûn exclaimed that if the name of the next person should happen to be Saadut, he should be disposed to consider it as a presage so favorable, as to be out of the ordinary course of things. Immediately afterwards, seeing a person, at some distance off, tending a few cattle at grass, they proposed the same question, and pertinently enough the answer proved that he was called Saadut Khaujâh—Sir Felix.\* The circumstance, as was to be expected, immediately produced among all present, a strong persuasion of the grandeur to which, under the blessing of providence, Homayûn was finally destined to attain.

\* In oracular language these three names might be interpreted into, "you are desirous of wealth and felicity." The reader will recollect in the extracts from Dow's *Ferishtah*, that this anecdote is related as having occurred towards the commencement of the last expedition across the Indus.

Instructed by this summary disclosure of the designs of destiny, so flattering to his hopes, Homayûn determined to erect a system for the regulation of his government, the basis of which should be established on these three things: Doulet, which signifies wealth or power; Saadut—felicity; Mûraud—desire or enjoyment. Accordingly, every subject of the empire was now arranged under one or other of three classes, or orders, thus denominated. The princes of the blood, ministers of state, and the nobility in general, together with the whole military order, were included in the department of power—Ahul-e-Doulet; because it is undeniable that without the support of these it would be in vain to aspire at what is considered the summit of human greatness. The men of science and learning, judges of the law, Seyuds and Sheikhs, lawyers and poets, and all connected with letters and the arts, in every situation of life, were enrolled in the department of felicity, and denominated Ahul-e Saadut: because a due encouragement of, and a frequent association with, individuals of this description, must contribute, in an eminent degree, to the attainment of happiness here, and hereafter. And lastly, in the department of desire or enjoyment, were included the domestic establishments, all of a beautiful exterior, singers and musicians, considering that these also have their full share in contributing to the enjoyments of mankind, this class was therefore denominated Ahul-e-Mûraud.

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Pursuing the same train of reasoning, he appropriated the days of the week to the three departments respectively, according to the following distribution. Saturday and Thursday were allotted to the department of felicity; those days being usually devoted by Homayûn to the affairs of science, letters, and religion. To account for this allotment it is explained that in the scheme of the astrologers, Saturday being under the influence of Saturn, and Saturn being the superintending planet over the Sheikhs, or elders among mankind, and over all ancient families; and Thursday being subject to the influence of Jupiter, the planet which is considered to reign over the learned, and all classes eminent for talent or mental accomplishment, it was not ill-conceived that those particular days should have been set apart for the affairs of those classes of society. Sunday and Tuesday, on the other hand, were the days which he devoted to the department of power; to matters of state and general policy; and the principle of this is explained to rest on the sup-

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position that Sunday is subject to the influence of the radiant orb which rules the day, and from which the diadem of royalty itself may be said, in some degree, to derive its lustre. Of Tuesday it is sufficient to remark that it is supposed to be under the influence of Mars, which in all countries is referred to as the governing planet of the military class. Monday and Wednesday, again, were the days allotted by Homayûn to the purposes of recreation, enjoyment, or desire; being set apart for the reception of his confidential friends, and favorite nobility, and others of the description already classed under this department. The conceit of this allotment is said to have been suggested by the recollection that Monday is under the superintending influence of the Moon, and Wednesday under that of Mercury; both planets considered to rule in particular over domestic concerns—*Dii lares*. And in the last place, Friday, according to the import of the name in Persian, was devoted to the admission of the aggregate of the people, without distinction of classes, to partake in the beneficent influence of the royal presence.

On any of these occasions, when Homayûn appeared enthroned in state, an ordinance of his required that it should be announced to the public by sound of the Nukkaurah, or great drum of the empire—the termination of the ceremonial being marked by a discharge of fire arms, perhaps of artillery. On such occasions also, the keepers of the wardrobe, with an adequate assortment of dresses of honor, and the treasurers with purses of gold and silver coin, attended in their places; in order that the effect of the royal bounty might not be diminished by delay. A company of warriors clad in mail guarded, at the same time, the precincts of the audience chamber, or hall of state.

To distinguish the three departments above described, he caused three maces, or battle-axes, overlaid with gold, and denominated according to the three departments respectively, the mace of power, of felicity, and of desire, to be delivered to three great officers of state; with full power to regulate, without controul, in every thing connected with the classes over which they were thus severally delegated to preside.

By Meir Khond, the celebrated author of the *Habeib-us-seyr*, who held, it appears, the appointment of first historiographer in the court of Homayûn, it is expressly stated, in the code of regulations established by that monarch, that while he was in office, the mace of felicity was borne by Moulana Mahommed Ferghuly; to whom accordingly was

entrusted the entire superintendance of all that related to the class of Sheikhs, Seyuds, and Oulema—in short, of every thing in the department of letters, charitable endowment, and public instruction. During the same period, the mace, or axe, of power, was carried by that distinguished officer Ameir Hindû Beg; in whom was vested the controul, in all that regarded the high functionaries of state, the great nobility, the agents, in short, in every department of administration; the pay and subsistence of the military force; and, finally, the rank and distinction of every individual serving about the court of the sovereign, was fixed at the discretion of this highly favored nobleman. The mace of desire, with the arrangement of all relating to the household, was entrusted to Ameir Weissy; in whom was accordingly vested the direction of every thing connected with the œconomy of the royal family, of all that was requisite to support the majesty of the throne, on occasions of state and ceremony.

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By another regulation introduced by Homayûn, the whole body politic of his government was further sub-divided into twelve separate classes, each class represented by a particular arrow, doubtless marked, or decorated, in a manner to indicate the class which it was intended to represent. Thus the *Twelfth*, or highest in enumeration, like gold of the highest touch in the hands of the assayer, was allotted to the quiver of the sovereign, and designed to indicate the supreme power. The *Eleventh* arrow was assigned to the brethren and nearest kindred of the sovereign, and others of royal descent attached to the imperial court. The *Tenth* belonged to the Seyuds, Sheikhs, and Oulema, or literary class, and men of the law. The *Ninth* to the higher nobility. The *Eighth* to the heads of particular tribes. The *Seventh* to such of the retainers of the empire holding situations of rank, as served about the person of the sovereign. The *Sixth* to the class of retainers denominated Aeytcheks, the household troops perhaps. The *Fifth* to such of the military class as by their courage and intrepidity had particularly distinguished themselves in the field of battle. The *Fourth* to those employed in situations of trust in the different [civil perhaps] departments of the state. The *Third* to the youth of the several tribes. The *Second* to the class of mechanics; and the *First*, or lowest of all, to the class of door-keepers, and the ordinary watch employed in the department of police. After all it would be difficult to perceive the object of

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this arrow-classification; unless, indeed, in cases of political embarrassment, it was intended as a method of deciding by lot, according to a species of divination some times resorted to among the Asiatics.

To proceed, however, with the regulations instituted by Homayûn, we are further informed that he distributed the affairs more immediately connected with the imperial household, into four distinct departments, corresponding with the four elements, each separately subordinate to a particular Vezzeir, or minister of state, appointed to preside over the details of the department. Thus the department of ordnance, with the manufacture of arms and warlike stores of every description, and all things, in short, requiring the application of the element of fire, was called the serkaur-e-autesh—the department of fire, the superintendance of which was vested in Khaujâh Abdulmelek. The affairs of the wardrobe, of the kitchen, of the royal stables, together with the charge of keeping up the necessary equipment of camels and mules, for transportation of the royal establishments, were entrusted to the superintendance of Khaujâh Lâtfullah; and this branch of service was called the serkaur-e-hawa, or department of air. The provision for the royal beverage, the Soujekhaunah, [baths possibly] the canals, ponds, and fountains, and all things which bore relation to the element of water, were committed to the controul of Khaujâh HÛsseyne, under the name of the Serkaur-e-aub, or department of water. And, lastly, the affairs of architecture, the culture of the soil, together with the custody of the treasure, and some other miscellaneous concerns of the royal household, were included under the denomination of the serkaur-e-khauk—the department of earth; and confided to the direction of Jullaul-ud-dein Mirza Beg. Each of these officers was at the same time subordinate, nevertheless, in his department, to another great lord of the court, of superior rank and dignity. Meir Nausser Kûly was general of the department of fire, for instance, and always appeared in a scarlet, or crimson dress; and so probably with the heads of the other three departments, respectively.

Another monument of the alleged inventive genius and taste of Homayûn, was the floating palace which he caused to be erected on the Jumna, in the following manner. The carpenters were first of all employed to construct four vessels, of a size in proportion to the depth of water; on each of which they then raised, when afloat, a pavilion of two

stories, finished with the utmost beauty and delicacy of workmanship. After this the four vessels were connected together by a strong platform, or some species of gallery, in such a manner as that the pavilions were placed in a situation exactly opposite to each other, perhaps in the form of a lozenge; and between each of the vessels was then interposed an additional pavilion, making altogether the number of eight, and forming in the centre of the whole a beautiful tank, or pond of water, of eight sides. Ranges of shops were also disposed on the occasion, on other vessels along the river, so as to display, in perfect order, all the luxuries and conveniences of an extensive bazar, or market place, on terra firma; and that nothing might be wanting to render the establishment complete, the royal gardeners were instructed to form, by similar contrivances, on the surface of the stream, a garden of considerable extent, for the cultivation of vegetables, flowers, and fruit. And thus equipped it was that, in the course of the nine hundred and thirty ninth of the hidjerah, this illustrious monarch, accompanied by his whole court, proceeded, in all the pomp of imperial splendor, along the Jumna, from Dehly to Agrah.

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To the number of Homayûn's inventions are next to be added that of moveable bridges, and a portable palace, the latter constructed of wood, and of three stories; the different parts of which were so admirably fitted together, by the skill and ingenuity of the workmen, as to appear entirely of one piece. At the same time, the whole was so contrived as to be taken asunder with the greatest facility, whenever it became necessary for removal from place to place; and the staircases so framed as to be taken down or replaced with equal facility and precision, whenever requisite. As an earlier proof of taste and skill in Homayûn is here further described, a crown, or tiara, of great height and beauty, which he caused to be finished under his directions in Buddukhshaun; and which, from its being cut, or radiated perhaps, on the rim with which it was encircled, in *two* places, in the shape of the Persian character representing the number 7, [v] was called the crown of glory; the word Ezz, which in the same language signifies glory, comprizing, numerically considered, the total 77, [vv]. This article, on his first arrival at Agrah, he presented to his father Bâber, by whom it was received with expressions of peculiar satisfaction.

We are now to notice a superb tent of state which, in reference to the

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twelve signs of the Zodiac, he caused, in some way or other, to be made and divided into twelve distinct compartments, each compartment so perforated as to admit the light of a particular constellation, according to circumstances. As an enclosure to the principal tent, which was possibly circular, like the ethereal heaven which encompasses the sphere of fixed stars, and is entirely pure and beyond the orbit of every other celestial body, he caused another suite of tents to be made up, plain and unornamented, and without screen or pavilion of any description. In pursuance of the same conception, and not improbably for the floor of the tent of state, he caused to be fabricated a noble carpet of a circular shape, the circles within which were so drawn as to represent, according to the solar system, that course in the heavens described by the planets, as well as the elementary principles of nature—ie; fire, air, water, and earth. Thus the exterior circle, representing the sphere of ether, was white. The second being that of the fixed stars, was blue. The third circle, that of Saturn, was black. The fourth, that of Jupiter, was of a sandal, or light yellow, color. The fifth, being that of Mars, was red. The sixth, being that of the Sun, was of a golden yellow. The seventh of Venus, of a light green; and the color of the eighth, being that of Mercury, was purple, because this latter planet was supposed to be of a mixed nature, and a mixture of rose color and blue, is well known to produce violet, or purple. Some philosophers are, moreover, said to have applied to Mercury the appellation of Koholy, antimonial, or black-eyed. And like the first, the ninth circle being that of the Moon, was also white. These were followed, as it should seem, successively to the centre, by the orb of fire, that of air, of water, and of earth, on which latter might have been delineated the terraqueous globe, subdivided into its seven climates, or Zones.

In conformity with this system, Homayûn for himself chose the circle of the Sun; and there on occasions of ceremony, he presented himself in full majesty seated on the throne imperial; the different orders of the state being respectively instructed to place themselves in that particular orbit indicated for their reception. Thus, for instance, the native Indian Ameirs were directed to arrange themselves in the orbit of Saturn, which is black. The Seyuds and Oulema, or men of letters, in that of Jupiter; it being further regulated that every individual, on entering the circle allotted to his class, should throw a die, on each face



of which was delineated a human figure, in a particular attitude, and finally to place himself in the attitude which should be indicated on the turn of the die, whether standing erect, sitting down, or reclining; and thus affording an additional and amusing variety to the splendid spectacle. It was further required by the code of Homayûn, that all who appeared at court should apparel themselves in the color of the day; for instance, on a Sunday they were to be clad in yellow—on Monday in white, which is the color of the Moon; and so on, on the other days of the week.

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The last regulation which we are called upon to notice, as introduced under the direction of Homayûn, was that by which he designed to lay open to the meanest of his subjects, an infallible expedient to obtain redress of injury; and this was by causing to be suspended before the imperial residence, a drum, which he named the drum of justice, of which the aggrieved were to avail themselves in the following way. If the person appealing for redress had only a simple quarrel with his neighbour, he was to strike a single stroke on the drum; if his complaint arose from a privation of salary, or subsistence, he was to strike twice; if from robbery, or any other violation of property, the stroke was to be three times repeated; and if it was an appeal for blood, or an accusation of murder, he was to strike the drum four times. So numerous and extraordinary, indeed, are alleged to have been the proofs of an inventive mind exhibited in the whole life of this highly gifted monarch, that the circumstance alone is expected to be a sufficient apology to the reader for the introduction of the above recital, however the taste of the author may be exposed to impeachment.

And here, for the last time, we resume the narrative to describe, that nearly about the period at which young Akbar received his dismissal for the Punjaub,\* the conversation of his august parent was observed to turn, with unusual frequency, on the subject of the closing scene of human existence; although, conceiving it prejudicial to the peace and good order of his government, as generating premature alarms, to avoid any discussion of this awful question in public.† This was repugnant to the uniform practice of his life, which led him to avoid the aw-

\* The country on the 5 rivers; *Setleje, Goundwaul, or Beyah, Rawy, Tchunderbhagah, and Tchunawah.*

† This is so ambiguously expressed in the original, that we have found it rather difficult to render, without a paradox.

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ful question in public discourse; at the same time, that he always appeared to enter upon the subject with no less serious interest than evident complacency among his private and confidential friends. There exists, however, but little doubt, that although hidden from others, the idea [of dissolution] was deeply impressed upon his mind by the secret monitor from above. Thus, adverting one day with peculiar admiration, to a circumstance related by his father Bâber of one of his officers, who used to allege that he never visited the tombs of Gheznein without wishing for the grave, he stated in coincidence that he never passed the repositories of the dead, in the neighborhood of Dehly, that the happiness of the expression did not occur to his recollection.

Not many days before he was destined to quit this abode of frail mortality, he described to one of his attendants, with tears in his eyes, that that very morning, at the conclusion of his early devotions, he had been seized by a mysterious inspiration which had dictated the following poetic effusion: "Lord! purify me through thy transcendent beneficence"—"Ennoble me with the knowledge of thy truth"—"Sorely afflicted by the perplexities of a tortured mind"—"Oh place me among those absorbed in the ocean of thy glory, and deliver me!"—An extraordinary change was at this moment observed to have taken place in the countenance of Homayûn. Before he had yet taken his final departure from Dehly, young Akbar had also experienced some uneasiness from a singular and alarming dream, in which he conceived that he saw somebody take his father by the hair; and the circumstance being communicated, the moment he awoke, by the young prince to Mauhem Auttekah, or perhaps Anika, his nurse, the mother of Adhem Khaun, it was determined to consult some of those persons who professed the interpretation of dreams, on the subject. To Homayûn himself, however, when the circumstance was disclosed to him, the signification was sufficiently obvious; and he declared to his friends, in an under tone, that it too clearly indicated the impending awful event, although, in order to avoid exciting the apprehensions of his family, he professed to believe that it merely denoted some minor calamity, which the intervention of providence would be at hand to avert. During the same crisis, his remarks were of a tendency, moreover, continually to convey to the minds of those who heard him the most melancholy intimations of that fate against which he knew there was no human alternative; and it was

at this period of anxiety, that he wrote, on the arch of a balcony, some lines taken from the opening of one of the compositions of Sheikh Auzery, of which the substance is conveyed in the following words. "It is said to be engraven on yon vault of azure, that of all mankind the end is happy." As his exit drew near he thought it expedient to diminish his ordinary dose of opium, observing to his confidential friends that being curious to mark the number of his remaining days on earth, by that of his surplus doses; and for that purpose he then put up, in seven separate papers, as many pills, delivering them to his attendants with the remark, that when these were expended, he should have nothing further to do with that intoxicating drug until the day of resurrection. It is added that on the day on which he commenced his journey to immortality, there were yet four of the pills untaken, when, perhaps to dispel the effects of the drug, he called for a draught of rose-water.

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Towards the decline of the same day, which appears to have been Friday the seventh of the former Rebbeia, of the nine hundred and sixty third of the hidjerah,\* Shah Bodaugh Khaun, and two other personages who had recently returned from a pilgrimage to Mekkah, and Pehelwaun Doast Meir, with dispatches from Munnæim Khaun at Kabûl, together with Tcheghatâi Khaun and some other fugitives from Gûjerât, had been admitted to the presence of Homayûn, and were describing, to the monarch, the various incidents in which they had been severally engaged. To enjoy the coolness of the evening, he had ascended to the terrace on the top of his library, which had been finished a short time before; and from thence he beckoned to the people who were assembled in the great mosque adjoining, in order that they might perform the usual salutation, [kornesh]. Having for some time longer continued his inquiries, into the affairs of Mekkah, Kabûl, and Gûjerât, the emperor directed the attendance of certain astronomers, in order to observe the rising of Venus, which planet was expected to make its appearance that evening; and it was the intention of Homayûn, at the auspicious moment, to announce, in full court, the general promotion in rank and dignity, which he had in contemplation for his nobility and principal officers. Just about the twilight, he was descending from the terrace, and had reached the second flight of steps, when, unexpectedly, a crier, or Mûezzîn, in the neighboring mosque, gave the

\* 21st of January, 1556.

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summons to prayers. With his usual exemplary attention to the duties of his religion, Homayûn prepared to seat himself on the spot; but the steps of the staircase being exceedingly steep, and composed of highly polished marble, his foot became entangled in the folds of his robe, as he was stooping down, and his cane at the same instant slipping from his hand, he fell headlong down the stairs; receiving a severe contusion on the right temple, which was immediately followed by a slight bleeding in the ear, on the same side of the head.

With that provident attention to the repose and security of his people, for which he has been already applauded, the first moments of recovery from the shock of his fall, were devoted by Homayûn to the dispatch of a messenger, Nûzzer Sheikh Tchûly, to announce to the young prince his son, that the accident, however dangerous, was not of a nature to threaten any fatal result; and that his general health was unimpaired. As a proof of his pre-eminent sagacity, amounting almost to inspiration, it is here stated, that about noon of the very day on which he breathed his last, the eleventh of the month above mentioned,\* and the fourth after his fall in the library, he declared to the individuals admitted to his presence, that some exalted personage of the time was destined, that day, to be visited by some awful calamity, most probably by the hand of death; little suspecting perhaps that the prediction was to be so immediately accomplished in his own person. Every expedient was employed by the ministers on the spot to conceal the fatal event from the public, for a period of seventeen days; that interval being requisite to announce what had happened, to the heir apparent, and to recal to the metropolis the great nobility, who had been recently permitted to repair to their commands and governments in different parts of the empire. During the same interval, one of the Moullas, or religious attendants of the court, dressed up in the apparel of the departed monarch, was occasionally exhibited from that part of the palace which overlooked the river Jumna; in order to receive the salutations of the people, and, as long as possible, to prevent the alarm and consternation expected to arise, and which accordingly took place, the instant the truth transpired.

On the twenty-eighth of the month,\* however, Tereddy Beg Khaun, who had long aspired at the dignity of Ameir-ul-Oomra, or premier

\* 25th of January, 1556.

† 11th of February, 1560.

grandee of the empire,\* proceeded, at the head of all the nobles present, to pronounce the Khotbah in the name of the illustrious Akbar; which ceremony, united with the zealous co-operation of all the higher classes on the spot, produced, in a considerable degree, the effect of tranquillizing the general alarm—the imperial authority being thus virtually secured, to the only rightful successor to the splendid inheritance of the throne of Hindûstaun. These important preliminaries dispatched, the chiefs assembled at Dehly separately withdrew to their respective jagueirs; in order to allay the apprehensions which had invaded men's minds, in consequence of the unlooked for death of the emperor. Tereddy Beg Khaun, on his part, remained at the metropolis, in order to provide resources for the preservation of the general security. From thence, however, he took care to convey to the new sovereign in the Punjaub, and in charge of a person in whom he could confide, a part of the regalia, together with ample assurances of his zeal and fidelity. Mirza Abûl Kaussem, the son of Mirza Kamraun, proceeded by the same opportunity, to the presence of his royal kinsman.

Although the limits of the empire were, at this crisis, but very precariously defined, we are here induced, from an anonymous note annexed to the close of the life of Homayûn, in that copy of Abûl Fazzel's history, from which we have drawn our materials for the concluding part of our narrative, to sketch the extent and resources of that noble territory, which was actually subject, or in the course of subjugation, to the house of Teymûr, at the period under consideration, or very shortly afterwards. From Hindû Koh, then, on the frontiers of Buddukhshaun, to Oudessiah, or Orissa, on the further extremity of Bengal, east and west, it extended in length, twelve hundred Kôsse of the standard, of Akbar, making sixteen hundred and eighty statute Kôsse; equal to about two thousand nine hundred and twenty three [2923] miles, fifty three yards, and one foot, in English measurement.† In breadth from the Behrah, or Bahrah, hills, in the district of Sourtah in Gûjerat, north and south, it occupied a space of eight hundred [800] kôsse of the

\* This will account for his early execution in the subsequent reign, under the orders of Beyram Khaun.

† The Tennauby, or chain kôsse, which continued the standard of the empire to the time of Jahangueir, and on which we have made our estimate, consisted of one hundred Tennaubs to the kôsse, of forty guzz to the Tennaub, and of thirty seven tessou, or inches, to the guzz. i. e. Two miles, five hundred and ninety one yards, and four inches to the kôsse.

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same standard, equal to about one thousand nine hundred and forty eight miles [1948] twelve hundred and eight yards, two feet, and eight inches English, taken most probably along the flexure of the roads. In another line drawn from the Kemâoon mountains to the northern extremity of the Dehkan, [the Godâvery, perhaps, to which the empire had been extended before the death of Akbar] the distance is described to have been one thousand Kôsse, or 2435 miles, 1514 yards, and 4 inches. The whole of this most enviable domain is, moreover, represented as admirably capable of all the operations of agriculture; exhibiting, at the termination of every Kôsse, some well-peopled and flourishing town, or city, to the number altogether, when the writer recorded his observation at least, of three thousand two hundred places of note, and including one hundred and twenty cities of primary rank. To each of these places were severally annexed, from one hundred to a thousand Mowzas, or villages, yielding in the whole a revenue of six hundred and forty Krou, or 6400 millions, of Tungahs; which, estimating the Tungah at the lowest possible value,\* the fortieth part of a rupee, and the rupee at two and six-pence, would be equal to the sum of twenty millions sterling in English currency.

The respectable monarch, to whom so considerable a part has been devoted in these memorials, appears to have terminated his earthly career, after a very turbulent and eventful reign of twenty five years and one month, at the age of forty seven years, ten months, and sixteen days. He was buried at Dehly, on the bank of the Jumna, where, in the 973d of the hidjerah, according to Ferishtah, a sumptuous mausoleum was erected over his grave, by the filial piety of his successor. On his character the preceding pages must furnish the best commentary. The misfortunes of his government may, indeed, be generally ascribed to a clemency of disposition carried to a fault; but, more particularly, to the unnatural and impolitic hostility of his brothers, for the indulgent treatment of whom he had, however, received a father's dying instructions. He was however not less brave, than he was humane and liberal. Of his accomplishments, in other respects, both personal and intellectual, the author professes the entire inadequacy of his pen to give a

\* Although at this moment he is not able to decide, but the impression on the author's mind is, that the Tungah was in value considerably higher than a Daum, which was the fortieth part of a rupee; he rather conceives it was the fifth part of a rupee.

just description. In every branch of abstract science he had made very competent acquirements, but in Mathematics, [Riauzy] particularly, he was a distinguished proficient. It was therefore almost natural that all who stood eminently qualified in that branch of science, or who devoted themselves to the study of philosophy in general, should have enjoyed, on all occasions, the utmost freedom of access to his presence. It is added that he had provided an extensive apparatus for astronomical observation, having long designed the construction of several observatories, for which purpose he had already fixed upon particular places, in different parts of the empire. Of his poetical talents, Homayûn left honorable proof in the Diwaun, or collection of poems principally elegiac, composed by him, and to be seen in the time of Abûl Fazzel, among the manuscripts in the library of the imperial Akbar.

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In religious principle he was strongly suspected of attachment to the Sheiabs, or sect of Ally, in support of which some circumstances will have been observed in the course of the preceding pages; but, whatever were the mode of faith which he had embraced, as a proof of the awful reverence which Homayûn entertained for the majesty of the supreme being, worthy the imitation of men of all religions, we are impelled to introduce the following fact from Ferishtah's history. Abdulhey the Suddur, or chancellor, whose name in Arabic signifies "the slave of the ever-living," had occasion, in consequence of some summons to his presence, to attend the orders of Homayûn; and observing that he omitted to address him in the usual familiar style, the monarch alleged in explanation, that, *with unwashed hands he never presumed to pronounce the name of his Creator.*

It remains to state that on Friday the third of the latter Rebbeia, of the nine hundred and sixty third of the hidjerah, corresponding with the fourteenth of February, A. D. 1556,\* being still at Kalanour, the illus-

\* According to Abûl Fazzel this date further corresponded with the 10th of Asfendiar-mûz, of the 477th of the era of Melek Shah; with the 15th of Teir, of the 925th of the era of Yezdejird; and with the 14th of Shabaut, of the 1867th of the Rûmian or Macedonian era. The new era established by Akbar, and denominated by him the Illauhy, or divine, by which he very judiciously changed the computation from Lunar to Solar, commences on the 28th of the latter Rebbeia, A. H. 963, corresponding with the 10th of March, A. D. 1556. The year of our Lord 1818 will therefore be the 739th of the era of Melek Shah; the 1187th of that of Yezdejird; and the 2129th of the Grecian era of Alexander. The era of Akbar, although calculated from about the vernal equinox immediately after his accession, doth not however appear to have been promulgated, until the 992d of the hidjerah, corresponding

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trious *Akbar* ascended the throne of Hindústāun; thus, in the fourteenth year of his age, commencing a reign which, for equal splendor, duration, and felicity, is scarcely to be paralleled in the recorded history of the world.† But, although this would furnish ample material for an additional, and perhaps most interesting volume, the limits prescribed to our design constrain us, here, to terminate our labours—trusting, that however deficient in the graces of composition and harmony of arrangement, the faithful statements and permanent utility of the narrative which we now submit to the Public, will be *yet* felt and acknowledged, when the hand which hath traced them shall have mouldered into dust.

with A. D. 1584; also with the Bengal year, or era of Lutchman Sing, 1465—The year of Salbahan, employed in Gūjerat and the Dehkan, 1506; and of Bikramājī, used in Hindústāun and Malwah, 1641. The year of our Redeemer 1818 will therefore correspond with 1740 of Salbahan, and with 1875 of Bikramājī.

† The death of Akbar took place at Agrah on wednesday the 10th of the latter Jummaudy, A. H. 1014, corresponding with the 12th of October, A. D. 1605: and his reign must accordingly have embraced a period of forty nine solar years, two months, and about twenty three days. “His name lives,” says Colonel Dow, “and will forever live, the glory of the house of Teymūr, and an example of renown to the kings of the world.” The faithful and accomplished historian of his reign, the learned Abul Fazzel, had been previously murdered on his return from the Dehkan at Narour, or Narwar, to the southward of Gwalier, in the course of A. H. 1011, corresponding with A. D. 1602, by a banditti of Raujpouts; and, as was strongly suspected, by the contrivance of Sūltan Selein, afterwards the emperor Jahangueir.

THE END.



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