PART THREE

# Hindustan

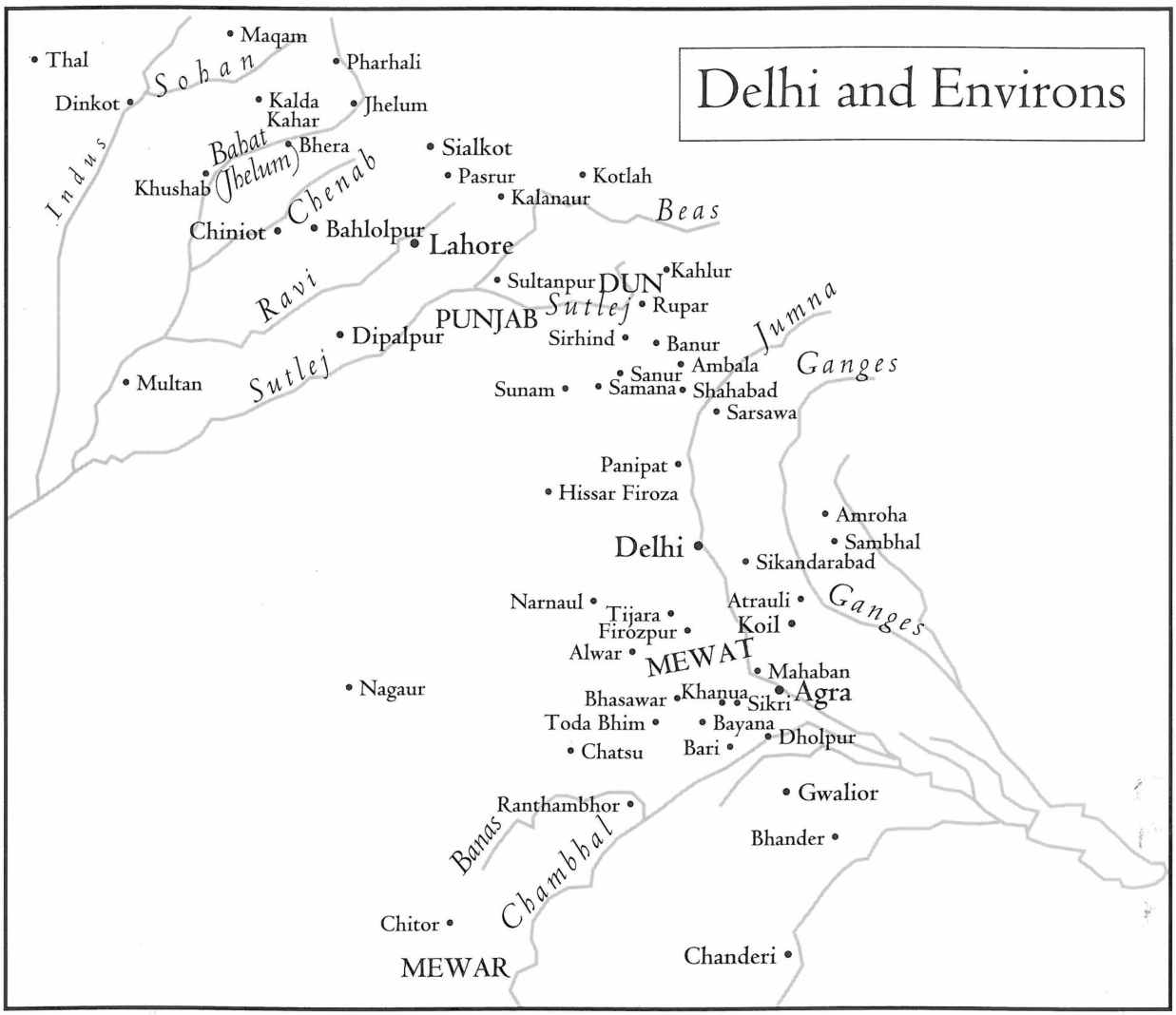



Illustration on page 308 is a detail of *Timur Granting an Audience in Balkh on the Occasion of His Accession to Power in April 1370*, from a *Zafarnama* (Book of Triumph) of Sharafuddin Ali Yadzi. Herat (?), dated A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467–68), f.83a. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. John Work Garrett Library, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

# Events of the Year 932 [1525–26][1]

On Friday the first of Safar 932 [November 17, 1525], with the sun in Sagittarius, we set out on an expedition to Hindustan, passed the Yak Langa hill, and camped in the meadow to the west of the river at Deh-i-Ya'qub.

1. The year A.H. 932 corresponds to October 18, 1525–October 7, 1526.

Abdul-Malik Qorchï, who had been gone for seven or eight months on a mission to Sultan Sa'id Khan, came to the camp with the khan's man Yangï Beg Kükäldash. He brought letters and paltry presents and gifts from the khanïms and the khan. We stayed at the site for two days seeing to the army and then set out, spending one night on the road and the next at Badam Chashma. We had some ma'jun there.

On Wednesday, at Barikao, one of Nur Beg's younger brothers brought twenty thousand shahrukhis worth of gold, *ashrafis,*[2] and tankas, which Khwaja Husayn the divan had forwarded from the Lahore revenues. Most of it was sent for the benefit of Balkh by Mulla Ahmad, one of the lords of Balkh.

2. *Ashrafi:* a coin.

On Friday the eighth, [252] while stopped at Gandamak, I got a violent cold. Thank God it went away without complication.

On Saturday we reached the Bagh-i-Wafa, where we waited for a few days for Humayun Mirza and the army from the other side of the Hindu Kush. The Bagh-i-Wafa has been mentioned several times in this history for its extent, pleasure, and delight.[3] It is really charmingly situated. Anyone who looks at it with a buyer's eye will realize what sort of place it is. During the few days we were there we mostly drank and had morning draughts on drinking days; on nondrinking days we held ma'jun parties. Since Humayun was long overdue I sent him some harshly worded letters.

3. Folios 132, 233, 242b, 245, 249-249b.

On Sunday the seventeenth of Safar we were having our morning draught when Humayun finally appeared. I rebuked him quite a lot for being so late.

Khwaja Kalan also arrived from Ghazni. That evening we marched out and camped in the new garden I had made between Sultanpur and Khwaja Rustam.

On Wednesday we got on a raft and drank wine all the way to Khush Gumbaz, where we disembarked and camped. The next morning we set the camp to march, returned to the raft, and had some ma'jun. The site we always camped in was Qïrq Arïq, but when we reached the opposite bank we looked and found no trace of the camp. [252b] Not even the horses were there. It occurred to me that Garm Chashma was nearby and shady, and that the camp may have been moved there. It was quite late by the time we got to Garm Chashma, whence we proceeded all night, although we did stop the raft and sleep a bit. At dawn we got out at Yada Bir. As the sun was coming up the soldiers began to arrive. The army had camped in the Qïrq Arïq region, but we had not seen them.

There were many people on the raft who could compose poetry, such as Shaykh Abu'l-Wajd, Shaykh Zayn, Mulla Ali-Khan, Turdï Beg Khaksar, and some others. During the party this line of Muhammad Salih's was quoted:

> What is one to do with the loveliness of every coquette? / There where you are, what is one to do with others?[4]

4. For Muhammad Salih, see part 1, note 132.

"Let's compose another like it," they said. Those who had poetic talent were in a composing mood. Since there had been much joking with Mulla Ali-Khan, the following funny line came spontaneously to mind:

> What is one to do with a dope like you? / What is one to do with every female ass with a hole as big as a cow's?

Before this, whatever came to mind, good and bad, serious and humorous, was often put into poetry as a joke. No matter how obscene or improper, it got written down. While I was versifying the *Mubin,*[5] however, it occurred to my weak mind and saddened heart that [253] it was a pity for obscene words to emerge from a tongue engaged with lofty expressions, and for improper images to occur to a mind manifesting pious thoughts. From then on I eschewed satirical and humorous poetry. At the time I made up that line, however, no such thing had ever occurred to me.

5. The *Risala-i mubin* (The Clarifying) is a treatise Babur composed in poetry for the instruction of his son Kamran in Islamic law. A large portion of it was published in Il'ya Nikolaevich Berezin's chrestomathy, *Biblioteka vostochnykh istorikov* (Kazan, 1849).

A day or two later, while camped at Bigram, I had an attack of the rhume, which led to a fever and a cough. Every time I coughed I hemorrhaged. I realized where the admonition was from and what I had done to deserve this suffering.

Whoever shall violate his oath, will violate the same to the hurt only of his own soul: but whoever shall perform that which he hath covenanted with God, he will surely give him a great reward.

What am I to do with you, O tongue? On your account my innards are bloody. / No matter how gracefully you compose humorous poetry, part of it is obscene and part is false. / If you wish not to burn for this crime, turn your reins from this field.

O Lord, we have dealt unjustly with out own souls; and if thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we shall surely be of those who perish."[6]

6. Babur's own poetry ("What am I to do with you," is preceded and followed by verses from the Koran (48:10 and 7:23).

Once again I sought forgiveness and apologized anew, and I freed my mind from and broke my pen to these sorts of vain thoughts and improper activities. Such a counsel from the divine court is an immense source of wealth for a disobedient human. Anyone who is thus admonished has attained great felicity.

Marching from there, we camped at Ali Masjid. [253b] Because the site is narrow, I always camped on a hill there, which overlooked the valley where the soldiers camped. By night the soldiers' campfires glowed beautifully. This time, and every time we camped there, we had a party and drank. Before morning I had some ma'jun and then mounted. I was fasting that day. We dismounted near Bigram.

The next morning, at the Bigram campsite, we mounted for a rhinoceros hunt. We crossed the dark water opposite Bigram and formed the battue downriver. After walking for a while, a man came from behind to say that a rhinoceros had entered a small patch of forest. The men encircled it, and we rode there as fast as we could. With the battue advancing into the forest and making a lot of noise, the rhinoceros emerged onto the open land and started to run away. Humayun and the men who had come from the other side of the Hindu Kush had never seen a rhinoceros before and stood watching with delight. We pursued it for nearly a kos, shot a lot of arrows, and brought it down. The rhinoceros had not made a good charge at either man or horse. Two more rhinoceroses were killed. I always used to wonder how a rhinoceros and an elephant would act if they were brought face to face. This time the elephant keepers were just bringing forward the elephants when a rhinoceros emerged. [254] When the keepers drove the elephants forward, the rhinoceros ran off in another direction.

The day we were stopped at Bigram, some begs and ichkis were divided into six or seven administrative units with the bakhshis and divans and assigned

to the boats at Nilab crossing to write down all the soldiers' names one by one and make a head count.

That evening I had a recurrence of fever from the rhume, which resulted in a cough. Every time I coughed I spat blood. I was really scared. Thank God it went away after two or three days.

We marched from Bigram and camped beside the Kabul River in the rain. News came from Hindustan that Dawlat Khan and Ghazi Khan had amassed twenty to thirty thousand troops and brought them to Kalanaur, intent upon attacking Lahore. Mu'min Ali Tovachï was sent at a gallop with this urgent message: "We are coming as fast as we can. Do not engage in battle until we arrive." After two bivouacs we camped on the banks of the Indus on Wednesday the twenty-eighth of the month [December 14].

On Saturday the first of Rabi' 1 [December 16], we crossed the Indus and the Kachakot river and camped. The begs, bakhshis, and divans who had been stationed on the boats brought me the count of the men who had come on this campaign. All told—great and small, good and bad, liege and other—twelve thousand men had been counted.

This year the monsoon rainfall had been small on the flatlands but good in the mountainside areas. [254b] We therefore set out by the Sialkot road for the mountain slopes to get grain. Opposite Hati Gakhar's region there was standing river water everywhere, all of it frozen, but not too thick—about a span at most. Such ice is rare in Hindustan. For the several years that we had been in Hindustan, we had seen no trace of ice or snow except for this.

Five marches away from the Indus we came on the sixth march to the river that was the Bakyals' campsite, at the base of Balinath Mountain, which is connected to Mount Jud. The next morning we stayed in that camp so the men could obtain grain. That day spirits were drunk. Mulla Muhammad Parghari talked a lot—rarely had he talked so much. It was Mulla Shams who was an old chatterbox: once he started talking he never stopped. The slaves, servants, and everybody who had gone for grain went on past the fields and scattered in the forests, mountains, and places of difficult access. Having gone out unarmed, some of them were taken prisoner. Kichikkinä the night watchman died there.

Marching from there, we forded the Bahat River below Jhelum and camped. Wali Qïzïl, whose district was in Bimrugiri and Akriyawa[7] and who had been assigned as reinforcement to Sialkot, came to see me. We were chastising him severely for not keeping Sialkot [255] when he said, "I left to go to my district. When Khusraw Kükäldash left Sialkot, he did not even inform me." I listened to his excuse and then said, "Since you did not keep the fort, why didn't you go join the begs in Lahore?" That shut him up. Since

7. These names are conjectural. They are not clear in the manuscript.

battle was fast approaching, I overlooked his offense.

Sayyid Tufan and Sayyid Lachin were sent from camp with spare horses to the men in Lahore to say, "Do not engage in battle. Come to our camp at Sialkot and Pasrur." Everybody was saying that Ghazi Khan had gathered thirty to forty thousand troops and that Dawlat Khan, despite his advanced age, had strapped two swords to his waist, and they were intent upon enjoining battle. The proverb that says, "Ten friends are better than nine" occurred to me. Since he was not going to go away, we would join the Lahore people to ourselves and then fight. While men were sent to the begs, we bivouacked and then camped beside the Chenab River. Along the way we toured Bahlolpur, which is royal land. The fortress stands on a tall cliff beside the river. I liked it a lot. We had the idea of bringing the Sialkot men here. God willing, when I had the chance I would do it. From Bahlolpur we came back to camp by boat [255b] and had a party. Some drank spirits, others drank beer, while some had ma'jun. We left the boat late that night and continued drinking a while in the tent. We gave the horses a day's rest there beside the river.

On Friday the fourteenth of Rabi' I [December 29] we camped at Sialkot. Every time we went to Hindustan, innumerable Jats and Gujars from the mountains and plains came to plunder our cattle and oxen. Those wretches acted so intractably and tyrannically. Before, when these regions had been the enemy, they were ill administered. This time, even though the people had become our subjects, they started their act again. No sooner had the poor, miserable men of Sialkot entered the camp than an uproar started and plunder began. The instigators were located, and I had two or three of them hacked to pieces. Shahim and Nur Beg were dispatched from Sialkot to the Lahore begs to find out where the rebels were, to learn from someone who knew the area where they could join us, and to send the news.

## ❋ Alam Khan's Defeat by Sultan Ibrahim

While at this campsite, a merchant came and reported that Alam Khan had been defeated by Sultan Ibrahim. The details are as follows: After Alam Khan was dismissed he made double time to Lahore in the hot weather without regard for his companions. When he was given leave to depart for Hindustan, [256] all the Uzbek khans and princes came and laid siege to Balkh. We too mounted to ride against Balkh. From Lahore, Alam Khan tried to muster the begs in Hindustan, saying, "The padishah has assigned you as reinforcements to me. Join me and set forth. We will get Ghazi Khan to march with us on Delhi and Agra."

"With what assurance should we ride with Ghazi Khan?" the begs replied. "Our orders are to assemble with Ghazi Khan when and if he sends his brother Hajji Khan and his son to court or else to Lahore as hostages. Otherwise we are not to join him. Yesterday you fought and lost. Are you sure you want to go with him? It is not politic for you to ride with him."

No matter how they attempted to dissuade him, Alam Khan refused to listen. He sent his son Sher Khan to enter into deliberations with Dawlat Khan and Ghazi Khan. With him he took Dilawar Khan, who had been held prisoner for a time and had gone to Lahore after escaping two or three months before. Mahmud Khan the son of Khanjahan, who had been given a district in Lahore, also went along. They agreed that Dawlat Khan and Ghazi Khan would take responsibility not only for the begs stationed in Hindustan but also for the whole region, and that Dilawar Khan and Hajji Khan would be enlisted to Alam Khan. [256b] These latter would take the Delhi and Agra region. Isma'il Jilwani and some other amirs came and joined Alam Khan, then they all set out for Delhi, marching as fast as possible. When they reached Inderi, Salman Shaykhzada also came and joined them. Their numbers now amounted to thirty or forty thousand, and with these they laid siege to Delhi. But they were unable either to provoke a battle or to cause serious concern to the defenders in the fortress.

When Sultan Ibrahim learned of the assembled force, he mounted his army to ride against them. But the troops discovered his approach and, withdrawing from the fortress, regrouped to face him. "If we fight during the day," they thought, "the Afghans will make it a point of honor for each other not to desert. If we attack in the dark of night, no one will be able to see anyone else and the commanders will go off in various directions." So thinking, they made a night raid from six kos away. Twice they mounted at noon to prepare a surprise attack by night; they remained in their saddles until the second or third watch, unable either to turn back or to go forward, and unable to come to an agreement. On the third try, with one night watch remaining, they made their attack, during which they were to set fire to tents and huts. They came during the last watch, set fires, and created confusion. Jalal Khan Jighat, with some other amirs joined Alam Khan. Sultan Ibrahim, with a few of his elite cavalry, did not budge from his pavilion. He remained there until dawn, while Alam Khan's men had were busy pillaging and plundering. [257] Sultan Ibrahim's forces saw that their opponents were few, so they set out in their direction with a small detachment and an elephant. When the animal advanced, the opponents were unable to stand their ground and fled. Alam Khan retreated toward the Doab and through the Panipat region to Panipat.

When they reached Inderi, they took three or four lacs from Mian Sulayman on some pretext and deposited it. Isma'il Jilwani, Biban, and Alam Khan's eldest son, Jalal Khan, separated themselves from him and got themselves to the Doab. A portion of the troops Alam Khan had gathered, such as Sayf Khan, Darya Khan, Mahmud Khan Khanjahan, and Shaykh Jamal Farmuli as well as some others, had deserted before the battle and gone over to Ibrahim. Alam Khan, Dilawar Khan, and Hajji Khan received news of our taking Malot as they were crossing Sirhind. Since Dilawar Khan had always been one of our supporters and had suffered three or four months of prison for our sake, he separated himself, joined his family at Sultanpur,[8] and came to pay homage to us at Malot three or four days after we had taken it. Alam Khan and Hajji Khan crossed the Sutlej River and holed up in a fastness called Gangota in the mountains between Dun and the plain. Our strike force left the Afghans and Hazaras [257b] and laid siege to them. They were near to taking such a strong fortress when it got too late in the day. Alam Khan and Hajji Khan planned to retreat but were blocked by the horses that had fallen at the gateway. They had elephants too. When they drove the elephants forward, they crushed most of the horses to death. Nonetheless, they were still unable to escape over the horses. Only in the dark of night and on foot did they, with great difficulty, get out and join Ghazi Khan who, unable to enter Malot, had fled to the mountains. As Ghazi Khan did not give them a warm welcome, Alam Khan could do nothing but come to the Phillaur region below Dun and make obeisance to me. In Sialkot someone came from the people in Lahore to say that the next morning all would come and pay homage. The next morning we marched and camped at Pasrur. Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang, Khwaja Husayn, and some other warriors came and paid homage.

The enemy's camp was on the Lahore side of the Ravi River. We sent troops under Böchkä to gather information. It was near the third watch of the night when the news was brought that the enemy had abandoned each other and fled as soon as they got wind of us. Early the next morning we moved forward fast, while Shah Mir Husayn and Jan Beg were left in charge of the uruq and camp followers. At midafternoon we arrived and camped in Kalanaur. Muhammad-Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan, and other begs came there to pay homage. [258]

As we marched early out of Kalanaur, news of Ghazi Khan and those who had fled was obtained from nearby. Muhammadi, Ahmadi, Qutlugh-Qadam, Wali Khazin, and most of the begs who had knelt this time for the office of beg in Kabul were sent in pursuit of the fugitives. It was decided that if they could catch them, well and good; if not, they should set up a close guard on the

8. Not the same Sultanpur as cited above, folio 252. This is in the Sultanpur southeast of Lahore.

environs of Malot fortress to prevent the men there from escaping. The object of the guard was Ghazi Khan. Having sent these begs forward, we crossed the Beas River and camped opposite Kanwahin. Stopping twice for the night, we then camped at the mouth of the Malot fortress valley. The begs who had come before and the begs in Hindustan were ordered to lay close siege to the fortress. Dawlat Khan's grandson, Isma'il Khan, Ali Khan's eldest son, came here. He was sent back to the fortress with some enticing promises and threats.

On Friday the army was marched forward, and we camped close to half a kos from the fortress. I myself went to see the fortress, then assigned the right and left flanks and the center and went back to camp. Dawlat Khan sent a man to say, [258b] "Ghazi Khan has fled to the hills. If you will pardon my offense, I will submit and turn over the fortress." Khwaja Mirmiran was sent to allay Dawlat Khan's fear and bring him back. Dawlat Khan and his son Ali Khan came together. I ordered him to hang around his neck the very same two swords he had strapped to his waist to fight us. Was he such a stupid bumpkin of a fellow that when his affairs had come to this pass he was still making excuses? He was brought forward, and I had the swords taken from his neck. When it was time for the interview, he was slow to kneel, so I ordered his leg pulled to make him kneel. When I had him seated before me, I said to someone who knew Hindustani, "Tell him these words one by one and make him understand. Say, 'I called you father. I honored and respected you more than you could have wanted. I saved you and your sons from wandering like the Baluch.[9] I rescued your clan and women from Ibrahim's sequestration. I awarded you with Tatar Khan's three-crore estates. Did I do you ill that you strapped two swords to your waist and led your army against our domains and caused such strife and turmoil?' "

9. The Baluch, who today inhabit Baluchistan (Iran and Pakistan), much as they did in Babur's time, were proverbial for leading a nomadic existence.

The confused old man mumbled a word or two in the back of his throat [259] but said nothing in response. What could he say to such unanswerable words? It was decided that their clan and womenfolk would be turned over to them but that the rest of their possessions would be confiscated. He was ordered to lodge with Khwaja Mirmiran.

On Saturday the twenty-second of Rabi' 1 [January 6, 1526], in order to send out their clan and women safe and sound, I went myself and camped on a rise facing the gate to the Malot fortress. Ali Khan came out and presented a few ashrafis. In the afternoon they began to take their clan and women out. Although some said that Ghazi Khan had already left, others said they had seen him inside the fortress; some ichkis and pages were stationed at the gate to search suspicious persons lest Ghazi Khan, the principal object of this search, slip by. Also, if jewels and gems were being smuggled out, they should be

confiscated too. I had a tent pitched on the rise before the gate and stayed there that night. The next morning Muhammadi, Ahmadi, Sultan-Junayd, Abdul-Aziz, Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang, Qutlugh-Qadam, and a few ichki begs were ordered to go inside and confiscate the treasuries and possessions. [259b] The troops were raising a ruckus at the gate: as peremptory punishment I shot a few of them. All at once a fateful arrow hit Humayun's storyteller, and he died on the spot.

After spending two nights on this hill, on Monday I entered the fortress for an inspection and went into Ghazi Khan's library, which held a few valuable books. I gave some of them to Humayun and sent others to Kamran. Although there were many learned books, there were not so many valuable ones as I expected. That night, I stayed at the fortress, returning to camp the next morning. We thought that Ghazi Khan stayed in the fortress too, but in fact that dastardly coward had abandoned his brothers, mother, and sisters in Malot and fled to the hills with a few men.

> See that vile one who will never see the face of good fortune: he chooses ease for himself and abandons his wife and child to hardship.

On Wednesday we moved from camp and headed toward the mountain to which Ghazi Khan had fled. We traveled a kos from the camp at the mouth of Malot and stopped in a valley. Dilawar Khan came to pay homage. We had Dawlat Khan, Ali Khan, Isma'il Khan, and a few of their grandees put in chains and turned over to Kätä to be taken to the Malot fort in Bhera[10] and held under guard. [260] For the others, who had been given to various persons, ransoms were set with the agreement of Dilawar Khan. Some were released, and others kept in chains. Kätä took the prisoners away. Dawlat Khan died upon reaching Sultanpur. We made the Malot fortress Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang's responsibility. Thereupon he stationed his elder brother Arghun there with a troop of warriors, and assigned some 250 Hazaras and Afghans as reinforcements.

10. Note that this is a different Malot from the preceding and the following (fol. 260). This is the only mention of Malot in Bhera; all others are Malot in Hashiarpur.

Khwaja Kalan had brought several camels loaded with Ghazni wine. Khwaja Kalan's campsite was on a hill overlooking the fortress and army camp. There a fabulous party was held in which some drank wine and others drank spirits.

Marching from there and passing by the low, ragged hills of Malot, we came to Dun. In the language of Hindustan, *dun* means a glen. One flowing river in Hindustan[11] is in this dun, around which are many villages that form the estate of the Jaswal, Dilawar Khan's maternal uncles. Dun is a fantastic glen.

11. The Sutlej.

Meadows flank the banks of the swift-flowing river, and rice is planted in some places. The current in the middle of the river is of a three- or four-mill force. The glen is a kos or two wide, and in some places [260b] three. The mountains are extremely small and hill-like, with villages situated on the slopes. Where there are no villages there are many peacocks and monkeys. There is also a plentiful fowl like the domestic chicken except that they are of one color.

Since there was no confirmed news of Ghazi Khan's being in any one place, we assigned Turdika and Prem Dev Malihas to go to wherever Ghazi Khan was and get hold of him however they could.

In the small hills around Dun are magnificent, impregnable fortresses. On the northeastern side is one called Kotla. All around it are sheer ravines seventy to eighty yards deep, except on the side of the main gateway, where it is only seven to eight yards deep. The area where one would launch a rolling bridge is ten to twelve yards wide; two large poles had been placed there to form a bridge over which horses and flocks were made to pass. This was one of the fortresses Ghazi Khan had fortified. His men were inside. When the strike force arrived, a battle ensued. The impregnable fortress was finally taken when, late that night, the defenders abandoned it and fled. Another strong fortress in the vicinity of Dun is Gangota. It too is surrounded by ravines, but it is not so secure as Kotla. Alam Khan had entered this Gangota fortress, as has been mentioned.[12] [261]

12. Folio 257.

## ❋ Babur Sets Out against Sultan Ibrahim

After sending a party out in pursuit of Ghazi Khan, we placed our feet in the stirrup of resolve, grabbed the reins of trust in God, and directed ourselves against Sultan Ibrahim, son of Sultan Sikandar son of Bahlul Lodi the Afghan, who controlled the capital Delhi and the realm of Hindustan at that time. He was said to have a standing army of one hundred thousand, and he and his begs had nearly a thousand elephants. After one march Baqi Shiqavul was given Dipalpur and dispatched as reinforcement to Balkh. Much money was sent to the aid of Balkh, and presents of the booty that fell to us during the conquest of Malot were sent to the families and children in Kabul.

After a march or two down from Dun, Shah Imad Shirazi brought letters from Arayish Khan and Mulla Muhammad Muzahhib exhibiting some show of support and concern for this campaign. We sent back with a foot soldier decrees of favor, then marched on. The raiding party that had gone to Malot took Harwar, Kahlur, and all the mountain fortresses in that region (which for a long time no one had gone against because they were known to be

impregnable), pillaged the inhabitants, and returned to us. Alam Khan had also been ravaged and came naked and on foot. We sent begs and ichkis out to meet him with horses. While we were in that region he came [261b] and paid homage.

Raiding parties also went into the mountains and valleys of the region and returned after a night or two with nothing substantial having been gained. Shah Mir Husayn, Jan Beg, and some warriors requested permission to go on a raid. While we were in Dun, petitions had come two or three times from Isma'il Jilwani and Biban. From here decrees were dispatched as they had desired.

Marching from Dun we came to Rupar. While we were there, it rained a lot of rain and was extremely cold, and many hungry, naked Hindustanis perished. From Rupar we marched to Karal[13] opposite Sirhind, where a Hindustani came to our camp saying that he was Sultan Ibrahim's envoy. Although he had no letter or credentials, he asked us to send an emissary. We sent back with him a night watchman from Swat. No sooner had the poor fellows arrived than Ibrahim threw them both into chains. A few months later, the very day we defeated Ibrahim,[14] the Swati escaped and returned to us.

13. The name Karal is conjectural; it has not been verified.

14. April 20, 1526.

Bivouacking once, we camped beside the torrent at Banur and Sanur, which is one of the few flowing streams in Hindustan aside from the great rivers. It is called the Ghaggar River. We rode out for an expedition upstream. Three or four kos above Chitar,[15] which is also on the banks of this river, the torrent emerges from a bubbling spring. We toured the area above the torrent and found a four- or five-mill-force river emerging from a wide valley. [262] Farther up are pleasant, charming places with good air. I commanded a garden to be made at the spot where the river emerges from the valley. As the water comes into the plain, it goes for a kos or two and then spills into the torrent. The Ghaggar River is three or four kos downstream from the place where the water flowing from the spring spills. During the monsoon season the water in the torrent swells, joins the Ghaggar River, and goes on to Samana and Sunam.

15. The name Chitar is conjectural; it has not been verified.

At camp we received news that Sultan Ibrahim, who was on this side of Delhi, was on the move in this direction. The provost of Hissar Firoza, Hamîd Khan Khassa-Khel, had come out ten to fifteen kos near us with the royal cavalry and the troops of Hissar Firoza and that region. Kätä Beg was sent to Ibrahim's camp to gather information, and Mu'min Atäkä went to the Hissar Firoza army to do the same.

On Sunday the thirteenth of Jumada I [February 25] we marched from Ambala and camped on the shore of a lake. Mu'min Atäkä and Kätä Beg met

us there. To attack Hamîd Khan we assigned Humayun with all the men of the right wing under Khwaja Kalan, Sultan-Muhammad Dulday, and Wali Khazin, as well as Khusraw, Hindu Beg, Abdul-Aziz, and Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang of the begs who had remained in Hindustan, and Shah-Mansur Barlas, Kätä Beg, Muhibb-Ali, and a contingent of ichkis and warriors from the center. [262b] Biban also came and paid homage. These Afghans are quite rustic and insensitive. Although Dilawar Khan was greater than he was in terms of liege men and rank, he would not sit in my presence. Alam Khan's sons, who were his princes, would not either. Yet this fellow asked if he could be seated. Who could listen to such nonsense?

On Monday morning, the fourteenth of the month, Humayun set out against Hamîd Khan after dispatching a hundred or 150 warriors as scouts. As his men drew near and started to clash with the enemy, the enemy soldiers scattered amidst Humayun's main body of troops who appeared from behind. A couple of hundred men were unhorsed. Half were decapitated and half were brought in alive with seven or eight elephants. On Friday the eighteenth, Beg Mirak Moghul brought to camp the news of Humayun's victory. Humayun was immediately awarded a royal robe and a horse from the royal stables and assigned a prize.

On Monday the twenty-first [March 5], at the same camp, Humayun brought in around a hundred prisoners and seven or eight elephants and paid homage. [263] Master Ali-Qulï and his matchlockmen were ordered to shoot all the captives. This expedition was the first time Humayun saw action, and it was taken as a good portent. The pursuit party chased the enemy soldiers to Hissar Firoza, where they caught them and pillaged the area before returning. Humayun was awarded the one-crore district of Hissar Firoza and its dependencies and a crore of cash.

We marched from there to Shahabad, where we remained while someone was sent to Sultan Ibrahim's camp to gather information. Rahmat Piada was dispatched to Kabul with proclamations of victory. In this camp, on that same day, Humayun first put the razor and scissors to his face.[16]

On Monday the twenty-eighth of Jumada I [March 12], while in that same camp, the sun entered Aries. News began to pour in continually from Ibrahim's forces to the effect that they were marching a kos or two and bivouacking for two or three days at each camp. We too set out, bivouacked for two nights at Shahabad, and proceeded down the bank of the Jumna to opposite Sarsawa, where we camped. Khwaja Kalan's liege man Haydar-Qulï was sent to gather intelligence. I forded the Jumna and made a tour of Sarsawa. We had some ma'jun that day. In Sarsawa is a spring from which a little water

16. The Persian translation adds the following annotation by Humayun: " 'Since His Late Majesty has mentioned my shaving among these events, I follow him in mentioning it. At that date I was eighteen years old. Now I am in my forty-sixth year. Written by Muhammad Humayun.' Transcribed from the

flows. It is not a bad place. Turdï Beg Khaksar praised it. [263b] "It's yours," I said, and thus Turdï Beg was given Sarsawa.

I had a cabin constructed on a boat, and used it sometimes for touring and sometimes during marches. We had proceeded two marches downstream camp when Haydar-Qulï brought news that Daud Khan and Haysam Khan had been ordered to cross into the Doab with five or six thousand men. They had formed a camp and were staying three or four kos this side of Ibrahim's site. On Sunday the eighteenth of Jumada II [April 1], we dispatched Chïn Temür, Muhammad-Sultan Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja, and Adil Sultan and the whole left wing under Sultan-Junayd, Shah Mir Husayn, and Qutlugh-Qadam, and from the center Yunus Ali, Abdullah, Ahmadi, and Kätä Beg. At noon they started crossing the river and moved out from the other side between midafternoon and evening. Biban used the fording expedition as an excuse to desert. They reached the enemy a little after dawn, finding that they had made some attempt to form a battle array and made as though to come out. When our men arrived, they moved on until they stopped opposite Ibrahim's camp. They unhorsed Haysam Khan, Daud Khan's elder brother, and one of his commanders and brought in to me seventy to eighty prisoners and six or seven elephants. [264] Most of the prisoners were executed as retributive justice.

handwriting of His Blessed Majesty."

## ❋ Preparation for Battle

We marched from there, arrayed the right and left wings and center, and had a *dim*.[17] We had fewer men than we had estimated. I ordered the whole army, in accordance with rank, to bring carts, which numbered about seven hundred altogether. Master Ali-Qulï was told to tie them together with ox-harness ropes instead of chains, after the Anatolian manner,[18] keeping a distance of six to seven large shields between every two carts. The matchlockmen could then stand behind the fortification to fire their guns. Five or six days were spent arranging it, and when it was ready I summoned to general council all the begs and great warriors who knew what they were talking about. We discussed the following: Panipat was a town with lots of suburbs and houses. The suburbs and houses would protect one side, but it was necessary to fortify our other sides with the carts and shields and to station matchlockmen and foot soldiers behind them. This having been decided, we marched, bivouacked, and then came to Panipat on Wednesday the last day of Jumada II [April 12].

To our right were the town and suburbs. Directly before us were the arranged shields. To the left [264b] and elsewhere were trenches and pylons. At every distance of an arrow shot, space was left for one hundred to 150 cavalry-

17. The Persian translation adds: "A *dim* is a method whereby soldiers are mounted and, with a bow or a crop in hand, they estimate the army according to the method established among them."

18. The defensive tactic known as the Anatolian method involved the hitching together of carts with chains in front of the camp as a sort of barrier, augmented with large shields and pylons. Infantry lines were in front of the carts, and matchlockmen could fire from behind. Similar tactics were employed by the

men to emerge. Some of the soldiers were hesitant, but their trepidation was baseless, for only what God has decreed from all eternity will happen. They cannot be blamed, however, for being afraid, even if God was on their side. They had traveled for two or three months from their homeland, and had had to deal with an unfamiliar people whose language we did not know and who did not know ours.

Aqqoyunlu Sultan-Murad in a battle with the Safavid Shah Isma'il (Khwandamir, *Habib al-siyar*, 4:471) and by the Ottoman Sultan Selim in the Battle of Chaldiran, again with Shah Isma'il (ibid., 546).

> A group confused, peace of mind shattered. A people preoccupied, a very strange people.

Sultan Ibrahim's army was estimated at one hundred thousand. He and his commanders were said to have nearly a thousand elephants. Moreover, he possessed the treasury left over from two generations of his fathers. The custom in Hindustan is to hire liege men for money before major battles. Such people are called *badhandi*.[19] If Sultan Ibrahim had had a mind to, he could have hired one hundred thousand to two hundred thousand troops. Thank God he was able neither to satisfy his warriors nor to part with his treasury. How was he to please his men when his nature was so overwhelmingly dominated by miserliness? He himself was an inexperienced young man who craved beyond all things the acquisition of money—neither his oncoming nor his stand was calculated to have a good end, [265] and neither his march nor his fighting was energetic.

19. No satisfactory explanation of this term has been found.

When the edges of the army had been arranged and stationed in Panipat with carts, pylons, and trenches, Darwesh Muhammad Sarban said, "With so much precaution what possibility is there that he will come?"

"Are you comparing them to the Uzbek khans and princes?" I asked. "The year we left Samarkand and went to Hissar, all the khans and princes of the Uzbeks gathered and came against us in unison from the Iron Gates. We got all our soldiers and the Moghuls' camp followers and possessions into the suburbs and blockaded the lanes. Since the khans and princes knew all about battle tactics, they realized that we had fortified Hissar to within an inch of its life. Calculating that it was not worth their while to attack Hissar province, they withdrew through Nawandak to Chaghanian. Don't think that these people are like the Uzbeks! How would they know how to evaluate the odds of a battle?"

Thank God it happened as I said. During the seven or eight days we were in Panipat, our men went out in small parties as far as the enemy camp and shot many of them, cut off their heads, and brought them back. The enemy made no move and undertook no action. [265b] Finally, acting upon some sup-

portive Hindustani begs' opinion, we sent four or five thousand men on a sneak attack led by Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad-Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan, Khusraw, Shah Mir Husayn, Sultan-Junayd Barlas, Abdul-Aziz Mirakhur, Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang, Qutlugh-Qadam, Wali Khazin, Khalifa's Muhibb-Ali, Muhammad Bakhshï, Jan Beg, and Qaraquzi. Unable to act in unison by night, they got scattered and achieved nothing. Just before dawn they were near the enemy's camp. The enemy's men were having the drums beat and were going out in battle array with their elephants. Although they were not able to accomplish any action, they contended with many men and got out safe and sound without anyone's being taken prisoner. Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang was hit by an arrow in the foot. Although it was not fatal, he was not fit for battle afterward. When I learned of this, I sent Humayun with his army a kos-and-a-half opposite them while I myself arrayed the remaining soldiers and set out. Those who had gone on the sneak attack went to Humayun. When the enemy did not come farther forward, we also withdrew. That night in camp we heard war cries for nearly a ghari. The noise caused trepidation among those who had never witnessed such pandemonium, but the confusion was only a false alarm, and after a while it died down. [266]

## The Battle of Panipat

On Friday the eighth of Rajab [April 20] news came at dawn from the scouts that the enemy was coming in battle array. We put on our armor, armed ourselves, and got to horse. The right wing consisted of Humayun, Khwaja Kalan, Sultan-Muhammad Dulday, Hindu Beg, Wali Khazin, and Pir-Qulï Sistani. The left wing consisted of Muhammad-Sultan Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja, Adil Sultan, Shah Mir Husayn, Sultan-Junayd Barlas, Qutlugh-Qadam, Jan Beg, Muhammad Bakhshï, and Shah Husayn Yaraki Moghul Ghanchi. The right flank of the center was Chïn Temür Sultan, Sulayman Mirza, Muhammadi Kükäldash, Shah-Mansur Barlas, Yunus Ali, Darwesh Muhammad Sarban, and Abdullah Kitabdar. The left flank of the center was Khalifa, Khwaja Mirmiran, Ahmadi Parwanachï, Qoch Beg's Turdï Beg, Khalifa's Muhibb-Ali, and Mirza Beg Tarkhan. The vanguard was Khusraw Kükäldash and Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang. Abdul-Aziz Mirakhur was assigned to the reserve. At the tip of the right wing Wali Qïzïl and Baba Qashqa's Malik Qasim and his Moghuls were assigned for the flank assault. At the tip of the left wing we arrayed Qaraquzi, Abu'l-Muhammad Nayzabaz, Shaykh Ali, Shaykh Jamal Barin, Hindi, and Tengri-Qulï Moghul for the flank assault so that when the enemy got near, these two troops could

circle around to the enemy's rear from the right and left. [266b]

The enemy's troops appeared, headed toward the left wing. For this reason Abdul-Aziz, who had been assigned to the reserve, was dispatched as reinforcement to the left wing. Sultan Ibrahim's army could be seen nearby, coming quickly without stopping. However, as they came farther forward and our troops became visible to them, they broke the ranks they had maintained and, as though undecided whether to stand or proceed, were able to do neither.

The order was given for the men who had been assigned to the flank assault to circle around to the enemy's rear from left and right, shoot their arrows, and begin to fight, and for the right and left wings to advance and engage the enemy. The flank assaulters circled around and began to shoot. From the left wing Mahdi Khwaja had already reached the enemy; advancing upon him was a contingent with an elephant, but by shooting many arrows he drove them back. Ahmadi Parwanachï, Qoch Beg's Turdï Beg, and Khalifa's Muhibb-Ali were sent from the center to help the left wing. Fighting was going on in the right wing too. Muhammadi Kükäldash, Shah-Mansur Barlas, Yunus Ali, and Abdullah were ordered to advance to directly opposite the center and fight. Master Ali-Qulï got off a few good gunshots from in front of the center. Mustafa the artilleryman also fired some good shots from the mortars mounted on carts to the left of the center. [267] Right wing, left wing, center, and flank assault shot arrows into the enemy from all sides and fought in all seriousness. Once or twice the enemy tried halfhearted assaults in the direction of our right and left wings, but our men pushed them into their own center by shooting. The enemy's right and left flanks were so crowded into one spot that they were not able to go forward or to find a way to escape.

The sun was one lance high when battle was enjoined. The fighting continued until midday. At noon the enemy was overcome and vanquished to the delight of our friends. By God's grace and generosity such a difficult action was made easy for us, and such a numerous army was ground into the dust in half a day. Five or six thousand men were killed in one place near Ibrahim. All told, the dead of this battle were estimated at between fifteen and sixteen thousand. Later, when we came to Agra, we learned from reports by the people of Hindustan that forty to fifty thousand men had died in the battle. With the enemy defeated and felled, we proceeded. Along the way the men began to capture the fallen commanders and Afghans and bring them in. Droves of elephants were caught and presented by the elephant keepers. [267b] Thinking that Ibrahim may have escaped, we assigned Qïsïmtay Mirza, Baba Chuhra, and Böchkä's troops from the royal tabin to pursue him behind the enemy lines and move with all speed to Agra. Crossing through the midst of Ibrahim's

camp, we inspected the tents and pavilions and then camped beside a still river. It was midafternoon when Tahir the Axman, Khalifa's brother-in-law, discovered Sultan Ibrahim's body amidst many corpses and brought in his head.

That very day we assigned Humayun Mirza, Khwaja Kalan, Muhammadi, Shah-Mansur Barlas, Yunus Ali, Abdullah, and Wali Khazin to proceed swiftly and unencumbered, get hold of Agra, and confiscate the treasury. We appointed Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad-Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan, Sultan-Junayd Barlas, and Qutlugh-Qadam to separate themselves from the baggage and ride fast, enter the Delhi fortress, and guard the treasuries. The next morning we proceeded for a league and then, for the sake of the horses, camped beside the Jumna.

## ❋ Babur Enters Delhi

On Tuesday, after two bivouacs, I circumambulated Shaykh Nizam Awliya's tomb and camped beside the Jumna directly opposite Delhi. That evening I toured the Delhi fortress, where I spent the night; the next morning, Wednesday, I circumambulated Khwaja Qutbuddin's tomb and toured Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban's and Sultan Alauddin Khalji's tombs, buildings, [268] and minaret, the Shamsi pool, the Khass pool, and Sultan Bahlul's and Sultan Iskandar's tombs and gardens.[20] After the tour I returned to the camp, got on a boat, and drank spirits.

I made Wali Qïzïl the provost of Delhi; I made Dost the divan of the province of Delhi; and I had the treasuries there sealed and turned over to them for safekeeping.

On Thursday we marched out and camped beside the Jumna directly opposite Tughluqabad.

On Friday we stayed in camp. Mawlana Mahmud, Shaykh Zayn, and some others went to perform the Friday prayer in Delhi and read the proclamation in my name. Having distributed some money to the poor and unfortunate, they returned to camp.

On Saturday the army proceeded by forced march toward Agra. I went for a tour of Tughluqabad and returned to camp.

On Friday the twenty-second of Rajab [May 4] we stopped in Sulayman Farmuli's quarters in the suburbs of Agra. Since this site was far from the fortress, we moved the next morning to Jalal Khan Jighat's palace. Humayun had gone on ahead, but the men inside the fortress made excuses to keep him out. When they noticed how unruly the people were, they maintained watch over the exit, afraid someone might pilfer the treasury, until we should get there.

20. All the sites Babur mentions in Delhi still stand: the tomb of Shaykh Nizam (uddin) Awliya (d. 1324), a well-known site in Delhi; Khwaja Qutbuddin's tomb, the Dargah of Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtyar Kaki (d. 1236), in Mehrauli; Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban's tomb (d. 1286), situated in the southeast of Old Delhi and now in complete ruins; Sultan Alauddin Khalji's tombs, buildings, and minaret (the complex around the Quwwatu'l-Islam Mosque: the mausoleum was built in 1317 by Alauddin's son, Mubarakshah; by the minaret certainly must be meant the Qutb Minar, 238 feet tall, begun by Sultan Iltutmish in 1229 with subsequent extensions and

repairs); the Shamsi pool, also known as the Tank of Qutb Sahib, built by Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish in 1229; the Khass pool, also known as the Hauz-i-Alai, built by Ala'uddin Khalji around 1295; the tomb of Sultan Bahlul Lodi (d. 1488), built by his son, Sultan Sikandar; Sultan Sikandar's tomb, built by his son, Sultan Ibrahim, in 1517, near Mauda Khairpur.

The ancestors of Bikramajit the Hindu, the rajah of Gwalior, had been ruling Gwalior for more than a hundred years. [268b] Iskandar stayed in Agra for several years planning the taking of Gwalior. Afterward, during Ibrahim's time, A'zam-Humayun Sarwani had kept up serious fighting for a period of time. Finally [in 1518] Gwalior was taken by truce, and the rajah was given Shamsabad. Bikramajit died and went to hell when Sultan Ibrahim was defeated. His sons and clan were in Agra.[21] When Humayun got to Agra, the people of Bikramajit's clan were thinking of fleeing, but the men Humayun had stationed there seized them and held them under guard. Humayun did not let them be plundered, and by their own agreement they presented Humayun with many jewels and gems, among which was a famous diamond Sultan Alauddin had acquired. It is well known that a gem merchant once assessed its worth at the whole world's expenditure for half a day. It must weigh eight mithcals. When I came, Humayun presented it to me, but I gave it right back to him.

21. Gwalior was first taken by Muslim rulers under Qutbuddin Aybak in 1196. It was retaken by the Rajputs in 1210 and lost again to Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish in 1232. In 1398, Gwalior was recovered by the Tanwar Rajputs and held by them until it was taken from Rajah Bikramajit in 1518, during Sultan Ibrahim's reign.

One of the knowledgeable people from among the soldiers in the fortress was Malikdad of Kara. Another was Malli Surduk, and another Firoz Khan of Mewat. They had engaged in some dishonesty and were sent to be executed. When Malikdad of Kara was taken out for execution, some people pleaded on his behalf. With the coming and going it was four or five days before a decision could be made. We showed him great favor and granted his wishes, exempting all his possessions. Ibrahim's mother and her retinue were granted a one-crore estate in cash, and she was taken out of Agra with her baggage and settled a league downstream. [269]



On Wednesday afternoon the twenty-eighth of Rajab [May 10], I entered Agra and camped in Sultan Ibrahim's quarters.

From the year 910 [1504–05], when Kabul was conquered, until this date I had craved Hindustan. Sometimes because my begs had poor opinions, and sometimes because my brothers lacked cooperation, the Hindustan campaign had not been possible and the realm had not been conquered. Finally all such impediments had been removed. None of my little begs and officers was able any longer to speak out in opposition to my purpose. In 925 [1519] we led the army and took Bajaur by force in two or three gharis, massacred the people, and came to Bhera. The people of Bhera paid ransom to keep their property from being plundered and pillaged, and we took four hundred thousand shahrukhis worth of cash and goods, distributed it to the army according to the number of liege men, and returned to Kabul.[22]

22. Folios 223–238.

From that date until 932 [1525–26], we led the army to Hindustan five times within seven or eight years. The fifth time, God through his great grace vanquished and reduced a foe like Sultan Ibrahim and made possible for us a realm like Hindustan. From the time of the Apostle until this date only three padishahs gained dominion over and ruled the realm of Hindustan. The first was Sultan Mahmud Ghazi, who, with his sons, occupied the throne of Hindustan for a long time.[23] [269b] The second was Sultan Shihabuddin Ghuri and his slaves and followers, who ruled this kingdom for many years.[24] I am the third. My accomplishment, however, is beyond comparison with theirs, for when Sultan Mahmud subdued Hindustan, the throne of Khurasan was under his control, the rulers of Khwarazm and the marches were obedient to him, and the padishah of Samarkand was his underling. If his army was not two hundred thousand strong, it must have been at least one hundred thousand. Moreover, his opponents were rajahs. There was not a single padishah in all of Hindustan. Every rajah ruled independently in a different region.

After Sultan Mahmud was Sultan Shihabuddin Ghuri. Although he did not possess Khurasan, his elder brother Sultan Ghiyasuddin Ghuri did. In the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*[25] it is recorded that once he led an army of 120,000 armored warriors into Hindustan. His opponents too were rays and rajahs. Not all of Hindustan belonged to one person.

When we went to Bhera we were fifteen hundred—two thousand at most—strong. The fifth time, I came, defeated Sultan Ibrahim, and conquered the realm of Hindustan. Never before had I had such an army on a Hindustan campaign. What with liege men, merchants, servants, and all those with the army, twelve thousand persons were registered. [270] The provinces that belonged to me were Badakhshan, Konduz, Kabul, and Kandahar, but no substantial assistance was forthcoming from them—in fact, since some of them were so close to the enemy, it was necessary to send much assistance there. Moreover, the whole of Transoxiana was in the hands of an old enemy, the Uzbek khans and princes, who had nearly one hundred thousand soldiers. The kingdom of Hindustan, from Bhera to Bihar, was under the control of Afghans, whose padishah was Sultan Ibrahim. By land calculation he should have had an army of five hundred thousand. However, just then the amirs of Purab were in rebellion, and his standing army was estimated at one hundred thousand. He and his commanders were said to have one thousand elephants. In such a state of affairs and with such strength, we put our trust in God, turned our backs on one hundred thousand old Uzbek enemies, and faced a ruler with a huge army and vast realm like Sultan Ibrahim. In recognition of our trust, God did not let our pains and difficulties go for naught and defeat-

23. The Ghaznavid Empire established lasting rule in India under Sultan Mahmud (r. 998–1030), whose descendants ruled from the Punjab until 1186.

24. Shihabuddin (also known as Mu'izzuddin, r. 1173–1203) Ghuri's predecessor, Ghiyasuddin Muhammad, extinguished the Ghaznavid line in the Punjab in 1186. The Ghurid line ruled northern India until 1206.

25. For the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, see part 2, note 55. The portion about Shihabuddin (Mu'izzuddin) Ghuri's campaign with 120,000 armored warriors occurs on page 400, where a campaign in 588 (1192) is described.

ed such a powerful opponent and conquered a vast kingdom like Hindustan. We do not consider this good fortune to have emanated from our own strength and force but from God's pure loving-kindness; we do not think that this felicity is from our own endeavor but from God's generosity and favor.

## Description of Hindustan

Hindustan is a vast and populous kingdom and a productive realm. [270b] To the east and south, in fact to the west too, it ends at the ocean. To the north is a mountain range that connects the mountains of the Hindu Kush, Kafiristan, and Kashmir. To the northwest are Kabul, Ghazni, and Kandahar. The capital of all Hindustan is Delhi. After Sultan Shihabuddin Ghuri's reign until the end of Sultan Firozshah's, most of Hindustan was under the control of the Delhi sultans. Up to the time that I conquered Hindustan, five Muslim padishahs and two infidels had ruled there. Although the mountains and jungles are held by many petty rays and rajahs, the important and independent rulers were the following five.

One was the Afghans, who took the capital Delhi and held in their grasp from Bhera to Bihar. Before the Afghans, Jaunpur was held by Sultan Husayn Sharqi,[26] and the dynasty was called Purabi. The Purabi ancestors were cupbearers for Sultan Firozshah and those sultans; after Firozshah, they gained control over the kingdom of Jaunpur. Delhi was in Sultan Alauddin's hands, and the dynasty was the Sayyids.[27] When Temür Beg took Delhi, he gave the governorship of Delhi to their ancestors and left. Sultan Bahlul Lodi the Afghan and his son Sultan Iskandar seized Delhi and Jaunpur, and the two capitals formed one kingdom.[28]

The second was Sultan Muzaffar in Gujarat,[29] who passed away several days before the defeat of Sultan Ibrahim. [271] He was a religiously observant ruler and a student of the religious sciences, he read hadith, and he always copied Korans. His dynasty was called the Tang. Their fathers also were cupbearers for Sultan Firoz and those sultans. After Firozshah, they gained control of the province of Gujarat.

Third were the Bahmanids in the Deccan,[30] but as of this date the sultans of the Deccan have no power of their own left—the great begs have gained control of all the provinces. If the sultan needs anything, he has to ask the begs for it.

Fourth was Sultan Mahmud in the province of Malwa, which is also called Mandu. The dynasty was called the Khalji.[31] Rana Sanga the Infidel defeated him and seized most of the province, but he had grown weak. The

26. Husayn Shah, the last of the Sharqi sultans of Jaunpur, r. 1458–79.

27. Sultan Ala'uddin Alam Shah of the Sayyid dynasty ruled 1446–51.

28. Temür Beg took Dehli in December 1398. Bahlul Lodi ruled from 1451 to 1489, and his son, Nizam Khan Sikandar II, from 1489 to around 1517.

29. Muzaffar Shah II, r. 1512–26.

30. The Bahmanid dynasty ruled in the northern Deccan, 1347–1527.

ancestors of this dynasty were patronized by Firozshah. Afterward they seized the province of Malwa.

Fifth was Nusrat Shah in Bengal.[32] His father became padishah in Bengal and was a sayyid known as Sultan Alauddin.[33]

Nusrat Shah ruled by hereditary succession. There is an amazing custom in Bengal: rule is seldom achieved by hereditary succession. Instead, there is a specific royal throne, and each of the amirs, viziers, or officeholders has an established place. It is that throne that is of importance to the people of Bengal. For every place, a group of obedient servants is established. [271b] When the ruler desires to dismiss anyone, all the obedient servants then belong to whomever he puts in that person's place. The royal throne, however, has a peculiarity: anyone who succeeds in killing the king and sitting on the throne becomes king. Amirs, viziers, soldiers, and civilians all submit to him, and he becomes the padishah and ruler like the former ruler. The people of Bengal say, "We are the legal property of the throne, and we obey anyone who is on it." For instance, before Nusrat Shah's father, Sultan Alauddin, an Abyssinian killed the king, took the throne, and reigned for a time.[34] The Abyssinian was killed by Sultan Alauddin, who then became king. Sultan Alauddin's son has now become king by hereditary succession. Another custom in Bengal is that it is considered disgraceful for anyone who becomes king to spend the treasuries of former kings. Whoever becomes king must accumulate a new treasury, which is a source of pride for the people. In addition, the salaries and stipends of all the institutions of the rulers, treasury, military, and civilian are absolutely fixed from long ago and cannot be spent anywhere else.

The five great Muslim padishahs with vast realms and huge armies are the five who have been mentioned.

Of the infidels, the greater in domain and army [272] is the rajah of Vijayanagar.[35] The other is Rana Sanga,[36] who had recently grown so great by his audacity and sword. His original province was Chitor. When the sultans of Mandu grew weak, he seized many provinces belonging to Mandu, such as Ranthambhor, Sarangpur, Bhilsan, and Chanderi. Chanderi had been in the *daru'l-harb*[37] for some years and held by Sanga's highest-ranking officer, Medini Rao, with four or five thousand infidels, but in 934 [1528], through the grace of God, I took it by force within a ghari or two, massacred the infidels, and brought it into the bosom of Islam, as will be mentioned.[38]

All around Hindustan are many rays and rajahs. Some are obedient to Islam, while others, because they are so far away and their places impregnable, do not render obedience to Muslim rulers.

31. Mahmud Shah II of the Khalji line in Malwa ruled from 1512 to 1531.

32. Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah, r. 1519–32.

33. Sayyid Ala'uddin Husayn Shah, r. 1494–1519.

34. The Abyssinian was Shamsuddin Muzaffar, r. 1494–97.

35. Vijayanagar (Bijanagar in Persian sources) was a kingdom in the Deccan founded around 1336. The kings of Vijayanagar ruled until 1565, when the kingdom of Vijayanagar was overthrown by the combined forces of the other Deccan kingdoms, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golconda, and the city of Vijayanagar was destroyed.

Hindustan lies in the first, second, and third climes, with none of it in the fourth clime. It is a strange country. Compared to ours, it is another world. Its mountains, rivers, forests, and wildernesses, its villages and provinces, animals and plants, peoples and languages, even its rain and winds are altogether different. Even if the Kabul dependencies that have warm climates bear a resemblance to Hindustan in some aspects, in others they do not. Once you cross the Indus, the land, water, trees, stones, people, tribes, manners, and customs [272b] are all of the Hindustani fashion. The mountain range in the north that has been mentioned—as soon as the Indus is crossed these mountains are dependent provinces to Kashmir. Although as of this date the provinces in this range, like Pakhli and Shahmang, mostly are not obedient to Kashmir, nonetheless they used to be inside Kashmir. Once past Kashmir, there are innumerable peoples, tribes, districts, and provinces in this range. There are people continuously in these mountains all the way to Bengal, even to the ocean. This much has been ascertained and confirmed by the people of Hindustan, but of these groups no one can give any real information. All they say is that the people of the mountains are called Khas. It has occurred to me that since Hindustanis pronounce the sound *sh* as *s,* since the principal city in the mountains is Kashmir, which means "mountain of the Khasis," since *mir* means mountain and the people of this mountain are called Khasia, and since aside from Kashmir no other city has ever been heard of in these mountains, this may be why they call it Kashmir. The products of the people of the mountains are musk, yak-tails, saffron, lead, and copper. The people of India call the range Sivalik Parbat. In the language of India *sava* means a quarter, *lak* means a hundred thousand, and *parbat* means mountain—therefore Siwalik Parbat means "a quarter lac plus a hundred thousand mountains," that is, 125,000 mountains. The snow never melts on these mountains, and the snow-covered caps can be seen from some of the provinces of Hindustan, such as Lahore, Sirhind, and Sambhal. In Kabul this mountain range is called the Hindu Kush. From Kabul the range runs to the east and slightly to the south. South of it is all Hindustan. [273] To the north of the range and the unknown tribes who are called Khas is the province of Tibet. Many large rivers rise in this range and flow through Hindustan. Six large rivers to the north of Sirhind—the Indus, the Bahat,[39] the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, and the Sutlej—all join at one place in the vicinity of Multan. After they all join it is called the Indus. It flows to the west, passes through the province of Tatta, and joins the Indian Ocean. Aside from these six, there are other great rivers like the Jumna, the Ganges, the Rapti, the Gomati, the Gogra, the Sarju, the Gandak, as well as many other large ones, all of which join the Ganges. Flowing to the east, the

36. The Rajput Rana Sanga, also known as Sangramasinha, ruled Mewar from 1509 to 1529.

37. *Daru'l-harb:* "Abode of war," Islamic term for non-Islamicized countries.

38. Folios 333–335.

39. The modern Jhelum.

Ganges passes through Bengal and spills into the ocean. The source of all of these is the Sivalik Range.

There are still other large rivers that rise in the mountains of Hindustan, like the Chambhal, Banas, and Betwa, but there is never any snow on these mountains. These rivers also join the Ganges.

Hindustan has other mountain ranges too. Among them is a range that runs from north to south beginning in the province of Delhi at a building made by Firozshah called the Jahannuma, which is situated on a rocky little mountain. Running from there are patches of rocky little mountains in the vicinity of Delhi. When they reach the province of Mewat, the mountains become larger. Passing through Mewat [273b] they go to the province of Bayana. The mountains of Sikri, Bari, and Dholpur are of this same range. Although it is not contiguous, Gwalior, which is also called Galior, is a spur of the range. The mountains of Ranthambhor, Chitor, Mandu, and Chanderi are also of this range. In some places there are breaks of seven or eight leagues. They are low, rugged, rocky, and forested and never have any snow on them. Some rivers in Hindustan have their sources in these mountains.

Most of the provinces of Hindustan are located on flat terrain. So many cities and so many provinces—yet there is no running water anywhere. The only running water is in the large rivers. There are still waters in some places, and even in cities that have the capability of digging channels for running water they do not do so. This may be for any one of several reasons. One is that the agriculture and orchards have absolutely no need for water. Fall crops are watered by the monsoon rains, and strangely the spring crops come even if there is no rain. For a year or two sapling trees are watered either by waterwheel or by bucket, but after that they have no need of irrigation. Some vegetables are watered. In Lahore, Dipalpur, Sirhind, and those regions a waterwheel is used. Two long pieces of rope are looped the size of the well. Wooden stakes are fastened across the two pieces of rope, and jars are fastened to the wooden stakes. [274] The ropes to which the jars are fastened are thrown around a wheel that is over the well. Another wheel is put on the other end of the axle of this wheel. Next to this wheel yet another wheel like the first one is put. As an ox turns this wheel, the spokes enter the spokes of the second wheel and turn the wheel with the jars. A trough is put at the place where the water spills out, and by means of the trough the water is taken wherever it is needed.

In Agra, Chandwar, Bayana, and those regions they irrigate by means of the bucket. This is a laborious and filthy method. A forked stick is raised next to a well, and across the fork a pulley is fastened. A large bucket is fastened to a long rope, which is thrown over the pulley. One end of the rope is tied to

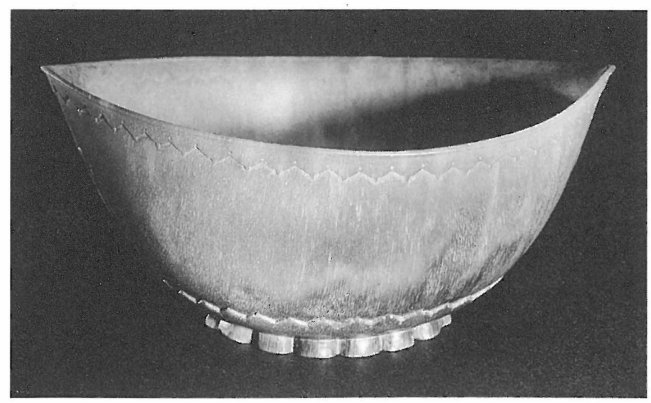
an ox. It takes one person to lead the ox and another to empty the water from the bucket. Every time the ox is led out to pull up the bucket and then led back, the rope is dragged through the ox's path, which is sullied with ox urine and dung, as it falls back into the well. For some types of agriculture that need irrigation, water is carried in jars by men and women.

The cities and provinces of Hindustan are all unpleasant. All cities, all locales are alike. The gardens have no walls, and most places are flat as boards.

On the banks of some large rivers and riverbeds, due to the monsoon rains, are gullies [274b] that prevent passage. In some places in the plains are forests of thorny trees in which the people of those districts hole up and obstinately refuse to pay tribute. In Hindustan there is little running water aside from the great rivers. Occasionally in some places there are still waters. All the cities and provinces live from well or pond water, which is collected from the monsoon rains. In Hindustan the destruction and building of villages and hamlets, even of cities, can be accomplished in an instant. Such large cities in which people have lived for years, if they are going to be abandoned, can be left in a day, even half a day, so that no sign or trace remains. If they have a mind to build a city, there is no necessity for digging irrigation canals or building dams. Their crops are all unirrigated. There is no limit to the people. A group gets together, makes a pond, or digs a well. There is no making of houses or raising of walls. They simply make huts from the plentiful straw and innumerable trees, and instantly a village or city is born.

## ❋ Animals That Are Peculiar to Hindustan: Beasts

*Elephant.* One of the beasts is the elephant, which the Hindustanis call *hathi.* They are found up to the borderlands of Kalpi. The farther east one goes from there, the more wild elephants there are. Elephants are captured and brought from those regions. In Kara and Manikpur thirty to forty villages gain their livelihood by capturing elephants. [275] They are responsible directly to the divan for elephants. The elephant is a huge and intelligent animal. It understands what it is told and does what it is ordered to do. The price depends upon the size, and they are sold by the measure. The larger the animal, the higher the price. It is said that on some islands there are elephants ten yards tall, but recently none larger than four to five yards tall has been seen. Elephants eat and drink with their trunks. If they did not have trunks they could not live. On either side of the trunk, on the upper jaw, it has a large tusk. An elephant can put these tusks against a wall or tree and push them down. Likewise it can perform any sort of hard labor with its tusks. The tusks are called ivory, and



Rhinoceros horn drinking vessel, India, 17th century. The British Museum, London; Sloane Collection, 1713

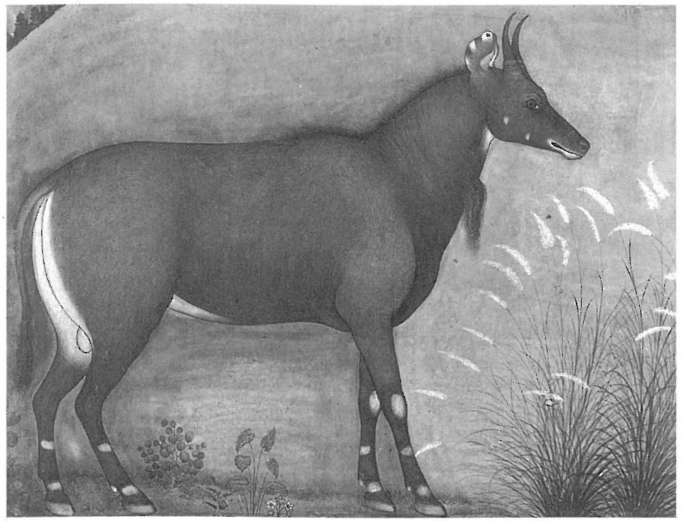
are valuable. The elephant has no hair as other animals do. This animal is of great importance to the people of Hindustan. Indian armies have several elephants in every unit as a matter of course. Elephants have several good qualities: they can easily carry heavy loads across large and swift-running rivers. Three or four elephants can haul mortar carts that would take four or five hundred men to pull. They eat a lot, however: an elephant eats as much as two strings of camels.

*Rhinoceros.* The rhinoceros is also a large animal, [275b] the size of three oxen. The statement that is well known in our country,[40] that is, that a rhinoceros can lift an elephant on its horn, is certainly false. It has one horn in the middle of its snout. The horn is longer than a span, and none longer than two spans has been seen. From one large horn a drinking vessel and a set of backgammon pieces were made, and maybe three or four fingers of horn were left over. Its hide is thick. Even if you draw way back with a stiff bow and the arrow hits it right, the arrow will penetrate only four fingers deep. It is said that an arrow will easily pierce some places in its hide. Around its forelegs and hind legs the skin is loose. From a distance it looks like it is wearing a veil. It resembles a horse more than it does any other animal. As a horse does not have a large belly, neither does the rhinoceros; as a horse has solid bone in its pastern, so does the rhinoceros; as a horse has a hoof, so does the rhinoceros. It is more rapacious than an elephant and, unlike an elephant, cannot be tamed. There are many of them in the forests around Peshawar and Hashnaghar and in the forests between the Indus River and Bhera. In Hindustan many of them are found along the banks of the Gogra River. Rhinoceroses were killed during the Hindustan campaigns [276] in the forests of Peshawar and Hashnaghar. They wield their horns in an amazing way. During hunts they gored a lot of men and horses. During one hunt a page named Maqsud had his horse thrown a spear length by one. Thereafter he was nicknamed Rhinoceros Maqsud.

Another is the wild buffalo, which is much larger than our oxen. Like ours, however, its horns curve backward without touching the back. It is a dangerous, ferocious animal.

*Nilgai.* The nilgai is as tall as but more slender than a horse. The male is

40. Throughout this section Babur compares the flora and fauna of India to those of "that country" and "our country" by which he means Kabul. The expression will be translated by "our country" throughout.



*Nilgai,* India, ca. 1630–40. Opaque watercolor on paper. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John Gilmore Ford. The *nilgai,* also called the blue bull, is a large bluish gray antelope (*Boselaphus tragocamelus*) of India, the male of which has short horns, a black mane, and a bunch of long hair on the throat.

blue, which is probably why it is called *nilgau.*[41] It has two smallish horns. On its throat it has hair longer than a span that resembles a yak tail. Its hooves are like those of a cow. The female's color is like that of a doe, and it has no horns or hair on its throat. The female is also plumper than the male.

*Hog deer.* The hog deer is as large as a white deer, but its fore- and hind legs are shorter, for which reason it is called *kutahpay.*[42] Its horns are branched like a stag's but smaller. Like the stag it sheds its horns annually. It is a poor runner, and for that reason it never leaves the forest.[43]

Another deer is like a male gazelle. Its back is black and its underbelly white.[44] [276b] Its antlers are longer than a stag's and more twisted. The Hindustanis call it *kalhara.* Originally it was *kala haran,* "black deer," but they shortened it to *kalhara.* The female is white. People use the kalhara to catch deer. They fasten a trap ring to the kalhara's antlers, then tie a large stone to its leg at the ankle, which prevents it from going far after it has snared a stag. When they have spotted a stag to be caught, they put the kalhara opposite it. The stag, being quite pugnacious, immediately begins to do battle. The animals clash, lock antlers, and go back and forth, during which the stag's antlers become snared in the ring tied to the antlers of the bait stag. If the wild stag wants to escape, the tame one cannot go far because the stone is tied to its leg. In this way many stags are caught and then tamed to catch still more deer. Traps are also used to catch deer, and tame deer are made to fight in houses, which they do well.

In the foothills of the mountains of Hindustan there is a small deer, about as large as a one-year-old wild mountain lamb.[45]

Another is the gynee, a small cow[46] the size of a large ram in our country. Its meat is tender and delicious.

*Monkeys.* Then there are monkeys, which Hindustanis call *bandar,* of which there are many varieties. One is the kind that is taken to our country and the

41. *Nîlgâu,* the Persian for "nilgai," means indigo cow. See part 2, note 69.

42. "Shortlegged."

43. For an illustration of the hog deer, see Mildred Archer, *Natural History Drawings in the India Office Library* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1962), plate 18.

44. The black buck (*Antelope cervicapra*).

45. Probably the Indian gazelle (*Gazella benetti*).

46. Gynee, a "very diminutive kind of cow bred in Bengal. It is, when well cared

gypsies teach to do tricks. [277] This kind occurs in the Dara-i-Nur mountains and in the foothills of Safed Koh in the Khyber region and lower, as well as throughout Hindustan. Higher than that it does not occur. Its fur is yellow, its nose white, and its tail short.

Another sort of monkey not seen natively in Bajaur, Swat, and those regions is taken to our country. It is much larger than other monkeys. Its tail is also long. Its fur is whitish, but its face is jet black. This sort of monkey is called *langur* and is found in the mountains and forests of Hindustan. There are none in our country. Still another sort of monkey has a black face, black fur, and all its limbs are black. It is brought from some islands in the ocean. Another kind, brought from the Nicobar Islands, has a bluish yellow color. An amazing thing about this monkey is that its penis is always erect and never limp.

Another is the *nawal,*[47] which is slightly smaller than a weasel. It climbs trees. Some call it a palm rat, and it is considered to be a lucky.

Another sort of rodent is called *gilahri.*[48] It is always in the trees, running up and down in an amazingly quick and agile fashion.

for, a beautiful creature, is not more than three feet high, and affords excellent meat" (Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson,* ed. William Crooke [London: John Murray, 1903], 407).

47. *Newal* is the common Hindustani word for mongoose, but that animal is not arboreal.

48. *Gilahri* is the common Hindustani word for squirrel.

## Birds[49]

*Peacock.* The peacock is a colorful and ornamental animal, although its body, like that of a crane but not so tall, is not equal to its color and beauty. On both the male's and female's head are twenty to thirty feathers two to three fingers long. The female has no other colorful plumage. The male's head has an iridescent collar, and its neck is a beautiful blue. [277b] Below the neck its back is painted yellow, green, blue, and violet. The eyes on its back are very, very small. From its back down to the tip of the tail are much larger eyes in these same colors. The tails of some peacocks are as long as a human being. Under the eye feathers are shortish feathers like those of other birds. Its true tail and wing feathers are red. The peacock occurs in Bajaur and Swat and lower; farther up, in Kunar and Laghman, it occurs nowhere. It is less capable of flight than even the pheasant and cannot do more than one or two short flutters. Because it is all but flightless it sticks to mountains and forests. It is strange that in the forests where peacocks are, there are also many jackals. With a tail a fathom long, how can it run from forest to forest and not fall prey to the jackals? Hindustanis call the peacock *mor.* In the sect of Imam Abu-Hanifa[50] it is licit to eat it. Its meat is not without flavor, rather like the partridge, but one eats it, like the camel, only with reluctance.

*Parrot.* Parrots occur in Bajaur and lower. In the summer only, when berries are ripe, they come to Nangarhar and Laghman. Parrots are of many

49. Precise identification of all the birds that follow is impossible. The identifications given in the annotations are the best educated guesses.

50. For the Hanafite school of interpretation, see part 1, note 9.

varieties. One is the sort that is taken to our country and taught to talk. Another sort is smaller [278] than that parrot, and it too can be taught to talk. This sort is called "jungle parrot," and there are many of them in Bajaur, Swat, and that region. When they fly in flocks of five or six thousand, a difference in the size of the bodies of these two variations is evident, although their coloration is the same.

Another sort is even smaller than the jungle parrot. Its head is red, and the tops of its wings are also red. An area of two fingers at the tip of its tail is white. Some of this kind have iridescent heads. This kind cannot be taught to speak. They call it a Kashmir parrot. Yet another sort is like the jungle parrot but smaller. Its beak is black and it has a wide black ring around its neck. Beneath its wings is red. It learns to speak well. We used to think that parrots and myna birds said whatever they were taught, not that they could think on their own. Recently, however, Abu'l-Qasim Jalayir, a member of my close retinue, told me something strange. He had covered the cage of a parrot of this kind, and the bird said, "Uncover me. I'm stifling." Another time the porters who were carrying it sat down to rest as passersby were coming and going. The parrot said, "The people have gone. Aren't you going?" The responsibility for the veracity of this report lies with the one who told it. Without hearing it with one's own ears it is difficult to believe.

Another kind of parrot is a beautiful bright red. There are other colors too. [278b] Since I do not remember exactly what they are, I haven't written them in detail. The red one is nicely shaped. It can be taught to talk, but unfortunately its voice is as unpleasant and shrill as a piece of broken china dragged across a brass tray.[51]

*Starlings.* There are many of them in Laghman. Farther down in Hindustan they are quite numerous and occur in many varieties. One kind is the one found so often in Laghman. Its head is black, its wings are spotted, its body is a bit larger and rounder than a lark.[52] It can be taught to talk. Another kind brought from Bengal is called *baindawali.* It is solid black, and its body is much bigger than the former starling. Its beak and feet are yellow, and on each ear is a yellow skin that hangs down and looks ugly. It is called a myna, and it too can be taught to speak both well and eloquently.[53] Another kind of starling is more slender and has red around its eyes. This kind cannot be taught to speak. It is called a "wood starling."[54] When I made a bridge across the Ganges and crossed to rout my enemies, in the vicinity of Lucknow and Oudh a kind of starling was seen that had a white breast, spotted head, and black back. It had never been seen before. This kind probably cannot learn to speak.[55]

*Lucha.*[56] This bird is also called *buqalamun.*[57] From head to tail it has five

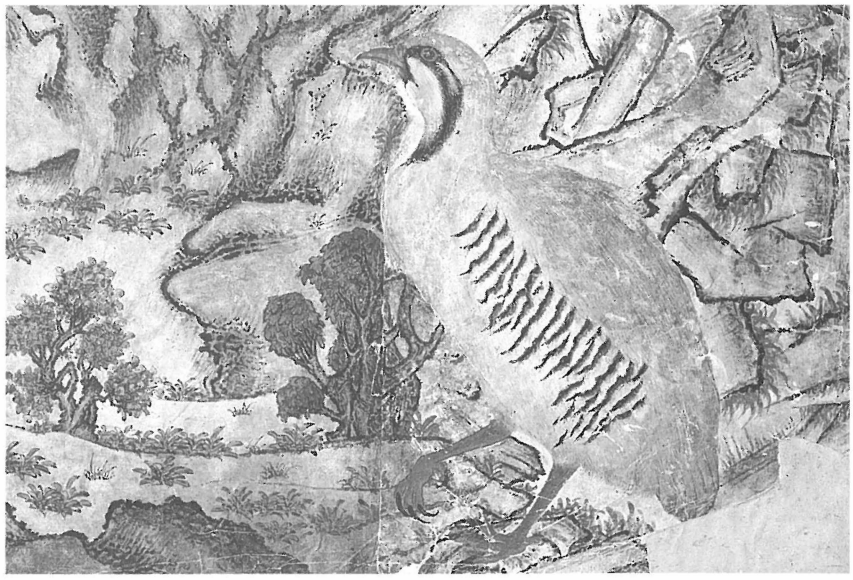
51. May be the Indian lorikeet *(Loriculus vernalis).*

52. The Himalayan starling *(Sturnus humii).*

53. The Indian grackle, or hill myna *(Eulabes intermedia).*

54. The glossy starling, or tree stare *(Calornis chalybeius).*

55. The pied myna *(Sturnopastor contra contra).*



Chukar partridge, Iran or Central Asia, late 15th–early 16th century. Album page; opaque watercolor on paper. Topkapi Palace Library, Istanbul, H.2153, fol. 2a

or six different colors that shimmer like a pigeon's throat. [279] It is about the size of a snow cock. It most likely is the Indian snow cock, for it runs about mountaintops like a snow cock. It occurs in the Nijrao mountains of Kabul Province and in mountains farther down, but not higher than that. The people there tell an amazing story about it: in winter it descends to the mountain foothills, and if it is made to fly over a vineyard, it cannot fly any more and can be caught.[58] It is edible and has quite delicious flesh.

*Partridge.* The partridge is not peculiar to Hindustan but is found in warm climates. However, because certain kinds are not found anywhere except in Hindustan, I mention it here. The black partridge's body is the size of a snow cock. The male's back is the color of a female pheasant. Its throat and breast are black, and it has bright white spots. Red lines come down either side of its eyes. It has an fantastic cry. *Sher daram shakarak*[59] can be heard from its cry. It says *sher* like *qit,* but it pronounces *daram shakarak* quite correctly. The partridges in Astarabad say *qat meni tuttilar,*[60] and those in Arabia and thereabouts say *bi'sh-shukri tadumu 'n-ni'am.*[61] The female's coloration is like that of a young pheasant. They occur below Nijrao.

Another kind of partridge is the gray partridge, which has a body the size of a black partridge. Its cry greatly resembles that of the partridge, but its sound [279b] is much shriller. The male and female have only a slight difference in coloration. It occurs in the Peshawar and Hashnaghar regions and farther down, but not higher up.

*Phul-paykar.*[62] It is as long as a Himalayan snow cock. Its body is the size of the domestic chicken. Its color is that of a hen. From its gullet down to its breast it is a beautiful red. The phul-paykar is found in the mountains of Hindustan.

56. The reading of this word, as well as the precise identification, is still a mystery.

57. *Buqalamun* is the modern Persian word for turkey, but its sense here is multicolored, iridescent.

58. Presumably because it has eaten too many grapes in the vineyard.

59. "I have milk and a little sugar" (Persian).

60. "Quick, they have seized me" (Turkish).

61. "With gratitude good things endure" (Arabic).

62. The horned monal (*Trapogon melanocephala*), a type of pheasant.

*Wild fowl.* The difference between this fowl and a domestic one is that the wild fowl flies like a pheasant and, unlike the domestic fowl, does not occur in all colors. It is found in the Bajaur mountains and lower but not farther up than that.[63]

*Chälsi.*[64] Its body is like that of the phul-paykar, which has, however, a more beautiful color. It occurs in the Bajaur mountains.

*Sham.*[65] It is as long as a domestic fowl but has unique colors. It too occurs in the Bajaur mountains.

*Quail.* Although the quail is not limited to Hindustan, four or five kinds are peculiar to Hindustan. One is the quail that goes to our country.[66] Another quail, somewhat smaller than the one that goes to our country,[67] has wings and tail of a reddish color. This kind of quail flies in flocks like the sparrow. Another kind, smaller than the one that goes to our country, has much black on its throat and breast.[68] [280] Another, which very seldom goes to Kabul, is a tiny quail, a bit longer than a swallow.[69] In Kabul it is called a *quratu.*

*Kharchal.* It is as long as a bustard and probably is the bustard of Hindustan. Its flesh is delicious. In some birds the thigh is good, and in others the breast is good. All the kharchal's meat is delicious and good.

*Charz.*[70] It is a little smaller than the bustard in body. The male's back is like the bustard's, but its breast is black. The female is one color. The meat of the charz is also quite delicious. As the kharchal resembles the great bustard, the charz resembles the lesser bustard.

*Indian sand grouse.* It is smaller and slenderer than other sand grouses. The black of its tail is less, and its cry is less shrill.

63. May be the red jungle fowl (*Gallus ferrugineus*).

64. May be the western bamboo partridge (*Bambusicola fytchii*) or a Himalayan pheasant (*Gallophasis albocristalus*).

65. May be another common Himalayan pheasant (*Pucrasia macrolopha*).

66. The gray quail (*Coturnix communis*).

67. The rock bush quail (*Perdicula argunda*).

68. The black-breasted or rain quail (*Coturnix coromandelica*).

69. This may be the lesser button quail (*Turnix dussumierii*).

70. The florican (*Sypheotis bengalensis* and *S. aurita*).

## ❋ Birds That Live In and Beside Water

Among the birds that live in water and on the banks of rivers is the adjutant. It has a huge body, and each of its wings spans a fathom. There are no feathers on its head or neck. From its throat hangs something like a pouch. Its back is black, and its breast white. Occasionally it goes to Kabul. One year an adjutant was caught in Kabul and brought to me. It became nicely tame and ate meat that was tossed to it, never missing as it caught the meat in its bill. Once it swallowed a shoe, another time a whole chicken—wings and feathers and all. [280b]

*Saras.* The Turks in Hindustan call it a "camel crane." It is smaller than an adjutant, but its neck is longer. Its head is brilliant red. It is kept in houses and becomes quite tame.

*White-necked stork.* Its neck is almost as long as that of the saras, but its body

is smaller. It is much larger than a white stork, which it resembles, and its black bill is correspondingly longer. Its head is iridescent, its neck is white, and its wings are variegated: the tips and edges are white and the midsection black.

*Stork.* Its neck is white, but its head and all its limbs are black. It is smaller than the storks that go to our country. Hindustanis call it *bag dhek.* Another kind of stork has a color and body exactly like those of the ones that go to our country except that its bill is rather dark and it is much smaller.

Another bird resembles the gray heron and the stork. Its bill is bigger and longer than the heron's, and its body is smaller than the stork's.

The great black ibis is as large as a buzzard. The back of its wings is black, and it has a loud cry. Another is the white ibis, whose head and bill are black. It is much larger than the ibises that go to our country but smaller than the Hindustan ibis. [281]

*Ducks.* One kind of duck is called the spotted-billed. It is larger than common ducks. Both male and female are of one color. There are always some in Hashnaghar. Occasionally they go to Laghman too. Its meat is quite delicious.

Another kind of duck is called the comb duck. It is slightly smaller than a goose. On top of its bill is a hump. Its breast is white, its back black. Its flesh is good to eat.

Another is the black hawk-eagle. It is as long as an eagle, and black.

Another is the *sar.* Its back and tail are red.[71]

*Pied crow.* The pied crow of Hindustan is somewhat smaller and slenderer than the crows of our country. It has a bit of white on its throat.

There is another bird that resembles the crow and the magpie. In Laghman they call it "forest bird." Its head and breast are black, its wings and tail reddish, and its eyes deep red. Since it has difficulty flying, it does not emerge from the forest, for which reason they call it a "forest bird."[72]

Another is the great bat called *chamgiddar.* It is as large as an owl. Its head resembles a puppy's. When it is going to hang on to a tree, it grabs a branch and hangs upside down. It is strange.

*Indian magpie.* The Hindustan magpie is called *mata* and is slightly smaller than a common magpie. The magpie is mottled black and white; the mata is pale mottled.

There is another little bird the size of a nightingale. [281b] It is a nice red color and has small black markings on its wings.

*Swift.* It is like a swallow but much larger. It is solid jet black.

*Cuckoo.* It is as long as but much slenderer than a crow. It sings beautifully. It is the nightingale of Hindustan. The people of Hindustan have great respect for the nightingale. It inhabits gardens with many trees.

71. The Turkish *sar* means buzzard, but buzzards do not have red backs; in Persian, *sâr* means starling, but the starlings have already been dealt with. It has been suggested that the rose-colored starling (*Pastor roseus*) is meant here, although that identification is far from certain.

72. The crow pheasant, or Malabar pheasant (*Centropus sinensis*).

Another bird is like the green magpie. It clings to trees. It is as large as a green magpie and is green in color like a parrot.[73]

73. Perhaps some sort of green woodpecker.

## Aquatic Animals

One is the alligator,[74] which lives in still waters and resembles a lizard. They say it carries off not only men but also oxen.

74. *Sherabi.*

Another is the crocodile. This too is like a lizard. It is in all the rivers of Hindustan. One was captured and brought to me. It was nearly four or five yards long and as big around as a sheep. They are said to get even bigger. Its snout was longer than half a yard. The upper and lower jaws contain narrow rows of little teeth. It comes out and lies on the banks of rivers.

Another is the dolphin. It too is found in all the rivers of Hindustan. It pops up all at once out of the water. Its head appears and disappears, and then it dives into the water and its tail can still be seen. Its snout is long [**282**] like a crocodile's, and it has rows of little teeth. Otherwise its head and body are like a fish. When it frolics in the water it looks like a water bag. When the dolphins play in the Gogra River, they leap right out of the water. Like fish, these animals never leave the water.

Another is the alligator.[75] It is said to grow large, and the soldiers saw many of them in the Gogra. They are also said to carry off people. While we were on the banks of the Gogra they carried off an old slave-woman or two. Between Ghazipur and Benares they carried off three or four soldiers. In that same region I too saw a crocodile from rather far away, but I did not see it distinctly.

75. This is a *ghariyal,* a different type of alligator.

There is the *kaka* fish. It has two bones three fingers long sticking out in front of its ears. When it is caught it moves these bones and makes a strange noise. It is probably on account of that noise that it is called kaka.

The fish of Hindustan are delicious. They have neither odor nor spiny bones. They are amazingly agile. Once a net had been thrown from either side of a river and was being drawn up, and both ends of the net were more than half a yard above the water. Many fish got by by jumping a yard higher than the net.

In some of the rivers of Hindustan are little fish [**282b**] that jump up from half a yard to a yard out of the water if there is a loud noise or footsteps.

Although the frogs of Hindustan are like frogs elsewhere, they can run seven or eight yards across the surface of the water.

*Mango.* Most people in Hindustan pronounce the *b* in this word without a vowel, and since such a pronunciation is ugly[76] some call the mango *naghzak,* as Khwaja Khusraw says:[77]

Our naghzak, beautifier of the garden, most beautiful fruit of Hindustan.

When the mango is good it is really good. As many as are eaten, the really good ones are scarce. Mostly they are picked unripe and allowed to ripen at home. The unripe mango serves as a condiment for meals, and preserves made from it are also excellent. In fact, the mango is the best fruit of Hindustan. The tree is elegantly tall, but the trunk of the tree is ugly and ill shaped. Some people praise the mango to such an extent that they prefer it to all fruit except the melon, but it is not so good as to warrant such praise. The mango resembles the *kardi* peach, and ripens during the monsoon. There are two ways to eat it. One is to mash it to a pulp, make a hole in it, and suck the juice. The other is to peel it like a peach and eat it. Its leaf somewhat resembles a peach leaf. Good mangoes are found in Bengal and Gujarat.

*Plantain.* The Arabs call it *mawz.* The tree is not very tall. [283] In fact, it cannot really be called a tree—something between a tree and a shrub. The leaf resembles that of the *aman qara,*[78] but a plantain leaf can get up to two yards long and nearly a yard wide. From the middle of the leaf emerges a branch, which is the bud, which is as large as and shaped like a sheep's heart. As each leaf of the bud opens, a row of six or seven flowers is seen at the base of the leaf. The flowers becomes the plantains. As the heart-shaped branch lengthens, the leaves of the large bud open and the row of plantain flowers becomes more apparent. Each plantain tree bears fruit only once. The plantain has two nice features. One is that it can be easily peeled, and the other that it has no seeds or fiber. It is longer and slenderer than an eggplant. It is not too sweet, although the plantains of Bengal are said to be very sweet. It is a good-looking tree with its broad, flat, beautiful green leaves.

*Tamarind* is what they call the date of India. It has tiny leaves that mostly resemble bay leaves but are finer. It is an attractive tree and offers much shade. The tree is quite tall, and many tamarinds grow wild.

*Mahua* is also called *gul-i-chakan.*[79] The tree is quite tall. The houses of the people of Hindustan are mostly made of mahua wood. [283b] Liquor is distilled from the flowers, which are also dried and eaten. The dried flower mostly resembles the raisin but has a bad taste. The fresh flower is not bad and is

76. *Amba* (mango) without the second vowel would be *amb,* which must have sounded to Babur like the Turkish *am,* female genitalia.

77. Amir Khusraw of Delhi (1253–1325), from *Qiran al-sa'dayn* (Conjunction of the Two Auspicious Planets [Venus and Jupiter]).

78. The plant *aman qara,* apparently a Turkish name, has not been identified.

79. *Bassia latifolia.*

edible. This also grows wild. The fruit is tasteless, the seed rather large, and the skin thin. Oil is extracted from the pulp of the seeds.

Although the mimusops tree is not tall, it is not short either. The fruit is yellow in color and more slender than the jujube. The taste resembles grapes but leaves a slight aftertaste that is not too bad. It is edible. The seed has a thin husk.

The leaf of the eugenia looks a lot like a willow leaf, but it is rounder and greener. The tree is not bad looking. The fruit resembles black grapes. It has a rather tart taste and is not terribly good.

*Kamrak*[80] is five sided and about as large as a *ghinyalu*[81] and four fingers long. It is ripe when it is yellow. It too has no seeds. When picked unripe it is very bitter. When allowed to ripen well, it has a pleasant tartness that is not bad and not unattractive.

The jackfruit is unbelievably ugly and bad tasting. It looks exactly like [284] sheep intestines turned inside out like stuffed tripe. It has a cloyingly sweet taste. Inside it has seeds like hazelnuts that mostly resemble dates, but these seeds are round, not long. The flesh of these seeds, which is what is eaten, is softer than dates. It is sticky, and for that reason some people grease their hands and mouths before eating it. The fruit is said to grow on the branches, the trunk, and the roots of the tree and looks like stuffed tripe hung all over the tree.

*Monkey jack* is the size of an apple. It doesn't have a bad odor. When unripe it is singularly insipid and tasteless. When ripe it is soft and can be skinned with the hands and eaten anywhere. It is not bad. Its taste bears a great resemblance to overripe quince. It has a nice but very tart taste.

The lote fruit is called *kunar* in Persian. There are many varieties. It is somewhat larger than the plum. Another variety is the size of the Husayni grape.[82] Mostly they are not very good. We saw a lote fruit in Bhander that was tasty. The tree sheds its leaves in Taurus and Gemini and puts out leaves in Cancer and Leo, which is the true monsoon, and becomes fresh and verdant. The fruit ripens in Aquarius and Pisces.

*Corinda* grows on bushes, like the *chäkä*[83] in our country. [284b] Chäkä grows in the mountains, but this grows on the plains. In taste it resembles rhubarb, but it is sweeter and less juicy than rhubarb.

*Paniyala*[84] is larger than the plum and resembles an unripe red apple. It has a slight tart flavor but is pretty good. The tree is larger than a pomegranate tree, and the leaves resemble the leaves of the almond but are slightly smaller.

The fruit of the clustered fig resembles the common fig when it emerges from the trunk of the tree. It is an oddly insipid fruit.

The myrobalan is also five sided and resembles an unopened cotton boll.

80. *Averrhoa carambola.*

81. Although the reading of the word is uncertain, it seems to be a sort of plum.

82. The Husayni grape is long and seedless.

83. Unidentified.

84. *Flaucortia cataphracta.*

It is coarse and tasteless, but preserves made from it are not bad. It is a quite beneficial fruit, and the tree has a nice shape. The leaves are tiny.

The chironjia nut tree is said to grow in the mountains. Later I realized that there were three or four roots of it in our gardens. It looks a lot like the mahua.[85] The nut is not bad—something between a walnut and an almond. It is smaller than a pistachio, and round. It is put into custards and confections.

85. For the making of mahua, see above, fol. 283.

The date is not peculiar to Hindustan, but since there were none in our country it is mentioned here. There are date trees in Laghman. The branches are in only one place at the top of the tree. The leaves grow from the base of the branch out to the end along both sides. The trunk is rough and an ugly color. The fruit is like a bunch of grapes [285] but much bigger. They say that among plants the date tree resembles animals in two ways. One is that just as animals' lives are ended if their heads are cut off, the date tree too will dry up if its head is cut off. The other is that just as animals cannot propagate without the male, the date tree too will not bear fruit unless a branch of a male date is brought into contact with the female. The truth of this statement is not known. The head of the date tree mentioned above is spoken of as its "cheese." Date "cheese" refers to the area where the branches and leaves emerge, where it is as white as cheese. As the branches and leaves lengthen they turn green. The "cheese" of the date is not bad at all. It closely resembles the walnut. A score is made in the place where the cheese is, and into the wound a date leaf is inserted so that whatever liquid comes from the wound flows across the top of the leaf. The leaf is positioned over the mouth of a jar, and the jar is tied to the tree. Whatever liquid is produced from the wound is collected in the jar. If drunk immediately the liquid is rather sweet. If drunk three or four days later they say it has a really intoxicating effect. Once when I went to Bari,[86] [285b] I made an excursion through the villages along the bank of the Chambhal River. Along the way we came upon some people in a valley who were making this sort of date liquor, and we drank a good deal of it. Its intoxicating effect was not obvious. Probably one has to drink a lot for a little effect to be felt.

86. Folio 330b.

The coconut is Arabicized by the Arabs into *narjil.* The people of Hindustan call it *naliyar,*[87] probably a popular error. The fruit of the coconut is the *jawz-i-hindi*[88] from which ladles are made. The larger ones are made into ghichak bowls (see illus. p. 227). The tree looks exactly like the date palm, but the coconut branch has more leaves, and the leaves are shinier. Just as there is a green husk on top of the walnut, there is a green husk on top of the coconut, but the coconut's husk is quite fibrous. Ropes for all boats and ships are made from this coconut fiber, as is cord for seaming boats. When the coconut fiber

87. Coconut is *nargil.* The vulgur pronunciation *naliyar* is metathesized from the common Hindi *nariyal.*

88. *Jawz-i-hindi* (Indian walnut) is the Persian name for coconut. Babur is writing here for people who have

seen objects made from the coconut husk but do not know what it comes from.

is stripped, there are revealed three holes arranged in a triangle on the nut, two hard and one soft. The soft one is easily pierced with pressure. Before the kernel sets there is liquid inside. One can pierce the hole and drink the liquid, which does not have a bad taste—rather like liquified date cheese.

The branches of the palmyra also grow at the top. [286] Like the date, a jar can be tied to the palmyra and the liquid caught and drunk. This liquid is called "toddy,"[89] and its intoxicating effect is said to be stronger than that of date liquor. There are no leaves on the palmyra branch for half a yard to a yard. After that, thirty to forty leaves spread out in one place at the end of the branch. The leaves are nearly a yard long. People often write Hindi script on them as they do on account books. If the people of Hindustan are not wearing rings in the large holes in their ears, they put rolls of palmyra leaves in them instead. They make such things in the markets. The trunk of the palmyra is more beautiful and more even than the trunk of the date palm.

89. The liquor made from the palmyra (*tar*), called *tari* (with the retroflex Hindustani *r*), has given us the English word "toddy."

*The orange and fruits that resemble it in shape.* In Laghman, Bajaur, and Swat, oranges are abundant and good. Those of Laghman are smaller and are navel oranges. They are nice, delicate, and juicy beyond comparison with the oranges of the Khurasan region. They are so fragile that by the time they are brought from Laghman to Kabul, a distance of thirteen or fourteen leagues, some of them are spoiled. The Astarabad orange can be transported to Samarkand, a distance of 270 or 280 leagues, and does not spoil because its skin is thick and it has little juice. [286b] Bajaur oranges are as large as quinces. They have a lot of juice, which is more sour than the juice of other oranges. Khwaja Kalan said, "We counted the oranges of this sort taken from just one tree in Bajaur, and there were seven thousand." I had always thought that the word for orange, *naranj,* seemed Arabicized. It turned out to be so, for the people of Bajaur and Swat call the orange *narang.*[90]

90. *Narang* is unmistakably Persian; *naranj* is the Arabicized form.

Another is the lime. It is abundant. In size it is as big as an egg. It is said that if the fibers are boiled and drunk by someone who has been poisoned, it will avert the danger.

Another fruit that resembles the orange is the citron. The people of Bajaur and Swat call it *balang,* for which reason the marmalade is called balang marmalade. In Hindustan the citron is called *bajauri.* There are two kinds of citron. One is sweet and insipid—sickeningly sweet and unsuitable for eating—although the peel is good for marmalade. The Laghman citron is just as sweet. The other is the Bajaur and Hindustan citron, which is nicely sour. Sherbet made from it is really delicious. The citron is as large as a Khusravi melon. Its rind is wrinkled and uneven. The end is tapered like a nose. The citron is more yellow than an orange. The tree has no trunk but is smallish and shrub-

like. [287] The leaf is longer than the leaf of the orange.

Another fruit that resembles the orange is the *sangtara.* In color and shape it is like the citron, but its skin is smooth, not rough. It is slightly smaller than the citron. The tree grows large, like the apricot tree, and its leaf resembles that of the orange. It has a nice tartness, and its sherbet is tasty. Like the lime, it has a strengthening effect on the stomach, not a debilitating one like the orange.

Another fruit like the orange is the large lime they call the galle-galle[91] lime in Hindustan. In shape it resembles a goose egg, but the ends are not tapered like an egg. The skin is even like a sangtara. It is unbelievably juicy.

The *jambhiri* lime is also like an orange. It is shaped like an orange but its color is yellow, not orange. It smells like a citron and has a nice tartness too.

Another is the *sadaphal,* which is shaped like a pear. In color it is like a quince. It is sweet, but not sickly sweet like the orange. Another is the *amrit phal.* Still another is the *karna* citron, which is the size of a galle-galle lime and is sour.

Another fruit that resembles the orange is the *amal bed,* which has just now been seen after three years in Hindustan.[92] They say that a needle put in it will dissolve, [287b] either because it has acidity or some other property. It is as tart as an orange and a lime.

91. Galle-galle, a "mixture of lime and linseed oil, forming a kind of mortar impenetrable to water (Shakespeare)," is the Anglicized (Anglo-Indian) version of the Hindi word *galgal* (Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson,* ed. William Crooke [London: John Murray, 1903]).

92. This statement shows that this section of the memoirs was written in 935 (1528–29), the date given by Shaykh Zayn Khwafi.

## ❋ Flowers of Hindustan

There are some marvelous flowers in Hindustan. One is the hibiscus, which some Hindustanis call *gudhal.* It is not a shrub but a tree with stems. It is somewhat taller than the red rose, and its color is deeper than the pomegranate flower. It is as large as a red rose. The red rose blossoms all at once after budding, but when the hibiscus blossoms, from the middle of the petals yet another slender stalk is formed, as long as a finger, from which still more hibiscus petals open. The result is a double, fairly amazing flower. The flowers look beautiful in color on the tree but do not last long. They blossom and fade within a day. They bloom well and plentifully during the four months of monsoon and often throughout most of the year. Despite their profusion they have no odor.

Another flower is the oleander, which occurs in both white and red. It has five petals like the peach blossom. The red oleander bears a resemblance to the peach blossom, but the oleander blooms with fourteen or fifteen flowers in one place, so that from a distance it looks like one big flower. The bush is larger than the red rose. The red oleander has a faint but agreeable smell. It too blooms beautifully and abundantly during the monsoon and can be found throughout most of the year. [288]

The screw pine is another. It has a delicate scent. Whereas musk has the disadvantage of being dry, this could be called "wet musk." In addition to the plant's having a strange appearance, the flowers can be from one-and-a-half to two spans long. The long leaves are like those of the reed and have spines. When compressed like a bud, the outer leaves are spiny and greenish and the inner leaves soft and white. Nestled among the inner leaves are things like in the middle of a flower, and the good scent comes from there. When it first comes up, before it develops a stalk, it resembles the male reed bush. The leaves are flattish and spiny. The stalk is extremely unharmonious. The roots are always exposed.

Then there is the jasmine. The white variety is called champa. It is larger and has a more pronounced fragrance than the jasmine in our country.

## ❋ Divisions of Time

In our country there are four seasons, but in Hindustan there are three: four months of summer, four of monsoon, and four of winter. The months begin with the crescent moon in opposition. Every three years one month is added to the monsoon months, then three years later a month is added to the winter months, then three years later a month is added to the summer months. This is their intercalation. [288b]

The summer months are Chait, Baisakh, Jeth, and Asarh, corresponding to Pisces, Aries, Taurus, and Gemini. Those of the monsoon are Sanwan, Bhadon, Kuar, and Katik, corresponding to Cancer, Leo, Virgo, and Libra. The winter months are Aghan, Pus, Magh, and Phagun, corresponding to Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, and Aquarius.

Having assigned four months each to the seasons, they take two months of each season to be the hottest, the rainiest, or the coldest. Of the summer months the last two, Jeth and Asarh, are the ones of extreme heat. Of the monsoon months the first two, Sanwan and Bhadon, are the height of the rains. Of the winter months the middle two, Pus and Magh, are the months of extreme cold. By this reckoning they have six seasons.

They also have names for the days of the week: Sanichar, Etwar, Somwar, Mangal, Budh, Brihaspati, Sukrawar.[93]

93. The days Sanichar through Sukrawar correspond to Saturday through Friday.

In our country a day and night is conventionally divided into twenty-four parts, each of which is called an hour, and every hour is divided into sixty parts, each of which is called a minute, so there are 1,440 minutes in a day and night. The duration of a minute is about what it takes to say the Fatiha with the Basmala six times,[94] [289] so that during a day and night the

Fatiha and the Basmala could be recited 8,640 times.

The people of India divide the day and night into sixty parts, each of which is called a ghari.[95] Moreover, the night and the day are each divided into four parts, each of which is called a *pahar,* or what in Persian is called a *pas.* In Transoxiana, I had heard the expressions *pas* and *pasban,*[96] but I did not know what they denoted. For keeping time, in all the important towns of Hindustan a group of men called *ghariyalis* is appointed and assigned. They cast a disc of brass as large as a tray and two fingers thick. This brass object, called a *ghariyal* is hung in a high place. Another vessel has a hole in the bottom, like an hourglass, that fills up once every ghari. The ghariyalis take turns putting the vessel in water and waiting for it to fill up. For example, when the vessel that they put in water at daybreak fills up once, they strike the ghariyal with a mallet. When it fills up twice, they strike it twice, and so on until a watch is completed. The close of each watch is announced by the striking of the ghariyal many times in rapid succession. When the first watch of the day is finished, after repeated striking, [289b] the ghariyalis pause and strike once. When the second watch is finished, they strike many times and then strike twice. For the third, thrice; for the fourth, four times. When the four watches of the day have ended and the night watches have begun, the night watches are introduced in the same way. They used to announce the new watches by striking only when the previous ones were finished, but people who woke up during the night and heard the sound of three or four gharis being struck did not know whether it was for the second or the third watch. I therefore ordered them to herald the watches of the night and cloudy days by striking only after they had struck the ghari first. For example, after striking the third ghari of the first watch of the night, they would pause and announce the watch by striking once more, so it was obvious that it was the third ghari of the first watch. After striking the fourth ghari of the third watch of the night, they would pause before striking three times. It was a great idea. Whenever people woke up at night and heard the sound of the ghariyal, they knew which watch and which ghari it was.

Every ghari is divided into sixty parts, each of which is called a *pal,* [290] so that a day and night contain 3,600 pals. They say that a pal lasts the time it takes to shut and open the eyes sixty times, so during a day and a night you could shut your eyes and open them 216,000 times. By experiment it has been determined that a pal is approximately the length of time it takes to say *qul huwa'llah* and *bismillah* eight times,[97] so during a day and night you could say *qul huwa'llah* and *bismillah* 28,800 times.

94. The first chapter of the Koran is a brief prayer called Fatiha (Opening). The Basmala is the initiatory formula, *bi'smi 'llahi 'rrahmani 'rrahim* ("in the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful") with which all chapters of the Koran but one begin. According to Babur, six recitations of the Basmala and Fatiha can be accomplished in a minute—a feat that is possible only if the recitation is done at breakneck speed.

95. See part 2, note 5.

96. *Pas* and *pasman,* meaning watch and watchman respectively.

97. Babur's calculation is correct.

## ❋ Weights and Measures

The people of India also have wonderful weights and measures. Eight *rattis* equal 1 *masha;* 4 *masha*s equal 1 *tank,* or 32 *rattis*; 5 *masha*s equal 1 *mithcal* or 40 *rattis*; 12 *masha*s equal 1 *tola,* or 96 *rattis*; 14 *tola*s equal 1 *seer.* It is set everywhere that 40 *seer*s equal 1 *maund.* 12 *maund*s equal 1 *mani;* 100 *mani*s is called a *manyasa.*[98] Jewels and pearls are weighed by the tank.

The people of India have also an excellent system of numbering. One hundred thousand equal 1 lac; 100 lacs equal 1 crore; 100 crores equal 1 *arb;* 100 *arb*s equal 1 *kharb;* 100 *kharb*s equal 1 *nil;* 100 *nil*s equal 1 *padam;* 100 *padam*s equal 1 *sankya.* The creation of these numbers indicates the vast wealth of Hindustan.

Most of the people of Hindustan are infidels, whom the people of India call Hindu. Most Hindus believe in reincarnation. Tax collectors, artisans, and craftsmen are all Hindus. In our country the people who move about the countryside have clan names, but in India even those who dwell in towns and villages [290b] have clan names. Every craft and trade is passed down from father to son.

Hindustan is a place of little charm. There is no beauty in its people, no graceful social intercourse, no poetic talent or understanding, no etiquette, nobility, or manliness. The arts and crafts have no harmony or symmetry. There are no good horses, meat, grapes, melons, or other fruit. There is no ice, cold water, good food or bread in the markets. There are no baths and no madrasas. There are no candles, torches, or candlesticks.

Instead of candles and torches they have a numerous group of filthy people called *deotis* who carry the lamps. In their left hands the deotis hold a small wooden tripod; on the end of one of its legs an iron piece like the top of a candlestick is fastened to the wood of the tripod. Next to it they fasten a wick as thick as a thumb. In their right hands the deotis carry a gourd with a narrow slit from which oil can be trickled. Whenever the wick needs oil, they pour it from the gourd. Great men keep deotis by the hundred and use them in place of candles or torches. When kings and noblemen have business at night that requires lighting, the filthy deotis [291] bring this sort of lamp and hold it nearby.

Aside from the streams and still waters that flow in ravines and hollows, there is no running water in their gardens or palaces, and in their buildings no pleasing harmony or regularity.

The peasantry and common people parade around stark naked with something like a loincloth tied around themselves and hanging down two spans below their navels. Under this rag is another piece of cloth, which they

98. The word *manyasa,* or *minasa,* is unidentified. Based on the definition that 1 masha equals 1.0042 grams (Walther Hinz. *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955], 5, 23), the following can be extrapolated: 1 ratti equals 0.1255 gram; 1 tank equals 4.168 grams; 1 miscal equals 5 mashas equals 5.021 grams; 1 tola equals 12.0504 grams (in Akbar's time a tola was redefined as 8 masha 7 surkh, or 20.9628 grams); 1 seer equals 58.352 grams; 1 maund equals 2.334 kg; 1 mani equals 28 kg; 1 manyasa equals 2,800 kg. On folio 305b Babur says that the *tola* is "a measure slightly more than two miscals," which would be true based on his own definitions. For this period in Iran and India, Hinz (p. 6 f.) takes the miscal to be 4.6 grams, a slight discrepancy with Babur's definition.



*Construction of the Masjid-i Jami' in Samarkand,* from a *Zafarnama* (Book of Triumph) of Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi. Herat (?), dated A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467–68). Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. John Work Garrett Library, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, fol. 360a.

pass between their legs and fasten to the loincloth string. Women fasten around themselves one long piece of cloth, half of which they tie to their waists and the other half of which they throw over their heads.

The one nice aspect of Hindustan is that it is a large country with lots of gold and money. The weather turns very nice during the monsoon. Sometimes it rains ten, fifteen, or twenty times a day; torrents are formed in an instant, and water flows in places that normally have no water. During the rainy season, the weather is unusually good when the rain ceases, so good in fact that it could not be more temperate or pleasant. The one drawback is that the air is too humid. During the monsoon, bows from that country cannot be used to shoot or they are ruined. [291b] Armor, books, bedding, and textiles are also affected. Buildings do not last long either. Aside from the monsoon, there are periods of good weather during both winter and summer, but the constant north wind always stirs up a lot of dust. Near the monsoon it gets so strong at least four or five times and creates so much dust that people cannot see each other. The wind is called *andhi.* In the summer during Taurus and Gemini it gets hot, but the heat is not so intense, nothing like the heat of Balkh and Kandahar, and it lasts only half as long.

Another nice thing is the unlimited numbers of craftsmen and practitioners of every trade. For every labor and every product there is an established group who have been practicing that craft or professing that trade for generations. For instance, in the *Zafarnama,* Mulla Sharaf writes eloquently that during Temür Beg's building of the stone mosque two hundred stonemasons from Azerbaijan, Fars, Hindustan, and other places were employed on it daily. In Agra alone there were 680 Agra stonemasons at work on my building every day.[99] Aside from that, in Agra, Sikri, Bayana, Dholpur, Gwalior,

and Koil, 1,491 stonemasons were laboring on my buildings. [292] There are similar vast numbers of every type of craftsman and laborers of every description in Hindustan.

The regions from Bhera to Bihar that are currently under my control are worth 52 crores, as can be seen in the following table. Of these, eight to nine crores' worth are districts of rays and rajahs who are in obedience and have been awarded these districts for their maintenance as of old.

Estimate of the total revenue of as much of Hindustan as has presently come under conquest:[100]

Trans-Sutlej, Bhera, Lahore, Sialkot, Dipalpur, etc.
33,315,989 tankas

Sirhind
12,931,985 tankas

Hissar Firoza
13,075,174 tankas

The capital Delhi and the Doab
36,950,254 tankas

Mewat (not inside the realm at the time of Sikandar[101])
16,981,000 tankas

Bayana
14,414,930 tankas

Agra
2,976,919 tankas

Central provinces
29,100,019 tankas

Gwalior
22,357,450 tankas

Kalpi and Seondha
42,855,950 tankas

Kannauj
13,663,358 tankas

Sambhal
13,844,000 tankas

Laknaur and Buxar
13,982,433 tankas

Khairabad
1,265,000 tankas

Oudh and Bahraich
11,701,369 tankas [293a]

Jaunpur
40,088,333 tankas

Kara and Manikpur
16,327,282 tankas

Bihar
40,560,000 tankas

Sarwar
15,517,506.5 tankas

Saran
11,018,373 tankas

Champaran
19,086,060 tankas

Kandhla
4,330,300 tankas

Tirhut (tribute from Rajah Rup Narayan)
255,000 silver tankas
2,750,000 black tankas

Ranthambhor, including Buli, Chatsu, and Malana
2,000,000

Nagaur

Rajah Bikramajit of Ranthambhor

Kalinjar

Rajah Singh Deo

Rajah Bikam Deo

Rajah Bikam Chand

[293b] As much of the characteristics and peculiarities of the peoples and places of Hindustan as has been ascertained has been written. Hereafter, whenever anything worth writing about is noticed or anything worth telling is heard I will write it down.

99. Temür Beg's "stone mosque" is the large congregational mosque in Samarkand now known as the Bibi Khanïm Mosque (see illus. pp. 82–83). Babur's building in Agra is unknown.

100. Although we have no such figures for the income of Kabul, Babur speaks of it as a relatively poor province, and it is easy to imagine how impressed he must have been by the wealth of Hindustan, which was proverbial for the magnitude of its riches. Babur's descendants always took great pride in their vast wealth, particularly when compared with the "paltry sums" their neighbors the Safavids realized from Iran.

101. That is, 1489–1517. See note 28 above.

## ❋ Distribution of the Treasury in Agra

On Saturday the twenty-ninth of Rajab [May 12] examination and distribution of the treasury began. Humayun was given twenty lacs. I gave him outright another room of the treasury, which had not been inventoried or counted. Some of the begs were given ten lacs, some eight, seven, or six. All the Afghan Hazaras, Arabs, and Baluch[102] in the army and every other group were given cash from the treasury in accordance with their station. Every merchant and student, indeed every person who was along with the army, took away a large share. Large portions of the treasury went even to those who were not in the army: seventeen lacs went to Kamran and fifteen to Muhammad-Zaman Mirza, and to Askari and Hindal and to all relatives and kinsfolk, large and small alike, went much gold and silver stuff, textiles, jewels, and slaves. Many gifts went to the begs and soldiers who were on the other side. To Samarkand, Khurasan, [294] Kashghar, and Iraq went gifts for relatives and kinfolk. Offerings went to the shaykhs in Samarkand and Khurasan; one was even sent to Mecca and Medina. There was a shahrukhi of largesse for every living soul, male and female, bondsman and free, adult and child alike, in the province of Kabul and the district of Wersek.

102. See note 9 above.

When we first came to Agra, a strange antagonism and hatred was felt between our soldiers and the natives. The native soldiers and peasants ran away as far as they could from our people. With the sole exceptions of Delhi and Agra, all the places that had fortresses made them fast and refused obedience. In Sambhal was Qasim of Sambhal; in Bayana was Nizam Khan; in Mewat was Hasan Khan of Mewat himself, that little heretic who was the instigator of all this trouble. In Dholpur was Muhammad Zaytun; in Gwalior was Tatar Khan Sarangkhani; in Rapri was Husayn Khan son of Nohani Khan; in Etawah was Qutb Khan; in Kalpi was Alam Khan; Kannauj and that side of the Ganges were full of Afghans in opposition, like Nasîr Khan Nohani, Ma'ruf Farmuli, and many other amirs who had rebelled two or three years before Ibrahim's death [in 1526]. When I conquered Ibrahim [on April 20, 1526], they seized Kannauj and all the districts on that side and camped a march or two this side of Kannauj. Darya Khan's son Pahar Khan [294b] they made king and named Sultan Muhammad. His slave Marghub was in Mahaban. Having come this near, he went no farther for some time.

## ❋ Disaffection in the Army

When we came to Agra it was the hot season, and the people all fled in fear. Neither grain for ourselves nor straw for the horses was to be found. The villages had been so plundered and pillaged that the people had turned to brigandage and thievery. The roads could not be traveled. We had not yet had a chance to divide the treasury or assign able men to every district and locality. Also, that year was extremely hot. Many began to sicken and die as though under the influence of a pestilent wind. For these reasons most of the begs and great warriors lost heart. They were unwilling to stay in Hindustan and began to leave. Now if aged and experienced begs say such things, it is no fault, for once having spoken, such men have enough sense and intelligence to distinguish between prudence and imprudence and to discern good from evil after a decision has been made. Such a person considers everything for himself and knows that when something has been decided there is no sense in endlessly repeating words that have already been spoken. Among the lesser types what is the value of such words and such [295] insipid ideas? It is strange that among the lesser officers a few had been newly appointed to the rank of beg when we mounted in Kabul this time. I expected that if I went into fire or water and emerged, they would come in with me and emerge along with me and be at my side wherever I went—not that they would speak out in opposition to my purpose. No matter what task or action we decided with the counsel and agreement of all, they would disagree with before they ever left the assembly. If they acted badly, Ahmadi Parwanachï and Wali Khazin acted even worse. No sooner had we left Kabul, defeated Ibrahim, and taken Agra than Khwaja Kalan acted well several times. He spoke courageously and gave high-minded opinions, but several days after taking Agra his thoughts changed radically. One who was serious about leaving was Khwaja Kalan.

Realizing this trepidation in the men, we summoned all the begs for council. I said, "Rule and conquest do not come about without tools and implements. Kingship and princehood are not possible without liege men and domains. For some years we have struggled, experienced difficulties, traversed long distances, led the army, and cast ourselves and our soldiers into the dangers of war and battle; [295b] through God's grace we have defeated such numerous enemies and taken such vast realms. What now compels us to throw away for no reason at all the realms we have taken at such cost? Shall we go back to Kabul and remain poverty-stricken? Let no one who supports me say such things henceforth. Let no one who cannot endure and is bound to

leave be dissuaded from leaving." By addressing the men with such reasonable and justified words, we alleviated their fears.

## ❋ Khwaja Kalan Leaves Hindustan

Since Khwaja Kalan did not have the heart to stay, it was decided that he, who had many retainers, would take the gifts and go. There were a few men in Kabul and Ghazni, and he would take charge of them. I awarded Khwaja Kalan with Ghazni, Gardez, and the Sultan-Mas'udi Hazaras. He was also given the three- or four-lac pargana of Ghuram in Hindustan. It was also decided that Khwaja Mirmiran would go to Kabul and be in charge of the gifts. As pursers Mulla Hasan the money changer and Tuka Hindu were appointed. Since Khwaja Kalan hated Hindustan, he wrote the following line of poetry on the wall of his quarters in Delhi when he left: [296]

> If I cross the Indus in safety, may my face turn black if I ever desire to see Hindustan again.

To compose such a facetious line and write it was inexcusable. That he left was one reason to be cross with him; such nastiness gave me another reason. I too composed an extemporaneous quatrain, and sent it to him:

> Give a hundred thanks, Babur, that the generous Pardoner of all has given you Sind and Hind and a vast kingdom. / If you cannot endure the heat and say, "I would see the face of cold," there is Ghazni.

At this time Mulla Apaq, whose rank had formerly been very low, but who had gathered his brethren two or three years previously and made a splendid troop, was given the Urukzai and some of the Afghans on the banks of the Indus. He was sent to Koil, and letters of conciliation were dispatched to the yeomen and soldiers who were in that region. Shaykh Ghuran came and paid sincere homage. Two or three thousand of the yeomen of the Doab came and paid homage too.

When Yunus Ali had lost his way and gotten separated from Humayun, he encountered Ali Khan Farmuli's sons and relatives on the road between Delhi and Agra. There was a skirmish, and he defeated Ali Khan's sons and brought them in in chains. About this time, one of Ali Khan's captured sons was attached to Dawlat-Qadam Türk's son Mirza Moghul [296b] and sent with letters of conciliation to Ali Khan, who had gone to Mewat during the

turmoil. To favor Ali Khan he was awarded a splendid twenty-five-lac pargana.

Sultan Ibrahim had sent few officers under the leadership of Mustafa Farmuli and Firoz Khan Sarangkhani to attack the rebel officers in Purab. Mustafa waged war well against these officers and dealt them several defeats, but he died before Ibrahim was overthrown. Since Ibrahim was on campaign, Mustafa's younger brother Shaykh Bayazid sent his elder brother's people away. Firoz Khan, Shaykh Bayazid, Mahmud Khan Nohani, and Qazi Jia entered my service. They were favored and rewarded with more than they had expected: Firoz Khan was given Jaunpur and 14,605,000 tankas; Shaykh Bayazid was given Oudh and 14,850,000 tankas; Mahmud Khan was given Ghazipur and 9,035,000 tankas; Qazi Jia was given 2,000,000 tankas from Jaunpur.

## ❋ Awards Ceremony

Several days after the Shawwal festival[103] a great party was held in the domed portico with stone columns in the middle of Sultan Ibrahim's harem. Humayun was given a charqab, a girth sword, and a horse with a gold saddle. Chïn Temür Sultan, Mahdi Khwaja, [297] and Muhammad-Sultan Mirza were also given charqabs, girth swords, and girth daggers. The other begs and warriors were given girth swords and girth daggers and robes of honor according to their rank, as is shown in the following table:

103. The "Shawwal festival" refers to the feast for the end of the month of Ramadan (see part 2, note 173).

| | |
|---|---|
| Fine horses with saddles<br>2 | Knife with golden hilt<br>1 |
| Jewel-studded daggers<br>25 | Jewel-studded *jamdhars* (illus. p. 357)<br>2 |
| Jewel-studded girth swords<br>2 | Charqabs<br>4 |
| Scarlet robes<br>28 | Fine woolens<br>51 lengths |
| Jewel-studded etc. *kattars* (illus. p. 357)<br>16 | |

On the day of the party there was an incredible lot of rain. It rained thirteen times. Those who had to stand outside got drenched. Muhammadi Kükäldash was rewarded with Samana and assigned to raid Sambhal. Hissar Firoza had been given as a reward to Humayun; now Sambhal was also given him. Hindu Beg was assigned to Humayun, and thereupon the following were sent on an expedition to Sambhal in Muhammadi's stead: Hindu Beg, Kätä Beg, Baba-



Detail, *Zardbank Khatni Brings the Key to Maltas, the Prison Keeper,* from the *Hamzanama.* India, ca. 1562–77. Opaque watercolor and gold on cloth. Freer Gallery of Art, 49.18. The daggers thrust into the center warriors' sashes are either *kattar*s or *jamdhar*s. The distinction is lost to time.

Qashqa's Malik Qasim with his brothers, Mulla Apaq, and Shaykh Ghuran with his Doab yeomen. Three or four times a man had come from Qasim of Sambhal to say, [297b] "Biban the ingrate has laid siege to Sambhal and reduced the defenders to dire straits. Send an expeditionary force." When Biban had fled from us as he had, he had skirted the mountain and gathered the dispersed Afghans and Hindustanis. Finding the place open to attack during the turmoil, he had laid siege to Sambhal. Hindu Beg, Kätä Beg, and the expeditionary force reached the Ahar ford and were busy making the crossing. Baba-Qashqa's Malik Qasim was sent forward with his brothers. When Malik Qasim crossed the river, a hundred to 150 of his brethren galloped to the attack and reached Sambhal around noon. Biban came forth from camp with his troops arrayed. Malik Qasim and his men rushed in, put the fortress to their backs, and began hand-to-hand battle. Biban was unable to maintain his stand and retreated. A few heads were severed, and several elephants and a lot of horses and plunder were taken. The next morning the begs of the expeditionary force arrived. Qasim of Sambhal came for an interview, but he did not want to turn over the fortress to them and used a subterfuge. One day Shaykh Ghuran was talking to Hindu Beg and the others and managed somehow to bring Qasim of Sambhal into the presence of our begs and to get our men into the Sambhal fortress. They sent Qasim of Sambhal's womenfolk and retainers out safe and sound.

Qalandar Piada was dispatched to Bayana with enticements and threats for Nizam Khan. [298] This little poem was composed extemporaneously and sent along:

> Trifle not with the Turk, O Mir of Bayana, / For the agility and bravery of the Turk are obvious. / If you do not come soon and listen to reason, / What need is there for clarification[104] of the obvious?

The fortress at Bayana is one of the most famous in Hindustan. This ridiculous fellow relied on the impregnability of his fortress and sent back claims

104. The word ("clarification") is *bayan,* a pun on Bayana.

far beyond his capacity. Instead of giving a satisfactory answer to his envoy, we made ready to lay siege.

Baba-Qulï Beg was dispatched to Muhammad Zaytun with threatening decrees. He too excused himself and took to subterfuge.

Although an envoy had come to us from Rana Sanga the Infidel while we were in Kabul and offered his support, saying, "If the padishah comes from that direction to the environs of Delhi, I will attack Agra from this direction," I had defeated Ibrahim and taken Delhi and Agra. Up till then this infidel had done nothing. Some time later he did lay siege to the fortress known as Kandar, in which was Makkan's son Hasan. Several times men came from Hasan Makkan, but Makkan himself had not yet come to see me. [298b] The fortresses in the area, like Etawah, Dholpur, Gwalior, and Bayana, had not yet entered my domain. To the east the Afghans were acting obstinate and rebellious and had moved their army two or three marches from Kannauj in the direction of Agra. I was not yet completely sure even of the nearby environs. For this reason I could not send Hasan Makkan any reinforcements. Two or three months later Hasan, reduced to extremities, was forced to make a truce and hand over Kandar.

Husayn Khan, who was in Rapri, panicked and left, and Rapri was given to Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang.

Qutb Khan, who was in Etawah, was sent several times both threats and enticements, but he neither came to see us nor gave over Etawah. Mahdi Khwaja was awarded Etawah, and Muhammad-Sultan Mirza was sent to attack Etawah with a large contingent of begs and ichkis under Sultan-Muhammad Dulday, Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang, and Abdul-Aziz Mirakhur. Kannauj was given to Sultan-Muhammad Dulday. Also assigned to Etawah were troops under Firoz Khan, Mahmud Khan, Shaykh Bayazid, and Qazi Jia, all of whom had been greatly patronized and given parganas in the direction of Purab. [299]

Muhammad Zaytun was sitting in Dholpur and cunningly not coming. Dholpur was awarded to Sultan-Junayd Barlas, and we assigned troops under Adil Sultan, Muhammadi Kükäldash, Shah-Mansur Barlas, Qutlugh-Qadam, Abdullah, Wali, Jan Beg, Pir-Qulï, and Shah-Husayn Yaraki to take Dholpur by force, turn it over to Sultan-Junayd, and then attack Bayana.

After assigning the army, I summoned the Turk and India officers and consulted with them. We discussed the fact that the rebel officers in Purab, that is, Nasîr Khan Nohani and Ma'ruf Farmuli, had crossed the Ganges with forty or fifty thousand soldiers, taken control of Kannauj, and were camped two or three marches this side of Kannauj. Rana Sanga the Infidel had taken

Kandar and was sowing dissent. The end of the monsoon was near. It seemed to be necessary either to attack the rebels or to move against the infidel. The fortresses in the immediate area were easy. After eliminating these great enemies, where would they go? Rana Sanga was not imagined to be so difficult. All unanimously said that Rana Sanga was farther away. It was not known if he would be able to get any nearer. It was more important and imperative to repel the rebels who had come so close.

We were about to mount to ride against the rebels when [299b] Humayun said, "What necessity is there for the padishah to ride? Let me perform this service." Everyone was pleased by this, and the Turk and India officers alike approved his idea. Humayun was assigned Purab, and Kabuli Ahmad Qasim was dispatched at a gallop to the army that had been assigned to Dholpur to say, "Let the army come and join Humayun at Chandwar." An order was also sent to Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad-Sultan Mirza's army, which had been assigned to attack Etawah, to join Humayun.

On Wednesday the thirteenth of Dhu'l-Qa'da [August 21], Humayun set forth and stopped in the village of Jalesar, three leagues from Agra. He stayed there one day and then proceeded march by march.

On Thursday the twentieth [August 28], Khwaja Kalan was given permission to go to Kabul.

## ❋ Babur Plans a Garden

I always thought one of the chief faults of Hindustan was that there was no running water. Everywhere that was habitable it should be possible to construct waterwheels, create running water, and make planned, geometric spaces. A few days after coming to Agra, I crossed the Jumna with this plan in mind and scouted around for places to build gardens, but everywhere I looked was so unpleasant and desolate that I crossed back in great disgust. [300] Because the place was so ugly and disagreeable I abandoned my dream of making a charbagh (see illus. p. 173).

Although there was no really suitable place near Agra, there was nothing to do but work with the space we had. The foundation was the large well from which the water for the bathhouse came. Next, the patch of ground with tamarind trees and octagonal pond became the great pool and courtyard. Then came the pool in front of the stone building and the hall. After that came the private garden and its outbuildings, and after that the bathhouse. Thus, in unpleasant and inharmonious India, marvelously regular and geometric gardens were introduced. In every corner were beautiful plots, and in



A view to the far side of the Jumna River, from an album of thirty-five albumen prints by Felice Beato (b. ca. 1825) called "Photographs of Delhi and c." depicting views of the Indian Mutiny near Delhi, India, ca. 1858. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution

every plot were regularly laid out arrangements of roses and narcissus.

We suffered from three things in Hindustan. One was the heat, another the biting wind, and the third the dust. The bathhouse was a refuge from all three. Of course, a bathhouse has no dust or wind, and in the hot weather it is so cool that one almost feels chill. One chamber of the bath, the one in which the warm-water reservoir was, was finished completely in stone. The dado was of white stone; otherwise the floor and ceiling were of red stone from Bayana. Khalifa, Shaykh Zayn, Yunus Ali, and all who had acquired lands on the river [300b] also built geometric and beautifully planned gardens and ponds. As is done in Lahore and Dipalpur, they made running water with waterwheels. Since the people of India had never seen such planned or regular spaces, they nicknamed the side of the Jumna on which these structures stood, "Kabul."[105]

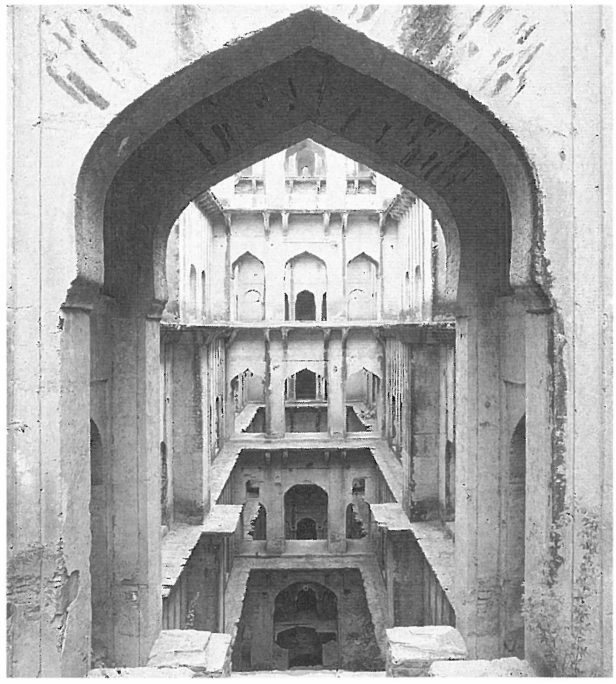
105. That is, the locals named the new "suburb" after the place from which the conquerors had come.

## ❋ The Making of a Well

Inside the fortress there was an open space between Ibrahim's building and the rampart. There I ordered a large stepwell made, ten by ten. In the parlance of Hindustan a large well with steps is called a stepwell. This one was begun before the charbagh. They began to dig in the middle of the monsoon, and it caved in several times, burying the workers. It was completed after the expedition against Rana Sanga,[106] as recorded on the date stone. It is a marvelous stepwell. Inside is a three-story structure, the lowest story of which has three porticos. The walkway leads down the steps to the well, and a path leads to each of the three porticos. Each portico is three steps higher than the last. The water level is one step lower than the lowest portico when the water is drawn off. Sometimes during the monsoon, when the water is at its highest level, water comes up to the highest portico. In the middle level is a carved portico, which echoes a dome in which an ox turns the waterwheel. [301] The upper level has one portico. From the courtyard outside and above the well a

106. That is, after March 1527.

Stepwell at Nimrana, Bharatpur, Rajasthan, ca. 1700



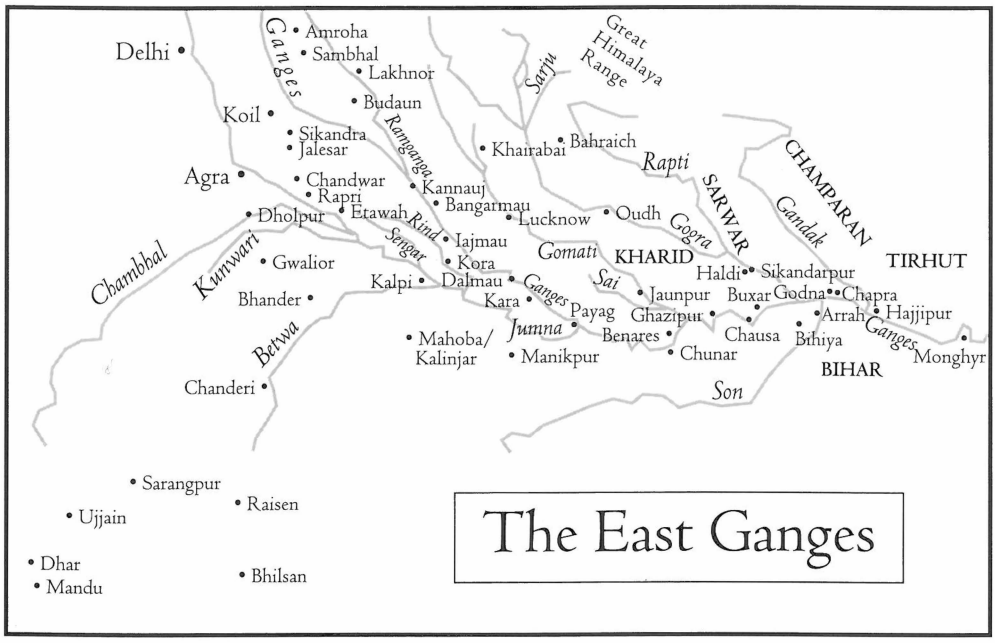
path leads straight to this portico on both sides down five or six steps. Directly opposite the path is the date stone. Next to this well another one was made. The bottom of the second well is a bit higher than the middle level of the first well. As was mentioned, oxen turn the waterwheel under the dome, and the water goes from the first well to the second. Another wheel was constructed for the second well, and it takes water up to the rampart to water the garden up on a level with the rampart. In the place where the steps to the well end a stone building was built. Outside the area of the well a stone mosque was built, but it was not well made. They built it in the Indian fashion.

## ❋ Humayun Rides against the Rebels

When Humayun rode out, the rebels under Nasîr Khan Nohani and Ma'ruf Farmuli were gathered in Jajmau. From ten or fifteen kos away Humayun sent Mu'min Atäkä to gather intelligence while he proceeded on a raid. But Mu'min Atäkä was unable to bring back any worthwhile information. The rebels, catching wind of Mu'min Atäkä's movements, fled without bothering to make a stand. After him, Qïsïmtay, Baba Chuhra, and Böchkä were sent to reconnoiter, and they brought back news of the rebels' flight in confusion. Humayun took Jajmau and then went on to the Dalmau region, [301b] where Fath Khan Sarwani came to submit to him. He attached Fath Khan Sarwani to Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad-Sultan Mirza and sent him to us.

## ❋ In Khurasan the Uzbeks Attack Merv

That same year Ubayd Khan led his army from Bukhara against Merv. In the Merv citadel were ten to fifteen civilians, whom he killed. After reconstructing the dam at Merv in forty or fifty days, he proceeded against Sarakhs. In Sarakhs were forty to fifty Qïzïlbash (Savafids), who shut the gate and refused to give up the fortress. In confusion, the civilians opened the gates. The Uzbeks




entered and killed these Qïzïlbash too. Taking Sarakhs, they went on to Tus and Mashhad. The inhabitants of Mashhad had no choice but to let them in. They besieged Tus for eight months and finally took it by truce, but instead of abiding by the terms, they slaughtered the men and took the women prisoner.

This same year Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat's son, Bahadur Khan, who is now padishah in Gujarat in his father's stead, was estranged from his father and went to Sultan Ibrahim, who received him less than honorably. While I was in Panipat a petition came to me from him. I sent him encouraging and enticing decrees and invited him to join us. He was thinking about coming but then changed his mind, deserted Ibrahim's army, and set out for Gujarat. At that same time his father, Sultan Muzaffar, died, and his elder brother, [302] Sikandar Shah, Sultan Muzaffar's eldest son, became padishah of Gujarat in his father's stead. Because Sikandar's conduct was evil a slave of his named Imadulmulk conspired with a group of people, strangled Sikandar to death, and invited Bahadur Khan, who was still on his way, and enthroned him in his father's place. He became known as Bahadur Shah. Bahadur did one good thing: he had Imadulmulk, who had shown such ingratitude, killed and thereby wrought vengeance on him. He also killed many of the begs from his father's reign. These actions show him to be a bloodthirsty and audacious young man.

# Events of the Year 933 [1526–27][107]

In the month of Muharram [October 1526], Beg Ways brought news of Faruq's birth. Although a runner had brought the news before this, Beg Ways arrived to give us the good news himself. The child was born on Thursday evening, the twenty-third of Shawwal [August 2], and was named Faruq.[108]

107. The year A.H. 933 corresponds to October 8, 1526–September 26, 1527.

108. The child died in infancy. Faruq was Mahïm's son.

## ❋ Ali-Quli Casts a Mortar

Master Ali-Qulï was ordered to cast a large mortar to be used on Bayana and some of the other fortresses that had not yet entered our domain. When he had the smelting furnace and all the implements ready, he sent someone to inform me. On Monday the fifteenth of Muharram [October 22] we went to watch Master Ali-Qulï cast the mortar. Around the place where it was to be cast he had constructed eight smelting furnaces and had already melted the metal. [302b] From the bottom of each furnace he had made a channel straight to the mortar mold. Just as we got there he was opening the holes in the furnaces. The molten metal was pouring like water into the mold, but after a while, before the mold was filled, one by one the streams of molten metal coming from the furnaces stopped. There was some flaw either in the furnace or in the metal. Master Ali-Qulï went into a strange depression and was about to throw himself into the mold of molten bronze, but I soothed him, gave him a robe of honor, and got him out of his black mood. A day or two later, when the mold had cooled, they opened it, and Master Ali-Qulï sent someone to announce with glee that the shaft was flawless. It was then easy to attach the powder chamber. He took out the shaft and assigned some men to fix it, and got to work connecting the chamber.

Mahdi Khwaja brought Fath Khan Sarwani from Humayun, whom he had left at Dalmau. I viewed Fath Khan favorably and gave him his father A'zam Humayun's parganas and granted him a few more estates too. In all he was given parganas worth sixteen million tankas. In Hindustan greatly favored officers are given traditional titles. One of these is A'zam Humayun; others are Khanjahan [303] and Khankhanan. Fath Khan's father's title was A'zam Humayun. Because of my own Humayun, it was considered inappropriate to invest anyone with such a title, so it was laid aside, and Fath Khan Sarwani was given the title Khanjahan.[109]

On Wednesday the eighth of Safar [November 14] marquees were set up beside the large pool on the upper side of the tamarind trees. A wine party was held there, and Fath Khan Sarwani was invited. Along with some wine, I presented him with a turban and a suit of clothing I had worn myself, and with this ennoblement he was given leave to return to his land. It was decided that his son, Mahmud Khan, would remain always in attendance on me.

109. *A'zam* means "most magnificent" and *humâyûn* means "regal"; Khanjahan is a shortened form of *khân-i-jahân,* "lord of the world"; Khankhanan is an abbreviated form of *khân-i-khânân,* "khan of khans, lord of lords." Both Khanjahan and Khankhanan were retained as titles of investiture by Babur's descendants, such as, for example, the Khankhanan Abdul-Rahim, the translator of Babur's memoirs. The title Khanjahan was also regularly awarded to outstanding military leaders.

## The Submission of Bayana

On Wednesday the twenty-fourth of Muharram [October 31], Muhammad-Ali Haydar Rikabdar was dispatched with an urgent message for Humayun. "The Purab rebel army has fled," the message said. "As soon as this envoy arrives assign a few appropriate begs to Jaunpur, take the army and come immediately to us. Rana Sanga the Infidel has drawn nigh and is at the gate. We will have to rethink our strategy for him." After the armies had gone to Purab, Qoch Beg's Turdï Beg and his younger brother Sherafkan, Muhammad Khalil Akhtabegi and his brothers and equerries, and Rustam the Turcoman and his brothers, together with Rao Ravi Sarwani of the Hindustanis, were assigned to go strike and plunder the Bayana area. [303b] If they could get the people in the fortress to come over to our side by means of promises and enticements, let them do so; otherwise, they were to strike and plunder and reduce the enemy to incapacity.

Alam Khan, one of the elder brothers of this Nizam Khan who was in Bayana, was in the fortress of Tahangarh.[110] His envoys came repeatedly to offer servitude and support. This Alam Khan took it upon himself to promise that if a troop were assigned by the padishah, he would win over the yeomen of Bayana and take possession of the Bayana fortress. The following order was issued to the warriors of the strike force led by Turdï Beg: "Since Alam Khan is landed, he has accepted such servitude and service of his own accord. Act therefore in accordance with his views and as he sees fit in the Bayana affair."

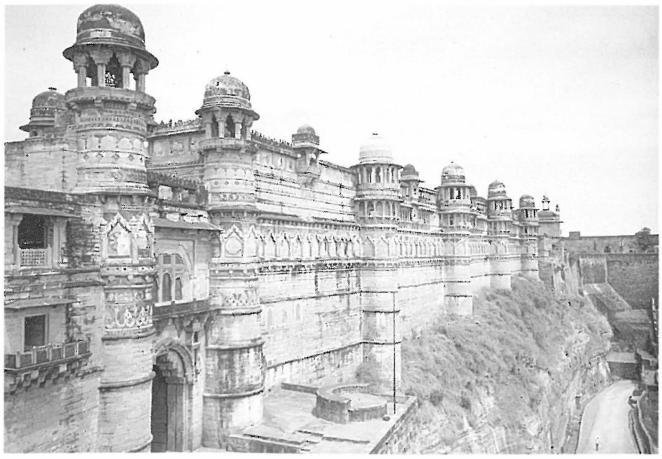
110. Tahangarh is at Karauli in Rajputana.

Although some of the people of Hindustan know how to wield a sword, most have no idea of military manners or how to lead and command. This Alam Khan, who was put in charge of our strike force, listening to no one and never stopping to consider the good or bad outcome of any action, took the detachment near Bayana. The detachment we had sent was composed of 250 to three hundred Turks and a little more than two thousand soldiers from Hindustan and surrounding areas. Nizam Khan and the Afghans in Bayana had more than four thousand horsemen and more than ten thousand foot soldiers. [304] No sooner did they see our men and realize how few they were than all the above-mentioned cavalry and infantry charged us. As the attack party arrived, they spurred their horses at them and forced them to flee. Alam Khan of Tahangarh, Nizam Khan's elder brother, was unhorsed, and another five or six men were taken prisoner. Some of the baggage was lost too. Despite this action, promises and enticements were given, and decrees pardoning Nizam Khan's past and future offenses were sent.

When the news of Rana Sanga the Infidel's rapid approach was learned, Nizam Khan had no alternative. He summoned Sayyid Rafi', turned his fortresses over to our men through the mediation of Sayyid Rafi', and accompanied him to be ennobled by paying allegiance to us. I awarded him a twenty-lac pargana in the Doab. Dost Eshik-aqa was assigned temporarily to Bayana. A few days after Mahdi Khwaja was awarded Bayana and seventy lacs of maintenance and salary and given leave to proceed to Bayana.

## ❋ Rahimdad Takes Gwalior

Tatar Khan Sarangkhani was in Gwalior, and his envoy had come to offer submission and support. When the Infidel seized Kandar and approached Bayana, Dharmakant, one of the rajahs of Gwalior, and an infidel named Khan Jahan came to the vicinity of Gwalior and began to stir up trouble, with designs on the fortress. Tatar Khan was in dire straits and was about to turn over Gwalior. Our begs, ichkis, and most of our brave warriors were all with the army or on scouting parties scattered in all directions. [304b] A few men from Bhera and Lahore, as well as Hastichi Tünqatar and his brothers, were attached to Rahimdad, given estates in Gwalior, and dispatched to the above-mentioned group. Mulla Apaq and Shaykh Ghuran were also sent to establish Rahimdad in Gwalior and then come back. When they approached Gwalior, Tatar Khan changed his mind and did not invite them into the fortress. At the same time, Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws, a dervish who was generally occupied with his many disciples and companions, sent a messenger to Rahimdad from inside the



Gwalior fortress, early 16th century

Gwalior fortress to say, "Get yourself inside the fortress however you may, for this fellow has changed his mind and has evil intentions." As soon as this news reached Rahimdad, he sent someone to say, "Outside there is danger from the infidels. Let me enter the fortress with a few men, and the others will remain outside." In the face of much insistence, Tatar Khan gave his consent. As soon as Rahimdad entered the fortress, he said, "Let our men stay at this gate." He stationed his men at the Hathi Pol,[111] through which he let his men in that night. The next morning there was nothing Tatar Khan could do. Willy-nilly he turned over the fortress and left, and then he came to Agra and paid homage. He was assigned a twenty-lac stipend from the pargana of Bianwan.

111. Hathi Pol or Hathiya Paur, meaning Elephant Gate, is one of several gates to Gwalior.

Muhammad Zaytun was also left with no choice, and he turned over Dholpur [305] and came to pay homage. He was awarded a pargana of a few lacs. Dholpur was made crown land, and Abu'l-Fath the Turcoman was made custodian and sent there. In the vicinity of Hissar Firoza, Hamid Khan Sarangkhani and a few Pani Afghans[112] and Afghans from surrounding areas amassed three or four thousand soldiers and rebelled.

On Wednesday the fifteenth of Safar [November 21], we attached Ahmadi Parwanachï, Abu'l-Fath the Turcoman, Malikdad of Kara, and Mujahid Khan of Multan to Chïn Temür Sultan and assigned them to attack these Afghans. They charged from afar, defeated the Afghans, killed many of them, and sent back a good many heads.



*A Reclining Prince,* attributed to Aqa Mirak, Iran, ca. 1530. Album page; opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.300

## ❋ Arrival of an Ambassador from Persia

Toward the end of Safar [November], Khwajagi Asad, who had been sent as ambassador to Prince Tahmasp in Iraq, came accompanied by a

Turcoman called Sulayman and brought official gifts. Among them were two Circassian slave-girls.[113]

## An Attempt on Babur's Life

On Friday the sixteenth of Rabi' I [December 21] a strange incident took place. As it was written up in detail in a letter to Kabul, that letter is reproduced here without addition or deletion:

> The details of the momentous incident that took place on Friday the sixteenth of Rabi' I 933 are as follows. The wretched Buwa, mother of Ibrahim, heard [305b] that I was eating foods prepared by Hindustani cooks. This came about because three or four months prior to this date, since I had never seen Hindustani food, I said that Ibrahim's cooks should be brought. Of fifty or sixty cooks I kept four. So, having heard of this, she sent a man to Etawah to obtain a tola of poison wrapped up in a piece of paper and then give it to an old woman servant, who would then pass it to Ahmad Chashnigir. (In Hindustan they call the taster *chashnigir,* and a tola is a measure slightly more than two mithcals, as has been described.) Ahmad gave it to the Hindustani cook in our kitchen, promising him four parganas to introduce it somehow into my food. After the first old woman, who gave Ahmad Chashnigir the poison, she sent another to see whether or not he had given me the poison. It is good that he put it on the plate and not in the pot, having done so because I had given the cooks strict instructions to supervise the Hindustanis and make them taste from the pot while the food was being prepared. When the meal was being dished out, however, our wretched cooks were negligent. The cook put a piece of thin bread on the porcelain plate and then sprinkled less than half of the poison from the paper on top of the bread. On top of the poison he put some meat dressed in oil. [306] If he had sprinkled the poison on the meat, or if he had thrown it into the pot, it would have been bad. In a fluster, he threw the rest into the stove.
>
> Late Friday evening they served the food. I ate a lot of rabbit stew and had quite a bit of dressed saffroned meat. I also had one or two tidbits from the top of the poisoned Hindustani food. I took the dressed meat and ate it. There was no apparent bad taste. I had one or two pieces of dried meat. I felt sick. The day before, when I was eating dried meat, there had been an off-taste, so I thought that was the reason. Once again my stomach churned. While seated at the meal I felt sick two or three

112. "...The Cauker [Kakar] clan of Punnee [Pani], who inhabit Seewee [Sibi] in the plains of Seestaun [Seistan].... It would be curious to ascertain the causes which have sent them to this spot, and which have filled the southern provinces of India with men of the Punnee clan, whose emigration... must have taken place some hundred years ago" (Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India* [Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1969], 2:164).

113. The two slaves were Gulnar Aghacha and Nargul Aghacha. See Gulbadan Begim, *The History of Humayun (Humayunnama),* trans. Annette Susannah Beveridge [London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1902].

times and almost threw up. Finally I said to myself, "Enough of this." I got up and on my way to the toilet I almost threw up once. When I got to the toilet I vomited a lot. I never vomited after meals, not even when drinking. A cloud of suspicion came over my mind. I ordered the cook to be held while the vomit was given to a dog that was watched. Until near the end of the first watch the next morning the dog was pretty listless and its stomach was swollen. No matter how many stones they threw at it to try to get it to move, it refused to get up. It remained like that until midday, but then it got up and did not die. One or two pages had eaten the same food, and the next morning they too threw up a lot. [306b] One was very ill, but in the end they all recovered completely. "Calamity struck, but all's well that ends well." God gave me life anew; I had returned from the brink of death; I was born again. "Wounded, I died and came to life again. Now I have learned the value of life." I ordered Sultan-Muhammad Bakhshï to keep a close watch on the cook. When he was tortured he confessed the details given above.

On Monday I ordered the nobles, grandees, amirs, and ministers to attend court. The two men and two women were brought in for questioning. They confessed to all the details of the affair. I ordered the taster to be hacked to pieces and the cook to be skinned alive. One of the two women I had thrown under the elephants' feet, and the other I had shot. I had Buwa put under arrest. She will pay for what she has done.

On Saturday I drank a cup of milk. On Sunday I drank a cup of milk. I also drank some earth of Lemnos dissolved in spirits. On Monday, I mixed some earth of Lemnos and opiate in milk and drank it. The milk really shook up my insides. On Saturday, the first day of this medication, I excreted some pitch-black things like burnt bile. Thank goodness now everything is all right. I never knew how precious life was. There is a line of poetry that says, "He who reaches the point of death appreciates life." Every time I think of this dreadful incident I get angry. [307] It was by God's grace that I was given a new lease on life. How can I express my thanks?

Hoping that this will not occasion alarm, I have described in detail everything that happened. Although it was a dreadful incident that cannot be adequately described by words, thank God I have lived to see another day, and all's well that ends well. Do not worry.

Written on Tuesday the twentieth of Rabi' I [December 25] in the charbagh.

When I had finished writing the letter I sent it to Kabul.

Since such a monumental crime had been committed by the wretched Buwa, I had Yunus Ali and Khwajagi Asad hold her. After her money, property, and slaves were confiscated, she was turned over to Abdul-Rahim Shiqavul. Such an assassination attempt having been made by these people, it was not considered wise to keep Buwa's grandson, Ibrahim's son who had been maintained with great honor and dignity, so on Thursday the twenty-ninth of Rabi' I [January 3, 1527] he was sent to Kamran with Mulla Sarsan, who had come from there on some business.[114]

114. Kamran Mirza (ca. 1508–1527) was Babur's son by Gulrukh Begim.

## Humayun's Campaign

Humayun, who had gone against the rebels in Purab, had conquered Jaunpur [307b] and gone to attack Nasir Khan in Ghazipur, but Nasir Khan had learned of his approach and crossed the Ganges. From Ghazipur, Humayun went against Kharid. The Afghans there also learned of his approach and crossed the Sarju. The soldiers sacked Kharid and withdrew. As I had ordered, Shah Mir Husayn and Sultan-Junayd were assigned to Jaunpur with a troop of brave warriors, and Qazi Jia was assigned to them too. Shaykh Bayazid was stationed in Oudh. Having completed his tasks there, he crossed the Ganges in the vicinity of Kara and Manikpur and took the Kalpi road. A petition came from Alam Khan, son of Jalal Khan Jighat, who was in Kalpi, but he did not come himself. When Humayun reached opposite Kalpi, he sent an envoy to assuage his fears and bring him along.

On Sunday the third of Rabi' II [January 6], Humayun paid homage to me in the Hasht Bihisht garden. That same day Khwaja Dost Khawand arrived from Kabul.

## Rana Sanga Approaches

During those days Mahdi Khwaja's men began to come continually to report that the Rana's approach had been confirmed. Hasan Khan of Mewat was also going to be able to join the Rana. It became necessary to deal with them above all else. If a contingent of the army were to go to Bayana as reinforcements, it would be to our advantage. [308] Having firmly resolved to mount the army, we dispatched Muhammad-Sultan Mirza, Yunus Ali, Shah-Mansur Barlas, Kätä Beg, Qïsïmtay, and Böchkä to Bayana ahead of ourselves. The son of Hasan Khan of Mewat, Nahar Khan, had been taken prisoner during the battle with Ibrahim, and we had kept him as a hostage. That is why Hasan

Khan had kept up such obvious comings and goings and continually demanded his son back. It occurred to some that if the son were sent back, it would placate Hasan Khan and he would render better service, so Nahar Khan was dressed in a robe of honor and given leave to deliver enticements to his father. However, no sooner did this wretched fellow, who had spent so much time obtaining his son's release, have word of his son's departure than he left Alwar, without even waiting for his son to arrive, and joined Rana Sanga at Toda.[115] To have let the son go at such a time was a bad calculation.

115. Babur's "Toda" is Toda Bhim.

At that time the rains came heavy. Parties were given continually, and Humayun attended them. Although he was loathe, he drank a few times.

## ❋ Balkh Falls to the Uzbeks

About that time some strange incidents occurred. One is that while Humayun was coming to the Hindustan army from Zafar Fort, [308b] Mulla Baba of Pishagar and his younger brother Baba Shaykh deserted and went over to Kitin Qara Sultan. The men in Balkh were in dire straits, and Balkh fell to Kitin Qara Sultan. This worthless Mulla Baba and his brother took responsibility for affairs on this side and went to the vicinity of Aibak, Khuram, and Sarbagh. Shah Iskandar panicked when they entered Balkh and gave the Ghori fortress to the Uzbeks. Mulla Baba and Baba Shaykh then entered the Ghori fortress with a few Uzbeks.

Since Mir Hama's fortress was nearby, there was nothing he could do but submit to the Uzbeks. A few days later, Baba Shaykh and a few Uzbeks came to Mir Hama's fortress to drive out the mir and his troops and send them in the direction of Balkh. Mir Hama put Baba Shaykh up in the fortress and gave the others quarters here and there. Mir Hama struck Baba Shaykh with a sword, tied him up along with a few others, and sent a messenger at a gallop to Tengriberdi in Konduz, who sent Yar Ali and Abdul-Latif with a few men. After they arrived, Mulla Baba and the Uzbeks went to Mir Hama's fortress intending to have a skirmish; however, unable to accomplish anything, the garrison joined Tengriberdi's men and set out for Konduz. Baba Shaykh's wound was bad, so Mir Hama cut off his head and brought it in at that time. [309] I rewarded him regally and promoted him over his peers. When Baqi Shiqavul left, I had promised a seer of gold each for the heads of those two old wretches. In addition to the promotions, I gave Mir Hama a seer of gold as I had promised.

Meanwhile, Qïsïmtay, who had attacked Bayana, brought back a few severed heads. When Qïsïmtay, Böchkä, and a few guerilla fighters went on a

scouting expedition, they defeated two infidel raiding parties and took seventy or eighty men captive. Qïsïmtay brought back the confirmed news that Hasan Khan of Mewat had joined the Rana.

On Sunday the eighth of the month [February 10], I went out to watch Master Ali-Qulï shoot his great mortar, the barrel of which had come out perfect in the casting; the powder magazine he had cast later and then mounted. It was midafternoon. He shot a stone that went sixteen hundred paces. I rewarded him with a girth dagger, a robe of honor, and a fine horse.

## Babur Moves against Rana Sanga

On Monday the ninth of Jumada I [February 11], I rode from the outskirts of the city[116] to make war on the infidels and camped in the plain, where we stayed for three or four days while the army was assembled and arranged. Since I had no great reliance upon the people of Hindustan, the Hindustani officers were given assignments in various directions. [309b] Alam Khan was designated to go to Gwalior and reinforce Rahimdad. Makkan, Qasim Beg of Sambhal, Muhammad Zaytun, and Hâmid and his brothers were assigned to Sambhal. While camped there news came that Rana Sanga and his forces had struck up to near Bayana. The men on the scouting party were not able to get any news—they were unable even to enter the fortress. The defenders came out quite foolishly far from the fortress, and the enemy overwhelmed them and put them to flight. Sankar Khan Janjua was killed there. In the melee Kätä Beg charged into battle without armor. He had unhorsed an infidel and was about to take him when the man grabbed a sword from one of Kätä Beg's servants and hit Kätä Beg on the shoulder. He was so badly wounded he could not come on the Rana Sanga campaign. Later he recovered, but he was permanently disabled.

116. Probably Agra.

I don't know whether it was of their own fear or whether they were trying to scare the men, but in any case Qïsïmtay, Shah-Mansur Barlas, and all who came from Bayana could not say enough of the audacity and ferocity of the Infidel's army. Qasim Mirakhur and his shovelers were sent from the expeditionary camp to dig a lot of pits in the pargana of Madhakur,[117] where the army was to camp. On Saturday the fourteenth of Jumada I [February 16], we marched out of the Agra district and stopped where the pits had been dug. [310] At dawn the next day we marched from there. It occurred to me that in this vicinity the only place with enough water for the army camp was Sikri, and it was probable that the Infidel would take it and camp there. Therefore we moved forward in array—right flank, left flank, center. Darwesh Muhammad

117. Madhakur is just north of Dholpur.

Sarban and Qïsïmtay, who had scouted out every direction on his way to Bayana and back, were sent forward to find a campsite on the banks of the Sikri reservoir. When we camped, an envoy was sent to Mahdi Khwaja and the men in Bayana to come straightaway and join us. Humayun's servant Beg Mirak Moghul was sent with a few warriors to get news of the Infidel. He left by night, and the next morning he brought back news that the enemy had camped one kos in front of Bhasawar. That same day Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad-Sultan Mirza, and the group from Bayana joined us.

The begs were assigned to patrol by turns. During Abdul-Aziz's time, he went straight to Khanua, five kos from Sikri, without taking any precautions whatsoever. The Infidel was moving forward. When it was realized that our men were advancing unarmed, four or five thousand men loomed forth. Abdul-Aziz and Mulla Apaq had approximately a thousand to fifteen hundred men, [310b] and they grappled with the enemy without counting their numbers. In the confusion many were scattered. As soon as the news reached us, we dispatched Khalifa's Muhibb-Ali with Khalifa's liege men. Mulla Husayn and some others we dispatched "lickety-split" as reinforcements. Later Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang was sent too. No sooner had the advance party assigned to Muhibb-Ali arrived than the enemy routed Abdul-Aziz, captured his yak-tail, took prisoner Mulla Ni'mat, Mulla Daud, Mulla Apaq's younger brother, and some others and put them to death. As soon as they arrived, Tahir the Axman, Muhibb-Ali's uncle, charged. There was no one to help him. Tahir was captured right there. Muhibb-Ali was also felled during the battle, but Baltu came up from the rear and got him out. They were pursued for a kos, but when Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang's troops could be seen in the distance, the pursuers halted.

News of the enemy's approach kept pouring in. We put on our armor, armored the horses, armed ourselves, and rode to the attack. I ordered the caissons brought forth. We went one kos. The enemy withdrew. Beside us was a large lake, for the sake of the water of which camp had been made here. The caissons were secured in front and tied together by chains. They were seven or eight yards apart, a space across which the chains were drawn. [311] Mustafa Rumi had made them in the Anatolian fashion,[118] so they were sleek and fast. Because Master Ali-Quli was difficult to get along with, Mustafa was assigned to Humayun in the right wing. The Khurasani and Hindustani shovelers and pickax men were sent to dig trenches in the places where the caissons did not reach. It was evident that the soldiers were in trepidation resulting from the Infidel's rapid onslaught, from the battle he had done in Bayana, and from the praise and description of him given by Shah-Mansur, Qïsïmtay,

118. For the Anatolian fashion, see note 18 above.

and the men coming from Bayana. His defeat of Abdul-Aziz was merely the last straw. To reassure the men and to make a show of reinforcing the army in the places not reached by the caissons, devices like wooden tripods were set up, and between each two tripods, a distance of seven or eight yards, ox harness ropes were stretched and secured. It took twenty or twenty-five days to get all these preparations and implements ready.

Just at that time Sultan-Husayn Mirza's daughter's son, Qasim Husayn Sultan, and Ahmad Yusuf son of Sayyid Yusuf, Qiwam Ordushah, and others, altogether around five hundred men, dribbled in from Kabul. Muhammad Sharif the astrologer of gloom came with them. Baba Dost Suchï, who had gone to Kabul for wine, also came with them, [311b] bringing three camel trains loaded with superior Ghazni wine.

At such a time, when there was such hesitation and fear among the soldiers over past events and loose talk, as has been mentioned, Muhammad Sharif the doom-and-gloom astrologer, although he did not dare speak to me personally, with great exaggeration told everyone he met that Mars was presently in the west and anyone who fought from that direction would suffer defeat. The more these disheartened people consulted the prophet of doom, the more disheartened they became. Without lending an ear to his idle talk and without letting it affect what had to be done, we got ourselves ready to do battle in earnest.

On Sunday the twenty-second [February 24], Shaykh Jamali was sent to assemble as many yeomen from the Doab and Delhi as he could, strike and plunder the villages of Mewat, and do everything he could to harass the enemy from that direction. Mulla Turk Ali, who was coming from Kabul, was ordered to join Shaykh Jamali and do everything he could to wreak havoc in Mewat. Maghfur Diwan was ordered to do the same. He went to Mewat, pillaged a few out-of-the-way villages, and took some prisoners. However, they were not much bothered by such maneuvers.

## ❋ Babur Takes the Pledge of Temperance

On Monday the twenty-third of Jumada I [February 25], [312] I mounted for a tour. During my excursion it occurred to me that the thought of repenting from drinking had long been on my mind, and that my heart had continually been clouded by committing this illegal act. I said, "O soul,

> How long will you taste of sin? Temperance is not unpalatable. Have a taste! / How long will you be polluted by sin? How long will you stay

comfortable in deprivation? / How long will you follow your lusts? How long will you waste your life? / When you march intent upon raiding the infidels you see your own death before you. / You know that he who is resolved to die will attain this state: / He throws off all these forbidden things from himself and cleanses himself of all sin! / I rid myself of this transgression and repented of wine drinking. / Gold and silver vessels and goblets, all the implements of the assembly / I had brought and broke them all. Abandoning wine, I gave my heart rest.

The broken pieces of the gold and silver vessels and implements were distributed among the deserving and the poor. The one who joined me in my repentance was Asas. He had also joined me in letting our beards grow.[119] That night and the next morning nearly three hundred [312b] begs and ichkis, soldiers and civilians, repented. All the wine on hand was poured out, and into the wine Baba Dost had brought we ordered salt put to turn it into vinegar. In the place where the wine was poured out a stepwell was dug, and I made an intention to have it finished in stone and a charitable building built next to it.

119. A vow was commonly taken before a campaign against infidels not to clip the beard or shave the head until victory was attained.

In Muharram of 935 [September 1528], when I went to tour Gwalior, I returned from Dholpur to Sikri. The stepwell had been completed. Earlier I had made an intention that if I gained victory over Sanga the Infidel, I would exempt the Muslims from paying the tamgha tax. During my repentance Darwesh Muhammad Sarban and Shaykh Zayn reminded of my promise to repeal the tamgha. "It is good you reminded me," I said. "The Muslims in the provinces we hold are hereby exempted from the tamgha." I summoned the scribes and ordered them to write decrees informing of these two momentous events that had happened. The decree, of Shaykh Zayn's composition, was copied and dispatched to the entire realm, and it is as follows.

## Decree of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Padishah Ghazi

We praise the acceptor of repentance who loves the penitent and who loves the pure, and we thank the giver who guides the sinful and pardons those who seek pardon. And we pray for the best of his creation, Muhammad, and for his precious offspring and his pure companions.

The mirrors of the thoughts of the intelligent, which are manifestations of beautiful forms of things and treasuries of pearls of designs of truth and correctness, will reflect the jewels of flowers [313] of the notion that human nature is instinctively inclined to selfish pleasures and that the relinquishment of carnal desires is dependent upon divine help and heav-

enly assistance. The human soul is never far from an inclination to evil. "Neither do I justify myself, since every soul is prone unto evil."[120] And the avoidance of evil is accomplished solely through the loving-kindness of the all-pardoning king. "This is the bounty of God; he will give the same unto whom he pleaseth; and God is endued with great bounty."[121]

120. Koran 12:53.

121. Koran 57:21.

The reason for composing this treatise is that, in accordance with the exigencies of humanity, in keeping with the customs of kings and regal necessities, and in conformity with the custom of lords of high royal and military status, during the full bloom of youth some intemperances and a few indulgences were committed, but after a few days absolute regret and contrition occurred, and one by one those intemperances were abandoned and through true penance the gates of recourse to them were closed. However, repentance of wine, which is the most important goal and the most magnificent desire, remained hidden behind a veil—"Affairs are mortgaged to their times"—and did not appear until these felicitous times, when through earnest endeavor the garb of holy war was taken on and, with the forces of Islam, we combatted the infidels. Then, from an otherworldly inspiration and heavenly voice we heard the happy phrase, "Is not the time yet come unto those who believe that their hearts should humbly submit to the admonition of God?"[122] and to eradicate the instruments of sin we earnestly knocked on the gates of conversion. When the guide of divine assistance, in accordance with the words, "He who knocks on a door [313b] and perseveres will find," opened the door of fortune, I commanded an initiation of this holy war, which is the greatest endeavor, that is, opposition to the carnal soul. In short, I sincerely gave voice to the words, "O lord, we have dealt unjustly with our own souls,"[123] I inscribed upon the tablet of my heart the words, "I turn unto thee with repentance, and I am the first of the true believers,"[124] and I actualized the inner calling for repentance from wine, which is the sought-after pearl hidden in the treasure house of the breast.

122. Koran 57:16.

123. Koran 7:23.

124. Koran 7:143.

My servants, in conformity with the felicitous command, broke to smithereens—like the idols that, God willing, we will soon succeed in breaking—the vessels and goblets and all the gold and silver implements and paraphernalia, which in their multiplicity and ornamentation beautified the assembly like heavenly bodies in the firmament, but which had reduced the glory of the holy law to the ground of humility and abasement, and cast every sherd to some unfortunate or poor person. By the felicity of this conversion, which will soon be rewarded, many of the elite of court were honored to repent—"People follow their kings' reli-

gion"—and totally renounced the drinking of intoxicants. Still droves of those obedient to the precepts of religion are flocking hour by hour to attain this felicity. It is hoped that, in accordance with the words, "He who shows the way to good is like him who does it," recompense for these actions will accrue during the fortunate days of the imperial lord and that through the blessing of this happiness victory and conquest will increase daily.

Upon the completion of this intention and the accomplishment of this hope, a decree obeyed by all the world was issued to the effect that within the protected realm (may God protect her from calamities and rebellions) [314] absolutely no creature would commit the sin of imbibing intoxicants or endeavor to acquire, produce, sell, purchase, possess, or transport same. "Avoid them that ye may prosper."[125]

125. Koran 5:90.

In gratitude for this victory and in thanksgiving for the acceptance of this sincere repentance, the ocean of regal grace swelled and made manifest waves of generosity, which are the causes for the flourishing of the world and the honor of human beings, and issued a decree abolishing the tamgha throughout the realm for Muslims, the proceeds from which were beyond the limit of calculation, since, notwithstanding the continuance of former rulers in collecting it, it is outside the confines of the law of the Lord of Apostles. In no city, town, highway, byway, or port is the tamgha to be taken or exacted, nor is any change or mutation to be allowed in the foundation of this order. "But he who shall change it after he hath heard it, surely the sin thereof shall be on those who change it."[126]

126. Koran 2:181.

The path of the legions of regal affection, Turks, Tajiks, Arabs, Iranians, Indians, and Persians, civilian and military, and all nations and classes of humanity is to seek succor and hope in the religion of him who is supported by all who know him. Let them occupy themselves with praying for eternal good fortune, and let them not transgress or deviate from orders. They must act in accordance with that which is commanded and rely upon the most noble, the most exalted for success. Written by majestic order on the twenty-fourth of Jumada 1 933 [February 26, 1527]. [314b]

## ❋ Babur Encourages His Troops

During this same time, as has been mentioned before, great and small were suffering from trepidation and fear over past events. Manly words or courageous ideas were being heard from no one—neither from ministers who should

have been speaking eloquently or from amirs who should have been devouring provinces. Neither their strategies nor their tactics were noble. During this campaign Khalifa performed several outstanding feats, and there was no shortcoming in his earnestness or seriousness in maintaining order. Finally, having realized such fears and seen such weakness, I formulated a plan. I invited all the begs and warriors and said, "Begs and warriors,

> Whoever comes into the world is mortal; / he who remains forever is God.

Whoever enters the assembly of matter will, in the end, quaff the cup of death; and every person who comes to the way station of life will, in the end, pass from the abode of sorrow that is this world. It is better to die with a good name than to live with a bad one.

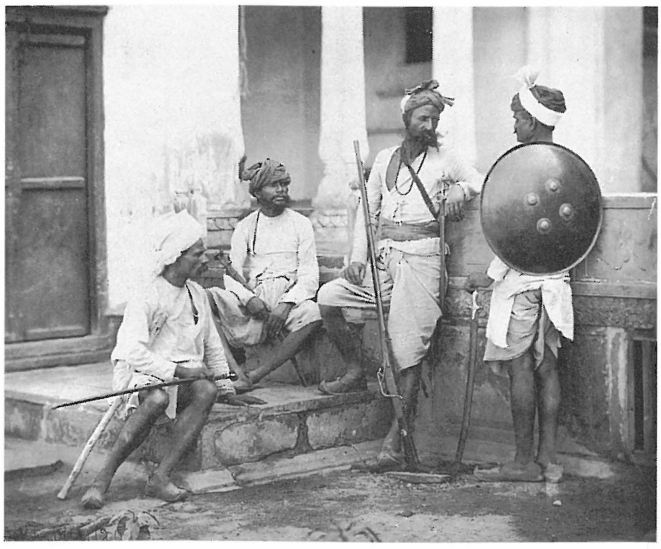
> If I die with good repute, it is well. / I must have a good name, for the body belongs to death.

God has allotted us the happiness and has given us the good fortune that those who die are martyrs and those who kill are holy warriors. All must swear by God's Word [315] that they will not dream of turning their faces from this battle or leaving this contest and struggle while there is life left in their bodies."

Beg and liege man, great and small alike, all willingly took Korans in their hands and swore oaths to this effect. It was a really good plan, and it had favorable propagandistic effect on friend and foe.

## ❋ Rebellion on All Fronts

Meanwhile, rebellion and strife broke out in all directions. Husayn Khan Nohani seized Rapri. Qutb Khan's men took Chandwar. A fellow called Rustam Khan gathered yeomen in the Doab and seized Koil, taking Kichik Ali captive. Zahid gave up Sambhal and left. Sultan-Muhammad Dulday gave up Kannauj. The infidels of Gwalior laid siege to Gwalior. Alam Khan, who had been sent as reinforcement to Gwalior, went instead to his own lands. Every day from some direction some piece of bad news arrived. Some of the Hindustanis began to desert from the army: Haybat Khan Kargandaz went to Sambhal, and Hasan Khan Bariwal went to the Infidel.



*Natives of Rajputana,* albumen print, ca. 1870. Photo by Shepherd & Robertson. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

We paid no attention to those things, however, and concentrated on what had to be done. When the caissons, tripods on rollers, and other implements and tools were ready, we marched on Persian New Year's Day, Tuesday the ninth of Jumada II [March 13]. [315b] The right flank, left flank, and center were arrayed and the caissons and tripods with rollers were set in motion before us, and directly behind them Master Ali-Qulï and all his matchlockmen were ordered to march on foot in array. After the ranks came into their assigned places we rode swiftly through them to give heart to the begs, warriors, and soldiers of the left flank, right flank, and center, telling each group where it was to stand and how it was to march. In this way we advanced one kos and stopped. The Infidel's men had had news of us and drawn up their ranks. After camp was made, the camp and opposite it were made secure with caissons and trenches.

Since battle was not planned for that day, a few warriors went forward and engaged in hand-to-hand combat with the enemy for good luck. A few infidels were taken and their severed heads were brought back. Malik Qasim also brought in a few heads. Malik Qasim did well. With just this much the soldiers took heart and perked up, quite a different picture from before. Early the next morning we envisioned the begs marching and doing battle, but Khalifa and some of our supporters said that since [316] the selected campsite was far away, it would be better if we dug trenches and made fortifications before marching. Khalifa mounted and assigned the shovelers to the places for trenches, stationed commissars, and came back.

## ❋ The Battle of Khanua

On Saturday the thirteenth of Jumada II [March 17] we had the caissons drawn up before us, and the right wing, left wing, and center moved in array nearly a kos and camped in the site selected. Some tents had been pitched and others were in the process when news arrived that the enemy's array was in sight.

Immediately we got to horse and commanded the right and left flanks to go to their places and the caissons and ranks to be drawn.

Since the following notice of victory, composed by Shaykh Zayn, describes the Army of Islam and the number of the enemy horde, and how the ranks and arrays encountered each other and how the Muslims and infidels fought, it is reproduced without addition or deletion.

## Decree of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Padishah Ghazi

Praise to God, who fulfills his promise, aids his servant, empowers his army, and routs the heathen. He alone exists, and beyond him is nothing. He has raised high the buttresses of Islam through the assistance of his rightly guided saints and laid low the foundations of idolatry through the defeat of his rebellious enemies. "And the utmost part of the people which had acted wickedly was cut off: praise be unto God, the Lord of all creatures."[127] May he pray for the best of his creation, Muhammad, lord of warriors and those who endeavor, and for his house and companions, the guides to righteousness until doomsday.

127. Koran 6:45.

The continuum of divine blessings is cause for ever-increasing thanks and praise of the divine, and ever-increasing thanks and praise of the divine bequeaths a continuum of divine blessings. For every blessing there is an act of gratitude, and for every act of gratitude a blessing. However, it is beyond human power to give adequate thanks, and even those possessed of great puissance are incapable thereof, in particular the thanks that are due for that blessing, no greater fortune than which exists in this world and no more overwhelming felicity than which exists in the next, and this is none other than victory over unbelieving potentates and dominance over the wicked rich, regarding the likes of whom the verse, "These are the unbelievers, the wicked,"[128] was revealed, and in the view of the insightful there is no felicity greater than that. Thank God that this greatest felicity, this most splendid gift, which, from the cradle until now, has been the prime goal and true aim of right-thinking minds and sound intellects, has been manifested from the recesses of the emotions of the Omniscient King during these felicitous days. He who bestows victory without being entreated, he who sheds his grace without cause has once again opened with the key of victory the gates of grace to His Victorious Highness's hopes. The renowned names of our happy forces have been scriven in the register of great warriors for the faith, and the banner of Islam has reached the apex of sublimity with the help

128. Koran 80:42.

of our victorious soldiers. [317] How this felicity was gained and how this fortune was made manifest are as follows:

When the glint of the swords of our army, the refuge of Islam, lighted the land of India with flashes of the luminescence of conquest and victory, and, as has been reported in former notices of victory, the hands of success raised our victory-inscribed banners in the realms of Delhi, Agra, Jaunpur, Kharid, Bihar, and other places, most of the infidel tribes and Muslims elected obedience to our felicitous lord and trod the path of servitude with the feet of truth and sincerity. However, Sanga the Infidel, who in former days spoke of obedience to our felicitous lord, now acted in accordance with the verse, "He was puffed up with pride, and became of the number of unbelievers,"[129] devilishly rebelled and, at the head of the cavalry of the damned, caused an amassing of tribes, some of whom bore the accursed band of the *zunnar*[130] around their necks, and the skirts of others of whom were sullied with the brambles of apostasy. The domination of that cursed infidel—abandoned be he on doomsday—reached such an extent in the realm of India that before the rising of the sun of regal fortune and prior to the dawning of the luminary of the imperial caliphate, although the great rajahs and rays who obeyed his command in this confrontation and the apostate rulers [317b] and leaders whose reins he held during this conflict, had been too absorbed with their own greatness to follow him into any battle or accompany him on any expedition, all the exalted sultans of this vast realm, like the sultan of Delhi, the sultan of Gujarat, the sultan of Mandu, *et alii,* were incapable of resisting that maleficent on their own and used every ruse to placate him. In around two hundred cities within the realm of Islam he raised the banner of infidelity and undertook the destruction of mosques and places of worship, taking captive the wives and children of believers in those cities and towns. His power in truth reached such a degree that, taking into consideration the constant rule of India that a one-lac district suffices for a hundred cavalry and a one-crore district for ten thousand, the lands subdued by that leader of infidels reached ten crores, which would mean a lac of cavalry.[131] During these days many renowned infidels, not one of whom had ever helped him in any battle, joined his wretched forces out of enmity toward the Army of Islam, like the ten independent rulers, each of whom reared his head like smoke in rebellion and became the leader of a group of infidels in some region or other and attached himself like chains and bonds to that wicked infidel. [318] These infidel ten, like ten denouncers raising the banner of wretchedness—

129. Koran 2:34.

130. *Zunnar,* which refers to the Zoroastrian and Christian girdle and the Brahmin thread, metaphorically indicates a non-Muslim.

131. That is, lands yielding a revenue of one hundred thousand tankas would support one hundred mounted soldiers. Rana Sanga's lands were worth one hundred million tankas, or support for one hundred thousand horsemen.

"denounce unto them a painful punishment"[132]—held many followers, soldiers, and districts broad in extent, like Silhadi, who possessed lands supporting thirty thousand cavalrymen. There were also Rawal Udai Singh of Nagaur with twelve thousand horsemen, Medini Rao with twelve thousand, Hasan Khan of Mewat with twelve thousand, Barmal Idari with four thousand, Nripat Hada with eight thousand, Sthirvi Kechi with six thousand, Dharm Deo with four thousand, and Nar Singh Deo with four thousand. Mahmud Khan son of Sultan Sikandar, although he possessed no estates or lands, had gathered approximately ten thousand cavalrymen in hopes of attaining leadership. The total of those deprived of the valley of well-being and security, in terms of estates and lands, was two lacs and one thousand.

132. Koran 3:21.

In short, that infidel, blinded by his own conceit, convinced the hardened hearts of the star-crossed infidels to join forces, like "additions of darkness one over the other,"[133] and to take up a stance of rebellion and war against the people of Islam for the destruction of the foundation of the law of the Lord of Mankind, upon whom be peace. Like divine fate against the one-eyed Antichrist, the holy warriors of the royal army came forth and, fixing the gaze of their insight upon the words, "When the divine decree comes, sight is blinded," and bearing in mind the holy verse, "Whoever striveth to promote the true religion [318b] striveth for the advantage of his own soul,"[134] implemented the command that must be obeyed, "Wage war against the unbelievers and he hypocrites."[135] On Saturday the thirteenth of the month of Jumada II in the year 933 [March 17, 1527] a token of the blessedness of which are the words, "May God bless your sabbath," in the vicinity of the village of Khanua, a dependency of Bayana, near a mountain where the enemies of the true religion stretched for two kos, were pitched the victory-laden tents of the armies of Islam. When the sound of the Islamic hosts reached the ears of the enemies of true religion, those accursed infidel opponents of the Muhammadan nation, like the Elephanteers[136] intent upon the destruction of the Kaaba[137] they relied upon their elephants with bodies like mountains and countenances like demons and, all of one accord and of one intent, divided their wretched army into divisions.

133. Koran 24:40.

134. Koran 29:6.

135. Koran 9:73.

136. The Elephanteers, the Ashab al-Fil, were the Ethiopian invaders of Mecca in A.D. 570 whose miraculous defeat was taken as portentous of the birth of the Prophet, traditionally ascribed to that year.

137. The Kaaba (Ka'ba) in Mecca was originally a shrine that housed the

With those elephants the vile Hindustani became as conceited as the Elephanteers. / All as hideous and gloomy as the evening of death, blacker than night, more numerous than the stars, / All like fire, but like smoke they raised their heads in spite to the blue celestial sphere. / Like

deities of the pagan Arabs. Stripped of its idols, it was adopted by the Prophet Muhammad as the centerpiece of Islamic pilgrimage.

ants they swarmed from left and right, mounted and on foot, thousands upon thousands.

They set forth for a martial confrontation with the Islamic horde. The holy warriors of the Islamic army, who are trees in the garden of bravery, formed their ranks as straight as pines, [319] their cone-shaped helmets, shining like the sun, reaching the apex of exaltedness like the hearts of God's holy warriors. Each rank was as ironlike as Alexander's dam, as firm in its straightness and force as the path of the prophet's holy law, "as though they were a well-compacted building,"[138] and slated for prosperity and victory in accordance with the verse, "These are directed by their Lord, and they shall prosper."[139]

138. Koran 61:4.

139. Koran 2:5.

No chink therein of cowardly natures, as firm as the emperor's determination and religion. / His banners all scraping against heaven, as straight as the *alifs* in *inna fatahna.*[140]

140. The letter *alif* is a straight vertical; the phrase *inna fatahna* ("we have conquered") begins and ends with *alifs,* which are seen as banner poles.

Maintaining their resolve, in the manner of the holy warriors of Anatolia they formed a row of caissons and bound them together with chains as cover for the matchlockmen and mortarmen, who were in front of the troops. In short, the sabaoth of Islam were so ordered and reinforced that ancient wisdom and the ethereal celestial sphere both cried bravo to its conceiver and organizer. In this tactical order Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa endeavored and strove, and all of his tactics were in accord with destiny, and all of his organization and management were approved by enlightened opinion.

The locus of imperial puissance was established in the center. [319b] To the right of the center Chïn Temür Sultan, Sulaymanshah, Khwaja Dost Khawand, Yunus-Ali, Shah-Mansur Barlas, Darwesh-Muhammad Sarban, Abdullah Kitabdar, and Dost Eshik-Aqa took up their positions.[141]

141. The lengthy titles and epithets of all the commanders have been deleted from the translation.

To the left of the center Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan son of Sultan Bahlul Lodi, the aforementioned Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa, Shaykh Zayn Khwafi, Muhibb-Ali son of the aforementioned Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa, Turdï Beg the brother of the late Qoch Beg, [320] Sherafkan son of the late Qoch Beg, Arayish Khan, Khwaja Husayn, and the great divanis all stood in their assigned positions.

In the right flank Muhammad Humayun Bahadur stood firm. To the right of that dear son were assigned Qasim Husayn Sultan, Ahmad

Yusuf Oghlaqchï, Hindu Beg Qauchin, Khusraw Kükäldash, Qiwam Beg Ordushah, Wali Khazin Qaraquzi, Pir-Qulï Sistani, Khwaja Pahlawan Badakhshi, Abdul-Shakur, Sulayman Agha the ambassador of Iraq, and Husayn the ambassador of Seistan. [320b] To the left of that dear son were stationed Mir Hama, Muhammadi Kükäldash, and Khwajagi Asad Jandar. Of Indian officers in the right flank were Khankhanan Dilawar Khan, Malikdad of Kara, and Shaykh Ghuran, each standing in the position to which he had been ordered.

In the left flank of the Islamic forces were Sayyid Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad-Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan son of Mahdi Sultan, Abdul-Aziz the stablemaster, Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang, Qutlugh-Qadam Qaravul, Shah-Husayn Yaraki Moghul Ghanchï, and Jan-Muhammad Beg Atäkä. On this side were stationed the officers of India, Jalal Khan and Kamal Khan, [321] and the sons of the aforementioned Sultan Alauddin, Ali Khan Shaykhzada Farmuli, and Nizam Khan of Bayana.

For the rear assault Turdïka and Malik Qasim the brother of Baba Qashqa with a contingent of Moghuls were assigned to the left flank. Mu'min Atäkä and Rustam the Turcoman were appointed to the left flank with a troop from the royal tabin. Sultan-Muhammad Bakhshï positioned the nobles of the holy warriors of Islam in their assigned places and stations and then stood ready to hear our orders. The tovachïs and *yasavuls*[142] he dispatched in all directions to deliver our orders for arraying the forces and soldiers to the magnificent sultans, noble officers, and all other respected holy warriors.

142. *Yasavul:* a messenger.

When the pillars of the army were established, everyone hastened to his place, and the order that must be obeyed was issued that no one was to move from his station of his own accord or begin to do battle without permission. Of the aforementioned day approximately two watches and two gharis had passed when the two opposing parties approached each other and began to fight and do battle. The two centers of the two armies, [321b] like light and darkness, faced each other, and in the left and right flanks there was such fierce battle that tremors occurred in the earth and quivers in the celestial sphere above. The wretched left wing of the infidel headed toward the lucky right wing of the forces of Islam and attacked Khusraw Kükäldash and Malik Qasim brother of Baba Qashqa. Our dearest elder brother, Chïn Temür Sultan, in accordance with orders, began to battle courageously in assistance of them and forced the infidels from their place almost to behind their center. For this a reward was assigned to him.

From the center of our dear eldest son, Muhammad Humayun, Mustafa Rumi brought forward the caissons, and with matchlocks and mortars broke not only the ranks of the infidel army but their hearts as well. In the pitch of battle Qasim Husayn Sultan, Ahmad Yusuf, and Qiwam Beg were ordered to hasten to their assistance. Since time and again the troops of the infidels came continuously and continually to the assistance of their own men, we too sent as reinforcements Hindu Beg Qauchin and after him Muhammadi Kükäldash and Khwajagi Asad, and after them [322] Yunus Ali, Shah-Mansur Barlas, and Abdullah Kitabdar, and after them Dost Eshik-Aqa and Muhammad Khalil Akhtabegi. Over and over again the infidels' right flank attacked the Army of Islam's left flank, but each time the great holy warriors dispatched some of them with their victorious lances to the house of perdition—"They shall be thrown to burn therein, and an unhappy dwelling shall it be"[143]—and others they drove back. Mu'min Atäkä and Rustam the Turcoman headed for the rear of the wretched infidels' dark forces, and we dispatched Mulla Mahmud and Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa's liege men led by Ali Atäkä to reinforce them. Our dear elder brother Muhammad-Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan, Abdul-Aziz the stablemaster, Qutlugh-Qadam Qaravul, Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang, and Shah-Husayn Yaraki Moghul Ghanchi began to fight and held their ground, and we dispatched Khwaja Kamaluddin Husayn with a troop of divanis to help them. [322b] All the forces of holy war came earnestly desirous of battle, and, thinking of the verse, "Say, do ye expect any other should befall us than one of the two most excellent things, victory, or martyrdom?"[144] and determined to give their all, they raised the banner of ferocity.

143. Koran 14:29.

144. Koran 9:52.

When the battle had raged for a long time, an order was issued that the warriors of the royal tabins and the lions of the jungle of fidelity, who were like lions in chains behind the caissons, should emerge from the right and left of the center and station the matchlockmen in the middle and fight from both sides. Like the rising of the lights of true dawn over the horizon, they charged from behind the caissons and spilled the dawn-red blood of the hapless infidels in the field of battle, which was like the spinning celestial sphere. Many rebellious heads winked out of existence, like stars from the firmament. Master Ali-Qulï, standing with his followers before the center and evincing many acts of bravery, shot toward the iron-clad citadel of the infidels' ranks rocks so huge that if they were placed in the scales of one's deeds, it could be said, "he whose balances shall be heavy with good works shall be happy,"[145] and if they

145. Koran 23:102.

were hurled upon the towering mountains and firm hills, they would bring them down "like carded wool,"[146] and by hurling stones and shooting matchlocks and mortars he reduced the foundations of the infidels' bodies. [323] The royal matchlockmen, as ordered, left the caissons for the midst of battle, and each one of them gave many of the infidels the poison of death to taste. The infantry, by rushing into great danger, caused their names to figure prominently among the lions of the jungle of courage and the chivalrous heroes of battle. At this same time the imperial command was issued to drive the caissons forward, and the royal personage himself, with victory and fortune to his right and luck and divine assistance to his left, moved toward the army of the infidels. On all sides, the victorious soldiers witnessing this, the churning sea of the divinely assisted army swelled mightily and brought forth from potentiality to actuality the courage of all the crocodiles of that sea. Clouds of dark dust rose up, like heaps of darkness, all over the battle, and streaks of glittering swords surpassed the lightning. The agitation of dust deprived the face of the sun of light, like the back of a mirror, and, victor and vanquished commingled, the title of advantage was lost to sight. The sorcerer Time brought into view such a night that the only heavenly bodies that appeared were arrows, and the only fixed stars that could be seen were firmly footed mounts.

146. Koran 101:5.

On the day of battle down went wet blood to the nether regions and up went dust to the moon. / [323b] From the horses' hooves in that broad field the earth became six and the heavens eight.[147]

147. That is, so much dust was raised that one of the seven layers of the earth was added to the seven heavens. Poetry taken from Firdawsi, *Shahnama*, ed. A. E. Bertels, L. T. Gyuzalyan, et al. (Moscow: Nauk, 1966), 2:66, line 60 and note 3).

The holy warriors engaged in the lobbing off of heads and the taking of lives heard the good news from the voice of the unseen realm saying, "Be not dismayed, neither be ye grieved, for ye shall be superior."[148] And from the divine herald they heard the words, "Assistance from God, and a speedy victory," and, "Bear good tidings unto the faithful."[149] They battled so eagerly that the cry of bravo from the celestial holy ones reached them and the angels clustered like moths around their heads. Between the two prayers the fire of battle so blazed that its flames rose straight to the celestial sphere, and the left and right wings of the Army of Islam pushed into one place the hapless infidels' center and left and right wings. When signs of victory began to appear to the renowned warriors and the banner of Islam was raised high, immediately the accursed infidels and the evil heathen were struck dumb. Finally, in desperation, they attacked the right

148. Koran 3:139.

149. Koran 61:13 and 9:112.

and left of the center and drove their advance much deeper into the left; however, the brave warriors, considering the fruits of heavenly recompense, planted saplings of arrows in the earth of the breast of each of them and turned them all around like their own untoward fortune. Just at this time the breezes of divine assistance and good luck blew over the meadow of our happy monarch's fortune to announce the good news, "Verily we have granted thee a manifest victory."[150] [324] The specter of victory, whose world-adorning beauty was enhanced by the tresses of the words, "God may assist thee with a glorious assistance,"[151] and whose full moon had been in eclipse, once again appeared. The vain Hindus, realizing that their position was untenable, scattered "like carded wool" and disappeared "like moths scattered abroad."[152] Many fell slain in battle. Many others lost their heads and headed off into the wilderness of aimlessness to become morsels for crows and ravens. There were piles of the slain, and towers of skulls were erected. Hasan Khan of Mewat entered the ranks of the slain from a gunshot wound, and so also came to an end through arrow and gunshot the days of the lives of many erroneous rebels who lead their people—among them the aforementioned Rawal Udai Singh, the ruler of Dungarpur who had twelve thousand cavalry; Ray Chandra Bhan Chauhan, who had four thousand cavalry; Nripat Rao, the son of the aforementioned Silhadi ruler of Chanderi district who had six thousand cavalry; Manik Chand Chauhan; Dilip Rao, the commander of four thousand cavalry; Gangu; Karam Singh; and Rao Bikrasi, who had three thousand cavalry; and many others, each of whom was the great leader of a magnificent troop—[324b] all took the road to hell and moved from this earthly abode to deepest perdition. The battlefield was as full of slain and wounded as hell, and the lowest depth of Hades was filled with hypocrites who had entrusted their souls to the warden of hell. In every direction the soldiers of Islam went, they found a slain rebel at every step, and as the renowned army camp moved in pursuit of the defeated it found no space devoid of obliterated retinue.

With stones and matchlocks the Hindus all were reduced as low as the Elephanteers. / Many mountains of bodies were created, and on every mountain running streams of blood. / From the lances of the splendid ranks the fighters fled into mountain and plain.

"They turned their backs, flying."[153] "The command of God is a determinate decree."[154] And praise be to God the all hearing, all knowing.

150. Koran 48:1.

151. Koran 48:3.

152. Koran 101:5 and 101:4.

153. Koran 17:46.

Victory cometh from God alone, the powerful judge. Written on the twenty-fifth of the month of Jumada II in the year 933 [March 29, 1527]. 154. Koran 33:38.

## Aftermath of the Battle of Khanua

After this victory I had the title "Ghazi" added to my seal, and under the seal on the proclamation of victory I wrote this quatrain:

> For the sake of Islam I became a wanderer; I battled infidels and Hindus. / I determined to become a martyr. [325] Thank God I became a holy warrior.

Shaykh Zayn found a chronogram in the phrase *Fath-i padishah-i islam.*[155] Mir Gesu, one of those who came from Kabul, also found that expression as a chronogram, incorporated it into a quatrain, and sent it to me. It was a coincidence that both Shaykh Zayn and Mir Gesu invented the same chronogram. Another time, at the conquest of Dipalpur, Shaykh Zayn composed the chronogram *vasat-i shahr-i Rabi'u'l-avval,*[156] and Mir Gesu came up with the exact same one.

155. "The padishah of Islam's victory." The chronogram has the numerological equivalence of 933, or 1526–27.

156. "The middle of the month of Rabi' I."

Having conquered the enemy, we proceeded to bring them down. The enemy's camp was two kos from ours. Muhammadi, Abdul-Aziz, Ali Khan, and others were dispatched to pursue the enemy as far as their camp, but they were rather slow. I should have gone myself rather than trust in others. I had passed within a kos of the enemy's camp, but since it was late in the day I returned to camp late that night. Muhammad Sharif, the astrologer who made such gloomy predictions, immediately showed up to congratulate me. I cursed him roundly and made myself feel much better. Although he was heathenish and pessimistic, terribly conceited, and very cold, he had a long service record, so I gave him a lac with the proviso that he not remain in my realm. [325b]

The next morning we stayed at that campsite. Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang, Shaykh Ghuran, and Abdul-Malik Qorchï were dispatched with a large force to attack Ilyas Khan, who had rebelled in the Doab, seized Koil, and taken Kichik Ali prisoner. When they arrived, he was not able to mount a battle and his men were dispersed pell-mell in all directions. A few days after I came to Agra they captured him and brought him in. I had him skinned alive. When the army was camped at Koh Bachcha, they were ordered to erect a tower of infidel skulls on the top of the mountain.

Marching two kos from this camp we came to Bayana. All the way there, indeed the road all the way to Alwar and Mewat, was strewn with innumer-

able infidel and apostate corpses. I made a tour of Bayana. When I came to the camp, I summoned the Turk and India officers and consulted them on the advisability of proceeding against the infidels' territories: the expedition was postponed due to the paucity of water along the way and the intense heat. However, the province of Mewat was near Delhi, with a total income of about three or four crores. Hasan Khan of Mewat and his forefathers had been ruling Mewat independently for a century or two, giving only halfhearted allegiance to the sultans of Delhi. The sultans of India, unable to consolidate the area further because of the vast extent of their territory, or for lack of opportunity or because the terrain in Mewat was mountainous, left them alone under nominal suzerainty. [326] After the conquest of India we too maintained this favor to Hasan Khan as had past rulers, but this heretical, heathen ingrate, in blatant disregard of our kindness and favor and expressing no gratitude for our patronage, was the instigator of all sedition and the cause of all evil, as has been mentioned.[157]

157. Folio 294.

Since the expedition had been postponed, we set out to subdue Mewat. After stopping four times we camped on the banks of the Manasni River, six kos from the Alwar fortress, which was the seat of Mewat. Hasan Khan's fathers had dwelt in Tijara, but [in 1524,] the year I marched to Hindustan, defeated Pahar Khan, and took Lahore and Dipalpur, they set to work on this fortress, already apprehensive of my future plans. Hasan Khan's chief minister, Karam Chand, who had visited Hasan Khan's son in Agra, came on behalf of the son in Alwar and sought quarter. [326b] Abdul-Rahim Shiqavul was sent with him to deliver letters of safe conduct. He went and brought back Hasan Khan's son, Nahar Khan. Entering once more into favor, he was granted estates worth a few lacs.

Since I thought that Khusraw had performed an outstanding deed during the battle, he was awarded Alwar with a stipend of fifty lacs; but he was such a wretch that he whined and refused to accept. Later it was discovered that it was Chïn Temür Sultan who had done the deed, so the prize was given to him and he was rewarded with the city of Tijara, the capital of Mewat, and a stipend of fifty lacs. Turdika, who was in charge of the right-wing flank assault during the Sanga battle, had performed better than others, so he was rewarded with a stipend of fifteen lacs and given the Alwar fortress. The Alwar treasuries and their contents were awarded to Humayun.

## ❋ Humayun Is Stationed in Kabul

On Wednesday the first of Rajab [April 3] we marched from that camp and came within two kos of Alwar. I went to tour the Alwar fortress and stayed there that night. The next morning I returned to camp. As has been mentioned, before the raid on the Infidel, when all were sworn, [327] it was also stated that after this victory there would be no further duties and anyone who wanted to leave would be free to do so. Most of Humayun's liege men were Badakhshanis or from those parts, and they had never before suffered the rigors of an exhausting two-month campaign. They had reached the limits of their endurance even before the battle, and therefore such a promise had been made. Because Kabul was undermanned, the prevalent opinion was that Humayun should be sent to Kabul. It was so decided, and on Thursday the ninth of Rajab we marched four or five kos from Alwar and camped on the banks of the Manasni River. As Mahdi Khwaja was having great difficulty, he was permitted to return to Kabul, and the governorship of Bayana was given to Dost Eshik-Aqa.

Since Etawah had previously been assigned to Mahdi Khwaja, in his stead was sent Ja'far Khwaja, the son of the Qutb Khan who had fled Etawah. We stayed in this camp for two or three days in order to give Humayun permission to withdraw. While at the camp Mu'min Ali Tovachï was dispatched to Kabul with the victory proclamation.

## ❋ An Excursion to Firozpur and Kotlah Tank

Great things had been heard of the spring at Firozpur and the big tank at Kotlah. In order both to escort Humayun and to tour these sites, I stationed the army at the camp on Sunday and rode out. [327b] That day I visited Firozpur and the spring there and also had some ma'jun. The whole valley into which the spring water flowed was full of oleanders in bloom. It was not a bad spot, even if it did not measure up to expectation. At one place in the valley, where the stream was a bit wider, I ordered stones cut to make a pool. That night I stayed in the valley, and the next morning rode out to inspect the tank at Kotlah. One side of the lake was against the skirt of the mountain. The Manasni River spills into the lake, which is huge—the far shore could scarcely be seen from this side. In the middle of the lake is a rise; all around the edges are small boats the village people on the shore use to save themselves when there is trouble. When we arrived a few of them got into their boats and went out into the lake. Having toured the lake, we returned to Humayun's camp,

rested there, had some food, and presented the prince and his begs with robes of honor. Late that evening we bade Humayun farewell, got to horse, had a nap somewhere en route, remounted, and passed through the Kohri district at dawn, slept a bit again, and came to camp, which had been made in Toda.

We marched from Toda and camped at Sungarh. Hasan Khan [328] of Mewat's son, Nahar Khan, who had been entrusted to Abdul-Rahim, escaped. We stopped once for the night, at a spring located on an outcropping of a mountain between Bhasawar and Chausa. Here we had canopies erected, and indulged in some ma'jun. Turdï Beg Khaksar had praised this spring when the army had passed through, and this time we passed by on horseback and inspected it. It was excellent. What more could one want in Hindustan, where there is never any flowing water? Where the rare springs are, the water only oozes out of the ground—it does not gush out as it does in our country. The water of this spring, however, was nearly equivalent to a half-mill stream and came rushing out from the skirt of the mountain. All around was meadow—it was very nice. Above the spring I ordered an octagonal pool made of hewn stone. Seated next to the spring, Turdï Beg, high on ma'jun, kept repeating, "Since I like this place, it has to be given a name." Abdullah said, "It will have to be called the Imperial Spring-That-Turdï-Beg-Liked." This made us all laugh.

Dost Eshik-Aqa came from Bayana and paid homage at the spring. [328b] From there I went to tour Bayana, then Sikri. I stopped two days next to the garden I had ordered, then tended to it, reaching Agra at dawn on Thursday, the twenty-third of Rajab [April 25].

158. Folio 315.

As has been mentioned,[158] the rebels had occupied Chandwar and Rapri during this time of disturbance. Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang, Qoch Beg's Turdï Beg, Abdul-Malik Qorchï, and Husayn Khan with his Daryakhanis were dispatched to attack Chandwar and Rapri. As they reached the vicinity of Chandwar, Qutb Khan's men, who were inside, discovered their approach and fled. Thus having gotten hold of Chandwar, they went on to Rapri. Husayn Khan Nohani's men blockaded the streets, planning to have a skirmish. Our men attacked with force, however, and the defenders, unable to hold their ground, took flight. Husayn Khan entered the river like a mad elephant with several of his men and was drowned in the Jumna. As soon as he received this news, Qutb Khan threw over Etawah and fled with a few men. Since Etawah had been assigned originally to Mahdi Khwaja, his son Ja'far Khwaja was sent in his stead.

When Sanga the Infidel rebelled, as has been mentioned,[159] most of the Hindustanis and Afghans returned and regained control of all their estates and provinces. Sultan Muhammad Dulday, who had abandoned Kannauj and come to me, [329] refused to go to Kannauj—either from fear or as a point of honor—and took Sirhind with fifteen lacs instead of the thirty lacs of Kannauj. Kannauj was then awarded to Muhammad-Sultan Mirza with a stipend of thirty lacs. Budaun was given to Qasim Husayn Sultan, and he was attached to Muhammad-Sultan Mirza, and of the Turk officers, Baba-Qashqa's Malik Qasim and his brethren and Mughuls, Abu'l-Muhammad Nayzabaz and Muayyad with his father's liege men, and Husayn Khan with his Daryakhanis and Sultan-Muhammad Dulday's liege men. Of the India officers: Ali Khan Farmuli, Malikdad of Kora, Shaykh-Muhammad, Shaykh Bhakkari, and Tatar Khan Khanjahan were attached to Muhammad-Sultan Mirza and dispatched against Biban, who had besieged and taken Lakhnor during the Sanga disturbance. When Biban learned that this battalion was crossing the Ganges, he abandoned his baggage and took flight. The battalion pursued him up to Khairabad, where they stopped for several days before withdrawing.

159. Folio 298.

The treasury had been distributed, but with attention turned to the affair of the Infidel, it had not been possible to assign provinces and estates. Once we were free of the raid on the Infidel, provinces and estates could be distributed. [329b] Since the rainy season was close at hand, it was decided that everyone should retire to his estate, see to his arms, and then present himself at Delhi when the monsoon had passed.

Meanwhile, news arrived that Humayun had gone to Delhi, opened several rooms in the Delhi treasury, and appropriated the contents. I would never have expected such a thing of him! It was difficult for me to believe. I wrote him some extremely harsh letters of reproach.

On Thursday the fifteenth of Sha'ban [May 16], Khwajagi Asad, who had gone to Persia[160] as ambassador and returned accompanied by Sulayman the Turcoman, was rejoined to Sulayman and sent back as ambassador with appropriate gifts for Prince Tahmasp.

160. In the original, Persia is referred to as "Iraq," meaning Persian Iraq, a common epithet for Persia.

Turdi Beg Khaksar, whom I had persuaded to leave off being a dervish and made a military man, had been in my service for several years. Once again, however, the call to be a dervish became overwhelming, and he requested leave. He was given permission to withdraw and was sent to Kamran as emissary. Three lacs of the treasury were sent to Kamran. The year before, I had com-



Detail, Dervish, Iran or Central Asia, 15th century. Album page; opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Topkapi Palace Library, Istanbul, H.2160, fol. 67a. See color plate 7.

posed a little poem appropriate to those who had left India. It was addressed to Mulla Ali Khan and sent to him with Turdï Beg. The poem is this:

> O you who have gone from this country of India feeling pain and distress, [330] / You thought of Kabul and its wonderful climate and hotly left India. / There you have apparently found pleasure and joy, and many good things. / Yet we have not died, thank God, although we have suffered much pain and untold grief. / You have no more physical distress, but then neither do we.

We spent Ramadan in the Hasht Bihisht garden. Every *taravih*[161] was performed in a state of ritual purity. Ever since my eleventh year, I had never spent two successive Ramadan festivals in one place; and last year it had been celebrated in Agra. Lest this custom be broken, on Sunday, the eve of last day of the month, I went to Sikri for the festival. The stone platform I had ordered constructed on the northwest side of the Bagh-i-Fath[162] was ready. A felt tent was pitched on the platform, and there I celebrated. The evening I rode out of Agra, Mir Ali Qorchï was sent to Shah-Hasan in Tatta. Shah-Hasan was fond of *ganjafa*[163] and had requested a set, so one was sent. On Sunday the fifth of Dhu'l-Qa'da [August 4], I was taken ill. It lasted for seventeen days. On Friday the twenty-fourth of the same month [August 23], I set out to make a tour of Dholpur. That night I slept somewhere along the way [330b] and stopped the next morning at Sultan Iskandar's dam. Below the dam, where the mountain ended, there was a mass of red building stone. I had Master Shah-Muhammad the stonemason brought and ordered him to carve a chamber from this single block, if possible. If it was too low for a building, he was to level it down into a pool.

From Dholpur we went to tour Bari. The next morning we mounted in Bari and rode via the mountain between Bari and Chambhal and inspected the Chambhal River before returning. We saw an ebony tree on that mountain. The fruit is called *tindu.* Most of the ebony trees on this mountain are white. Leaving Bari, we toured Sikri and reached Agra on Wednesday the twenty-ninth [August 28].

161. *Taravih:* supererogatory prayers performed at night during Ramadan.

162. "Victory Garden."

163. *Ganjafa:* a type of card game.

During these days disturbing news was heard of Shaykh Bayazid. Sultan-Ali Türk was dispatched to meet him and rendezvous in twenty days. On Friday the second of Dhu'l-Hijja [August 30], I began to recite a litany that was repeated forty-one times. At this same time I scanned the following line of poetry 540 different ways:

> Tell me, is it her eyes, her eyebrows, her mouth, or her tongue? / Tell me, is it her stature, her cheek, her hair, or her waist?

I wrote a treatise on the subject. I fell ill again on this day. [331] It lasted nine days. On Wednesday the twenty-ninth of Dhu'l-Hijja [September 25], I rode out to inspect Koil and Sambhal.

# Events of the Year 934 [1527–28][164]

ON SATURDAY THE FIRST OF MUHARRAM [September 28] we stopped in Koil. Darwesh and Ali Yusuf had been stationed in Sambhal by Humayun. They had crossed a river and defeated Qutb Sarwani and a group of rajahs in a skirmish. Many had been killed, and a few heads and an elephant were sent in while we were in Koil. We toured the area for two days and stopped in Shaykh Ghuran's house at his invitation. He put on an entertainment and presented gifts. From there we rode to Atrauli.

On Wednesday we crossed the Ganges and spent the night in some villages in the Sambhal district. On Thursday we stopped in Sambhal, where we spent two days touring before leaving at dawn on Saturday. On Sunday we went to Rao Sarwani's house in Sikandra. He performed good service in presenting a meal. We rode from there before dawn. Along the way I separated myself from the men on some pretext and galloped alone to within a kos of Agra. Thereafter the men caught up and joined me. We dismounted in Agra at noon.

On Sunday the sixteenth of Muharram [October 13], I came down with a fever and chills. The fever came and went intermittently for twenty-five or twenty-six days. I took purgatives and finally regained my health but was suffering from sleeplessness and dehydration. While down with this illness I composed three or four quatrains. [331b] One of them is the following:

> By day fever rages in my body. Sleep flies from my eyes when it is night. These two are like my grief and patience: the more the one increases, the less the other becomes.

On Saturday the twenty-eighth of Safar [November 23] my aunts Fakhrijahan Begim and Khadija Sultan Begim arrived. I went by boat upstream from

164. The year A.H. 934 corresponds to October 27, 1527–September 14, 1528.

Sikandarabad to pay homage to them. On Sunday, Master Ali-Qulï fired a shot from his great mortar. Although the shot went far, the mortar shattered and pieces of it wounded some people. Eight of them died.

On Monday the seventh of Rabi' I [December 2], I rode out to tour Sikri. The octagonal platform I had ordered in the middle of the reservoir was ready. We went out by boat, had canopies erected, and indulged in some ma'jun. After returning from the tour of Sikri, we set out on the eve of Monday the fourteenth of Rabi' I on an expedition against the infidels in Chanderi, stopping in Jalisar after marching three kos.[165] We stayed here two days for the men to get their arms and equipment ready. On Thursday we marched to Anwar, whence we traveled by boat to Chandwar. Proceeding by forced march, we camped at the Kanar ford on Monday the twenty-eighth. On Thursday the second of Rabi' II [December 26], I crossed the river. We halted on one side and the other for four or five days while the soldiers came over. [332] During these few days we continually went out in boats and had ma'jun. The confluence with the Chambhal River is a kos or two upstream from the Kanar ford. On Friday we went up the Chambhal from the confluence and then returned to camp.

165. This is not the Jalesar that is northeast of Agra, the wrong direction. It is probably another small village in the vicinity of Agra.

Although Shaykh Bayazid had not rebelled openly, it was clear from his actions and deeds that he was intent on rebelling. To deal with him Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang was separated from the main body of the army and sent to gather a force made up of Muhammad-Sultan Mirza in Kannauj and the princes and officers of that region, such as Qasim Husayn Sultan, Beykhub Sultan, Malik Qasim of Koil, Abu'l-Muhammad Nayzabaz, and Minuchihr Khan and his Daryakhani brethren, and attack the rebel Afghans in Sarwar. They were also to invite Shaykh Bayazid. If he came with good grace and joined them, they were to proceed with him. If not, they were to deal with him first. Muhammad-Ali requested a few elephants and was given around ten of them. After he was dismissed, Baba Chuhra was ordered to go join them.

We proceeded by boat a march from Kanar. On Wednesday the eighth of Rabi' II [January 1, 1528], we stopped a kos from Kalpi. Baba Sultan, Sultan Sa'id Khan's younger brother and Sultan-Khalil Sultan's son, came to this camp and paid homage. The previous year he had fled from his elder brother [332b] but regretted his action when he reached the borders of Andarab. However, when he approached Kashghar on his way back, the Khan sent Haydar Mirza to intercept him and force him to turn back.

The next morning we stopped at Alam Khan's house in Kalpi. He presented a meal in the Hindustani fashion and gave us presents.

On Monday the thirteenth [January 6] we marched from Kalpi. On Friday we reached Iraj. Saturday camp was made in Bhander. Sunday the nineteenth, Chïn Temür Sultan was put in charge of six to seven thousand men and sent ahead of us to Chanderi. The officers who went on the expedition were Baqi Mingbegi, Qoch Beg's Turdï Beg, Ashiq Bökäül, Mulla Apaq, Muhsin Dulday, and Shaykh Ghuran of the Hindustani officers.

## ❋ Description of Kachwaha

On Friday the twenty-fourth [January 17], camp was made near Kachwaha. The people of Kachwaha were given quarter, and the town was given to Badruddin's son. Kachwaha is a fine little place. All around it are little hillocks. Across the mountain to the southeast of Kachwaha is a dam, and behind it a large lake with a perimeter of five to six kos has formed. This lake surrounds Kachwaha on three sides. On the northwest side is a neck of dry land on which the town gate is located. On the lake are small boats that hold three or four people. Whenever the people need to flee, they get into the boats and go out into the middle of the water. [333] Before reaching Kachwaha, we saw two other places where dams were built across hills to form lakes, but the lakes were smaller than the one at Kachwaha. We stayed in Kachwaha two days, during which time overseers and many shovelers were assigned to repair the pits and potholes in the road and to cut the jungles so that the carts and artillery might pass without difficulty. The land between Kachwaha and Chanderi is forested. We spent the night in Kachwaha and camped within three kos of Chanderi, having crossed the river at Burhanpur.

## ❋ The Conquest of Chanderi

The citadel at Chanderi is on the top of a hill, with the outer fortress and town situated on the slope. The flat road over which a cart can go passes by the base of the fortress. Marching from Burhanpur, we proceeded a kos farther down from Chanderi because of the carts. I spent one night there and then, on Tuesday the twenty-eighth, camped atop the dam next to Bahjat Khan's pool. The next morning I mounted, and posts were distributed to the center, right, and left wings around the perimeter of the fortress. Master Ali-Qulï selected a flat place from which to fire. Overseers and shovelers were appointed to set up the batteries for firing the mortars. All the soldiers were ordered to make ready the shields, ladders, and *bükri tura,*[166] implements of siege.

Chanderi formerly belonged to the king of Mandu. [333b] After Sultan

166. *Bükri tura:* a form of shield.

Nasiruddin died [in 1500], one of his sons, Sultan Mahmud, who is currently in Mandu, seized control of Mandu and that area. Another son, Muhammad Shah, got hold of Chanderi and took refuge with Sultan Iskandar, who sent a large army and took Muhammad Shah under his protection. After Sultan Iskandar, during the time of Sultan Ibrahim [ca. 1517–26], Muhammad Shah died, leaving an infant son, Ahmad Shah. Sultan Ibrahim deposed Ahmad Shah and installed his own man. When Rana Sanga led his forces to Dholpur against Ibrahim, Ibrahim's officers rebelled. It was then that Chanderi fell into Sanga's hands and he gave it to his high-ranking advisor, the infidel Medini Rao.

At this time Medini Rao was in the Chanderi fortress with four or five thousand infidels. Since Arayish Khan had some acquaintance with him, he and Shaykh Ghuran were sent to assure him of my favor and compassion toward him and promise him Shamsabad in lieu of Chanderi. One or two of his important men came over to us. I don't know whether he himself mistrusted us or whether he was overreliant on the fastness of his fort, but in any case the overture did not succeed. Intent upon taking the Chanderi fortress by force, on Tuesday morning, the sixth of Jumada I [January 28], we marched from Bahjat Khan's reservoir and camped next to the middle reservoir near the fortress. [334] This very morning while we were on the move, Khalifa brought a letter or two, the contents of which were: "The army that was assigned to Purab has gone ill prepared, engaged in battle, and been defeated. They have abandoned Lucknow and gone to Kannauj." I saw that for this reason Khalifa was greatly perturbed and fearful. I said, "Alarm and fear are unreasonable. Nothing will happen that has not been foreordained by God. Since this labor lies ahead of us, we should not speak of it, but tomorrow we will bring force to bear upon the fortress. After that we will face whatever happens." The foe was making fast the citadel. Within the outer fortress people were moving around one by one and two by two on various errands. That evening my soldiers converged from all directions upon the outer fortress, in which there were only a few men. Without putting up much resistance, they fled into the citadel.

On Wednesday morning the seventh of Jumada I [January 29] the soldiers were ordered to arm themselves, go to their stations, and prepare for an assault. As soon as I mounted with my drums and standards, they were to attack from all directions. I held the drums and standards in abeyance until battle was engaged and went to watch Master Ali-Quli's artillery fire. He fired three or four shots. Since he was on a flat place and the ramparts [334b] were strong and completely of stone, it did not do any damage. It has been mentioned that the Chanderi citadel is situated on a hill. On one side a water con-

duit has been made to bring water in, and the rampart where the water conduit is is lower than the hill. This is the one place where an assault can be made. The posts of the right and left flanks of the center and of the royal tabin included this place. They were battling from all sides, but they were focusing their strength more on this place than any other. No matter how many stones the infidels threw or how much fire they lit and hurled from above to drive them back, the warriors did not withdraw. Finally Nur Beg's brother Shahïm got up at the spot where the outer fortification rampart joined the water-conduit rampart. Other warriors also scaled the walls in two or three other places. The infidels on the water conduit turned and fled. The conduit was taken. In the upper fortress they did not fight much but quickly ran away. Many men climbed up and got into the upper fortress. After a short time the infidels all came out stripped naked and began to fight. Many people were put to flight and forced to jump over the ramparts. Several men were struck with swords and killed. The reason so many were hastening from atop the ramparts was that they had realized they were going to lose and, having put their wives and womenfolk to the sword and resigning themselves to death, came out stripped to fight. Our men pressed on, however, from all directions [335] and forced them to flee from the ramparts. Two to three hundred infidels entered Medini Rao's quarters, where they killed each other almost to the last by having one man hold a sword while the others willingly bent their necks. And thus most of them went to hell.

Through God's grace such a famous fortress was conquered within two or three gharis without standards or drums and without any fighting in earnest. A tower of infidels' skulls was erected on the hill on the northwest side of Chanderi. The chronogram for this victory was found to be *fath-i daru'l-harb*[167] I versified it as follows:

167. "Conquest of the infidel realm," 934.

> For a time Chanderi was full of infidels and the realm of war. I conquered the fortress in battle, the chronogram for which is "conquest of the infidel realm."

## ❋ A Description of Chanderi

Chanderi is a superb place. All around the area are many flowing streams. The citadel is located atop a hill, and inside it a huge reservoir has been carved from rock. Another large reservoir was in the water conduit we captured. The houses of rich and poor alike are made of stone. Those of the grandees are elaborately carved, but the ordinary people's are not. The roofs are made of

stone slabs instead of tile. [335b] In front of the fortress are three large reservoirs formed by dams built by former rulers. The land is elevated. The lake, called the Betwa, three kos from Chanderi, is renowned throughout Hindustan for its good, sweet water. It is truly a nice little lake, in which are many pieces of rock suitable for building. Chanderi lies ninety kos to the south of Agra. There the North Star is at twenty-five degrees elevation.

The next morning, Thursday, we marched from the vicinity of the fortress and camped next to Mallu Khan's reservoir. We had come to attack Raisen, Bhilsan, and Sarangpur, which were infidel regions held by Silhadi. Once these were taken we would proceed to Chitor against Sanga. Since distressing news was being received, however, we summoned the begs for consultation, during which it was realized that it was a priority to proceed to repel the sedition of those rebels. Chanderi was given to the above-mentioned Ahmad Shah,[168] the grandson of Sultan Nasiruddin. Fifty lacs from Chanderi were made royal demesne, and Mulla Apaq was made military governor with two or three thousand Turks and Hindustanis to assist Ahmad Shah.

168. Folio 333b.

When these affairs had been settled, [336] we marched back on Sunday the eleventh of Jumada I [February 2] to Mallu Khan's reservoir and camped next to the river at Burhanpur. Yaka Khwaja and Ja'far Khwaja were sent from Bhander to bring boats from Kalpi to the Kanar ford. On Sunday the twenty-fourth we stopped at the ford, and the soldiers were ordered to begin crossing.

News arrived that the forward detachment had abandoned Kannauj and pulled back to Rapri. Abu'l-Muhammad Nayzabaz had made fast the Shamsabad fortress, but many men had come and taken it by force. During the three or four days it took the army to cross the river, halt was called on both sides. Once across, we proceeded toward Kannauj, having dispatched some guerilla warriors in advance to gather intelligence on the rebels. When we were two or three kos from Kannauj, they brought news that when our spies had been spotted, Ma'ruf's son had fled from Kannauj. Biban, Bayazid, and Ma'ruf had gotten wind of us and crossed the Ganges, halting on the eastern shore in hopes of being able to block our crossing.

On Thursday the sixth of Jumada II [February 27] we bypassed Kannauj and stopped on the western shore of the Ganges. Some of our warriors went and seized a few of the rebels' boats. [336b] From upstream and downstream thirty to forty boats, large and small, were brought. Mir-Muhammad Jalaban was sent to find a suitable place to make a bridge and find bridge-building materials. He found a place to his liking one kos downstream from camp. Overseers were appointed. Near the place where the bridge was to be made Master Ali-Qulï found a place to set up his mortar and got busy firing shells.

Downstream from the place where the bridge was to be made Mustafa Rumi had the artillery caissons taken out to an island and started firing. Upstream from the bridge, batteries were set up from which the matchlockmen fired their matchlocks. Once or twice Malik Qasim Moghul and some warriors crossed by boat and fought well, though they were few. One evening Baba Sultan, Darwesh, and ten to fifteen men crossed with nothing but audacity, returning without having engaged in battle or accomplishing anything. They were severely reprimanded for making such a crossing. Finally, in a heroic gesture, Malik Qasim and a few men battled the enemy all the way to their camp. The rebels came out with many men and an elephant and fought furiously, forcing our men to withdraw. Before they could get into the boat and get it moving, [337] the elephant came up and sank it. Malik Qasim died in that encounter.

During these few days while the bridge was being built Master Ali-Qulï got off a few good shots. The first day he fired eight shots. The second day he fired sixteen, and so on for three or four days. The shots were made with the mortar "Ghazi," which was the mortar he fired during the battle with Sanga the Infidel, for which reason it was named Ghazi. He set up another rather large mortar, but it shattered the first time it was fired. The matchlockmen also fired a lot of shots and brought down many men and horses. . . .[169] When the bridge was nearly finished, on Wednesday the nineteenth of Jumada II, we marched out onto it. The Afghans, who were quite skeptical about it, had been hooting and making fun of us.

169. Incomprehensible sentence.

On Thursday the bridge was completed. A few foot soldiers and Lahoris crossed, and a skirmish was held. On Friday the royal *tabin* from the center and the warriors from the right and left flanks crossed on foot with the matchlockmen. The Afghans, with their elephants, came forward in force, fully armed and mounted, and drove back the men of the left flank. The men of the center and right flank held their ground and fought the enemy back. [337b] Two men emerged quickly from the mass and slashed with their swords. One of them was felled and captured right there. The other man and his horse were both hit many times. The horse reared back and fell in the midst of the soldiers. That day seven or eight heads were brought in. Many received arrow and gun wounds. There was fighting until late that afternoon. That night all who had crossed were brought back.

If that very Friday evening men had been sent across, most of the enemy would probably have been taken captive. It occurred to me, however, that the previous year we had set out from Sikri on Nawroz, which fell on a Tuesday, to fight Sanga and we had defeated the enemy on a Saturday. This year we had set out to fight the enemy on Nawroz, which fell on a Wednesday. If we

were victorious over the enemy on Sunday, it would be a remarkable coincidence. For this reason no one was sent across. On Saturday they did not come to fight but stood afar in formation. The same day, the caissons were taken across, and at dawn the order was given for the men to cross. When the drums were being sounded news came from the vanguard that the enemy had taken flight. Chïn Temür Sultan was ordered to take a contingent out in pursuit of the foe. Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang, Husamuddin Ali Khalifa, Khalifa's Muhibb-Ali, Baba-Qashqa's Kuki, [338] Baba-Qashqa's Dost-Muhammad, Baqi Tashkandi, and Wali Qïzïl were assigned to lead the groups of the pursuing party with Sultan and not to disobey his orders. I myself crossed early in the morning. Orders were given for the camels to be taken across at the ford that had been found downstream. That day, Sunday, camp was made on the riverbank one kos from Bangarmau. Those assigned to the pursuit contingent had not proceeded well, and they too were halted at Bangarmau. That afternoon they were sent out from Bangarmau. The next morning camp was made next to the reservoir in front of Bangarmau.

This day Tokhta Buqa Sultan, my uncle Kichik Khan's son, came and paid me homage. On Saturday the twenty-ninth of Jumada II [March 21], I toured Lucknow, crossed the Gomati River, and halted. That same day I bathed in the Gomati. I don't know whether I got some water in my ear or whether it was the effect of the air, but my right ear got stopped up, although I had only a little pain for a few days. A march or two from Oudh, a man came with the following report from Chïn Temür Sultan: "The enemy is sitting on the other side of the Sarju. Send auxiliaries." Around a thousand warriors under Qaracha were dispatched from the center to reinforce him.

On Saturday the seventh of Rajab [March 28], camp was made two or three kos downstream from Oudh at the confluence of the Gogra and the Sarju. [338b] Until this day Shaykh Bayazid was supposed to be on the other side of the Sarju opposite Oudh.[170] He had sent a letter and held deliberations with Sultan. Realizing his deceit, Sultan sent a man to Qaracha at noon to get ready to cross the river. As soon as Qaracha joined Sultan they crossed. Bayazid had around fifty cavalrymen and three or four elephants. Unable to hold their ground, they fled. A few men were unhorsed, and their heads were sent in. Beykhub Sultan,[171] Turdï Beg, Baba Chuhra, Qoch Beg, and Baqi Shiqavul crossed after Sultan. Those who had crossed earlier pursued Shaykh Bayazid until evening. Shaykh Bayazid went into the jungle to escape. That night Chïn Temür Sultan camped on the banks of the still water and then mounted at midnight to make a drive in pursuit of the enemy. After going forty kos they reached the place where the baggage train was, but the foe had

170. In modern terms the Sarju is an upper tributary of the Gogra. Babur uses the names Sarju and Gogra indiscriminately for the river down to its confluence with the Ganges. On folio 368b below, Babur speaks of that confluence.

171. "Beykhub" is only a guess at this name, which is garbled in all manuscripts and unidentifiable elsewhere.

fled. From here the posse spread out in all directions. Baqi Shiqavul and a few warriors went in pursuit of the enemy, reached their baggage train, and brought in some Afghans as prisoners.

Halt was called for a few days at this site in order to consolidate affairs in Oudh and that area. We had been told of a hunting ground seven or eight kos upstream from Oudh. Mir-Muhammad Jalaban was sent to inspect it. He looked at the fords on the Gogra and Sarju and returned. [339] On Thursday the twelfth [April 2] we rode out to hunt.[172]

172. An unexplained break of five-and-a-half months occurs in the text at this point.

# Events of the Year 935 [1528–29][173]

Askari,[174] whom I had summoned before the Chanderi expedition to govern Multan, came on Friday the third of Muharram [September 18] and paid homage in my private quarters. The next morning Khwandamir the historian,[175] Mawlana Shihab the enigmatist,[176] and Mir Ibrahim the dulcimer player, a relative of Yunus Ali, all of whom had long ago left Herat wishing to enroll in my service, came and paid homage. On Sunday afternoon, the fifth of the month [September 20], I crossed the Jumna and entered the Agra fort, intending to make a tour of Gwalior, which is called Galior in books. I rode there to bid farewell to Fakhrijahan Begim and Khadija Sultan Begim, who were going to set out for Kabul within the next few days.

## ❋ Babur Proceeds to Gwalior via Dholpur

Muhammad-Zaman Mirza requested permission to remain in Agra. That night we proceeded three or four kos, stopped beside a reservoir, and slept. We performed our prayers rather early and rode off. We spent the noon beside the Gambhir River and rode out in the afternoon. Along the way I mixed with barley flour some medicine Mulla Rafi' had made to raise our spirits and swallowed it. It tasted horrible. A little before noon I halted at the garden and pavilion I had ordered a kos west of Dholpur. [339b] The place where the garden and pavilion are situated is at the end of a mountain spur, which is a solid piece of red building stone; I had ordered stone to be cut from the mountain and taken there. If a piece remained large enough to hew into a pavilion in one piece, then they were to do it. If not, they were to cut down the stone and make a pool in the courtyard. Since the stone broke and was not large enough, Master Shah-Muhammad the stonemason was ordered to design a

173. The year A.H. 935 corresponds to September 15, 1528–September 4, 1529.

174. Babur's son, a younger sibling to Kamran. (1516–1558)

175. Ghiyathuddin b. Humamuddin al-Husayni Khwandamir (ca. 1475–ca. 1535), author of *Habib al-siyar*, a large, universal history that is particularly rich in detail on the Timurid dynasty, was the grandson of Mir Khwand, author of *Rawzat al-safa*, also a general history. Khwandamir was in Ali-Sher Nawai's service and then joined Badi'uzzaman Mirza's retinue. After serving Shah Ismail for a time, he went to Babur in India in 1528 and died on the return journey from Humayun's expedition to Bengal, around 1535. His accounts of Babur are particularly valuable for filling in some of the gaps in the text of Babur's memoirs.

scalloped octagonal pool on top of the solid rock that had been shaped into a courtyard. The stonecutters got to work in earnest. To the north of the spot where the pool of solid rock had been placed were many trees, mangoes, eugenias, and all sorts of trees. In the middle, I had a ten-by-ten well made, and it was nearly finished. The water from the well went to the pool. To the northwest of the pool, Sultan Sikandar had made a dam, on top of which he had built some structures. Behind the dam the monsoon rains collected and formed a large lake. On the eastern side of the lake was a garden. [340] To the east of the lake I ordered them to carve some things like benches from solid stone, and on the western side a mosque. Tuesday and Wednesday we stayed in Dholpur to tend to these affairs.

On Thursday we mounted and crossed the Chambhal River. We performed the afternoon prayer on the riverbank, left the Chambhal in the afternoon, and halted, having crossed the Kunwari River late in the evening. The water was so deep due to the rains that the horses had to be made to swim across. We crossed by boat. The next morning, Friday, which was Ashura,[177] we rode off, spent noon in a village, and then stopped one kos from Gwalior to the north of a charbagh I had ordered made the previous year. The next day, after the noon prayer, we mounted and made a tour of the hills to the north of Gwalior and inspected the namazgah before entering the city through the Hathi Pol, which was next to Rajah Man Singh's palace.[178] Late that afternoon we dismounted at Rajah Bikramajit's buildings, where Rahimdad was staying.[179]

That night I took some opium for the pain in my ear—the moonlight also induced me to take it. The next morning I really suffered from an opium hangover and vomited a lot. Nevertheless, I went out on a tour of all Man Singh's and Bikramajit's buildings. [340b]

## ❋ A Tour of Gwalior

The buildings are strange. In addition to being higgledy-piggledy and inharmonious, they are all of carved stone. Of all the rajahs' edifices, Man Singh's are the most beautiful and the best.

One side of the wall of Man Singh's palace is toward the east, and this side is more elaborate than the others.[180] It is approximately forty or fifty yards high. The entire face, which is of carved stone, has been covered with white stucco. In some places it is four stories tall. Inside, the two lower stories are extremely dark. After being inside for a while a bit of light can be perceived, but we toured them by candlelight anyway. On one side of the palace are five

176. Mulla Shihab the enigmatist is Mawlana Shihabuddin Ahmad al-Haqiri, of whom Khwandamir gives the following description: "Known for his good nature and purity of mind, and renowned for his expertise in the art of poetry and enigma, he has studied most of the curriculum and has composed an eloquent treatise on the art of the enigma. He is also expert at composing qasidas and ghazals, and at present [i.e., the time of writing, 1524] he composes in honor of Shah Ismail" (Khwandamir, *Habib al-siyar*, 4:361).

177. Ashura, the tenth of the month of Muharram, commemorates the day on which Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, was killed at Kerbela in 680.

178. Rajah Man Singh, r. 1486–1526.

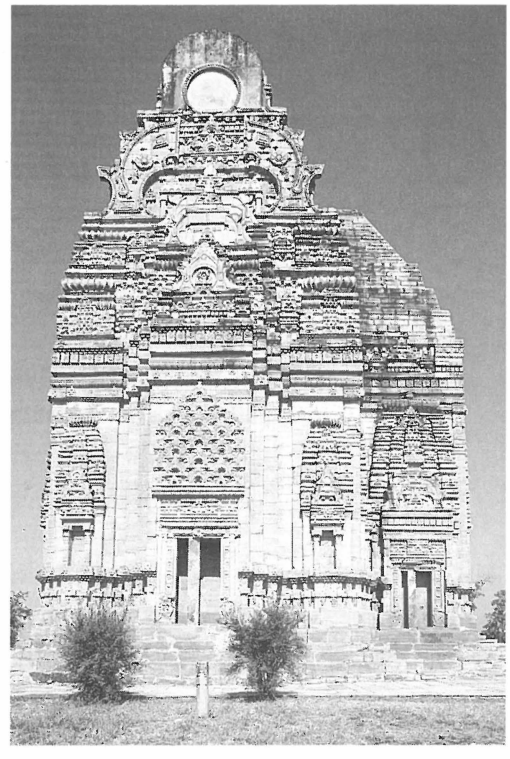
179. Rahimdad, Mahdi Khwaja's nephew, had been put in charge of Gwalior (fol. 304b).

180. The impressive palace fortification built by Man Singh is called the Man Mandir. (See illus. p. 366.)

domes, between which are small, squarish domelets in the Hindustani style. To the tops of the five large domes have been attached plates of gilded copper. The outside of the walls are covered all around with green glazed tiles, which depict plantain trees. In the tower on the eastern side is the Hathi Pol. (*Hathi* means "elephant," and *pol* means "gate.") At the exit to the gate is a statue of an elephant with two keepers on its back. Since it has been made in the exact likeness of the animal, it is called Hathi Pol. [341] The lowest story of the four-story building has a window from which the elephant statue can be seen quite near. The upper story comprises the above-mentioned domes. The dwelling rooms are on the second story, which is below ground level. Although they have been decorated in the Hindustani style, they are rather airless.

The palace of Man Singh's son, Bikramajit, is located in an open space toward the northern fortification wall. The son's buildings are not equal to the father's. There is one large dome, in which it is very dark, although after a time some light can be perceived. Under it is another, smaller structure into which no light penetrates from any direction. Rahimdad had a small hall made on top of the large dome, and he stayed in Bikramajit's buildings. A passageway has been made leading from Bikramajit's to his father's buildings, but neither path is apparent from the outside nor can any trace of it be seen from the inside, although light gets in from somewhere. It is a fantastic passageway.

After touring the buildings we rode to the madrasa built by Rahimdad. We had a look at the garden he made next to the large reservoir on the southern side [341b] and came back late to the charbagh, where the army was camped. Many flowers had been planted there, with many lovely red oleanders. Generally the oleanders of these parts are like peach blossoms, but the Gwalior oleander is a beautiful bright red. I had some brought to Agra and planted in the gardens there. To the south of the garden is a large reservoir where the monsoon rainwater collects. To the west of the reservoir is a tall temple, next to which Sultan Iltutmish[181] had a congregational mosque built. The temple is extremely tall—the tallest structure in the fortress—and both the Gwalior fortress and the temple can be plainly seen from the hill in Dholpur. They say that the stones of this temple



Teli Temple in Gwalior, 8th–9th century

were cut and transported from the large reservoir. In the garden is a squat, inharmonious wooden hall, and at the garden gate are ugly porticos in the Hindustani style.

181. Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish (or Iletmish) of the Delhi Sultanate, r. 1211–36.

The next day at noon I mounted to tour the places in Gwalior I had not yet seen. I inspected the building called Badalgarh, which is outside the fortification walls, came back in through the Hathi Pol, and went to a valley called Urwahi.

The place called Urwahi is located to the west of the fortification wall. Although it lies outside the rampart built across the mountain, two high rampart walls are situated at the mouth of the valley, one inside the other. These ramparts are forty to fifty yards high. The inner rampart, the longer of the two, [342] is connected on both ends to the fortress rampart. In the open space it creates, another, lower rampart has been extended, but it does not go from end to end and was made solely for obtaining water. Inside it a step-well has been made for drawing water. Ten or fifteen steps lead down to the water. Over the gate going from the large rampart to the step-well rampart is a stone in which is carved Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish's name with the year 630 [1232–33]. At the base of the outer rampart, outside the fortification wall, is a large reservoir, which often dries up when the water is low. The water feeds the conduit. Inside Urwahi are two other large reservoirs. The people of the fortress prefer this water to any other.

Urwahi is surrounded on three sides by a single mountain, the stone of which is not so red as that of Bayana but somewhat paler. The solid rock outcroppings around Urwahi have been hewn into idols, large and small. On the southern side is a large idol, approximately twenty yards tall. They are shown stark naked with all their private parts exposed. [342b] Around the two large reservoirs inside Urwahi have been dug twenty to twenty-five wells, from which water is drawn to irrigate the vegetation, flowers, and trees planted there. Urwahi is not a bad place. In fact, it is rather nice. Its one drawback was the idols, so I ordered them destroyed. I observed the place of the Sultan Pol, which formerly led from Urwahi to the fortress but which had been shut up from the time of the infidels. At evening prayer time I returned to the garden made by Rahimdad and stayed there overnight.

On Tuesday the fourteenth of the month [September 29] emissaries came from Rana Sanga's second son, Bikramajit,[182] who was with his mother, Padmavati, in the Ranthambhor fort. Before I toured Gwalior, emissaries came from Bikramajit's chief minister, a Hindu named Asok, to assure me of Bikramajit's submission and fealty and to request a stipend of seventy lacs. It was decided to hand Ranthambhor over to him, and, having rewarding him

182. Not to be confused with Man Singh's son Bikramajit (fols. 268, 340, 341), the Hindu rajah of Gwalior.

with estates as he requested, we gave his men leave to withdraw.

As we were going to be touring Gwalior, we had given those men of his a date to return to Gwalior. It was now several days past the date. Asok, who was said to be a close relative of Bikramajit's mother, [343] explained the situation to the mother and son. They, in agreement with Asok, accepted fealty and suzerainty. In Bikramajit's possession were a headband and golden belt that Sultan Mahmud had been wearing when he was defeated and taken prisoner by Sanga. Bikramajit's elder brother, Ratansen, who was at that time the *rana*[183] in his father's stead and holder of Chitor, demanded the headband and belt from his younger brother. He refused. Through his men who had come he promised me the headband and belt and asked for Bayana in exchange for Ranthambhor. We dissuaded them from Bayana and promised Shamsabad in exchange for Ranthambhor. The same day, the emissaries were dressed in robes of honor and given leave with a rendezvous fixed at Bayana in nine days.

183. Rana, like rajah and ray, is a Hindu title of a ruler, particularly a Rajput. Rana is from the Hindustani; rajah (*râjâ*) goes back to the Prakrit and Sanskrit; and *rây,* or *râê,* goes back to the Prakrit *râyâ* and the Sanskrit *râjâ.* All are also ultimately derived from the Sanskrit root *râj-* "rule, dominion."

Riding out from this garden we made a tour of Gwalior's temples, some of which are two and three stories but are squat and in the ancient style with dadoes entirely of figures sculpted in stone. Other temples are like madrasas, with porches and large, tall domes and chambers like those of a madrasa. Atop the chambers are narrow, constricted domes carved of stone, [343b] and in the lower chambers are stone-carved idols. Having examined the edifices, we went out through the west gate of Gwalior, went around the south side of the fortress, and dismounted back at the charbagh that Rahimdad had made in front of the Hathi Pol.

There Rahimdad had a feast prepared. He served excellent food and presented many gifts of goods and cash worth four lacs. I left on horseback and went to my own garden late that night.

## ❋ Excursion to a Waterfall

On Wednesday the fifteenth [September 30], I went out to make a tour of a waterfall six kos southeast of Gwalior. As we were rather late getting to horse, it was after noon when we reached our destination. From a cliff a cord[184] high a one-mill stream cascades down. Farther down from where the water falls is a large lake, and above the falls is a solid rock cliff. The bottom of the falls is also solid rock. Everywhere the water falls a lake is formed. On the banks of the stream are little pieces of rock one can sit on; the water, however, does not always flow. We sat down at the top of the falls and had some ma'jun. We then toured upstream as far as the source of the stream. We returned and went up on a rise, where we sat for a while. The musicians played their instru-

184. Erskine defines the "cord" (*arghamchi*) as a horse tether, 7–8 gaz, that is, 20–25 feet.

ments, and the singers sang some songs. [344] Ebony trees, which the people of India call *tindu,* were shown to those who had not already seen them.

Coming down from the hill, we got to horse and rode off between the evening and bedtime prayers. At around the second watch we came to a place and slept. The first watch[185] of the day was almost over when we dismounted at the charbagh.

On Friday the seventeenth [October 2] I toured a village called Suhjana, Silhadi's birthplace,[186] and the lime and sadaphal orchard up from the village in a valley among the hills, returning to the charbagh at the first watch.

On Sunday the nineteenth [October 4], just before dawn, we rode out from the charbagh and crossed the Kunwari River and spent noon there. In the early afternoon we rode on, crossed the Chambhal River as the sun was setting, entered the Dholpur fortress between the evening and bedtime prayers, and toured by lamplight the bathhouse built by Abu'l-Fath.[187] Riding from there, we stopped on the top of the dam where a new garden was being made. The next morning I stayed to inspect the places that had been ordered. They had not yet raised the face of the scalloped pool I had ordered out of the solid rock, so I ordered more than a thousand stonecutters to come and cut down the base of the pool so that water could be put in and the edges leveled. Late that afternoon they got the face of the pool loose and filled it with water. [344b] Then they got to work leveling and smoothing the edges by means of the water. This time I ordered another cistern to be hewn of solid rock, with a small pool inside, also to be cut from solid rock.

On Monday [October 5] there was a ma'jun party. On Tuesday, I remained right there. That night, after breaking the fast and having something to eat, we rode out intending to go to Sikri. At around the second watch we dismounted somewhere to sleep. I don't know whether the cold had had some effect on my ear or what, but that evening it hurt a lot and I could not sleep. At dawn we moved out and at the first watch reached the garden I had built at Sikri. Because the garden wall and well buildings were not to my liking, the overseers were punished and threatened.

Between the afternoon and evening prayers we rode out of Sikri, passed Madhakur, dismounted somewhere, and slept. Riding on from there, we came to Agra at the first watch. In the Agra fortress I saw Khadija Sultan Begim, who had stayed to settle some business when Fakhrijahan Begim left. I crossed the Jumna and came to the Hasht Bihisht garden. On Saturday the third of Safar [October 17], three of my great lady aunts, Gawharshad Begim, Badi'uljamal Begim, and Aq Begim,[188] and, of the younger ladies, Khwanzada Begim (Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza's daughter), Sultan Bakht Begim's daughter, and my

185. Although Babur has used the Indian ghari (24 minutes) many times in his memoirs, this is the first time he uses the watch (*pahar*) for the time of day.

186. Silhadi, Rajah of Raisen, was Rana Sanga's son-in-law.

187. This is Abu'l-Fath, the Turcoman mentioned above on folios 175b and 305.

188. All three were daughters of Sultan Abusa'id Mirza, Babur's paternal grandfather.

*yengächichä*'s[189] granddaughter, Zaynab Sultan Begim, came past Tota and camped beside the river at the edge of the suburbs. [345] I went to see them between the afternoon and evening prayers and returned by boat.

189. *Yengächichä:* an affectionate term for aunt in Chaghatay.

## ❋ An Envoy Is Sent to Monitor the Submission of Ranthambhor

On Monday the fifth of Safar [October 19], Hamusi son of Deva, an old Hindu retainer from Bhera, was attached to Bikramajit's earlier and later envoys and dispatched to take charge in his own manner and fashion of the handing over of Ranthambhor and the accepting of fealty. The man we were sending was to observe and, when he was satisfied, return. If Bikramajit stood by his word, I also promised that, God willing, I would make him rana in his father's stead and establish him in Chitor.

## ❋ A Deficit in the Treasury

Around this time Iskandar and Ibrahim's treasuries in Delhi and Agra ran dry. To meet the requirements for the army's weapons, artillery, and gunpowder, on Thursday the eighth of Safar [October 22], an order was issued for stipend holders to remit to the divan 130 percent of their regular payments, to be spent on these accoutrements.

On Saturday the tenth [October 24], Sultan-Muhammad Bakhshi's footman named Shah Qasim, who once before had taken documents of protection to the people of Khurasan, was sent back to Herat taking documents, the contents of which were, in effect, that, thank God, our minds were at ease concerning the rebels in the east and west of Hindustan [345b] and the infidels. This coming summer, God willing, we would certainly get ourselves to Kabul somehow or other. Ahmad Afshar was also sent a document, and on the margin I wrote in my own hand asking for Faridun the *qopuz* player. At noon that day I began to take quicksilver.[190]

190. Quicksilver, or mercury, has long been considered a laxative in the east.

On Wednesday the twenty-first [November 4] a Hindustani runner brought letters from Kamran and Khwaja Dost Khawand. Khwaja Dost Khawand had reached Kabul on the tenth of Dhu'l-Hijja and gone on to see Humayun. At Hupian one of Kamran's men came to the khwaja, saying, "Let the khwaja come. Let him deliver whatever documents he has. Let him say what he has to say and then depart." Kamran arrived in Kabul on the seventeenth of Dhu'l-Hijja [September 2], and after speaking with the khwaja had him escorted to Zafar Fort on the twenty-eighth of Dhu'l-Hijja [September 13].

There was good news in the letters that came. Prince Tahmasp, deter-

mined to drive out the Uzbek, had captured Rinish the Uzbek at Damghan, killed him, and massacred his men. As soon as Ubayd Khan received confirmed intelligence on the Qïzïlbash's movements, he lifted the siege from Herat and went to Merv, where he summoned the Uzbek princes from Samarkand and that area. The princes in Transoxiana all went to Merv to help. [346] The same runner brought the news that a son had been born to Humayun by the daughter of Yadgar Taghayï.[191] Kamran was also about to get married in Kabul to the daughter of his uncle Sultan-Ali Mirza. This same day we had Sayyid Dakkani Shirazi the dowser clad in a robe of honor, gave him a reward, and ordered him to finish the fountain-well however he thought best.

191. This is al-Aman (fol. 346b).

## ❋ Versification of a Treatise by Khwaja Ubaydullah

On Friday the twenty-third [November 6] such an inflammation appeared in my bowels that I had difficulty performing the congregational prayer in the mosque. Some time later I reperformed the noon prayer in the library, but in great pain. Already on Sunday, I was having fever and chills. On the eve of Tuesday the twenty-seventh it occurred to me to make a versified rendering of Khwaja Ubaydullah's treatise, the *Walidiyya.*[192] I put my confidence in the saint's intercession and said to myself, "If this intention is acceptable to the saint, then too, just as the author of the *Burda*'s poem was accepted and he was cured of his paralysis,[193] if I am delivered of this illness it will be a sign of my poem's being accepted." With this intention I began to versify the treatise in the meter *Ramal musaddas makhbun,* with the final foot sometimes *abtar* and sometimes *makhbun,*[194] [346b] because Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami's *Subhat* is also in that meter.[195] That very night I composed thirteen lines. I stuck to it so assiduously that every day I wrote no less than ten lines, skipping one day at most. Last year—and every time—that such an illness had struck it had lasted at least a month to forty days. By the grace of God and the saint's powers, on Thursday the twenty-ninth of the month [November 12] it began to abate. Once more I was delivered of the sickness. On Saturday the eighth of Rabi' I [November 20], I completed the versification of the treatise. I had composed, on the average, fifty-two lines per day.

192. Babur's metrical translation of Khwaja Ubaydullah's treatise, the *Walidiyya* (Parental), is preserved in the Rampur copy of Babur's divan and was published by E. Denison Ross, ed., "A Collection of Poems by the Emperor Babur," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 6 (1910): extra no., 1–13.

193. The reference is to the renowned *Qasidat al-burda* (Poem of the Cloak) by Sharafuddin Muhammad al-Busiri (1213–ca. 1295).

194. The meter *Ramal musaddas makhbun* is - ⏑ - - | ⏑ ⏑ - - | ⏑ ⏑ -. When the final foot is abtar, it is one long syllable instead of two shorts and a long.

On Wednesday the twenty-eighth [November 11] orders were sent to the soldiers all around that since we would soon, God willing, be mounting a campaign, they should gather as quickly as possible with their arms. On Sunday the ninth of Rabi' I [November 21], Beg Muhammad Ta'liqchi came. He had gone at the end of Muharram last year to take Humayun a robe of honor and a horse.

195. *Subhatu'l-abrar* (Rosary of the Pious), one of the seven

## ❋ Messengers from Humayun

On Monday the tenth, Begginä Ways Laghari and one of Humayun's servants named Buyan Shaykh came from Humayun. Begginä came to give the glad tidings of the birth of Humayun's son, who had been named al-Aman. For the birth, Shaykh Abu'l-Wajd had invented the chronogram [347] *Shah-i-sa'adatmand.*[196]

Buyan Shaykh had set out from Kabul long after Begginä. He had parted from Humayun on Friday the ninth of Safar [October 23] at a place called Dushanbe on the banks of the Kishm, and on Monday the tenth of Rabi' 1 [November 22] arrived in Agra. He certainly made good time. (Once before this same Buyan Shaykh had gone from Zafar Fort to Kandahar in eleven days.) Buyan Shaykh brought the news of the Prince of Persia's advance and the defeat of the Uzbeks, details of which follow.

mathnawis that make up Jami's septet, *Haft awrang* (Seven Thrones). (See part 2, notes 132 and 147.)

196. *Shah-i-sa'adatmand,* numerically 934, or 1527–28, means "felicitous king."

## ❋ Report of the Qizilbash–Uzbek Battle at Jam[197]

197. Babur's "Jam" is Turbat-i-Jam.

Prince Tahmasp advanced rapidly from Persia with forty thousand men and matchlocks and artillery caissons arrayed in the Anatolian manner. In Bistam and Damghan he seized Rinish the Uzbek, put him and his men to death, and kept on proceeding rapidly. Köpäk Bey's son, Qambar-Ali, was also defeated by the Qïzïlbash, and returned to Ubayd Khan with only a few men. Ubayd Khan, seeing no use in staying in the vicinity of Herat, sent off urgent messages to all the khans and princes in Balkh, Hissar, Samarkand, and Tashkent and went himself to Merv. They quickly gathered. From Tashkent, Sevinchäk Khan's next to eldest son, Baraq Sultan; from Samarkand and Mian-Kal, Köchüm Khan, Abu-Sa'id Sultan, Pulad Sultan, [347b] and Jani Beg Sultan and his sons; from Hissar, Hamza Sultan's and Mahdi Sultan's sons; from Balkh, Kitin Qara Sultan—all these princes went posthaste and joined Ubayd Khan in Merv. They were 105,000 strong. A spy reported that Prince Tahmasp, thinking that Ubayd Khan was sitting in the vicinity of Herat with only a few soldiers, had set out with forty thousand men. However, when he received word of the gathering in Merv, he had entrenched himself in Radkan Meadow. The Uzbeks learned of this and, taking no notice of their foe, decided in council as follows: "Let all of us khans and sultans sit in Mashhad. We will assign twenty thousand men to a few princes to encircle the area of the Qïzïlbash's camp and not allow them to stick their heads out. When the sun enters Scorpio we will order the rainmakers to cause rain, and thus reducing them to inability, we will take them!" So saying, they marched out of Merv.

The Prince of Persia left Mashhad and confronted the Uzbeks at Jam and Kharjerd, whereupon defeat was dealt to the Uzbeks. Many Uzbek princes were seized and put to death. In one letter it was written that [348] it had not been learned for certain whether any Uzbek prince other than Köchüm Khan had gotten out alive, for no one who had been with the army had come in as yet. The Uzbek princes in Hissar abandoned the fortress and fled. Ibrahim Jani's son Chalma, whose name was originally Isma'il, was said to have been in the Hissar fortress.

## A Letter to Humayun

I wrote letters to Humayun and Kamran. On Friday the fourteenth [November 27], when the letters and documents were ready, they were handed posthaste to Buyan Shaykh, and he was given leave to depart. On Saturday the fifteenth he was escorted out of Agra.

This is a copy of the letter to Humayun:

> To Humayun. Thinking of you with much longing, I greet you. My words are these: On Monday the tenth of Rabi' 1 [November 23], Begginä and Buyan Shaykh came. From your letters and reports we have become acquainted with the situation on both sides of the Hindu Kush.
>
> I give thanks for your son, a son to you and a beloved one to me.
>
> May God ever grant me and you such joy. Amen, O Lord of the Universe. You have named him "al-Aman." May God bless him. However, although you yourself may write it thus, you have not considered the fact that frequently the common people will say either "Alaman" or "Ilaman." [348b] Moreover, names with "al-" are rare. Nonetheless, may God bless and keep both him and his name. For my sake and yours, may He keep al-Aman in fortune and happiness for many years, for many decades. God has ordered our affairs through his great grace and generosity. Such an event has not happened in how many decades?
>
> Item: On Tuesday the eleventh rumors were heard to the effect that the people of Balkh had summoned Qurban and let him in.[198]
>
> Item: Kamran and the Kabul begs were ordered to go join you, and you all will proceed to Hissar or Samarkand or whichever direction is in our best interests. Through God's grace you will defeat your enemies, take their territory, and make your friends happy by overthrowing the foe. God willing, this is your time to risk your life and wield your sword. Do not fail to make the most of an opportunity that presents itself.

198. Qurban is one of Babur's subjects (see below, fol. 352b).



Two Attendants, Iran or Central Asia, late 15th–early 16th century. Album page; opaque watercolor and gold on silk. Topkapi Palace Library, Istanbul, H.2160, fol. 54b. The attendant on the right is wearing the type of cap Humayun wore.

Indolence and luxury do not suit kingship.

Conquest tolerates not inaction; the world is his who hastens most. When one is master one may rest from everything—except being king.[199]

If, by God's grace and favor, Balkh and Hissar are won and subdued, let one of your men stay in Hissar and one of Kamran's in Balkh. If, by God's grace and favor, Samarkand is also subdued, you stay there yourself and, God willing, I will make Hissar royal demesne. [349] If Kamran thinks Balkh is small, write me. God willing, I will make up the deficiency to him out of those other territories.

Item: You know that this rule has always been observed: six parts to you and five to Kamran. Always observe this rule yourself and do not break it.

Item: Conduct yourself well with your younger brother. Elder brothers need to have restraint. It is my hope that you will get along well with him, for he has grown up to be a religiously observant and fine young man. Let him also display no deficiency in homage and respect for you.

Item: I have a few complaints of you. For two or three years now none of your men has come. The man I sent returned exactly a year later. Is this proper?

Item: In your letters you keep talking about being alone. Solitude is a flaw in kingship, as has been said, "If you are fettered, resign yourself; but if you are a lone rider, your reins are free."[200] There is no bondage like the bondage of kingship. In kingship it is improper to seek solitude.

Item: As I asked, you have written your letters, but you didn't read them over, for if you had had a mind to read them, you would have found that you could not. [349b] After reading them you certainly would have changed them. Although your writing can be read with difficulty, it is excessively obscure. Who has ever heard of prose designed to be an enigma? Your spelling is not bad, although it is not entirely correct either.

199. Annette Susannah Beveridge (*Babur-nama in English,* 625, n.7) identifies these lines as being from Nizami, *Khusraw u Shirin.* I have not been able to locate them, however, in the printed edition.

200. Quoted from Sa'di, *Bustan,* in *Kulliyyat,* 211.

You wrote *iltifat* with the wrong *t*; you wrote *qulinj* with a *y*.[201] Your handwriting can be made out somehow or other, but with all these obscure words of yours the meaning is not entirely clear. Probably your laziness in writing letters is due to the fact that you try to make it too fancy. From now on write with uncomplicated, clear, and plain words. This will cause less difficulty both for you and for your reader.

Item: You are going on a great mission. Consult the experienced begs for strategy and tactics and do what they say. If you want to make me happy, stop sitting by yourself and avoiding people. Don't leave the decision to your brother and your begs, but invite them in twice a day, consult with them on whatever has come up, and make your decisions with the agreement of these supporters of yours.

Item: Khwaja Kalan learned to be free and easy with me through constant contact. [350] So should you mingle with others as I did with him. If, through God's grace, the situation over there should demand less attention and you do not need Kamran, station trustworthy men in Balkh and let him come to me.

Item: There were such conquests and victories while we were in Kabul that I consider Kabul my lucky piece and have made it royal demesne. Let none of you covet it.

Item: Conduct yourself well. Make friends with Sultan Ways. Bring him in and act upon his opinion, for he is an experienced man. Keep the army disciplined and in training. Buyan Shaykh has had verbal instructions from me that he will communicate to you. With longing, peace. Written on Wednesday the thirteenth of Rabi' 1 [November 26].

In my own hand I wrote Kamran and Khwaja Kalan letters of similar content and sent them off.

## Askari Is Sent to the East

On Wednesday the nineteenth [December 2], I summoned the mirzas, sultans, and Turk and India officers for consultation, during which the following was discussed. Since this year it was absolutely necessary for the army to advance in every direction, Askari was to continue to Purab. The sultans and officers who were on the other side of the Ganges with their armies would join him and then set out in whatever direction seemed in our best interests. These instructions were written, [350b] and Ghiyasuddin Qorchï was dispatched by post horse on Sunday the twenty-second of the month [December

201. Writers of Persian and Chaghatay have spelling difficulties all too familiar to writers of English. Arabic words in Persian are spelled as they are in Arabic, although many discrete consonants in Arabic are pronounced alike in Persian. There are, for example, two *t*'s, three *s*'s, and four *z*'s.

*Iltifat* means attention. *Qulinj* means cholic.

5] to tell the Purab officers under the leadership of Sultan-Junayd Barlas to meet me within sixteen days. Oral instructions were given to the effect that the implements of war were to be culverins, caissons, and matchlocks. As soon as they were ready Askari was sent forward ahead of us. All the princes and officers on the other side of the Ganges were ordered to assemble with him and proceed under God's protection in whichever direction was thought in our best interests. "Consult our supporters there," I said. "If I am needed for any reason, I will ride straight there, God willing, as soon as the man who has gone for a meeting comes back. If the Bengali is in harmony with us and sincere in his support, and if there is nothing there that requires my presence, write and let me know. I'm not going to stand around idly watching: I'll go on a campaign in another direction. You take Askari, proceed after consultation with our supporters, and take care of affairs there with God's favor."

On Saturday the twenty-ninth of Rabi' I [December 12], Askari was clad in a regal robe of honor with a girth dagger and rewarded with a banner, yak-tail standard, drums, a set of fine horses, ten elephants, a string of camels, a string of mules, [351] and regal paraphernalia. An order was given that he should sit at court. Buttoned robes were awarded to his mulla and two atäkäs, and three sets of tunics to his other liege men.

On Sunday the last day of the month I went to Sultan-Muhammad Bakhshi's house. A *payandaz*[202] was spread and gifts were brought in. He presented goods and cash worth more than two lacs. After the meal and presentation of gifts, we went to another room and had ma'jun. I left there at the third watch, crossed the river, and came to my private quarters.

202. *Payandaz:* a carpet or cloth spread before a ruler for the presentation of gifts.

## ❋ Post System Established between Agra and Kabul

On Thursday the fourth of Rabi' II [December 17], it was decided that Chaqmaq Beg with Shahi Tamghachï as recorder should measure by cord the distance from Agra to Kabul. Every nine kos they were to raise a tower twelve yards high with a chardara on top. Every eighteen kos six post horses were to be kept, and maintenance for the post riders, grooms, and feed for the horses were to be assigned. It was ordered that if the place where the post horses were kept was a royal demesne, the above-mentioned items were to be taken care of therefrom. Otherwise, they were to make it the responsibility of the beg on whose estate it was. Chaqmaq and Shahi left Agra that same day. The kos assigned was made to conform to the mile as mentioned in the *Mubin:*[203] [351b]

203. See note 5 above.

Four thousand paces is one mile, and this the Indians call a kos. A cubit-and-a-half is this pace, they say; and every cubit is six spans. Every span is four fingers, and every finger is six barleycorns in width.

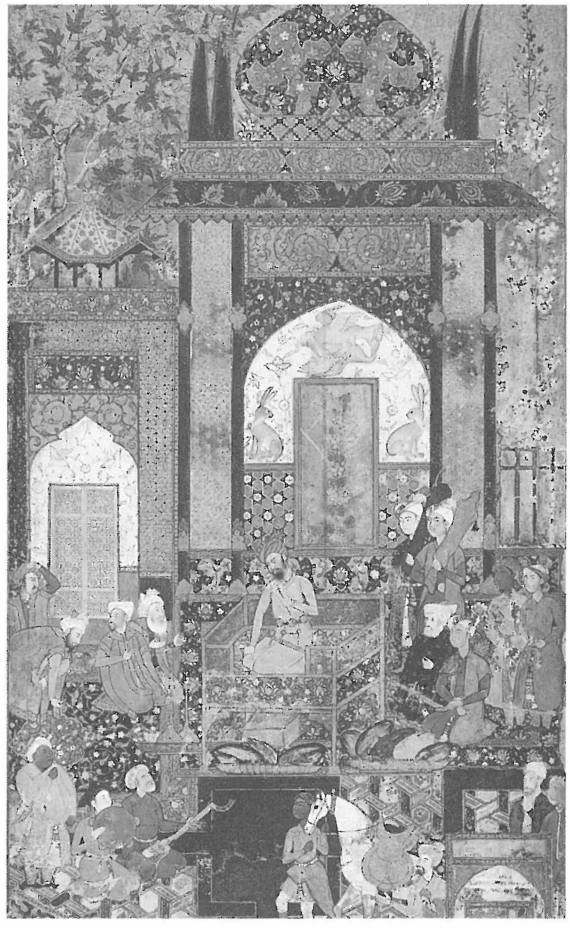
The measuring cord was to consist of forty cubits of the one-and-a-half-cubit measure mentioned above, which is nine spans, and a hundred of these cords made a mile.

## A Celebration Is Held

On Saturday the sixth of the month [December 19] a feast was held, attended by the Qïzïlbash, Uzbek, and Hindu ambassadors. The Qïzïlbash ambassadors were seated under a canopy erected seventy or eighty yards to my right. Of the begs, Yunus Ali was ordered to sit with the Qïzïlbash. On my left, with the same arrangement, were the Uzbek ambassadors, and Abdullah was ordered to sit with them. I sat on the north side of the newly built octagonal hall hung with grass screens.[204] Five or six yards to my right sat Tokhta Buqa Sultan, Askari, His Eminence Khwaja Ubaydullah's descendants Khwaja Abdul-Shahid, Khwaja Kalan, and Khwaja Chishti; Khalifa; and the khwajas and their retinue, reciters, and mullas who had come from Samarkand. Five or six [352] yards to my left sat Muhammad-Zaman Mirza, Tang-Atmïsh Sultan, Sayyid Rafi', Sayyid Rumi, Shaykh Abu'l-Fath, Shaykh Jamali, Shaykh Shihabuddin Arab, and Sayyid Dakkani. Before the meal, all the princes, khans, grandees, and amirs brought in their gifts of gold, silver, and copper coins, textiles, and other goods. I ordered a mat spread in front of me, onto which the gold and silver coins were poured, while the textiles, brocades, and purses were piled up next to them. A little before the meal, while the presentations were being brought in, enraged camels and elephants were made to fight on an island opposite. A few rams were also, after which the wrestlers began to wrestle. After a large meal was served, Khwaja Abdul-Shahid and Khwaja Kalan were clad in sable jackets faced in light blue, along with robes of honor suitable to their station. Those who had come under Mulla Farrukh and Hafiz were clad in robes. Köchüm Khan's[205] ambassador and Hasan Chäläbi's younger brother were awarded sable jackets with silk buttons and robes of honor suitable to their rank. The ambassadors of Abu-Sa'id Sultan, Mihrban Khanïm and her son Pulad Sultan, and Shah Hasan's ambassador were given buttoned mantles and silk tunics. [352b] The two khwajas and the two great ambassadors, who were Köchüm Khan's liege man and Hasan Chäläbi's younger brother, were awarded gold measured by the silverstone and silver measured by

204. The screens spoken of are the loosely woven grass screens that are wet and hung up during the hot weather. Breezes blowing through the wet grass have a cooling effect and act as natural air-conditioning.

205. "Köchüm Khan" is Köchkünjü, successor to Muhammad Shaybani Khan. He ruled the Uzbeks from Samarkand from 916 (1510) until 937 (1531), when he was succeeded by his son, Muzaffaruddin Abusa'id.



*Babur Receives a Courtier,* attributed to Farrukh Beg. From a *Baburnama* of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, Lahore, dated 1589. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.230

the goldstone. (The goldstone is five hundred mithcals, which is a Kabul seer; the silverstone is 250 mithcals, or half a Kabul seer.) Khwaja Mir Sultan and his sons, Hafiz Tashkandi, Mulla Farrukh and his attendants, Mulla Zaman Khwaja, and other emissaries were awarded gold and silver by the quiverful. Yadgar Nasir was awarded a girth dagger. Mir-Muhammad Jalaban had earned a reward for making a fine bridge across the Ganges. He and the matchlockmen Pahlavan Hajji Muhammad, Pahlavan Bahlul, and Wali Parschï[206] were each awarded a dagger, as was Master Ali-Qulï's son. Sayyid Daud Garmseri was given gold and silver coins. My daughter Ma'suma's and my son Hindal's liege men were awarded buttoned mantles and silk robes of honor. Moreover, those who had come from Andizhan, those who had abandoned their homelands and followed us in exile, and those who had come from Sokh and Uchyar were awarded mantles, silk robes, gold and silver coins, textiles, and other goods. Qurban and his Shaykhi liege men and the citizens of Kahmard [353] were also similarly rewarded.

206. "Cheetah keeper."

After the food was served I ordered the Hindustani acrobats to come and do tricks, which they did. Acrobats in Hindustan perform feats not seen in our country. One of them is to put seven rings, one on their foreheads, two around their knees, and the remaining four on two fingers and two toes, and to spin them around without cease. Another is to stand on one hand, which is spread on the ground like a peacock's foot, and then spin three rings on the other hand and two feet. Acrobats in our country tie two poles to their feet and walk on them as stilts, but those of Hindustan use only one pole and walk on it without even tying it. In another performance, two acrobats will hold onto each other, in our country cutting two somersaults but in Hindustan somersaulting three or four times. In yet another stunt, one acrobat puts the end of

a pole six or seven yards long at his waist and stands holding the pole straight up; then a second acrobat climbs up the pole [353b] and performs tricks on top of it. Sometimes a little acrobat climbs on the head of a bigger one and stands straight; while the bottom person runs back and forth doing tricks, the little one on the other one's head stands ramrod straight without teetering and also performs tricks. Many dancing girls also came in and danced.

At around the evening prayer time many gold, silver, and copper coins were scattered, creating a huge ruckus and free-for-all. Between the evening and bedtime prayer times, five or six specially favored people were summoned to me. We sat past the first watch. The next morning at the second watch we got in a boat and went to the Hasht Bihisht garden.

On Monday, Askari, who was ready to set out on his campaign, came to me to take his leave while I was in the bath and then marched off to the east.

## ❋ Visit to Dholpur

On Tuesday, I went to see the pool, well, and buildings I had ordered in Dholpur. I rode out of the garden at the first ghari of the first watch. It was the fifth ghari of the first watch of the night when we reached the Dholpur garden.

On Thursday the eleventh of the month [December 24] the stone well, the twenty-six stone waterspouts, the stone columns, and the water channels carved out of solid rock were ready, and at the third watch of this day water began to be drawn from the well. [354] The stonemasons, carpenters, and all the laborers working in Dholpur were rewarded like the masters and laborers in Agra. As a precaution against having any bad odor created from the well water, it was ordered that the waterwheels should be run and water drawn continuously for fifteen days and nights.

On Friday we rode out of Dholpur with one ghari left of the first watch. The sun had scarcely set when we crossed the river.

## ❋ An Eyewitness Account of the Qizilbash-Uzbek Battle at Jam

On Tuesday the sixteenth [December 29], Dev Sultan's liege man, who had been at the battle between the Qïzïlbash and the Uzbeks, came. He reported that the battle between the Turcomans and the Uzbeks took place in the vicinity of Jam and Kharjerd on Ashura[207] and was fought from sunup till noon. He said that the Uzbeks were three hundred thousand strong and the Turcomans forty to fifty thousand. He had estimated the mass at a hundred thousand, but the Uzbeks said their men were 105,000. The Qïzïlbash had made a defen-

207. The tenth of Muharram. See note 177 above.

sive array of caissons, mortars, and matchlockmen in the Anatolian fashion and fought thus. They had two thousand caissons and six thousand matchlockmen. Prince Tahmasp and Joha Sultan[208] stood within the caissons with twenty thousand seasoned warriors. Other officers were arrayed outside the caissons in the right and left wings. [354b] When the Uzbeks arrived, they crushed the men outside, unhorsed them continually, and caused them to fall back. As they wheeled backward, the Uzbeks seized their camels and baggage as booty. Finally those inside the caissons opened the chains and poured out. Here there took place a pitched battle. Thrice the Uzbeks charged and forced them to retreat, but it was God's will that the Uzbeks be defeated. Nine princes under the leadership of Köchüm Khan, Ubayd Khan, and Abu-Sa'id Sultan were taken. Of these only Abu-Sa'id Sultan was left alive; the other eight princes were put to death.[209] Ubayd Khan's head was not found, although his body was. Fifty thousand Uzbeks and twenty thousand Turcomans were killed.

That same day Ghiyasuddin Qorchï, who had gone on a mission to Jaunpur to rendezvous in sixteen days,[210] came. Sultan-Junayd had led his men to Kharid, and for that reason he was unable to make the rendezvous. Sultan-Junayd had sent word orally, saying, "Thank God, no action has been seen in these parts that would occasion the emperor's setting out. If the prince comes, and if the sultans, khans, and amirs in these parts are ordered to proceed to meet the prince, it is hoped that everything will turn out to be easy." [355] Although such a response had come from Sultan-Junayd, since people were saying that Mulla Muhammad Muzahhib, who had been sent as an envoy to Bengal after the raid on Sanga the Infidel, would come today or tomorrow, we waited for news from him.

On Friday the nineteenth [January 1, 1529], I had some ma'jun and was sitting in my private quarters with a select few that evening, that is, the eve of Saturday, when Mulla Muhammad Muzahhib came and paid homage. We asked him about things one by one in those parts and found out that the Bengalis were in obeisance and agreement.

On Sunday [January 3] we summoned the Turk and India officers for consultation. The following items were discussed. The Bengali had sent an ambassador and was in obeisance and agreement with us. To go to Bengal would be improper, but if we did not, there was no other place in that vicinity that had a treasury from which the army could be provisioned. Some places to the west, however, were nearby and had treasuries.

> Possessions plenty, the people infidels, the road short. If the east is far away, this is near.

208. Joha Sultan Täkälü was a Safavid general. For a Safavid account of the battle of Kharjerd, see Iskandar Beg Turkman, *Tarikh-i alam-ara-yi 'Abbasi* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1350), 1:54–57. This was the Uzbeks' third attack on Khurasan.

209. Köchkünjü and Ubayd Khan both survived the battle. Ubayd Khan died in Bukhara in 946 (1539), "yearning for Herat and longing to stroll along the banks of the Pul-i Malan" (Iskandar Beg, *Alam-ara*, 1:66).

210. See above, folio 350b.

It was finally decided that we would go west. Since the way was short, we halted a few days to set our minds at ease concerning the east, to which it was still possible to direct ourselves. [355b] Ghiyasuddin Qorchï set out once again, to rendezvous within twenty days, to carry urgent messages to the officers for all sultans, khans, and amirs who were on the other side of the Ganges to assemble with Askari and proceed against the rebels. He was to deliver these messages and come back for the rendezvous, bringing whatever information he learned while there.

## ❋ An Expedition Is Appointed against the Baluch

During these same days a letter came from Muhammadi Kükäldash saying that the Baluch had once more encroached and raided several places. To take care of this, Chïn Temür Sultan was appointed, and the begs on the other side of Sirhind and Samana, like Adil Sultan, Sultan-Muhammad Dulday, Khusraw Kükäldash, Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang, Abdul-Aziz Mirakhur, Sayyid Ali, Wali Qïzïl, Qaracha, Halahil, Ashiq Bökäül, Shaykh Ali Kätä, Gajur Khan, and Hasan-Ali of Swat were ordered to assemble around Chïn Temür Sultan and proceed against the Baluch with enough armaments for six months. They were to present themselves for Sultan's muster and not disobey his command in any way. Abdul-Ghaffar Tovachï was assigned to deliver this order. It was also decided that first he should deliver the orders to Chïn Temür Sultan. [356] Thereafter he would cross the river and show the decree to the above-mentioned begs and assemble the whole army wherever Chïn Temür Sultan said. Abdul-Ghaffar himself was also to remain with this army and report anyone who exhibited sluggishness or indifference. Anyone who failed thus would be stripped of his rank and deprived of his lands and estates. Handing these decrees over and giving Abdul-Ghaffar verbal instructions, we gave him permission to leave.

On the eve of Sunday the twenty-eighth [January 8] we crossed the Jumna at the sixth ghari of the third watch, headed for the Bagh-i-Nilufar[211] in Dholpur. It was nearly the third watch when we arrived at the garden. Places were assigned on all sides of the garden for the begs and ichkis to build pavilions and gardens themselves.

211. "Water Lily Garden."

On Thursday the third of Jumada I [January 14] a location for a bath-house was chosen southeast of the garden, and the ground for the bath was made ready. I ordered that after raising the plinth for the bath in the place prepared they were to lay out the bath. In one of the rooms of the bath I ordered a ten-by-ten pool. This same day Khalifa sent Qazi Jia and Nar Singh

Deo's petitions from Agra. [356b] Iskandar's son Mahmud was said to have taken Bihar. As soon as I received this news I determined to ride out the next morning at the sixth ghari from the Nilufar garden, and I reached Agra in the evening. Muhammad-Zaman Mirza was on his way to Dholpur, and I met him along the way. This same day Chïn Temür Sultan was said to be coming to Agra. The next morning, Saturday, I summoned the council begs, and on Thursday the tenth [January 21] a decision was made to ride to the Purab.

On this same Saturday a letter came from Kabul informing me that Humayun had assembled the army on that side, had attached Sultan Ways to himself, and set out against Samarkand with forty to fifty thousand men. Sultan Ways's younger brother Shah-Qulï had gone to Hissar and entered the fort. Tursun Muhammad Sultan had advanced from Termez, taken Kabadian, and was requesting assistance. Humayun had sent Tüläk Kükäldash and Mir Khurd with many men and what Moghuls there were as auxiliaries to Tursun Sultan, while he himself was going to set out after them.

## ❋ Babur Sets Out for the East

On Thursday the tenth of Jumada I [January 21], after the third ghari I marched out on an expedition to the Purab, crossed the Jumna by boat upstream from Jalisar village,[212] [357] and came to the Bagh-i-Zarafshan.[213] It was ordered that the yak-tail standard, drums, and royal stable, as well as all the soldiers, should camp on the other side of the river opposite the garden. People coming for *körünüsh*[214] might cross by boat.

On Saturday, Isma'il Mita, the ambassador of Bengal, brought the Bengali's gifts and rendered homage in the fashion of Hindustan. He approached within a bow shot, made an obeisance, and then withdrew. After being clad in the customary robe of honor, which they call a *sarmuina,* he was brought forward. In our manner he knelt thrice, approached, and submitted Nusrat Shah's petitions. Then, after having the gifts he had brought passed before us, he withdrew.

On Monday, Khwaja Abdul-Haqq came. I crossed the river by boat and went to pay a courtesy call on the khwaja in his tent.

On Tuesday, Hasan Chäläbi came to pay homage. Halt was made at the charbagh for several days to see to the army's equipage.

On Thursday the seventeenth [January 27] we marched after the third ghari. I got into a boat and went. Camp was made at Alwar village, seven kos from Agra.

On Sunday the Uzbek ambassadors were given permission to withdraw.

212. See above, note 165.

213. "Gold-Flecked Garden."

214. *Körünüsh* was a well-established Timurid ritual inherited from Turco-Mongolian custom. Literally meaning interview, the körünüsh was a face-to-face, or eye-to-eye, confrontation with the ruler, involving formal genuflection on the part of the person with less status. Babur uses the word of his formal interview with his uncle on folio 101b (beginning). Under the later Mughals of India the word was domesticated in Persian as *kornish* and was the formal kowtow before the emperor.

Köchüm Khan's ambassador, Amir Mirza, [357b] was awarded a girth dagger, a gold-spun vest, and seventy thousand tankas. Abu-Sa'id Sultan's liege man Mulla Taghayï and the liege men of Mihri Khanïm and her son Pulad Sultan were clad in buttoned mantles and silk robes of honor. These too, in accordance with their rank, were awarded cash. The next morning Khwaja Abdul-Haqq was given permission to stay in Agra, and Khwaja Kalan, Khwaja Yahya's grandson, was given leave to go to Samarkand. These two had come as envoys from the Uzbek khan and princes.

Mirza Tabrizi and Mirza Beg Taghayï were dispatched with ten thousand shahrukhis as congratulatory gifts for Kamran's marriage and the birth of Humayun's son. A tunic and a belt I had worn myself were sent to the two princes. A jewel-studded girth dagger, a jewel-studded inkwell, a mother-of-pearl inlay box, a *nimcha* I myself had worn, a *takband,*[215] and a copy of the individual letters of the Baburi script were delivered to Hindal by Mulla Bihishti. Also, occasional poems written in the Baburi script were sent. Dispatched to Humayun were the translation and poems written after coming to India, and to Hindal and Khwaja Kalan the translation and some poems. By Mirza Beg Taghayï the translation and the poems I had composed since coming to India, as well as letters written in the Baburi script, were sent to Kamran.

215. A *nimcha* is a short upper garment, and a *takband* probably a belt or girdle, perhaps a sword belt.

On Tuesday, after letters were written, permission to leave was granted to the men to go to Kabul. Mulla Qasim, Master Shah-Muhammad the stonemason, Mirak [son of] Mir Ghiyas, [358], Mir Sangtarash, and Shah-Baba Beldar were given instructions concerning the buildings being done in Agra and Dholpur. Leaving these responsibilities to them, I gave them permission to withdraw.

It was nearly the first watch when we rode out of Anwar. After noon, camp was made one kos away from Chandwar in a village called Abapur.

Thursday evening Abdul-Malik Qorchï was attached to Hasan Chäläbi as envoy to the Shah, while Chapuq was attached to the Uzbek ambassadors as envoy to the khans and sultans. Four gharis were left of the night when I marched from Abapur and got into a boat when I reached Chandwar at dawn. I disembarked that night at Rapri and went into camp, which had been pitched at Fatehpur.[216] We stayed there one day. At dawn on Saturday we made our ablutions and rode to perform the dawn prayer in congregation near Rapri. Mawlana Mahmud Farabi was the leader of the prayer. At sunrise we got into a boat downstream from the large rise at Rapri.

216. There are several Fatehpurs today in the vicinity of Rapri. One, Fatehpur Chandarai, is seven-and-one-half miles northeast of Rapri at 26° 59' north, 78° 42' east; another, Fatehpur Karkha, is at 27° 0' north, 78° 36' east.

To write my translation in the *tarkib* script, today I made myself a *mistar* of eleven lines.[217] Also today an admonition appeared in my heart from the words

of the Ahlullah.[218] We had the boats drawn up to shore that evening opposite a district of Rapri called Jhakan and spent the evening on board. [358b] Shortly before morning we had the boats move out from there and performed the dawn prayer along the way. I was on the boat when Sultan-Muhammad Bakhshï brought in Khwaja Kalan's liege man, Shamsuddin Muhammad, who brought letters and reports from which I ascertained the situation in Kabul. Mahdi Khwaja also came while I was on board. Before noon I got out at the garden on the other side of the Jumna at Etawah, performed my ablutions in the river, and discharged the noon prayer. From the place we performed the prayer we went a bit in the direction of Etawah, sat down on a hill overlooking the water in the shade of some trees in a garden, and set the young men to joking. The food Mahdi Khwaja had ordered was served here. That evening we crossed the river and came to the camp late that night. We halted at this site for two or three days to assemble the army and to write letters for Shamsuddin Muhammad to take to those in Kabul.

On Wednesday the last of Jumada 1 [February 9] we marched from Etawah, proceeded seven kos, camped at Muhuri and Adusa, and there wrote the remaining letters to go to Kabul. I wrote to Humayun that if nothing else was pressing he should take care of thieves and bandits lest the peace that was prevailing be broken. I also wrote that [359] I had made the province of Kabul royal demesne, and none of my sons should have any designs on it. I also summoned Hindal. To Kamran, I wrote that he should maintain good relations with Prince Tahmasp, that I was rewarding him with the province of Multan, that Kabul was royal demesne, and that my wives and household should come to me. Since several particulars are made known in the letter I wrote to Khwaja Kalan, it is reproduced here without change.

## Letter to Khwaja Kalan

To Khwaja Kalan, peace. Shamsuddin Muhammad arrived at Etawah. Affairs have been learned. Our concern for going thence is limitless and overwhelming. Affairs in Hindustan are getting into shape. It is hoped from God Almighty that soon, by God's grace, things will be consolidated. Immediately upon completion of this affair, if God brings it to fruition, I will set out. How can one forget the pleasures of that country? Especially when abstaining from drinking, how can one allow oneself to forget a licit pleasure like melons and grapes? Recently a melon was brought, and as I cut it and ate it I was oddly affected. I wept the whole time I was eating it.

217. *Tarkib* script is unidentified; a *mistar* is a writing guide (see Glossary).

218. "Ahlullah" means literally "people of God." He must mean the saints, both living and dead, who were often said to be capable of casting an admonition into one's heart.

The disarray of affairs in Kabul was written about. [359b] In that regard I have thought and finally decided that if there are seven or eight rulers in one province, how can things be in order and under control? For this reason I have summoned my sister and wives to Hindustan. I have made all of Kabul province and appertaining villages royal demesne. To Humayun and Kamran, I have written of this explicitly. Let a trustworthy man carry the letters to the princes. Before now I had written and sent letters to the princes with similar contents. They may already have had word. Now let no excuse or plea remain for the control and flourishing of that province. Hereafter, if the fortress is in disarray or the subjects are not flourishing, or there is no treasury, or the treasury is not full, it will be attributed to the incompetence of your own exalted self. Orders have already gone for some necessary affairs that will be written of. One of these is to let the treasury increase. The things that must be done are as follows. First, repair of the fortress; item: the treasury; item: provisions and lodging for envoys coming and going; item: let money derived from taxes be made licit and spent on the congregational mosque building; item: repair of the caravanserai and bathhouse; item: completion of the half-finished building of baked brick made by Master Hasan Ali in the citadel. [360] After consultation with Master Sultan-Muhammad let it be ordered with an appropriate design. If the former design drawn by Master Hasan Ali is still there, let him finish it that way; if not, let them agree and make a building with a nice design such that its courtyard be as large as that of the divankhana. Item: the Khurd Kabul dam, which is to be built on the Butkhak river where the defile debouches toward Khurd Kabul. Item: repair of the Ghazni dam. Item: the Bagh-i-Khiaban and the Khiaban. The garden has little water; it is necessary to purchase a one-mill stream and route it there. Item: To the southwest of Khwaja Basta, I had routed the Tutumdara stream to atop a hill, made a pool, and planted saplings. Because it was opposite the ford and afforded an excellent view, it was named Nazargah.[219] Here too some nice saplings should be planted. It is necessary to make geometrical grass plots and plant some flowers with nice colors and scents and greenery around the edges of the grass. Item: Sayyid Qasim has been assigned as auxiliary. Item: do not neglect Master Muhammad-Amin Jebächi and the matchlockmen. Item: as soon as this letter arrives, send out my sister and wives right away and accompany them as far as Nilab. [360b] It is absolutely imperative that, however much they may tarry, as soon as this letter arrives they set out within the week because the soldiers who have gone out from Hindustan

219. "View Place."

will be experiencing hardship in a tight spot, and the country will suffer. Item: it was written in the letter sent to Abdullah that my desire for success in the "valley of temperance" was great. This quatrain was somewhat dissuasive:

I am distraught to have given up wine. / I do not know what to do, and I am perplexed. / Everybody regrets drinking and then takes the oath, / But I have taken the oath and now regret it.

An anecdote about Banna'i comes to mind.[220] One day, in the presence of Ali-Sher, Banna'i made a joke. Ali-Sher Beg, who was wearing a mantle with buttons, said, "You have made a nice joke. I would give you my mantle, but the buttons prevent me from doing so." Banna'i retorted, "How are the buttons preventing you? It's the loops that prevent it."[221] And, of course, the guarantee of the veracity of this story is the responsibility of the one who told it. Forgive me, but that is how the joke goes. Please don't be offended. Moreover, that quatrain was composed last year. Actually two years ago the craving for a wine party was so overwhelming that many times out of longing for wine I was on the verge of weeping. This year, praise God, that desire has completely left my mind—it must be thanks to the blessing of versifying the translation of the *Walidiyya.*[222] [361] You too take the oath of temperance. Parties and wine are pleasant with comrades and drinking partners.

With whom do you hold parties? With whom do you drink wine?

But if your drinking partners are Sher Ahmad and Haydar-Qulï, such an oath of temperance should not be too difficult. With best wishes, peace. Written on Thursday, the first of Jumada II [February 10].

While writing these words of advice I was much affected. The letters were handed to Shamsuddin Muhammad, who was also given verbal instructions, and he was given leave to depart on Thursday evening.

On Friday we went seven kos and camped at Jomandna. Kitin Qara Sultan's liege man arrived, whom Kitin Qara Sultan had sent to his liege man named Kamaluddin Qanaq, who had come as envoy. Kitin Qara Sultan had written to Qanaq complaining of the border begs' conduct and behavior and also complaining of outlaws and brigands. Qanaq had then brought the envoy here. Qanaq was given permission to withdraw, and orders were given to the

220. Kamaluddin Ali Banna'i (1453–1512). See folio 179b above.

221. The word for loop (*madagi*) is literally "female," the connotation that is certainly intended.

222. See note 192 above.

border begs to control the outlaws and brigands and to conduct themselves well. The orders were turned over to the man who had come from Kitin Qara Sultan, and he was given permission to leave this campsite. A man called Shah-Qulï had come from Hasan Chäläbi and reported on the details of the battle. [361b] A letter to be delivered by this Shah-Qulï was written to the Shah excusing the late arrival of Hasan Chäläbi, and on Friday the second [February 11] he was given leave to withdraw.

On Saturday we proceeded eight kos and stopped in Kakora and Chachauli in the Kalpi district.

On Sunday the fourth [February 13] we went nine kos, and I shaved my head in a place called Derapur in Kalpi district. I had not had my head shaved for two months. I bathed in the Sengar River.

On Monday we went fourteen kos and stopped in Chaparghatta in the Kalpi district. The next morning, Tuesday the seventh [February 16], Qaracha's Hindustani servant brought me a letter written to Qaracha by Mahïm saying that she was coming. In a memorandum I might have written in my own hand she had summoned men from Lahore, Bhera, and those areas as escorts. She had written the letter from Kabul on the seventh of Jumada 1 [January 17].

On Wednesday we went seven kos and stopped in the Adampur district. On this day I mounted before dawn, spent the noon hour by myself, and proceeded as far as the Jumna. I proceeded down the bank of the Jumna. When I reached opposite Adampur, I had a canopy set up on an island near the campsite and had some ma'jun. [362] This same day we had Sadiq and Kulal wrestle. Kulal had come with great pretensions but in Agra had been given a respite for twenty days so as to shake off the dust of the road. Forty or fifty days had passed since then, so today was the day for the match. Sadiq wrestled well and easily threw his contender, for which he was rewarded with ten thousand tankas, a horse and saddle, a suit of clothes, and a buttoned mantle. Although Kulal had been thrown, lest he be discouraged he too was rewarded, with a suit of clothes and three thousand tankas. An order was given for the caissons and mortars to be taken off the boats. We halted for three or four days while that was being done, the road was made ready, and the emplacements were prepared.

On Monday the twelfth [February 21] we went twelve kos and stopped at Kora. I traveled by litter. From Kora we went twelve more kos and camped in Kurriah in the Kara district. From Kurriah we proceeded eight kos and stopped in Fatehpur Haswa, whence we proceeded eight more kos and stopped in Serai-Munda. While we were camped, Sultan Jalaluddin came late that night and rendered homage. He brought his two small sons with him. The next

morning, Saturday the seventeenth [February 26], we went eight kos and stopped on the banks of the Ganges at Dugdugi in the Kara district.

On Sunday, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, [362b] Qasim Husayn Sultan, Beykhub Sultan, and Turdïka came to the camp.

On Monday, Askari came and paid homage. They had all approached from the eastern side of the Ganges. It was ordered that Askari and the army should proceed on that side of the river. Wherever we camped, they should camp opposite.

While we were in those parts, news came continually from ahead that a hundred thousand Afghans had joined "Sultan Mahmud."[223] He had sent Shaykh Bayazid and Biban with a large army in the direction of Sarwar while he himself and Fath Khan Sarwani were proceeding down the riverbank to Chunar. Sher Khan Sur, whom I had patronized the year before and given large estates and stationed in this area, had joined the Afghans. They had had Sher Khan and a few other amirs cross the river. Sultan Jalaluddin's man was unable to hold Benares and fled. Their excuse was that they had left soldiers in the Benares fort and then come up the river to fight. We marched six kos from Dugdugi and stopped at Kusar, three or four kos from Kara. I went by boat. A halt was made for two or three days at the camp that we might be guests of Sultan Jalaluddin. [363]

223. See folio 363b.

On Friday we arrived in Sultan Jalaluddin's quarters in the Kara fortress. As host he served some food. After the meal he and his sons were clad in tunics and jerkins. In accordance with Sultan Jalaluddin's wish his elder son was given the title Sultan Mahmud. Riding out of Kara we went a kos and stopped on the bank of the Ganges. Shahrak Beg, who had come from Mahïm to the site at which we first came to the Ganges, was this day given leave to depart with letters we had written. Khwaja Yahya's grandson Khwaja Kalan had requested me to send him my journal of events, so I sent with Shahrak the copy I had had made.

The next morning, Saturday, we marched four kos and stopped. I went by boat. Since the site at which we were to stop was nearby, we reached it early. We sat in the boat for a long time and had ma'jun. Khwaja Abdul-Shahid was in Nur Beg's quarters, and we invited him. We also had Mulla Mahmud summoned and brought from Mulla Ali Khan's quarters. We sat for a while and then crossed by boat to the other side and had the wrestlers wrestle. Dost Yasin Hiz was ordered to have a match, not with Pahlawan Sadiq but with the others. [363b] This was against custom, which was to wrestle with the strongest first. He wrestled well with eight men.

At noon Sultan-Muhammad Bakhshï came to that side by boat bringing news of the break-up of the army of Sultan Iskandar's son Mahmud Khan,

whom the rebels styled "Sultan Mahmud." In the afternoon the spy who had gone from here brought the same news, and late that afternoon a report from Taj Khan Sarangkhani confirmed his account. Sultan-Muhammad came and reported the situation: The rebels had laid siege to Chunar and had provoked a little fighting. However, as soon as they received confirmed word of our approach they withdrew in a disorderly fashion. The Afghans who had crossed to Benares retreated in confusion and, while crossing the river, two boats had sunk and a few men were drowned.

The next morning we went six kos and stopped at Serauli in the Payag[224] district.[225]

That morning I went by boat. Esän Temür Sultan and Tokhta Buqa Sultan had dismounted and were waiting halfway there to perform a körünüsh. I invited the princes onto my boat. Tokhta Buqa Sultan worked the rain stone. A violent wind arose and it began to rain. It was terrible! The weather was so bad that some of us had ma'jun even though we had had some the day before. We arrived at the camp, and stayed there the next morning. Opposite the campsite there was a large island covered with greenery. We crossed over to it by boat and toured it on horseback. At the first watch we got back on the boat.

While there, we rode, oblivious, over a cracked precipice at the water's edge. As soon as I came out onto the cliff the fault cracked open and the cliff began to fall. Immediately I jumped from my horse and threw myself to safety. My horse did not fall either, but if I had stayed on, it was very likely that both of us would have.

The same day, I swam across the Ganges. I counted the strokes it took me to cross: thirty-three. Then, without pausing for breath I crossed back to the other side. I had swum all the rivers—only the Ganges had remained.

When we reached the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, I had the boat hauled toward Payag, reaching camp at the fourth ghari of the first watch.

On Wednesday the army began crossing the Jumna at the second watch. There were 420 boats.

On Friday the first of Rajab [March 11], I crossed the river. On Monday the fourth [March 14] we marched from the banks of the Jumna headed for Bihar. After going five kos we stopped in Lawayin.[226] I kept right on going by boat. Until this day the soldiers were crossing the river. It was ordered that the artillery caissons that had been brought by boat from Adampur should be reloaded at Payag and transported. When we stopped, we had the wrestlers wrestle. Dost Yasin Hiz was set against Skipper Pahlawan Lahori. Dost strug-

224. Payag, or Prayag, is the modern Allahabad at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.

225. The following passage, down to "and prepare the road" (fol. 363b), is omitted from the Turkish text. Apparently several folios were lost before the Hyderabad text was copied.

226. The name Lawayin is uncertain and unidentified.

gled a lot and threw his opponent only with great difficulty. Both were rewarded with suits of clothing.

Before us lay a muddy morass called the Tons River. We halted there for two days in order to find a ford and prepare the road. A crossing for the horses and camels was found farther upstream. Although it seemed that the loaded carts could not be taken that way because the rocks in the ford were uneven, it was ordered that they be taken across right there anyway. [364]

On Thursday we marched. I went by boat to the juncture with the Tons. I got out of the boat and walked up the Tons, returning in the late afternoon to the camp, which had been pitched on the other side of the river. We achieved six kos that day. The next day we remained at the campsite. On Saturday we marched twelve kos to Nilabar Gang, and from there proceeded six kos and stopped at a place overlooking a village. From there we went seven kos and came to Nanupur. Taj Khan and his sons came from Chunar to pay homage. Around that time a report arrived from Sultan-Muhammad Bakhshï confirming that the women and retinue were on their way from Kabul. On Wednesday we marched, toured the Chunar fort, and proceeded one kos before stopping.

While marching from Payag, I got an abscess on my body. An Anatolian gave me the treatment that is now common in Anatolia. He boiled pepper in an earthenware pot, and I held the abscess over the hot steam. When the steam died down, I bathed the abscess in the hot water for two hours. Someone said that lions and rhinoceroses had been seen on the island next to the camp. [364b] The next morning we formed a hunting circle around the island. Elephants were also brought in. Neither lion nor rhinoceros emerged, however. From the tip of the circle a wild ox came out. A fierce wind stirred up a lot of dust that gave us much difficulty. I returned to the boat and went to camp.

Camp had been made two kos above Benares. Many elephants are said to be in the jungles in the vicinity of Chunar. I went out of camp with an idea of hunting them. Taj Khan brought the news that Mahmud Khan was at the Son River. The begs were summoned, and the advisability of attacking the enemy was discussed. Finally it was decided that we would proceed as far as possible without delay. We marched out nine kos and stopped at the Ballooa ford. From that camp Tahir was sent to Agra on the eve of Monday the eighteenth [March 28]. He took a chit for money for lodging customarily allowed those coming from Kabul and left. That day I went by boat a little before dawn. I reached the confluence with the Gomati, which is the Jaunpur River, went a bit up the Gomati, and returned. Although it was a narrow little river, [365] there was nowhere to cross it. The soldiers on the other side had to cross

by boat and raft and by making their horses swim.

Coming one kos below the confluence of the river I toured last year's campsite, from which we went to Jaunpur. Downstream was a fair breeze, so we had the sail hoisted on the Bengali ship and tied the large boat to it. It went very fast. Camp had been made a kos upstream from Madan-Benares. There were two gharis left of the day when we reached the campsite. By sailing fast and not stopping we reached our goal late that night, long before the boats coming behind us. At Chunar, Moghul Beg had been ordered to measure the straight road of every march with a cord, and whenever I went by boat Lutfi Beg was to measure the shore. By the straight road it was eleven kos and the riverbank was eighteen.

The next day we halted at that site. On Wednesday we went by boat and camped a kos above Ghazipur. On Thursday, Mahmud Khan Nohani came and paid homage. The same day, letters came from Jalal Khan son of Pahar Khan, Farid Khan son of Nasîr Khan, Sher Khan Sur, Adil Khan Sur, and some other Afghan amirs. [365b] Also, a report written at Lahore on the twentieth of Jumada II [February 29] came from Abdul-Aziz Mirakhur. Qaracha's Hindustani servant, who had been sent from the Kalpi region, had arrived at Lahore the day it was written. The recount mentioned that he and the others assigned had gone to meet the womenfolk at Nilab on the ninth of Jumada II [February 18]. Abdul-Aziz had accompanied them as far as the Chenab and gone ahead to Lahore.

On Friday we moved out. I went by boat, got out, and toured the site opposite Chausa where we had camped the previous year when there was an eclipse and a fast was held.[227] Then I got back on the boat. Muhammad-Zaman Mirza also came from behind in a boat. At the mirza's instigation we had some ma'jun. Camp was made on the banks of the Karamnasa River. This river is scrupulously avoided by Hindus, and observant Hindus will not cross it. They must board boats and cross its mouth on the Ganges. They believe that the religious merit of anyone touched by its water is nullified. The etymology of its name is also said to be derived from this.[228] We went a little up the Karamnasa by boat and then returned, [366] crossed to the northern shore of the Ganges, and had the boats halt at the bank. Some of the warriors indulged in sport and others wrestled a bit. Saqi Muhsin claimed that he would wrestle four or five men. He grappled with one and was almost felled. The second man was Shadman, who threw Saqi Muhsin. Saqi was mortified. The professional wrestlers came and wrestled.

The next day, Saturday, we did not move out until nearly the first watch so that a man could be sent to inspect the river crossing. I mounted and went

227. Not in the memoirs.

228. The folk etymology of the name Karamnasa is taken to mean "destroyed merit," compounded of *karm*, or *karam*, "religious merit" and *nâsnâ*, "to be destroyed."

a kos up the Karamnasa toward the crossing. Since it was far, I returned and went back to the campsite by boat. Camp had been made a kos forward of Chausa. I repeated the pepper treatment. It was somewhat hotter and blistered my skin. I suffered greatly. Ahead of us was a smallish but swampy river. To prepare the way, we halted at the camp the next day.

On Sunday evening I wrote an answer to Abdul-Aziz's letter, which had been brought by the Hindustani runner, and sent it off. Monday morning I went by boat. On account of the wind the boats were hauled. We reached opposite the site where we had camped at Buxar the previous year,[229] [366b] crossed the river, and toured the site. Steps—probably between forty and fifty—had been made to the river, but only the top two remained. All the rest had been ruined by the water. We got back into the boat and had some ma'jun. We had the boat stop at an island a little upstream from camp and had the wrestlers wrestle, returning to camp late that night. The year before I had swum across the Ganges to the campsite where we were stopped now.[230] Some got on horses and others on camels, and we made a tour. I ate some opium that day.

The next day, Tuesday, Karimberdi, Muhammad-Ali Haydar Rikabdar, and Baba Shaykh were sent with some two hundred seasoned warriors to obtain news of the rebels. At the camp the ambassador of Bengal was ordered to present the three terms to his king.[231]

On Wednesday, Yunus-Ali, who had been sent to sound out Muhammad-Zaman Mirza on Bihar, brought back a rather noncommittal reply. A report from the representative of the Shaykhzadas of Bihar gave news of the enemy's having abandoned Bihar and gone off.

On Thursday the Turk and India officers and two thousand of their yeomen were attached to Turdï Muhammad and Muhammad-Ali Jang-Jang and given leave after letters of conciliation had been written to the people of Bihar. [367] Khwaja Murshid Iraqi was made the divan of the province of Bihar and attached to Turdï Muhammad. The next day Muhammad-Zaman Mirza accepted to go to Bihar, reported a few items through Shaykh Zayn and Yunus-Ali, and requested a few men as auxiliaries. Some warriors were assigned to Muhammad-Zaman Mirza as auxiliaries, others were made his liege men.

On Saturday the first of Sha'ban [April 9] we marched out of the site we had been camped in for three or four days. I rode out to tour Bhujpur and Bihiya and then returned, dismounting in camp. Muhammad-Ali's detachment, which had been sent to gather intelligence, had defeated a troop of infidels along the way before reaching the place where Sultan Mahmud was staying. Sultan Mahmud had two thousand men. Upon discovering this scouting party, his men had fallen into disarray and he had killed his two elephants before

229. Not in the memoirs.

230. This seems to contradict Babur's statement on folio 363b, which implies that he was swimming the Ganges for the first time only a few days prior to this.

231. The terms are nowhere stated explicitly; one is summarily referred to on folio 365.

marching away. He had stationed one of his officers as a lookout. Around twenty of our scouts came up, but the officer fled without fighting. A few were taken captive, one's head was cut off, and one or two were brought in alive.

The next morning we moved out, I by boat. While at this site Muhammad-Zaman Mirza crossed the Gomati, and in order for the mirza to cross and get going we stayed there for two or three days. [367b] On Tuesday the fourth, Muhammad-Zaman Mirza was awarded a regal suit of clothing, a girth dagger, a fine horse, and a parasol,[232] and he was made to kneel in fealty for the province of Bihar. Of the Bihar district 12,500,000 was made royal demesne, and Murshid Iraqi was made responsible for the office of divan.

232. In the Iranian tradition the parasol is a royal prerogative and is awarded to only the highest-ranking nobles. Badi' uzzaman Mirza's son, Muhammad-Zaman Mirza, was a Timurid royal prince.

On Thursday, I went from that camp by boat. I had all the boats stop, and as soon as I arrived I ordered them to be linked together to form a circle. The resulting line would have been much wider than the river, so—although not all the boats could be included, since some places in the river were shallow and others deep, some places flowing and others not—it was not possible to go far in this fashion. A crocodile appeared within the circle of the boats. A fish, frightened by the crocodile, jumped so high that it landed inside one of the boats. It was caught and brought to me.

When we reached the campsite, names were given to the boats. The old boat *Baburi,* which had been finished at Agra shortly before the raid on Sanga, was renamed *Asayish.* This same year, just before the army mounted, [368] Arayish Khan had had a boat made and gave it to me as a present. During this trip I had added a deck to it. This boat was named *Arayish.* To the boat Sultan Jalaluddin had presented to me a rather large deck had been added, and yet another deck above that one. This one was named *Gunjayish.* Another, small skiff with a cabin, which was sent about on all sorts of errands, was named *Farmayish.*[233]

233. Arayish (Decoration), Asayish (Comfort), Gunjayish (Capacity), Farmayish (Command).

The next morning, Friday, we marched off. When all of Muhammad-Zaman Mirza's affairs were completed he moved off a kos or two from the camp headed for Bihar and stopped. This day he came and took leave of me. Two spies came from the army of Bengal and said that the Bengalis, led by Makhdum-i-Alam, had divided the banks of the Gandak River into twenty-four places and were raising rampart walls. They had prevented the Afghans under Sultan Mahmud from sending their women and families across and had joined these Afghans to themselves. As soon as this news came, since battle was probable, I detained Muhammad-Zaman Mirza and dispatched Shah Iskandar with three or four hundred men to Bihar.

On Saturday a man came from Dudu and her son [368b] Jalal Khan, son of Pahar Khan. The Bengalis must have been keeping them blindfolded. They

opted for me, got loose from the Bengali by hard fighting, crossed the river, reached the vicinity of Bihar, and were headed to pay homage to me. The ambassador of Bengal, Isma'il Mita, was told that the answer to the three terms that had been written and sent was late in arriving. He was to write a letter and send it to the effect that if the Bengalis were in obedience and agreement with us, then an answer must come soon.

On Saturday evening a man came from Turdï Muhammad and Jang-Jang. When their scout came from this direction on Wednesday morning, the fifth of Sha'ban [April 13], the *shiqqdar*[234] of Bihar ran away through the gate on the other side.

234. *Shiqqdar:* a military governor.

On Sunday we marched from camp and stopped in the district of Arrah. News came that the Kharid army was stopped on the other side of the Sarju at the juncture with the Ganges with one hundred to 150 boats. Since there was peace with the Bengali—the affair of peace was always held forward during such affairs for the sake of auspiciousness—although he had breached etiquette by coming and blocking our way, nonetheless I maintained my perennial rule and attached Mulla Muhammad Muzahhib to the Bengali ambassador, [369] repeated the three terms from before, and decided to give him leave to withdraw. On Monday the ambassador came to pay homage. I had someone give him permission to withdraw. The following was also mentioned: "We will be proceeding on both sides of the river to repel the enemy. No harm will be done to the land and water belonging to you, as one of the three terms was to tell the army of Kharid to unblock the way and go to Kharid. Let us attach a few Turks to the army of Kharid, and let them give assurances of safety to the people of Kharid and take them to their place. If they do not withdraw from the ford and do not cease these unbecoming words, then let them consider whatever evil or unpleasant comes upon their heads as coming from themselves and their words."

On Wednesday Isma'il Mita was clad in the customary robe of honor, rewarded, and given leave. On Thursday, Shaykh Jamali was dispatched with decrees of safe conduct and words of assurance for Dudu and her son Jalal Khan. This same day Mahïm's liege man arrived. He had left them on the other side of the Bagh-i-Safa at . . .[235] He brought letters. On Saturday the ambassador of Persia, Murad Qorchï Qajar, was seen. On Sunday, Mulla Muhammad Muzahhib was handed the usual mementoes and given leave. On Monday, Khalifa [369b] and some other begs were sent to inspect where we should cross the river. On Wednesday, Khalifa was again sent to inspect the area between the two rivers.

235. Text is missing.

I mounted to tour the lotus field to the south near the district of Arrah.

While touring it, Shaykh Ghuran brought me a newly formed lotus seedpod. It bore a striking resemblance to an almond. The pretty little flowerlike thing that would become a lotus is called *kanwal kukri* in Hindustani, and the seed is called *doda*. The Son River was said to be nearby. We went and had a look at it. Below it many trees could be seen. They said that it was Maner, where the tomb of Shaykh Yahya, the father of Shaykh Sharafuddin Maneri, was. Having reached this far, we crossed the Son, went two or three kos downriver, toured Maner, crossed its orchards, circumambulated the shrine, returned to the bank of the Son, made our ablutions, performed the noon prayer, and then went back toward camp.

The horses were so fat a few had fallen behind and a few others were worn out. Several men were stationed and ordered to gather the exhausted ones, water and rest them, and bring them without rushing them. If this had not been done many horses would have been lost. On the return from Maner, I ordered someone to count his horse's steps from the banks of the Son to the camp. [370] He counted 23,100 steps, which would be 46,200 paces, or eleven-and-a-half kos. From Maner to the Son is about half a kos. Therefore, the return was twelve. Going hither and yon during the tour we must have gone another fifteen or sixteen kos, so all told we had covered nearly thirty kos that day. There were six gharis left of the first watch of the night when we got to camp.

The next morning, Thursday, Sultan-Junayd Barlas from Jaunpur and the warriors stationed in Jaunpur came. Because they were late, I had them rebuked and did not allow them an interview. I summoned Qazi Jia and granted him an interview.

## ❋ Battle Plans

That same day, I summoned the Turk and India officers for consultation and held deliberations on crossing the river. It was decided that Master Ali-Qulï should install the mortars, ballista, and culverin on high ground between the Ganges and Sarju rivers and provoke battle from there with lots of matchlockmen. A bit downstream from the confluence, on the Bihar side of the Ganges opposite the island where the Bengali had stationed an elephant and many boats, Mustafa was to make ready his implements and prepare for battle. He also was to have many matchlockmen. Muhammad-Zaman Mirza and those so assigned would dismount behind Mustafa as reinforcements. Overseers for the many shovelers and porters were assigned to Master Ali-Qulï and Mustafa to raise emplacements and prepare the ground for shooting the culverins

[370b] and placing the mortars. They all got busy gathering and assembling their tools and implements. Askari, the sultans, the amirs, and the khans were to gallop off, cross the Sarju at the Haldi ford, be ready from the other side at the appointed time, and charge the enemy.

Meanwhile Sultan-Junayd and Qazi Jia reported that there was a ford eight kos upstream. Ruyzard was appointed to take one of the raftsmen, Junayd-Sultan, Mahmud Khan, and Qazi Jia's men and inspect the ford. If it was crossable, they would cross there. Among the men word was that the Bengali was thinking of assigning someone to the Haldi ford. A report came from Mahmud Khan's shiqqdar at Sikandarpur, saying, "I have gathered around fifty boats at the Haldi ford and have paid the boatmen, but they are afraid, having heard that the Bengali is coming."

Since there was little time left for a way to be found across the Sarju River, on Saturday, without waiting for the men who had gone to find a ford to come back, I summoned the begs for consultation and said, "As there are crossings all the way from Chaturmuk in Sikandarpur to Oudh and Bahraich, while we are sitting here we will assign a large contingent [371] to cross by boat at the Haldi ford and attack. While they are going Master Ali-Qulï and Mustafa will get busy fighting with mortars, matchlocks, culverin, and balista. Let us cross the Ganges, assign auxiliaries to Master Ali-Qulï, and stand ready. If the contingent that has crossed at the ford gets close, let us too enjoin battle from here, press on, and cross. Muhammad-Zaman Mirza and those who are nearby on the other side will fight with Mustafa from the Bihar side of the Ganges."

Having made these decisions, we divided the army on the north of the Ganges into four contingents, put Askari at their head, and sent them off to the Haldi ford. One contingent was with Askari's own liege man, the second was under Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi, the third under the Uzbek princes Qasim Husayn Sultan, Beykhub Sultan, and Tang-Atmïsh Sultan, and Mahmud Khan Nohani of Ghazipur, Baba Qashqa's Kuki, Qarïmïsh the Uzbek, Qurban Charkhi, and the Daryakhanis under Husayn Khan, and to the fourth under Musa Sultan, Sultan-Junayd Barlas, and all the soldiers who were at Jaunpur—approximately twenty thousand men—were assigned overseers to get them to horse that very night, which was Saturday. [371b]

On Sunday morning the army began to cross the Ganges. I got into a boat at the first watch and crossed. It was the third watch when Ruyzard and his men, who had gone to inspect the crossing, arrived, without having found a crossing. They brought news of the meeting along the way of the boats and the division assigned.

On Tuesday we marched from the place we had crossed the river, proceeded, and dismounted a kos from the battlefield, which was at the junction of the two rivers. I went myself to watch Master Ali-Quli fire the balista and culverin. That day he had hit two boats with the balista and sunk them. From the other side Mustafa had hit two boats with balista shot and sunk them. The big gun had been transported to the battle site, and Mulla Ghulam was assigned as overseer to prepare the ground for it. We assigned a troop of yasavuls and nimble warriors to help him and then returned and had some ma'jun on an island opposite the camp. That evening, stoned on ma'jun, I had the boat brought near my tent and just laid back on it.

That night a strange thing happened. At around the third watch of the night an alarm broke out on the boat. All the pages had planks from the boat and were yelling to each other, "Strike! Strike!" A night watchman was on the boat *Farmayish,* which was beside the boat *Asayish,* on which I was lying down. [372] Opening his eyes, he saw a man with his hands on *Asayish,* about to get in. He hit him in the head with a rock. The man dove into the water and emerged to strike the night watchman on the head with a sword, wounding him slightly. Then he fled toward the water. This was the reason for the alarm. The night we came from Maner one or two night watchmen had driven away several Hindustanis from near the boat and brought in one or two of their swords and one of their daggers. God preserved us that time.

> If the sword of the world moves from its place, it will not sever a vein unless God wills it.

The next morning, Wednesday, I got on the boat *Gunjayish,* went near the place where the stones were being shot, and assigned everyone a task.

A thousand warriors under Ughan Turdi Moghul were sent to get across, however they could, one, two, or three kos upstream. Meanwhile, the Bengalis were planning to cross in twenty to thirty boats opposite Askari's camp and emerge en masse on foot and strike a coup when these charged on their horses and sent them flying, capturing a few, severing some heads, shooting many with arrows, and seizing seven or eight boats. The same day, the Bengalis went in a few boats, got out on Muhammad-Zaman Mirza's side, [372b] and provoked a battle. Our men pressed hard, put the Bengalis to flight, and sank three boats with all hands aboard. They got hold of one boat and brought it to me. Here Baba Chuhra fought outstandingly. It was ordered that Muhammad Sultan, Yaka Khwaja, Yunus-Ali, Ughan Turdi, and the group that had previously been assigned to cross should haul upstream under the cover of dark-

ness the seven or eight boats that Ughan Turdï and his men had seized.

That very day a man came from Askari to say that they had crossed the river leaving nothing behind. The next morning, which was Thursday, they would attack the enemy. It was ordered that those who had crossed would join Askari and proceed to the battle. At noon a man came from Master Ali-Qulï to say that the stones were ready. An order was given to fire and to have another stone ready by the time I got there. Late that afternoon I got into a little Bengali skiff and went to the place where the emplacements had been raised. Master Ali-Qulï fired one large stone and then a few balista shots. The Bengalis have a reputation for fireworks. This time we tried them well. They do not aim at a particular place and fire but simply shoot any way. That afternoon we ordered a few boats to be hauled across the Sarju opposite to where they were. [373] The boat pullers hauled a few boats across without fear and without cover. It was ordered that Esän Temür Sultan, Tokhta Buqa Sultan, Baba Sultan, Arayish Khan, and Shaykh Ghuran should position themselves at the place where the boats crossed to give them some protection.

I returned to camp at the first watch. At nearly midnight news came from the boats that were being hauled upstream: "The division assigned has gone forward. We were hauling the boats when the Bengalis discovered our position and attacked. A ball hit one of the boatmen in the leg and broke it. We could not cross."

On Thursday morning word came from the men of the emplacements: "All the boats from upstream have come. Their cavalry have all mounted and are headed straight for our division as they come." I too galloped to the boats that had been sent across by night. Someone was sent posthaste to tell the men assigned to cross under Muhammad-Sultan Mirza to ford immediately and join Askari. I ordered Esän Temür Sultan and Tokhta Buqa Sultan, who were above these boats, to get busy crossing. Baba Sultan had not come to his assigned place.

Immediately Esän Temür Sultan with a boat and thirty or forty of his liege men crossed, [373b] holding their horses by the manes next to the boat. After them another boat set out. Seeing them, a large troop of Bengali foot soldiers headed toward them. Seven or eight of Esän Temür Sultan's liege men mounted, rode to encounter the soldiers, and, while Sultan was getting mounted, battled and fought them in Sultan's direction. By this time Esän Temür Sultan had gotten to horse. The second boat had also crossed. With thirty or thirty-five horsemen he charged the many foot soldiers and easily put them to flight. It was a really outstanding feat he performed. First, he crossed nimbly and fearlessly before anyone else; and second, he charged a

large body of foot soldiers with only a few men and put them to flight. Tokhta Buqa Sultan also crossed. The boats began to cross continuously. Lahoris and Hindustanis, each from where he was, began to cross, some swimming and others with bundles of reeds.

Seeing this situation, the mass of Bengalis opposite the batteries set their boats moving downstream to get away. Darwesh Muhammad Sarban, Dost Eshik-Aqa, Nur Beg, and some other warriors crossed opposite the batteries. I sent a man at a gallop to Sultan to say, "Assemble well those who have crossed and, when you reach near the opposing division, proceed around their flank and get to grips with the enemy." [374] The sultans attached those who had crossed to themselves, formed three or four groups, and set out in the direction of the enemy. As they approached, the enemy moved foot soldiers out front and began to move without breaking ranks. From the division assigned to Askari, Kuki arrived with his troop. From that side Kuki, and from this side the sultans arrived and began hand-to-hand combat. They unhorsed the enemy, seized them, and moved on. Kuki and his men unhorsed an important infidel named Basant Rao and cut off his head. Ten or fifteen of his men fell on them, but they were immediately cut to pieces. Tokhta Buqa Sultan went opposite the enemy and wielded his sword well. Moghul Abdul-Wahhab and his younger brother also wielded their swords. Although Moghul did not know how to swim, he crossed the river in his armor holding on to his horse's mane. My boats were behind. I sent someone to the boats. The boat *Farmayish* came first. I got on, crossed, toured the Bengalis' campsites, got on *Gunjayish*, and asked if there was a place to cross farther up, where Mir-Muhammad Jalaban reported it was better to cross. An order was given for the soldiers to get busy crossing at the place he spoke of. While Muhammad Sultan Mirza and those commanders' troops were crossing as they had been ordered, [374b] Yaka Khwaja's boat sank and he perished. His liege men and estates were awarded to his younger brother, Qasim Khwaja.

While I was making my ablutions at noon, the sultans came. I praised them and made them hopeful of reward and promotion. Askari also came at that time. It was the first action Askari had seen, and it was taken as a good presage. That evening, since the camp had not crossed yet, I lay back on *Gunjayish* at an island.

On Friday we stopped in the Narhan district at a village named Godna, a dependency of Kharid on the northern side of the Sarju River. On Sunday, Kuki and his troop were sent to Hajjipur to gather intelligence. Shah-Muhammad, Ma'ruf's son, who had been greatly patronized when we came last year and given the district of Saran, performed a few outstanding feats, twice

defeating and capturing his father, Ma'ruf. When Sultan Mahmud treacherously seized Bihar and was attacked by Biban and Shaykh Bayazid, Shah-Muhammad had been unable to do anything other than join them. This time too several reports had been received from him, even though among the men ridiculous things were being said about him. As soon as Askari crossed at the Haldi ford, Shah-Muhammad and his troop came to see Askari [375] and accompanied him against the Bengalis. While we were at this campsite he came and paid homage to me. At this same time, news was continually being received about Shaykh Bayazid and Biban, who were said to be thinking about crossing the Sarju.

At this time a strange piece of news came from Sambhal. Ali Yusuf, who had been doing an excellent job of consolidating Sambhal, and a young physician accompanying him had both died on the same day. To maintain order in Sambhal it was decided that Abdullah should go there on Friday the fifth of Ramadan [May 13], Abdullah was given leave.

Around this same time a report came from Chïn Temür Sultan saying that several of the begs assigned had not been able to join him because of the womenfolk coming from Kabul. Muhammadi and some others had ridden straight with Sultan for around a hundred kos and crushed the Baluch decisively. Through Abdullah, orders were given to Chïn Temür Sultan, Sultan-Muhammad Dulday, Muhammadi, and some of the other begs and warriors there to assemble with Chïn Temür Sultan at Agra and stand at readiness to set out after the rebels wherever they might go.

On Monday the eighth [May 16], Jalal Khan, [375b] Darya Khan's grandson to whom Shaykh Jamali had gone, came with his high-ranking amirs to pay homage to me. This same day Yahya Nohani came to pay homage. Before he had sent his younger brother to advise us of his submission, and the brother had been sent back with notices of our good intentions. Since seven or eight thousand Nohanis and Afghans had come with great expectations, we, without discouraging them, made a crore of Bihar royal demesne, awarded fifty lacs to Mahmud Khan Nohani, and had the remainder held for Jalal Khan, who accepted to pay a crore as tribute. Mulla Ghulam Yasavul was sent to collect these monies. The district of Jaunpur was given to Muhammad-Zaman Mirza.

## ❋ Peace Is Made with Nusrat Shah

On Thursday, Khalifa's liege man Ghulam-Ali, who had been dispatched with the prince of Monghyr's liege man Abu'l-Fath to deliver those three terms before Isma'il Mita was sent, arrived in the company of Abu'l-Fath bringing

letters to Khalifa from the prince of Monghyr and Hasan Khan the Lashkar-Vazir in which he accepted the three terms and initiated peace talks on behalf of Nusrat Shah. Since this expedition was to repel the rebel Afghans, some of the rebels had gone off on their own and gotten lost, and others had come and accepted to submit to servitude. [376] The few that remained were being held by the Bengali, who took responsibility for them.

The monsoon was near. Therefore we wrote back words of peace in reply to the above-mentioned conditions.

On Saturday, Isma'il Jalwani, Alaul Khan Nohani, and Awliya Khan Ishraqi came with five or six amirs and paid homage. This same day Esän Temür Sultan and Tokhta Buqa Sultan were awarded girth swords, girth daggers, armor, robes of honor, and fine horses. Esän Temür Sultan was awarded thirty lacs from the Narnaul district, and Tokhta Buqa Sultan was awarded thirty lacs from the district of Shamsabad and made to kneel in fealty.

On Monday the fifteenth [May 23], my mind at ease concerning Bihar and Bengal, we set out from camp in the vicinity of Godna, determined to repel the evil of the ingrates Biban and Shaykh Bayazid. Stopping twice for the night along the way, on Wednesday we stopped at a ford called Chaupara in Chaturmuk, Sikandarpur, and the men got busy crossing. News began to pour in continually that these ingrates had crossed the Sarju and Gogra and were headed in the direction of Lucknow.[236]

236. May be Lakhnor.

To block their way the Turk and India officers Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi, Ali Khan Farmuli, Turdïka, Nizam Khan of Bayana, Tolmïsh the Uzbek, Qurban Charkhi, and the Daryakhanis under Hasan Khan [376b] were appointed and given leave to depart on Wednesday evening.

## ❋ A Monsoon Squall

This same evening after taravih, it was the fifth ghari of the first watch when the monsoon clouds appeared, and within an instant such a storm brewed and fierce wind arose that few were the tents that did not blow down. I was in my tent writing. There was no time to gather my papers and notebooks. The wind brought down the tent and its *peshgah*[237] on my head. The smoke vent broke into pieces. God kept me safe, and no harm was done, but my books and papers were drenched. We gathered them together with difficulty, wrapped them up in a woolen bedspread, and put them under the cot and spread kilims on top. After two gharis the wind died down. We had the töshäkkhana tent erected, lit a candle, and with great difficulty got a fire going and then got busy drying out the papers and notebooks until dawn with no sleep.

237. *Peshgah* is the same as *peshkhana*, the canopy or awning that protrudes from the front of a trellis tent.

On Thursday, I crossed the river. On Friday, I mounted and made a tour of Kharid and Sikandarpur. That same day, Abdullah and Baqi had written about the taking of Lucknow. On Saturday, Kuki and his troop were sent forward to join Baqi. On Sunday, Sultan-Junayd Barlas, Hasan Khalifa, [377] Mulla Apaq's troops, and Mu'min Atäkä's brethren were given permission to join Baqi and fail in nothing they might do before I arrived. This afternoon Shah-Muhammad, Ma'ruf's son, was awarded a regal robe of honor and a fine horse and given leave to withdraw. As last year, he was given Saran for his own stipend and Kandhla for the maintenance of his yeomen. That same day, Isma'il Jalwani was awarded a seventy-two-lac stipend from Sarwar, a regal robe of honor, and a fine horse and given leave. Stipends were assigned also to the men under Alaul Khan Nohani who had come with Isma'il Jalwani, and they were dismissed. It was decided that a brother or son of each of them should remain permanently in my service in Agra.

The Bengalis were made responsible to transport to Tirmuhani and Ghazipur the boats Gunjayish and Arayish and another two Bengali boats selected from among those that had fallen to us this time. An order was given for Asayish and Farmayish to be transported up the Sarju River along with the camp. With my mind at ease concerning Bihar and Sarwar, on Monday we marched along the banks of the Sarju, across the Chaupara crossing of Chaturmuk toward Oudh. After going some ten kos we stopped on the banks of the Sarju beside a village called Kalira,[238] a dependency of Fatehpur. [377b] Those who had marched out early lost their way and went to the large lake at Fatehpur. A few men were sent out to get the nearby men to come back. Kichik Khwaja was dispatched to stay the night beside the lake and bring back to camp the next morning the soldiers who had bivouacked there.

238. Kalira is not located and the name is not verified.

We marched out early the next morning, and halfway along the way I got onto Asayish and had it hauled to the camp upstream. Along the way Khalifa brought Shah Muhammad Dewana's son, who had come from Baqi with a report confirming the news of Lucknow: the assault was launched by Biban and Shaykh Bayazid on Saturday the thirteenth of Ramadan [May 21], but they were unable to accomplish anything. During the battle, fire broke out in the grass and straw huts that turned the inside of the fortress into an oven. They were not able to stay on top of the rampart. The fortress was taken. Two or three days later, having received word of our staying, they marched off to Dalmau. That day we made ten kos and stopped at the bank of the Sarju beside a village called Chaksar in the Sagri[239] district.

239. Chaksar and the Sagri district are not located and the names are not verified.

On Wednesday halt was made at that site to rest the animals. Some said that Shaykh Bayazid and Biban had crossed the Ganges [378] and were plan-

ning to get themselves to their baggage via Chunar and Chond.[240] The begs were summoned for consultation, and it was decided that Muhammad-Zaman Mirza and Sultan-Junayd Barlas, who had received Chunar and some other districts in exchange for Jaunpur, along with Mahmud Khan Nohani, Qazi Jia, and Taj Khan Sarangkhani should go and block the rebels' way at Chunar.

The next morning, Thursday, we marched out early, left the Sarju, proceeded eleven kos, crossed the Parsaru, and camped on its bank. I summoned the begs for consultation. Esän Temür Sultan, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Tokhta Buqa Sultan, Qasim Husayn Sultan, Beykhub Sultan, Muzaffar-Husayn Sultan, Qasim Khwaja, Ja'far Khwaja, Zahid Khwaja, Jan Beg with Askari's liege men, and Kichik Khwaja, as well as those led by the India amirs Alam Khan of Kalpi, Malikdad of Kara, and Rao Sarwani, were assigned to detach themselves at Dalmau in pursuit of Bayazid and Biban and proceed swiftly.

While at Parsaru, I was making my ablutions at night when lots of fish gathered, drawn by the candlelight up to the surface of the water. I and others near me caught fish with our hands.

On Friday we camped at the beginning of a branch of the Parsaru. It was an extremely narrow river. Lest it be changed by the crossing of the soldiers I had it blocked upstream, [378b] and for ablutions I had a place made that would be ten by ten. On the eve of the twenty-seventh [June 3] we stayed in that camp. The next morning we left this river and camped after crossing the East Tons. On Sunday we camped beside this same river. On Monday the twenty-ninth [June 6] we also halted beside the Tons River. This evening, although the sky was not clear, a few men saw the moon and bore witness before the qadi to that effect, so the beginning of the month was established.[241] On Tuesday morning we performed the feast prayer and mounted. We made ten kos and camped beside the Gomati one kos from Maing.[242] At around noon we indulged in some ma'jun. Shaykh Zayn, Mulla Shihab, and Khwandamir were sent this little poem and summoned.

Shaykh, Mulla Shihab, and Khwandamir: come all three, or two, or one.

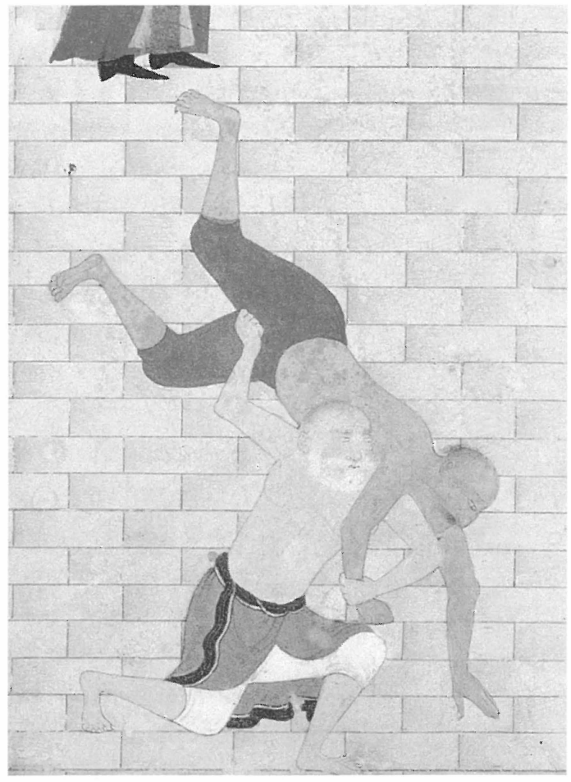
Darwesh Muhammad, Yunus Ali, and Abdullah also were there. That afternoon the wrestlers wrestled.

On Wednesday we stayed at that camp. Around midmorning we had some ma'jun. Malik Sharq, who had gone to get Taj Khan out of Chunar, arrived. Pahlawan of Oudh, who had come before, wrestled with a Hindustani wrestler who had come, and threw him. [379] Yahya Nohani was given a fif-

240. Chond is not located and the name is not verified.

241. That is, the new moon of Shawwal had been sighted, signaling an end to the Ramadan fast.

242. Maing, a village in the Baraunsa pargana, Sultanpur tahsil (see H. R. Nevill, *Sultanpur: A Gazetteer* [Allahabad: Government Press, 1903], 192).



Detail, wrestlers, from a *Gulistan* (Rose Garden) of Sa'di, Herat (?), dated A.H. 891 (A.D. 1486), fol. 21r. Album page; opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. Art and History Trust Collection

teen-lac stipend from Sarwar, clad in a suit of clothing, and given leave.

The next morning we made eleven kos, crossed the Gomati, and camped on the banks. News was received from the sultans and begs who had gone on expedition that they had gone to Dalmau but had not yet crossed the Ganges. Letters of rebuke[243] were sent, saying, "Quickly cross the Ganges and proceed after the enemy. Cross the Jumna also, attach Alam Khan to yourselves, and make every effort to engage the enemy." After two overnights crossing the Gomati we came to Dalmau. Most of the soldiers forded the Ganges that day. After getting the camp across we had some ma'jun on an island downstream. Since the camp had not completely crossed, we crossed the river and halted one day at the site at which we were camped. Baqi Tashkandi came with the Oudh army that day to pay homage. One night away from the Ganges camp was made beside the Rind River beside Kora, which is twenty-two kos from Dalmau. On Thursday we marched from there and stopped opposite the Adampur district.

In order to cross in pursuit of the rebels, [379b] one or two of the raftsmen had been sent before to Kalpi to fetch what boats were there. That night, while we were camped there, a few boats arrived. A crossing was also found on the river. I stayed on the island because the campsite was so dusty. Because no confirmed reports of the enemy had come, Baqi Shiqavul was sent across with the warriors who were around to gather intelligence. The next day, Friday afternoon, Baqi Beg's servant came with information that Shaykh Bayazid and Biban's outpost had been defeated, their major warrior, a man named Mubarak Khan Jalwani, and a few others had been killed, and a few heads and a few men alive were being sent. The next morning Shah-Husayn Bakhshi, who had gone with Baqi, came and reported in detail the defeat of the advance party and other news from there. That evening, which was the eve of Saturday the thirteenth, the Jumna swelled so much that by the next morning the island was completely covered with water. I went a bow shot downstream to another island and had my tent set up there.

243. The phrase "of rebuke" is missing in the Turkish text, and the Persian is not entirely clear.

island and had my tent set up there.

On Monday, Jalal Tashkandi, who had gone with the sultans and begs who had gone on the expedition, came with news that Shaykh Bayazid and Biban had fled from the Mahoba district.[244] [380] Since the monsoon was near and the soldiers, horses, and pack animals were exhausted after a five- or six-month expedition, the sultans and begs were ordered to halt in the place they had reached until a fresh raiding party could come from Agra and those parts. That afternoon Baqi Shiqavul and the Oudh army were dismissed. Musa Ma'ruf Farmuli, who had come to pay homage when we crossed the Sarju returning from the expedition, was assigned a thirty-lac stipend from the district of Amroha, awarded a regal suit of clothing and a horse with saddle, and given leave to go to Amroha.

244. Mahoba was previously cited (fol. 292) as Kalinjar, the name of the fort in Mahoba.

## Return to Agra

With my mind at ease concerning these parts, on Monday night after the first ghari of the third watch we set out at a gallop for Agra. The next morning we made sixteen kos and by almost noon stopped to spend the midday in a district of Kalpi called Bilaur. After giving barley to the horses we rode out in the evening. That night we proceeded thirteen kos, stopped to sleep at Bahadur Khan Sarwani's tomb in Saugandpur in the Kalpi district, performed the dawn prayer, and moved on. After sixteen kos we reached Etawah at noon. Mahdi Khwaja came to meet us. We rode out at the first watch of the night, slept a bit along the way, and, after going sixteen kos, reached Rapri [380b] and spent midday in Fatehpur. The next noon we rode from Fatehpur, proceeded seventeen kos, and dismounted at the Hasht Bihisht garden in Agra at the second watch of the night. The next day, Friday, Muhammad Bakhshi and some others came to pay homage. Crossing the Jumna around noon and paying homage to Khwaja Abdul-Haqq, I went to the citadel to see the begims my aunts.

Balkhi the gardener had been left to plant melons, and he had kept a few, which he brought me. They were very nice little melons. I had had one or two vines planted in the Hasht Bihisht garden, and they too had turned out to be rather nice grapes. Shaykh Ghuran had also brought a basket of grapes. They were not bad. I was particularly happy that melons and grapes could turn out so well in Hindustan.

It was the second watch of Saturday night when Mahïm came. We had ridden out on expedition on the tenth of Jumada I [January 21]. By the strangest of coincidences they had also set out from Kabul on that same day. On

Thursday the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da [July 7], when I sat in court in the large divankhana, Humayun and Mahïm's presents were displayed. This day a servant of Maghfur the Divan was given 150 porters and sent to Kabul to bring melons, grapes, and fruit. [381] On Saturday the third, Hindu Beg, who had escorted the women from Kabul and who had been sent to Sambhal when Ali Yusuf died, came to pay homage. Husamuddin Ali Khalifa also came this day from Alwar to pay homage. The next morning, Sunday, Abdullah, who had been sent to Sambhal from Tirmuhani when Ali Yusuf died, came.

## ❋ Sedition in Lahore

From those who had come from Kabul it was heard that Shaykh Sharif of Qarabagh, either instigated by Abdul-Aziz or out of loyalty to him, had attributed to me oppression I had not committed and outrages that had not taken place. Affidavits to that effect were written, the religious authorities of Lahore were forced to sign their names, and copies of the affidavit were sent to various towns in hopes of stirring up a controversy. Abdul-Aziz had also disobeyed a number of orders and had said and done a number of improper things. For this reason on Sunday the eleventh [July 17], Qambar-Ali Arghun was dispatched to bring to court Shaykh Sharif, the religious authorities and elders of Lahore, and Abdul-Aziz.

On Thursday the fifteenth [July 21], Chïn Temür Sultan came from Tijara to pay homage. That same day, Pahlawan Sadiq and the great wrestler from Oudh wrestled. [381b] Sadiq made a half-throw, and that only with great difficulty.

On Monday the nineteenth [July 25], the Qïzïlbash ambassador, Murad Qorchï, was given a girth dagger and clad in an appropriate robe of honor, awarded two lacs of tankas, and dismissed.

## ❋ Rebellion in Gwalior

These days Sayyid Mashhadi came from Gwalior to report Rahimdad's instigation of rebellion. Khalifa's liege man Shah-Muhammad Muhrdar was sent to deliver some extremely harsh words of advice I had written. He went and returned a few days later with Rahimdad's son. Although the son had come, Rahimdad himself was not planning to. Nur Beg was dispatched to Gwalior on Tuesday the fifth of Dhu'l-Hijja [August 11] to allay his fears. A few days later Nur Beg returned and reported Rahimdad's requests. Decrees had been completed as he had asked and were at the point of being sent when one of

He is not planning to come." As soon as we heard this, we mounted to attack Gwalior, but just then Khalifa said, "I will write him another letter of advice and send it. Perhaps he will come 'round." For this purpose Shihabuddin Khusraw was sent.

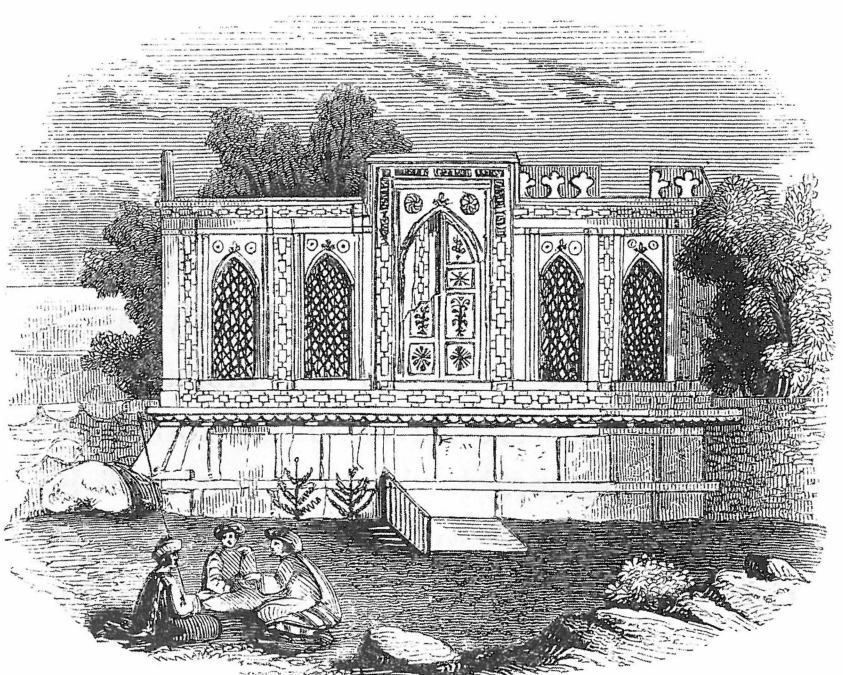
On Thursday the seventh of the month [August 13], [382] Mahdi Khwaja came from Etawah. On the day of the feast[245] Hindu Beg was rewarded with a regal suit of clothing, a jewel-studded girth sword, and a fine horse. Hasan Ali, who was known among the Turcomans as "Chaghatay," was rewarded with a suit of clothing, a jewel-studded girth dagger, and an estate worth seven lacs.

245. The tenth of Dhu'l-Hijja (August 16, 1529).

# Events of the Year 936 [1529–30][246]

ON TUESDAY THE THIRD OF MUHARRAM [September 7], Shihabuddin Khusraw came from Gwalior with Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws to intercede on behalf of Rahimdad. Since the shaykh was a dervish and a powerful spiritual man, I forgave Rahimdad's crime for his sake. Shaykh Ghuran and Nur Beg were sent to Gwalior so that Gwalior could be turned over to them...

246. The year A.H. 936 corresponds to September 5, 1529–August 24, 1530.



Babur's tomb in Kabul. From *Narrative of Various Journeys in Belochistan, Afghanistan, the Panjab and Kalát,* 1844, by Charles Masson. Library of Congress

# Chronology

| YEAR | BEGINS ON | FOLIO | EVENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| 888 | February 9, 1483 | | Babur born on February 14, 1483 |

## PART ONE: Fergana and Transoxiana

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 899 | October 12, 1493 | 1b | *Baburnama* begins with death of Umar-Shaykh Mirza; death of Sultan-Ahmad Mirza; Sultan-Mahmud Mirza succeeds his brother in Samarkand |
| 900 | October 2, 1494 | 24a | Death of Sultan-Mahmud Mirza; the Battle of Isfara; visit to Sultan-Mahmud Khan (Ulugh Khan) in Shahrukhiyya |
| 901 | September 21, 1495 | 32b | Sultan-Husayn Mirza besieges Hissar; the Tarkhan Revolt in Samarkand; Babur and Sultan-Ali Mirza lay a short siege to Samarkand |
| 902 | September 9, 1496 | 38b | Second siege of Samarkand |
| 903 | August 30, 1497 | 42b | Babur occupies Samarkand for 100 days. |
| 904 | August 19, 1498 | 58a | Babur goes to Pishagar; Margilan is recovered; Andizhan is recovered. |
| 905 | August 8, 1499 | 66a | campaign against Sultan-Ahmad Tambal; Mady is taken; Khusrawshah murders Baysunghur Mirza; Babur's first marriage, to Ayisha Sultan Begim; Sultan-Ali Mirza yields Samarkand to Shaybani Khan |
| 906 | July 28, 1500 | 80a | second conquest of Samarkand; loses the Battle of Sar-i-Pul to the Uzbeks; besieged in Samarkand |
| 907 | July 17, 1501 | 94b | Babur abandons Samarkand; goes to Ulugh Khan in Tashkent. |
| 908 | July 7, 1502 | 101a | Kichik Khan comes to Tashkent; the khans' expedition against Sultan-Ahmad Tambal in Andizhan; Babur's hand-to-hand combat with Tambal. |
| 909 | June 26, 1503 | (—) | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 910 | June 14, 1504 | 120a | Babur takes Kabul. |
| 911 | June 4, 1505 | 156b | Raids on Turcoman Hazaras; Sultan-Husayn Mirza dies |
| 912 | May 24, 1506 | 183a | Babur goes to Herat; returns to Kabul through the snow; rebellion in Kabul |
| 913 | May 13, 1507 | 203a | The Uzbeks take Herat; Battle of Kandahar; Hindustan campaign planned; marriage to Ma'suma Sultan Begim; birth of Humayun |
| 914 | May 2, 1508 | 215b | Moghul rebellion |
| 915 | April 21, 1509 | (—) | Ulugh Khan put to death in Khodzhent by Muhammad Khan Shaybani |
| 916 | April 10, 1510 | (—) | Battle of Merv (Dec. 2, 1510): Muh'd Khan Shaybani is defeated by Shah Ismail and killed; the Safavids occupy Herat |
| 917 | March 31, 1511 | (—) | Babur defeats Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan at Hissar; Babur retakes Transoxiana (Oct 1511). |
| 918 | March 19, 1512 | (—) | Temür Sultan and Ubaydullah Khan recapture Transoxiana from Babur, who retreats to Hissar after the Battle of Köl-i-Malik (April 1512); Battle of Gizh-duvan (Nov. 12, 1512), in which the Safavids are defeated by the Uzbeks, Amir Najm II is killed, and Babur flees. |
| 919 | March 9, 1513 | (—) | Babur in Badakhshan |
| 920 | February 26, 1514 | (—) | |
| 921 | February 15, 1515 | (—) | Nasir Mirza dies. |
| 922 | February 5, 1516 | (—) | Babur's son Askari is born. |
| 923 | January 24, 1517 | (—) | |
| 924 | January 13, 1518 | (—) | Campaign in the territories northeast of Kabul is initiated. |
| 925 | January 3, 1519 | 216b | Bajaur is taken; first foray into Hindustan, Bhera, etc.; Babur's son Hindal is born. |
| 926 | December 23, 1519 | 248b | Excursion to Laghman. Kandahar is besieged. |
| 927 | December 12, 1520 | (—) | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 928 | December 1, 1521 | (—) | Babur besieges Shuja' Beg in Kandahar; negotiations with the Safavid general Durmïsh Khan; Babur withdraws and then takes Kandahar. |
| 929 | November 20, 1522 | (—) | Babur's daughter Gulbadan is born. |
| 930 | November 10, 1523 | (—) | Fourth foray into Hindustan, against Dipalpur (January 1524) |
| 931 | October 29, 1524 | (—) | |

## PART THREE: Hindustan

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 932 | October 18, 1525 | 251b | Fifth expedition to Hindustan; Battle of Panipat (April 20, 1526), defeat of Sultan Ibrahim and entrance into Delhi |
| 933 | October 8, 1526 | 302a | Battle of Khanua (March 17, 1527), defeat of Rana Sanga and the Rajput coalition |
| 934 | September 27, 1527 | 331a | Conquest of Chanderi |
| 935 | September 15, 1528 | 339a | End of memoirs, August 1529 |
| 936 | September 5, 1529 | 382a | |
| 937 | August 25, 1530 | | Babur dies 6 Jumada I 937 (Dec. 21, 1530) |

# Selected Glossary

## Key

A Arabic

H Hindustani

M Mongolian

P Persian
(including Arabo-Persian)

T Turkish

*abgir* (P)
reservoir

*äkä* (T)
any elder female relative

*amir* (P)
commander (See *beg*, below)

*aqrab* (P)
"inflammation of the eyes"

*arb* (H)
a unit of value equal to 100 crores

*arghamchi'* (T)
The "cord," a horse tether, 7–8 *gaz*, that is, 20–25 feet

*ashrafi* (P)
a coin

*atäkä* (T)
(See *beg atäkä*, below.)

*aymaq*
a small Turco-Mongolian tribal grouping

*ayvan* (P)
an arched portico, characteristic of Timurid architecture

*bagh* (P)
garden

*bakhshi* (T)
originally the Inner Asian Buddhist term for teacher; during the Timurid period, *bakhshi*s were Turkish secretaries and scribes

*balda-i-mahfuza* (P)
well-protected town

*bandar* (H)
in Hindustan, a monkey

*baranghar* (M)
the right wing in a battle array

*batman* (T)
a Turkish weight, usually corresponding to the maund

*beg* (T)
a high-ranking officer, necessarily Turk, equivalent to *amir*

*beg atäkä* (T)
a tutor to a prince

*begim* (T)
the feminine form of *beg;* a lady of Timurid descent

*bismillah* (A)
"in the name of God"

*boy* (T)
a single unit in a battle array surrounding the ruler

*buqalamun* (P)
the name for the brilliantly colored *lucha* bird, or Hindustani partridge, found in the Nijrao district, Laghman region, northeast of Kabul

*cadi*
a Muslim judge who interprets and administers the religious laws of Islam; from the Arabic, *qadi*

*charbagh* (P)
a garden, usually with a pool in the middle, divided into four sections by crosswalks. (See illus. p. 173)

*charchaman* (P)
a division of a garden; a section divided into four plots

*chardara* (P)
an open pavilion, belvedere

*chargah* (P)
a musical mode

*charqab* (P)
possibly the typically Central Asian "cloud collar."

*chaudhari* (H)
a village chieftain in the subcontinent

*crore*
a unit of value equal to 100 lacs, or ten million

*daru'l-harb* (A)
literally, "abode of war," Islamic term for non-Islamicized countries

*dastarpech* (P)
a peaked felt cap around which the turban was wound

*deoti* (H)
in Hindustan, a person who carries the lamps for kings and noblemen.

*divan* (P)
both the fiscal administration and a fiscal administrator; also, a collection of a poet's works, such as qasidas, ghazals, and the like

*divankhana* (P)
an office of fiscal administration

*eshik-aqasi* (T)
literally "lord of the gate," the officer who controlled access to a prince, one of the highest positions at a princely court

*ghari* (H)
an Indian measure of time (24 minutes)

*ghariyal* (H)
alligator; also, a disc of brass used in Hindustan for keeping track of time

*ghariyali* (H)
in Hindustan, a group of men appointed to keep track of time

*ghazal* (P)
a Persian literary form, almost exclusively amorous in general tone

*ghazi* (P)
a warrior for the faith

*ghichak* (P)
a small, bowed stringed instrument. (See illus. p. 227)

*goshagir* (P)
an instrument for straightening arrows

*hadith* (A)
the body of the Prophet Muhammad's sayings, a major source of precedent for Islamic law; the study of the hadith confers religious merit

*hathi* (H)
in Hindustan, an elephant

*ichki* (T)
a member of a prince's inner circle, literally "insider"

*ish* (T)
a type of musical composition

*jalghoza* (P)
a type of pine tree with large cones containing edible seeds

*jamdhar* (H)
An Indian dagger. (See illus. p. 357)

*javanghar* (M)
the left wing of a battle array

*jergä* (T)
a circle, both a hunting circle and advisory council

*jüldü* (T/M)
an award, laurel

*kamali* (P)
a narcotic mixture

*karez* (P)
a subterranean water channel used to bring water from long distances to an agricultural area

*kattar* (H)
an Indian dagger. (See illus. p. 357)

*khan* (T)
a lineal descendant of Genghis Khan

*khanaqah* (P)
a Sufi hospice and chapterhouse

*khanïm* (T)
a female descendant of Genghis Khan

*khanzada* (P)
literally "offspring of a khan," *khanzada* was often applied as a proper name to the daughters of Genghisid khans who married into the Timurid family (not to be confused with *khwanzada,* below)

*kharb* (H)
a unit of value equal to 100 arbs

*khutba* (A)
the section of the Friday prayer in which the ruler's name is mentioned

*khwaja* (P)
a title of learning, generally accorded to Sufi masters

*khwanzada* (P)
derived from *khwând,* ("lord") the *khwanzadas* were the daughters of the Mir Khwands of Termez who married into the House of Timur (not to be confused with *khanzada,* above)

*kiblah* (A)
the direction of Mecca, toward which all Muslims turn when they pray

*körünüsh* (T)
the formal Turco-Mongolian salute (literally "interview"); in Mughal India the word became *kornish,* the formal genuflection before the emperor

*kos* (H)
an Indian measure of distance (*kuroh*) (approximately 2 miles)

*kotal*
a narrow pass in the high mountains around Kabul

*kükäldash* (T)
"milk-brother/-sister"; in Turco-Iranian society, children nursed by the same woman were bonded as "milk-brothers" and "-sisters"; members of the opposite sex so related were forbidden to marry

*kutahpay* (P)
literally, "shortlegged," the Indian hog deer

*lac*
the Hindustani *lak,* a unit of value equal to one hundred thousand

*langar* (P)
a charitable institution at which food was doled out to the poor; langars were often located on heavily traveled routes

*lucha*
(See *buqalamun,* above.)

*maʿjun* (P)
a mild narcotic concoction made into a chewable pellet

*madrasa* (P)
an Islamic institution of higher learning

*malik* (P)
the title of a local ruler

*mathnawi* (P)
a Persian literary form, similar to rhymed couplets in English

maund *(man)*
a Persian measure of weight

*mawlana* (A)
a title of respect accorded to the learned

*mir* (P)
Sayyids (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad) may have the title Amir, sometimes shortened to Mir, before their names instead of Sayyid

*mirza* (P)
a shortened form of *amirzada,* "offspring of the Amir," the courtesy title of all male descendants of Amir Temür; in the Turkish fashion, the title follows the proper name

*mithcal*
an Islamic measure of weight (4.6 grams); from the Arabic, *mithqal*

*muhtasib* (P)
the morals officer of a town or city

*mukhammas* (P)
a strophic verse form consisting of five hemistiches

*mulla* (P)
shortened form of *mawlana.* (See above.)

*mujtahid* (P)
a level of religious learning in Shiite Islam at which one is entitled to issue independently derived legal opinions

*namazgah* (P)
an area outside a city where festival prayers could be performed by the whole population together

*naqara* (P)
drums traditionally sounded at a ruler's gate at dawn and dusk; this royal prerogative could be conferred upon a high-ranking officer

*naqsh* (P)
a type of musical composition

*nasta'liq* (P)
a Persianate calligraphic style, originally called *naskh-ta'liq.* (See illus. p. 226)

*naskh-ta'liq* (P)
(See *nasta'liq.*)

*nawa* (P)
a musical mode

*nilgau* (P/H)
indigo cow, or blue bull (nilgai)

*nimcha* (P)
a short upper garment

*nökär* (T)
a liege man; retainer

*orchin* (T)
an administrative district in Andizhan and Kashghar, similar to the *pargana* in Hindustan

*padam* (H)
a unit of value equal to 100 nils

*padishah* (P)
an independent, autonomous ruler of an area

*pahar* (H)
a watch, for the time of day

*panjgah* (P)
a musical mode

*parschi* (T)
cheetah keeper

*pargana* (H)
an administrative district or estate in Hindustan, similar to the *orchin* in Andizhan and Kashghar

*pas* (P)
the Indian *pahar,* or watch

*pasban* (P)
watchman

*peshgah* (P)
Same as *peshkhana.* (See below.)

*peshkhana* (P)
the canopy or awning that protrudes from the front of a trellis tent

*peshraw* (P)
a type of musical composition

*peshtaq* (P)
an arched gatehouse leading to the forecourt of a building

*pulad* (P)
steel

*qalpaq* (M)
a type of broad-brimmed hat named for the Qalpaqs (Kalmyks). (See illus. p. 413)

*qasida* (P)
a monorhymed Persian literary form used generally for encomiastic poetry

*qizibash* (T)
literally "red-head," the nickname for the Safavids of Iran, from the tall red felt cap they wore, visible in the figure on p. 366

*qol* (T/M)
the center in a battle array

*qopuz* (T)
a lutelike musical instrument

*qor begi* (T)
literally "lord of the quiver," a fairly high field rank in the ruler's personal service; a chief arms bearer

*qorchi* (T)
originally a quiver bearer; by Babur's time it probably indicated a squire

*radif* (P)
a refrain

*rajah* (H)
a Rajput title of rule; same as ray

*rana* (H)
a Rajput title of rule; same as ray

*ray* (H)
an alternate form of rajah, an Indian prince or chief, or the bearer of a title of nobility among the Hindus

*rubâb* (P)
a rebec, a lutelike musical instrument. (See illus. p. 302)

*sangar* (P)
stone breastwork used in mountainous areas such as Afghanistan

*saqirlât* (P)
dictionaries define the term as "fine woolen stuff of European manufacture"; since it is doubtful that European textiles had made their way to the Orient in Babur's time, it must mean some finely woven cloth; tents were also made of *saqirlât*

*sarkob* (P)
a war engine, siege machine like a rolling tower

*sayyid* (A)
a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad

*saz* (P)
a lutelike musical instrument

*seer*
a Persian measure of weight

*shah* (P)
(See padishah, above.)

*shahnishin* (P)
a dais, or bench, often with three raised sides. (See illus. p. 235)

*shahrukhi* (P)
a gold coin left from the reign of Shahrukh; see *tanka,* below

*shaykh* (P)
a title of respect accorded to Sufi masters

*shaykhu'l-islam* (A)
the chief religious official in a given region

*shaykhzada* (P)
in the subcontinent, the *shaykhzadas*, descendants of the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, formed a distinct class. Babur mentions in particular the descendants of Shaykh Muhammad Musalman of Barmal (Farmul)

*shibä* (T)
a type of arrow

*ta'liq* (P)
a chancery script

*tabin* (T)
the elite royal contingent

*takband* (P)
a belt or girdle, perhaps a sword belt.

*tamgha* (T/M)
a customs impost, a tax imposed by the Mongols that was always considered un-Islamic

*tank* (H)
an Indian measure of weight

*tanka* (H/P)
a coin; the primary unit of currency under the Timurids; under Temür it weighed 5.38 grams of silver; under Shahrukh the weight was reduced to 4.72 grams, and the coin became known as the *shahrukhi*

*taravih* (A)
supererogatory prayers customarily performed at night during Ramadan

*tola* (H)
an Indian measure of weight, slightly more than two mithcals

*toquz* (T)
a set of nine; in Turkic custom, gifts are given in sets of nine

*töshäkkhana* (T/P)
a tent in which textiles were stored

*tovachi* (T)
a officer of the muster

*tughchi* (T)
a servant in charge of the *tugh,* the yak-tail standard attached to a ruler's horse

*tümän* (T)
literally, "ten thousand"; a military division; the territory that would provide maintenance for such a division

*tümän begi* (T)
a leader of a military division of ten thousand

*ulus* (T)
nation, tribal confederation

*ülüsh* (T/M)
a champion's portion, a Mongolian custom

*uruq* (T)
a family and household

*üy-el* (T)
literally "house-people," all the members of a household, wives, children, and servants

*yasavul* (T)
a messenger

*yengä* (T)
a wife of a paternal uncle

*yengächichä* (T)
an affectionate term for aunt in Chaghatay

*zunnar* (P)
applied to various articles of clothing, the term implies that the wearer is non-Muslim

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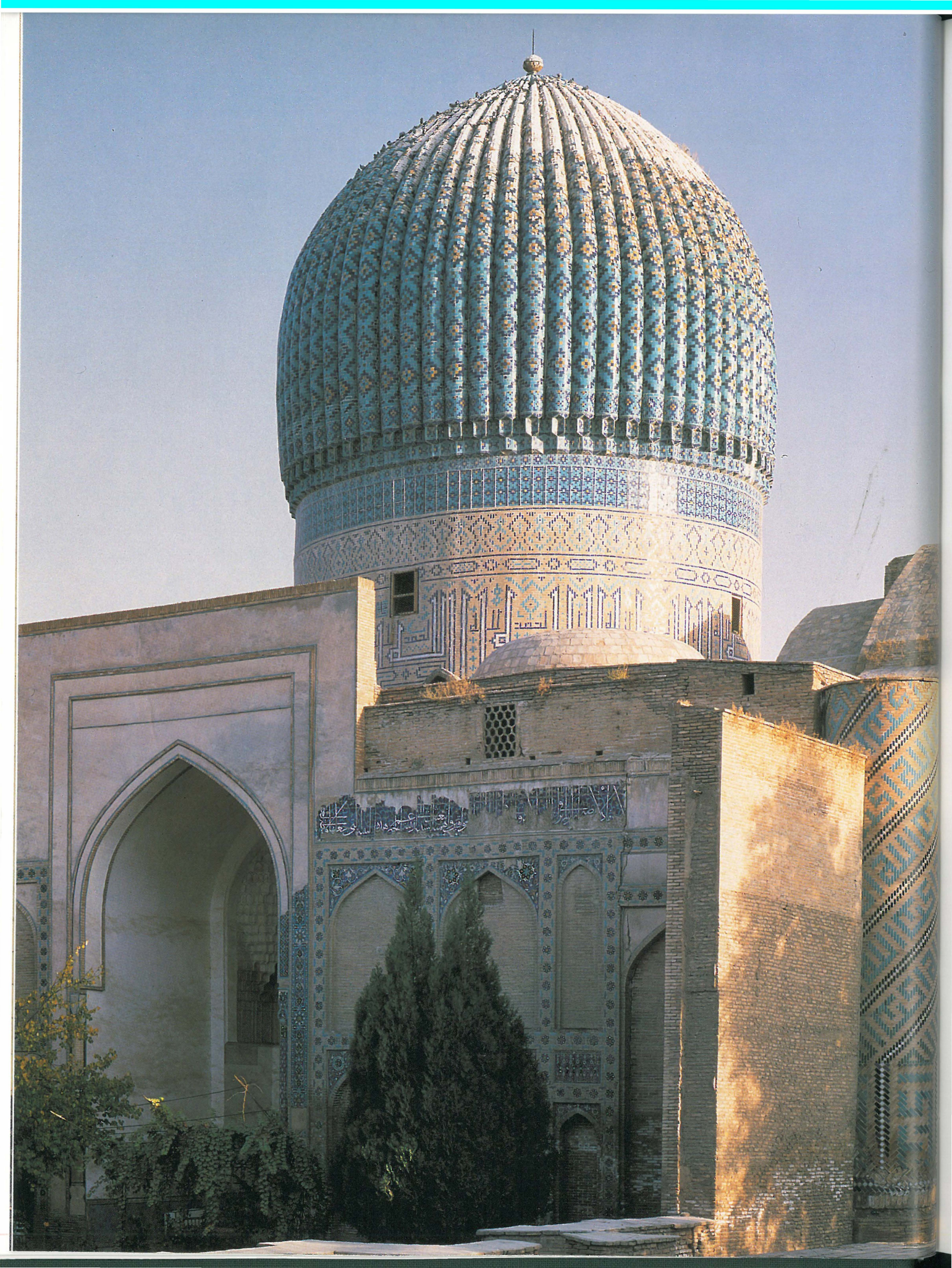
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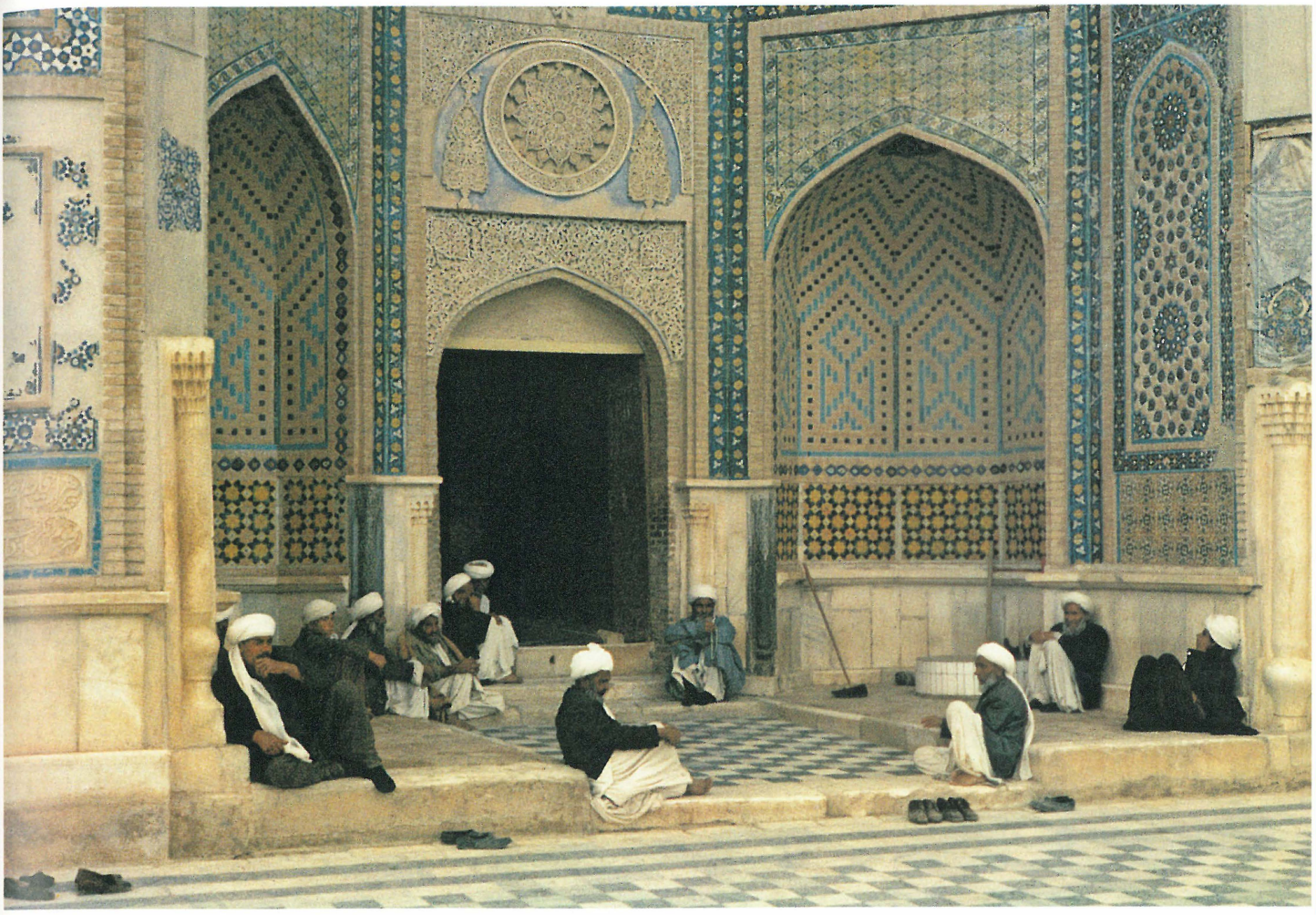


COLOR PLATE 6
Left, *Portrait of an Uzbek Prince.* See page 255.

COLOR PLATE 7
Right, detail, Dervish. See page 392.







COLOR PLATE 5
The Mosque at Gazargah, near Herat, Afghanistan, 1978. See page 238.

COLOR PLATE 4
Detail, *A Party at the Court of Sultan-Husayn Mirza.* See page 236.







COLOR PLATE 2
*The Duel.* See page 144.

COLOR PLATE 3
Detail, *Sultan-Husayn Mirza, Ali-Sher Nawa'i, and Badi'uzzaman Mirza.* See page 214.



COLOR PLATE I
*Assault of the Fortress of the Knights of St. John at Smyrna.*
See page 66.

# THE BABURNAMA

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