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MEMOIRS

OF

ZEHĪR-ED-DĪN MUHAMMED BĀBUR

MEMOIRS OF
ZEHĪR-ED-DĪN MUHAMMED BĀBUR
EMPEROR OF HINDUSTAN

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, IN THE CHAGHATĀI TŪRKI

AND TRANSLATED BY

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THE

MEMOIRS OF BĀBUR

EVENTS OF THE YEAR A H. 912

Bābur marches for Khorasān

In the month of Muharrem [1] I set out for Khorasān, in order to oppose the invasion of the Uzbeks, and advanced by way of Ghūrbend and Shibertū. As Jehāngīr Mirza had taken some disgust and fled from the country of Ghazni, I judged it proper, for the purpose of reducing the Aimāks to order, and to prevent the disaffected from rising in revolt,[a] to separate from our baggage and camp-followers in Ushter-sheher,[2] (leaving Wali Khāzin [3] and Doulet Kadam to guard and bring them on,) and to push forward with the great body of the army, in light array, with all practicable speed. That same day we reached the fort of Zahāk. Having proceeded thence by the *kotal* or hill pass of Gumbazek, and descended by Saekān,[4] we surmounted the Dandān-shiken [5] pass, and encamped in the valley of Kahmerd. I sent on Sultan Muhammed Duldāi, and Syed Afzal Khāb-bīn,[6] with a letter to Sultan Hussain Mirza, to inform him of my approach from Kābul

Jehāngīr Mirza having lagged behind his men, when he came opposite to Bāmiān, went to see it, accompanied by twenty-three [b] attendants On approaching the place he

[a] as I was afraid, that if he drew the Aimāks to himself, the fomenters of trouble might seize the opportunity to promote disorder,
[b] twenty or thirty

[1] Muharrem, A H 912, begins on May 24, 1506, the year in which the Khanate of Kipchāk ceased, and the country was divided The conquests of the Uzbeks in Māweralnaher and Khorasān probably derived great support from the wandering tribes, driven on that occasion from their own settlements, just as the influx of barbarians into the Roman empire, in its decline, arose from a similar cause

[2] This place lies to the west of Kābul
[3] [Treasurer]
[4] Or Saeghān These places are between Bāmiān and Kahmerd.
[5] Teeth-breaker
[6] The Dreamer

observed the tents of my household,[1] which had been left behind, and thinking that I was along with them, set off full speed, returned back to his camp, and without suffering himself to be delayed by any consideration whatever, marched away, never looking behind him till he had reached the territory of Yake-auleng.[2]

Sheibāni Khan besieges Balkh

Meanwhile Sheibāni Khan had laid siege to Balkh Sultan Kalinjāk commanded in the place. Sheibāni Khan sent out two or three Sultans, with three or four thousand men, to plunder the country of Badakhshān. At that time Mubārek Shah Wazīr had gone and joined Nāsir Mirza.[3] Although formerly there had been some discussions and bad blood between them, they had now in concert collected an army, and were encamped below Kishem,[4] in Shakhdān,[a] when the Uzbeks,[b] towards morning, came by surprise on Nāsir Mirza. Nāsir Mirza drew off his men to the summit of a rising ground, and having rallied his troops, and blown his trumpets, attacked the Uzbeks at the moment they were advancing, and put them to the rout; the Kishem river, which they had crossed in their advance, was now swollen. Many of them were slain by the sword and by arrows, numbers were taken prisoners, and many perished in the river. Mubārek Shah Wazīr was encamped higher up than the Mirza, towards Kishem The Uzbeks, who had divided, in order to attack them both at the same time, had put his troops to flight, and forced them to take refuge on a rising ground When Nāsir Mirza had defeated those opposed to him, he learned this situation of things, and marched to attack the other division. The Amirs of the hill-country too, having collected their whole strength of horse and foot, poured down from above, and joined him. In these circumstances, the Uzbeks found themselves unable to stand their ground, and took to flight Of this

Nāsir Mirza defeats a party of Uzbeks.

[a] *Add* on the eastern bank of the Kishm river,

[b] *Add* having crossed the Kishm river,

[1] *Urūk*

[2] Yake-auleng is situated about thirty or thirty-five miles west from Bāmiān, among the hills

[3] Bābur's brother.

[4] Probably Kishem-ābād, about twenty-five miles from Dūshi

body too, many were made prisoners, many were slain by arrows and the sword, and others perished in the river. Perhaps a thousand or fifteen hundred Uzbeks fell. This was a good exploit of Nāsir Mirza. One of his men brought us the news when we were in the valley of Kahmard.

Bābur advances by Sāf and Gurzewān

While we continued in that neighbourhood, my troops went out to forage, and collected grain from Ghuri and Dehānch. In this same valley of Kahmard, I received letters from Syed Afzal and Sultan Muhammed Duldāi, whom I had sent into Khorasān, containing intelligence of the death of Sultan Hussain Mirza. Nevertheless, I continued to advance to Khorasān, from a regard to the reputation of our family, though I had also other motives for advancing. Having passed through the valley of Tūb [1] and Mandaghān, and by the hill-passes [2] of Balkh-āb, we ascended the hill-country of Sāf.[a] Here, having learned that the Uzbeks were plundering Sān and Chāryak,[3] I dispatched Kāsim Beg with a body of troops to chastise the marauders. He fell in with them, gave them a complete defeat, and brought back a number of their heads.

As some of our men had been sent out to get information of Jehāngīr Mirza and the Aimāks, I remained for some days in the Ilāgh [4] of the hill of Sāf, waiting for their return. In this neighbourhood there are numbers of deer. I hunted once. In a few days all the Aimāks came out and acknowledged me. Though Jehāngīr Mirza had sent different persons to the Aimāks, and on one occasion had deputed Imād ed dīn Masaūd to work upon them, they could not be induced to go over to him, but joined me; so that at length the Mirza was compelled, from sheer necessity, to leave the mountain of Sāf, and[b] to come down

[a] I crossed the Ājar valley, came down by Tūb, Mandagān, and Balkh-āb, and ascended the hill of Sāf.

[b] when I left the hill of Sāf,

[1] Tūb lies between Ājer and the Balkh-āb, or Dehāsh river.

[2] These passes lie rather more than a degree west of Kahmard, on the Balkh river.

[3] Probably Chārek, on the road from the Balkh-āb passes to Herāt, about two degrees west from the former, among the hills.

[4] Probably the same as *ailāk*, summer quarters.

to the valley of Pai, to meet me and make his submission. As I was occupied with the troubles of Khorasān, I did not see [a] the Mirza, and did not care about the Aimāks Having passed by Gurzewān,[1] Almār, Kysār, and Chichiktū, and proceeded by Ulūm [2] Fakhr ed dīn, we reached a place called the valley of Bām in the dependence of Badghīs.[3] As the world was all in disorder, every one pillaging and usurping from another, my people took some plunder from the cultivated country, as well as from the Īls and Ulūses. We imposed [b] a contribution on the Tūrks and Aimāks of that quarter, and levied part of it. In the course of a month or two, we perhaps levied three hundred *kepki tumāns*.[4]

The Mirzas of Khorasān unite

A few days before my arrival, a plundering detachment of the Uzbeks had been attacked in Pandeh and Maruchāk,[5] by a light armed force sent from Khorasān by Zūlnūn Beg,[c] and completely routed A number of the Uzbeks were slain. Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza, Muzaffer Hussain Mirza, Muhammed Berendūk Birlās, and Zūlnūn Arghūn, with Shah Beg, Zūlnūn's son, having at length come to the resolution of marching against Sheibāni Khan, who was besieging Sultan Kalenjāk in Balkh, dispatched messengers to invite all the sons of Sultan Hussain Mirza to join them, and marched out of Heri in prosecution of

[a] pay attention to

[b] As this country was in disorder, and its inhabitants exposed to the depredations of any one with the long arm, we thought ourselves entitled to impose

[c] some light cavalry from Khorasān, and Zulnūn Beg's men,

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[1] Gurzewān lies among the hills, at the sources of the Murghāb river Almār and Chichektū lie north of the hills on the road from Balkh to Herāt The Kysār river flows about twenty miles to the east of the Murghāb, and is passed on the same line of road

[2] [P de C has *yoloum*, which he translates 'pass']

[3] Badghīs lies to the west of north from Herāt [its capital being Baun-Bāmiān, two villages adjacent to each other]

[4] [*Kepki* is a copper coin and *tumān* = 10,000 The tax would thus amount to three millions of copper coins]

[5] Probably Panjdeh and Maruchāk, which lie on the Murghāb, the former on the left bank, the other on the right bank of that river, nearly a degree and a half north of Herāt

this enterprise By the time they reached Badghīs, Abul Muhsin Mirza advanced from Merv, and joined them at Chihil-dukhterān. Ibn Hussain Mirza, too, soon after joined them from Tūn, and Kāen.[1] Kūpek Mirza, who was in Meshhad, though they sent to invite him, returned an unwise answer, and in a cowardly way declined coming. He bore hostility to Muzaffer Mirza, and alleged, that to join him as King would be an acknowledgement of his sovereignty.[a] Having made up his mind, he persisted in indulging this ill-timed grudge, and would not come even at this period, when all the brothers, great and small, had united, and were marching in concert, and sparing no efforts to oppose an enemy so formidable as Sheibāni Khan. This refusal of his to join the confederacy, though he himself chose to put it on the footing of private pique, every one else will ascribe to cowardice Indeed, as the memory of such proceedings remains in the world, how can any man of understanding pursue such a line of conduct as, after his death, must stain his fair fame? How much better is it for every man, who has the common feeling of his nature, to push forward in a career that, when closed, may conduct him to renown and glory! The wise have well called fame a second existence. Ambassadors came also to invite me, and soon after Muhammed Berendūk Bulās himself arrived. What was to hinder me from joining them? I had marched two hundred farsangs [2] for that very purpose. I therefore went on along with Muhammed Beg. By this time the Mirzas had advanced as far as the Murghāb, where they were now encamped. On Monday, the 8th of the latter Jumāda, I waited on them. Abul Muhsin Mirza came out half a kos to receive me. When we came near each other, I on the one side dismounted, as he did on the other; after which, we advanced and embraced, and then both mounted again. When we had gone on a little, and were come near the camp, Muzaffer

Nov 6, 1506. Bābur meets the Mirzas.

[a] When Muzaffar Mirza was acknowledged as king, he said he did not see how he could present himself before him

[1] Tūn and Kāen lie south-west of Heri, near the lake of Sīstān.

[2] Eight hundred miles.

Mirza and Ibn Hussain Mirza met me. They were younger than Abul Muhsin Mirza, and ought therefore to have come out farther than he did to receive me. Probably their delay was owing to their last night's excess in wine, rather than to pride, and arose from the effects of their over indulgence in dissipation and pleasure, and not from any intentional slight. Muzaffer Mirza having complimented me, we embraced and saluted each other on horseback. I then saluted Ibn Hussain Mirza in the same way, after which, we proceeded to Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza's Hall of Audience, where we alighted. Here there was an excessive crowd and gathering of people. There was such a press that many persons were lifted off their feet for three or four paces together, and many who were anxious to get out on account of business or duty, were carried four or five paces in, without being able to help themselves.

Is introduced to Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza.

At length, however, we reached Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza's Hall of State. It had been settled, that immediately on entering, I was to bow, whereupon Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza was to rise up, and come forward to the extremity of the elevated platform on which he sat, where we were to embrace. As soon as I entered the Hall of State I bowed, and then without stopping, advanced to meet Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza, who rose up rather tardily to come to meet me. Kāsim Beg, who was keenly alive to my honour, and regarded my consequence as his own, laid hold of my girdle, and gave me a tug; I instantly understood him, and advancing more deliberately, we embraced on the spot that had been arranged. In this large state-tent, carpets [1] were spread in four places. In the state-tents [2] of Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza, on one side of the hall, there was a porch or recess, in which the Mirza always sat. A carpet [a] was spread in it, on which he sat along with Muzaffer Hussain Mirza. Another carpet was spread on the right of the porch in a kind of pavilion; [3] Abul Muhsin

[a] sofa, or dīvān

[1] *Tūshak*—carpets, or rather stuffed cushions for sitting or leaning on.

[2] *Khāneh-sefīd.*

[3] *Tūr-khāneh*—perhaps a space enclosed by a low railing.

Mirza and myself sat on it. Lower than Badīa-ez-zemān's carpet, on the left, was another carpet, on which Kāsim Sultan Uzbek, one of the Shābān Sultans, who was the Mirza's son-in-law, and father of Kāsim Hussain Sultan, sat along with Ibn Hussain Mirza. On my right, but lower down than the carpet which they had spread for me, another carpet was spread, on which Jehāngīr Mirza and Abdal Razāk Mirza[1] were seated Muhammed Berendūk Beg, Zūlnūn Beg, and Kāsim Beg sat on the right, a little lower than Kāsim Sultan and Ibn Hussain Mirza. An entertainment was given Although it was not a drinking party, wine was put down along with the meat. Drinking goblets of silver and gold were placed beside the food. My forefathers and family had always sacredly observed the rules of Chingiz. In their parties, their courts, their festivals, and their entertainments, in their sitting down and rising up, they never acted contrary to the institutions of Chingiz.[2] The institutions of Chingiz certainly possessed no divine authority, so that any one should be obliged to conform to them; every man who has a good rule of conduct ought to observe it. If the father has done what is wrong, the son ought to change it for what is right. After dining we mounted our horses, and alighted where we had pitched our camp. There was a shiraa kos between my army and that of the Mirzas.

Public entertainment.

The second time that I came, Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza was not so respectful as he had been the first time. I therefore sent for Muhammed Berendūk Beg, and Zūlnūn Beg, and told them to let the Mirza know, that, though but young, yet I was of high extraction—that I had twice by force gained my paternal kingdom, Samarkand, and seated myself on its throne—and that when a prince had done what I had, in the service of our family, by opposing the foreign invader from whom all these wars and troubles arose, to show me any want of respect was certainly not quite commendable. After this message was delivered to him, as he was sensible of his error, he altered his conduct,

Bābur offended with Badīa-ez-zemān.

[1] Abdal Razāk Mirza, it will be recollected, was the son of Ulugh Beg Mirza, the late king of Kābul

[2] *Tūreh-e-Chingiz.* They are also called the *Yāsa Chingiz*

and showed me every mark of regard and estimation, with great good will.

Entertainments of the Mirzas

On another occasion, when I went to Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza's after noon-tide prayers, there was a drinking party. At that time I drank no wine The entertainment was wonderfully elegant. On their trays there was every sort of delicacy. There were *kabābs* of fowl, and of goose and indeed dishes of every kind Badiā-ez-zemān's entertainments were highly celebrated, and certainly this party was free, easy, and unconstrained. During the time I remained on the banks of the Murghāb, I twice or thrice was present at the Mirza's drinking parties; when it was known that I drank no wine, they did not trouble me by pressing I likewise once went to an entertainment of Muzaffer Mirza's Hassan Ali Jalāir, and Mīr Bader, who were in his service, were of the party. When the wine began to take effect, Mīr Bader began to dance, and he danced excessively well. The dance was one of his own invention.

The Mirzas had wasted three or four months in marching from Heri, in uniting their troops, and assembling their strength, before they reached the Murghāb. Sultan Kulenjāk, meanwhile, being reduced to great distress, surrendered the fort of Balkh to the Uzbeks, who, having heard of the coalition against them, after taking Balkh, returned towards Samarkand. The Mirzas, although very accomplished at the social board, or in the arrangements for a party of pleasure, and although they had a pleasing talent for conversation and society, yet possessed no knowledge whatever of the conduct of a campaign, or of warlike operations, and were perfect strangers to the arrangements for a battle, and the dangers and spirit of a soldier's life. While we remained on the Murghāb, news came that Hak Nazīr Chāpa, with four or five hundred men, had advanced, and was plundering the territory of Chichiktū [1] All the Mirzas met, but with all their exertions they could not contrive to detach a light party to cut up the plunderers. The road between Murghāb and Chichiktū

Balkh surrenders.

Character of the Mirzas.

[1] Chichiktū lies east of the Murghāb.

is ten farsangs. I asked permission to manage the matter; but being afraid of their own reputation, they would not suffer me to move. When Sheibāni Khan retreated, the year was at the close It was therefore agreed that the Mirzas should each winter in some suitable place, and, before the beginning of the warm season, assemble again in order to meet the enemy. They strongly urged me also to winter in the territory of Khorasān But as Kābul and Ghazni were places much exposed to external violence and internal confusion, and as bodies of Turks, Moghuls, Aimāks, Wandering Tribes,[1] Afghans, Hazāras, Ils, and Ulūses, were scattered over their territory in different directions; and as the nearest road between Khorasān and Kābul, which is that by the hills, is a month's journey, even if it should not happen to be rendered impassable by snow, or any other obstacle, while the low road is forty or fifty days' march, and as, besides all this, my newly-acquired dominions were still far from being in a settled state, it did not seem very prudent or advisable for me to winter so far off, for the purpose of serving or obliging anybody. I therefore excused myself to the Mirzas On this they renewed their solicitations still more earnestly than before. At last, Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza and Abul Muhsin Mirza, with Muzaffer Mirza, came on horseback to my quarters, and urgently besought me to stay out the winter with them. I could not say No, in the face of the Mirzas, and consented to remain. One reason that influenced me was, that so many kings had come to urge my stay; a second, that, in the whole habitable world, there was not such another city as Heri; and during the reign of Sultan Hussain Mirza, its beauty and elegance had been increased tenfold, nay, twentyfold, by his patronage and munificence; so that I had a very strong desire to visit it. I was therefore prevailed upon to stay. Abul Muhsin Mirza went to his government of Merv. Ibn Hussain Mirza also set out for Tūn and Kāen; while Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza and Muzaffer Mirza returned to Heri. Two or three days after, I set out for the same city

They urge Bābur to winter in Khorasān

Bābur visits Herāt. Visits his aunts.

by way of Chihul-dukhteirān and Tāsh-Rabāt [1] The whole of the Begums, Payandeh Sultan Begum, my father's sister, Khadījeh Begum, Apāk Begum, and the other daughters of Sultan Abūsaīd Mirza, my paternal aunts, were at this time met in the college of Sultan Hussain Mirza. When I went to see them, they were all in the Mirza's mausoleum. I first saluted Payandeh Sultan Begum,[2] and embraced her; I next saluted and embraced Apāk Begum; I then went and saluted Khadījeh Begum, and embraced her. I sat some time, while the readers were reading the Koran,[3] and then rose and went to the Southern College, where Khadījeh Begum dwelt. They spread a repast for me. After the repast, I went to Payandeh Sultan Begum's house, where I spent the night. They at first pitched upon the New Garden for my residence, and accordingly I next morning went and took up my quarters in it, and stayed there one night, after which, as I did not like the place, they gave me Ali Sher Beg's house, where I stayed till I left Heri Every two or three days I went to the Bāgh-e-jehān-ārā,[4] in order to perform the *kornish* [5] to Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza

A few days after, I had an invitation from Muzaffer Mirza, who lived in the White Garden. Khadījeh Begum, after the dinner was removed, carried Muzaffer Mirza and myself to a palace which Bābur Mirza had built, called Tarebkhāna [6] In the Tarebkhāna there was a drinking party. The Tarebkhāna stands in the midst of a garden. It is a small building of two stories, but a very delightful

Parties of pleasure.

[1] [This is a pass over the Tian Shan mountains, north of the Chāder Kul lake.]

[2] She was a widow of Sultan Hussain Mirza's The salute was by bowing, literally, *striking the knee*, or *kneeling*, perhaps the old form

[3] The Musulmans employ a set of readers, who succeed each other in reading the Koran at the tombs of their men of eminence This reading is in some instances continued night and day The readers are paid by the rent of lands, or other funds assigned for the purpose

[4] The world-adorning garden.

[5] The *kornish* is performed to the supreme emperor alone, by making a certain number of bows, or inclinations Badīa-ez-zemān on his father's death, was regarded as the chief prince of the house of Taimūr.

[6] The Pleasure-house.

little edifice. They have bestowed most pains on the upper story. In the four corners of it are four apartments; and between them, and enclosed by them, is one great hall. Within the four apartments are four *shahneshīns*, or royal balconies.[a] Every part of this hall is covered with paintings. Though Bābur Mirza [1] built this palace, the paintings were executed by orders of Sultan Abūsaīd Mirza, and represent his battles and wars. In the north end of the northern balcony, two carpets [2] were placed facing each other. On one of them Muzaffer Mirza and I sat, on the other sat Sultan Masaūd Mirza and Jehāngīr Mirza As we were guests at Muzaffer Mirza's house, Muzaffer Mirza placed me above himself, and having filled up a glass of welcome, the cupbearers in waiting began to supply all who were of the party with pure wine, which they quaffed as if it had been the water of life. The party waxed warm, and the spirit mounted up to their heads. They took a fancy to make me drink too, and bring me into the same circle with themselves. Although, till that time, I had never been guilty of drinking wine,[3] and from never having fallen into the practice, was ignorant of the sensations it produced, yet I had a strong lurking inclination to wander in this desert,[4 b] and my heart was much disposed to pass the stream. In my boyhood I had no wish for it, and did not know its pleasures or pains. When my father at any time asked me to drink wine, I excused myself, and abstained. After my father's death, by the guardian care of Khwājeh Kazi, I remained pure and undefiled I abstained even from forbidden foods; how then was I likely to indulge in wine? Afterwards when, from the force of youthful imagination and constitutional impulse, I got

Bābur's wish to drink wine

[a] The intervening area consists of a hall provided with four balconies corresponding with the four spaces left between each of the apartments [b] to taste it in my turn,

[1] The grandson of Shahrokh, and nephew of Ulugh Beg Mirza, the King of Samarkand Abūsaīd Mirza held Khorasān for some time after the death of the first Bābur Mirza

[2] [Or cushions (*tūshak*)]

[3] It need hardly be remarked, that the drinking of wine is contrary to the Muhammedan law.

[4] That is, I had a great inclination to offend in this respect.

a desire for wine, I had nobody about my person to invite me to gratify my wishes; nay, there was not one who even suspected my secret longing for it. Though I had the appetite, therefore, it was difficult for me, unsolicited as I was, to indulge such unlawful desires.[a] It now came into my head, that as they urged me so much, and as, besides, I had come into a refined city like Herī, in which every means of heightening pleasure and gaiety was possessed in perfection; in which all the incentives and apparatus of enjoyment were combined with an invitation to indulgence, if I did not seize the present moment, I never could expect such another I therefore resolved to drink wine. But it struck me, that as Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza was the eldest brother, and as I had declined receiving it from his hand, and in his house, he might now take offence[b] I therefore mentioned this difficulty which had occurred to me My excuse was approved of, and I was not pressed any more, at this party, to drink. It was settled, however, that the next time we met at Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza's, I should drink when pressed by the two Mirzas. At this party, among the musicians, was Hāfiz Hājī; Jalāl-ed-dīn Mahmūd, the flute-player, was also there, and the younger brother of Ghulām Shādī, Shādī Bacheh, who played on the harp[1] Hāfiz Hājī sung well. The people of Herī sing in a low, delicate, and equable style.[2] There was a singer of Jehāngīr Mirza's present, by name Mīr Jān, a native of Samarkand, who always sang in a loud, harsh voice, and out of tune. Jehāngīr Mirza, who was far gone, proposed that he should sing. He sang accordingly, but in a dreadfully loud, rough, disagreeable tone. The people of Khorasān value themselves on their politeness; many, however, turned away their ears, others knit their brows,[c] but, out of respect to the Mirza, nobody ventured to stop him. After the time

[a] it was difficult for me on my own initiative to do what I had never done before

[b] *Add* if I took it now from his younger brother's hand and in his house

[c] some stopped their ears, others made wry faces,

[1] *Chang.*

[2] [i. e. in tune.]

of evening prayers, we went from the Tarebkhāna to the new Winter-palace, which Muzaffer Mirza had built By the time we reached it, Yūsef Alı Gokultāsh, being extremely drunk, rose and danced. He was a musical man, and danced well. After reaching this palace, the party got very merry and friendly Muzaffer Mirza gave me a sword and belt, a corslet,[a] and a whitish Tipchāk horse. In this palace Jānak sang a Tūrkı song. Muzaffer Mirza had two slaves, called Kittermāh and Kūchekmāh. During the party, and while the company was hot with wine, they performed some indecent, scurvy tricks. The party was kept up late, and did not separate till an untimely hour. I remained that night in the palace where I was.

Badīa-ez-zemān's entertainment.

Kāsim Beg on hearing what had passed as to urging me to take wine, sent to remonstrate on the subject with Zūlnūn Beg, who took the Mirzas to task, and reprimanded them most severely, so that they wholly laid aside any idea of urging me further to drink. Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza, having heard of Muzaffer's entertainment to me, made a party in the Bāgh-e-jehān-ārā, in the Makauvi-khāneh,[1] and invited me. Many of my young nobles and retinue were likewise invited. My courtiers could not drink wine, out of respect to me. If they were desirous of indulging at any time, perhaps once in a month, or forty days, they used to shut their doors, and sit down to drink, in the greatest alarm, lest they should be discovered. Such were the men who were now invited. On the present occasion, when by any chance they found me not attending, they would hide their goblet with their hands, and take a draught in great dread ; although such precautions were altogether unnecessary, as, at a party, I allowed my people to follow the common usages, and this party I regarded as one given by my father, or elder brother. They brought in branching willow trees [b] I do not know if they were in the natural state of the tree, or if the branches were formed artificially, but they had small twigs cut the length of the ears of a bow, and inserted between them, so that they had a very

[a] *Add* lined with lambskin,

[b] They made some huts

[1] [*Maqauvi khānah* = House of Comfort]

fanciful appearance [a] In the course of the party, a roast goose was put down before me. As I was ignorant of the mode of cutting it up, or carving it, I let it alone, and did not touch it. Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza asked me if I did not like it. I told him frankly that I did not know how to carve it. The Mirza immediately cut up the goose, and, dividing it into small bits, placed it again before me.[1] Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza was unequalled in such kind of attentions. Towards the close of the party, he presented me with a rich enamelled dagger, a *chārkob*, or kerchief of cloth of gold, and a Tipchāk horse.

Bābur visits the public buildings at Heri

During the twenty days that I stayed in Heri, I every day rode out to visit some new place that I had not seen before. My guide and provider in these visits was Yūsef Ali Gokultāsh, who always got ready a sort of collation, in some suitable place where we stopped. In the course of these twenty days, I saw perhaps everything worthy of notice, except the Khānekah (or monastery) of Sultan Hussain Mirza. I saw the Bleaching-ground,[2] the garden of Ali Sher Beg, the Paper-mills, the Takht-Astānch (or Royal Throne)[3]; the bridge of Gāh; the Kah-dastān; the Bāgh-e-nazer-gāh[4]; the Niāmet-ābād[5]; the Khiāban, or public pleasure-walks at the Bleaching-ground; the Khatīrat of Sultan Ahmed Mirza; the Takht-e-safer (or Safer Palace); the Takht-e-nawāi; the Takht-e-barkīr, the Takht-e-Hāji Beg; and the Takhts of Sheikh Behā ed dīn Umer, and Sheikh Zein ed dīn; the mausoleum and tomb of Moulāna Abdal Rahmān Jāmi; the Namāzgah-e-

[a] They looked very pretty

[1] The Orientals generally have their meat dressed and brought to table, ready cut up into small pieces

[2] Gāzergāh [The tomb of the saint Abdullah Ansārī, erected by Shāhrukh Mirza, contains exquisite specimens of sculpture in the best style of Oriental art. The locality, which is enlivened by gardens and running streams, is named Gāzergāh, and is held in high veneration by all classes —*Encyc Brit*]

[3] Probably the name of a palace, though the term *takht* is sometimes applied to the shrine of a religious man

[4] [Bellevue]

[5] [Abode of pleasure]

Mukhtār [1]; the Fish-pond; the Sāk-e-Sulemān [2]; Bulūrī,[3] which was originally called Abul Walīd; the Imām Fakhr [4]; the Bāgh-e-khiābān, the Colleges and Tombs of the Mirza; the College of Gauher-shād-begum,[5] her Tomb, and her Grand Mosque; the Bāgh-e-zāghān (or Raven-Garden); the Bāgh-e-nou (or New Garden), the Bāgh-e-Zobeideh, or Zobeideh's Garden, the Akserai (or White Palace), built by Sultan Abūsaīd Mirza, which is situated close by [6] the Irāk-Gate; Pūrān [7] and Suffah-e-sarendāzān (the Warrior's Seat); Chirgh Alāg [8] and Mīr Wāhid; the Bridge of Mālān [9], the Khwājeh-tāk (Khwājeh's Porch), and Bāgh-e-sefīd (White Garden); the Tarebkhāneh (Pleasure-House); the Bāgh-e-jehān-ārā [10]; the Kūshk [11] and Makauvi-khāneh (or Mansion of Enjoyment), the Sūsani-khāneh (or Lily Palace); the Dwāzdeh-burj, or Twelve Towers, the Great Reservoir, on the north of the

[1] [elect chapel]

[2] [Solomon's column]

[3] [Crystal (Palace)]

[4] [Miān Fakhr ud dīn Muhammed Rāzī, a celebrated philosopher and theologian (1150–1210)—Beale's *Biog Dict*]

[5] [Wife of Sultan Shāhrukh Mirza]

[6] [Or outside, according to P de C]

[7] I know not what is meant by Pūrān, unless it be the residence of Sheikh Pūrān, a holy man of great celebrity in Herāt

[8] [Hawk meadow]

[9] Pul-i Mālān, or Mālān-bridge, is the name of the river that passes Herāt, coming from the east There was probably some fine bridge over it, to which Bābur alludes, and whence it perhaps had its name [Mālān is another name for the Heri Rūd river, which flows past Herāt Three miles to the south of the city this river is spanned by the *Pul i Mālān*, a bridge of grand proportions, but now in a state of grievous disrepair—*Encyc. Brit*]

[10] [World adorning garden]

[11] These Kūshks, so frequently spoken of by Bābur, are our own Kiosks, which we have borrowed from the Chinese Della Valle gives a correct account of them 'Les Perses et les Turcs appellent *Kusok* ou *Kiosck* certains batimens elevez dans un jardin, ou dans quelque lieu eminent, dont l'aspect est agreable, non comme une salle, ou une chambre pour y faire sa demeure et prendre son repos, mais comme une galerie pour s'y promener et diverter durant quelques heures du jour Quoiqu'à proprement parler ce ne soient pas aussi des galeries qui doivent etre plus longues que larges, au lieu que ces edifices sont de figure ronde ou quarée, ou à plusieurs faces dans une egale proportion'—*Voyages*, tome V, p. 304, French translation.

Jehān-ārā, the four edifices on its four sides; the five gates of the town walls, the King's Gate, the Irāk Gate, the Firozābād Gate, the Khush[1] Gate, and the Kipchāk Gate; the King's bazar; the Chārsū (or great Public Market); the College of Sheikh-ul-Islām; the Grand Mosque of the Kings; the Bāgh-e-shaher (or City Garden), the College of Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza, which is built on the banks of the river Anjīl; Ali Sher Beg's dwelling-house, which they call Unsīa (or the Palace of Ease); his Tomb and Great Mosque, which they call Kudasīa (or the Holy); his College and Khānekah (or monastery), which they call Khalāsīa and Akhlāsīa (or the Pure); his Baths and Hospital, which they call Safaīa and Shafaīa (the Purifying and Healthy), all these I saw in the short space that I had to spare.

Bābur engaged to Maasūmeh Sultan Begum.

Some time before, while the country was in confusion, the younger daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza,[2] Maasūmeh Sultan Begum, had been brought into Khorasān by her mother Habībeh Sultan Begum One day that I went to see my Aka,[3] the young princess called along with her mother and saw me She no sooner saw me than she conceived a strong attachment, and employed persons secretly to communicate her feelings to my Aka and my Yanka. I called Payandeh Sultan Begum, Akām, and Habībeh Sultan Begum, Yankām[4] After some conversation, it was agreed that my Yanka should follow me with her daughter, and come to Kābul

Leaves Khorasān

Muhammed Berendūk and Zūlnūn Beg had used every kind of entreaty, and exerted all their endeavours, to prevail on me to winter in Khorasān, but did not provide me with either proper quarters or suitable conveniences to enable me to do so. The winter was come, and the snow began to fall in the mountains that separated me from my dominions. I still felt considerable alarm as to the situation of things in Kābul, and yet they neither gave me a place in

[1] [the Gate beautiful]

[2] One of Bābur's paternal uncles

[3] Payandeh Sultan Begum, the widow of Sultan Hussain Mirza

[4] [According to P. de C Aka means mother and Yanka sister-in-law, both words being used here as terms of endearment]

which I could construct winter quarters for myself, nor one ready fitted up for that purpose. At length, compelled by necessity, and unable to explain my real motives, I left Herī on the 8th of Shābān, under pretence of going into winter-quarters. I marched to the neighbourhood of Bādghīs,[1] halting a day or two at every station, and then resuming my route, in order that such of my men as had gone to collect money, or who had dispersed on any other business or employment over the country, might have time to return and join me. We lingered and tarried so long, that, in our second or third march after passing Langer-Mīr-Ghiās, we saw the moon of Ramzān.[2] Many of those who had gone out on business or with other objects, had now come back and joined me; many did not return for twenty days or a month afterwards, when they came to me at Kābul; several stayed behind altogether, and entered into the Mirzas' service. Of this last number was Sīdīm Alī Darbān,[3] who remained behind, and took service with Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza. I had shown none of Khosrou Shah's servants such attention as him. When Jehāngīr Mirza went off and abandoned Ghaznī, I had given it to Sīdīm Alī, who had left his wife's brother Dost Angū Sheikh, behind in that city, while he himself accompanied the army. In truth, among all the servants of Khosrou Shah, there were no better men than Sīdīm Alī Darbān and Muhibb Alī Korchī[4] Sīdīm had an excellent temper and manners. He was a man of valour in war, and was never without a party or entertainment at his house. Though extremely liberal, he was careful to confine his expenses within his income; yet he always had everything necessary. He had a polished manner and address, and his style of conversation and of telling a story was peculiarly agreeable. He was lively, witty, and humorous. His great fault was that he was addicted to pederasty. He was rather heterodox in his religious opinions, and was accused of being somewhat of a double dealer. Many of the charges brought against him on that

Dec 24 1506.

[1] Bādghīs, or Bādkīs, is north-east from Herāt

[2] This must have been about January 15 or 16, 1507 [Langar = almshouse]

[3] [Gate-keeper or concierge]

[4] [Armourer

head, however, were really owing to his ironical manner; yet no doubt there was some truth in the charge. When Badīa-ez-zemān surrendered Herī to the enemy,[1] and went to Shah Beg, Sīdīm Alī, in consequence of some double dealing of his between Shah Beg and the Mīrza, was put to death and thrown into the river Helmand. Muhibb Alī will be mentioned hereafter.

Advances by the hill country

Leaving Langer-Mīr-Ghiās, and passing the villages on the borders of Gharjestān,[2] we reached Chakhcherān From the time we left Langer till we came into the vicinity of Chakhcherān,[3] it snowed incessantly. The farther we advanced, the deeper was the snow. At Chakhcherān the snow reached above the horses' knees Chakhcherān belonged to Zūlnūn Beg, Mīrak Jān Iidī was his manager there. I took and paid for all Zūlnūn Beg's grain Two or three days after we had passed Chakhcherān, the snow became excessively deep; it reached up above the stirrups. In many places the horses' feet did not reach the ground, and the snow still continued to fall When we passed Chirāghdān, the snow not only continued deep, but we did not know the road.[a] When at Langer-Mīr-Ghiās, we had consulted what was the best road to return to Kābul · I and some others proposed that, as it was winter, we should go by the route of Kandahār because, though rather the longer road, it might be travelled without risk or trouble, while the hill-road was difficult and dangerous. Kāsim Beg, saying that that road was far about and this direct, behaved very perversely; and in the end we resolved on attempting the short road One Sultan Pashāi was our guide. I do not know whether it was from old age, or from his heart failing him, or from the unusual depth of the snow, but having

Dangers of his troops from the snow.

[a] the road had completely disappeared

[1] [In 1507]

[2] [This country, according to P de C, was bounded on the west by Herāt, on the east by Ghor, on the north by Merv, and on the south by Ghazni]

[3] Bābur, in returning to Kābul, pursued a route through the country of the Aimāks and Hazāras, considerably to the south of that by which he had advanced to Herāt Chakhcherān lies about N. lat. 34° 12′, and E long 66° 8′

once lost the road, he never could find it again, so as to point out the way. As we had given the preference to this road, in consequence of the earnestness expressed by Kāsim Beg, he and his sons, anxious to preserve their reputation, dismounted, and, after beating down the snow, discovered a road, by which we advanced. Next [a] day, as there was much snow, and the road was not to be found with all our exertions, we were brought to a complete stand. Seeing no remedy left, we returned back to a place where there was abundance of firewood, and dispatched sixty or seventy chosen men, to return by the road we had come, and, retracing our footsteps, to find, under the higher grounds, any Hazāras or other people who might be wintering there, and to bring a guide who was able to point out the way. We halted at this spot for three or four days, waiting the return of the men whom we had sent out They did indeed come back, but without having been able to find a proper guide. Placing our reliance on God, therefore, and sending on Sultan Pashāi before us, we again advanced by that very road in which formerly we had been stopped and forced to return. In the few days that followed, many were the difficulties and hardships that we endured; indeed, such hardships and sufferings as I have scarcely undergone at any other period of my life. It was at this time that I composed the following verses:

(*Türki*)—There is no violence or injury of fortune that I have not experienced,
This broken heart has endured them all Alas! is there one left that I have not encountered [b]?

For about a week, we continued pressing down the snow, without being able to advance more than a kos or a kos and a half. I myself assisted in depressing the snow Accompanied by ten or fifteen of my household, and by Kāsim Beg, his two sons Tengri Berdi and Kamber Ali, and two or three of his servants, we all dismounted, and worked in beating down the snow. Every step we sank up to the middle or the breast, but we still went on [c] trampling it

[a] One
[b] is there a grief or pain my wounded heart has not endured?
[c] *Add* for seven or eight yards

down As the vigour of the person who went first was generally expended after he had advanced a few paces, he stood still, while another advanced and took his place. The ten, fifteen, or twenty people who worked in trampling down the snow, next succeeded in dragging on a horse without a rider. The first horse sank up to the stirrups and girths, and after advancing ten or fifteen paces, was worn out. Drawing this horse aside, we brought on another, and in this way ten, fifteen, or twenty of us trampled down the snow, and contrived to bring forward the horses of all our number. The rest of the troops, even our best men, and many that bore the title of Beg, without dismounting, advanced along the road that had been beaten for them, hanging down their heads This was no time for plaguing them or employing authority Every man who possesses spirit or emulation hastens to such works of himself. Continuing to advance by a track which we had beaten in the snow in this manner, we proceeded by a place named Anjukān, and in three or four days reached a *khawāl*, or cave, called Khawāl-kūti, at the foot of the Zirrīn [1] pass. That day the storm of wind was dreadful. The snow fell in such quantities,[a] that we all expected to meet death together. The men of that hill country call their caves and hollows *khawāl*. When we reached this *khawāl*, the storm was terribly violent. We halted at the mouth of it. The snow was deep, and the path narrow, so that only one person could pass at a time. The horses too advanced with difficulty over the road that had been beaten and trampled down, and the days were at the shortest. The first of the troops reached this *khawāl* while it was yet daylight. About evening and night prayers, the troops ceased coming in; after which every man was obliged to dismount and halt where he happened to be. Many men waited for morning on horseback. The *khawāl* seemed to be small. I took a hoe, and having swept away and cleared off the snow, made for myself, at the mouth of the cave, a resting-

Reaches a cave.

[a] That day there was such a blizzard,

[1] The Zirrīn pass seems to have lain between Yake-auleng and Chakhcherān

place about the size of a prayer-carpet.[1] I dug down in the snow as deep as my breast, and yet did not reach the ground. This hole afforded me some shelter from the wind, and I sat down in it. Some desired me to go into the cavern, but I would not go. I felt, that for me to be in a warm dwelling, and in comfort, while my men were in the midst of snow and drift—for me to be within, enjoying sleep and ease, while my followers were in trouble and distress, would be inconsistent with what I owed them, and a deviation from that society in suffering that was then due. It was right, that whatever their sufferings and difficulties were, and whatever they might be obliged to undergo, I should be a sharer with them. There is a Persian proverb, that 'Death in the company of friends is a feast'. I continued, therefore, to sit in the drift, in the sort of hole which I had cleared and dug out for myself, till bed-time prayers, when the snow fell so fast, that, as I had remained all the while sitting crouching down on my feet, I now found that four inches of snow had settled on my head, lips,[a] and ears. That night I caught a cold in my ear. About bed-time prayers a party, after having surveyed the cave, reported that the *khawāl* was very extensive, and was sufficiently large to receive all our people. As soon as I learned this, I shook off the snow that was on my head and face, and went into the cave. I sent to call in all such of the people as were at hand. A comfortable place was found within for fifty or sixty persons, such as had any eatables, stewed meat, preserved flesh, or anything else in readiness, produced them; and thus we escaped from the terrible cold, and snow, and drift, into a wonderfully safe, warm, and comfortable place, where we could refresh ourselves.

Next morning the snow and tempest ceased. Moving early, we trampled down the snow in the old way, and made a road. We reached the Bāla-dābān.[2] As the usual road, which is called the Zirrīn *kotal*, or hill-pass, leads by

Arrives at the Zirrīn Pass.

[a] back,

[1] The Musulmans, particularly travellers, when about to pray, spread out a small carpet, on which they make their prostrations.

[2] Upper pass Perhaps the top of the pass.

an excessively steep ascent, we did not attempt it, but proceeded by the lower valley road. Before we reached the Payān-dābān,[1] the day closed on us. We halted in the defiles [a] of the valley. The cold was dreadful, and we passed that night in great distress and misery. Many lost their hands and feet from the frost Kūpek lost his feet, Siyūndūk Turkomān his hands, and Akhi his feet, from the cold of that night Early next morning we moved down the glen Although we knew that this was not the usual road, yet, placing our trust in God, we advanced down the valley, and descended by difficult and precipitous places. It was evening prayer before we extricated ourselves from the mouth of the valley [b] It was not in the memory of the oldest man, that this pass had ever been descended, when there was so much snow on the ground, nay, it was never known that anybody even conceived the idea of passing it at such a season Although for some days we endured much from the depth of the snow, yet, in the issue, it was this very circumstance which brought us to our journey's end. For, if the snow had not been so deep, how was it possible to have gone, as we did, where there was no road, marching over precipices and ravines? Had it not been for the extreme depth of the snow, the whole of our horses and camels must have sunk into the first gulf that we met with.

(*Persian*)—Every good and evil that exists,
If you mark it well, is for a blessing

Reaches Yake-auleng

It was bed-time prayers when we reached Yake-auleng, and halted. The people of Yake-auleng,[2] who had heard of us as we descended, carried us to their warm houses, brought out fat sheep for us, a superfluity of hay and grain for our horses, with abundance of wood and dried dung to kindle us fires. To pass from the cold and snow, into such a village and its warm houses, on escaping from want and suffering, to find such plenty of good bread and fat sheep as we did, is an enjoyment that can be conceived only

[a] entrance
[b] reached the other end of the valley.

[1] Lower pass, or, probably the bottom of the pass
[2] Yake-auleng lies about thirty miles south-west from Bāmiān

by such as have suffered similar hardships, or endured such heavy distress.[1] We stayed one day at Yake-auleng to refresh and recruit the spirits and strength of our men [a]; after which we marched on two farsangs, and halted. Next morning was the Īd [2] of the Ramzān. We passed through Bāmiān, descended by the *kotal*, or hill-pass of Shibertu, and halted before reaching Jangelīk. The Turkomān Hazāras had taken up their winter-quarters in the line of my march, with their families and property, and had not the smallest intimation of my approach Next morning, on our march, we came among their huts, close by [b] their sheep-folds, two or three of which we plundered; whereupon the whole of the Hazāras, taking the alarm, abandoned their huts and property, and fled away to the hills with their children. Soon afterwards information was brought from the van, that a body of them, having posted themselves right in our line of march, had stopped our people in a narrow defile, were assailing them with arrows, and effectually prevented their advance Immediately on learning this I hurried forward. On coming up, I found that there really was, properly speaking, no strait; but that some Hazāras had posted themselves on a projecting eminence, where they had gathered together their effects,[c] had taken up a position, and were making discharges of arrows on our men.

Plunder the Hazāras

(*Turkī*)—They marked the distant blackening of the foe,
And stood panic-struck and confounded,
I came up and hastened to the spot,
And pressing on, exclaiming, Stand! Stand![d]
My aim was to make my troops alert,
To fall briskly upon the foe
Having brought on my men, I placed myself behind,[e]
When not a man minded my orders,
I had neither my coat of mail, nor horse-mail, nor arms,
Except only my bow [f] and arrows

[a] tranquil in mind and easy at heart, [b] and *Omit this clause* [d] Forward! [e] in front, [f] quiver

[1] [This may be regarded as the fifth occasion of Bābur's deliverance from a dangerous situation (See vol i, p 158, note 1)]

[2] About February 14, 1507 The festival on the termination of the fast of Ramzān

When I stood still, all my men stood still also,
As if the foe had slain them all.
'He who hires a servant, hires him for his need,
That he may one day be useful in time of danger,
Not that he should stand still while his lord advances,
That he should stand at ease while his lord bears the burden of the day.
He who is a servant should serve in due season,
Not loiter in thy service, so as not even to be seasoning to thy food' [a] [1]
At length I spurred on my horse and advanced,
And, driving the foe before me, ascended the hill,
My men, on seeing me advance, advanced also,
Leaving their terror behind
Pushing forward, we quickly climbed the hill,
We went on without heeding their arrows,
Sometimes dismounting, sometimes on horseback
First of all came on the boldest warriors [b]
The enemy showered down arrows from above,
But marking our resolution gave way and fled
We gained the top of the hill, and drove the Hazāras before us,
We skipped [c] over the heights and hollows like deer,
We cut the heads of the slain [d] like deer,
We plundered them, we divided their property and sheep,
We slew the Turkomān Hazāras,
And made captives of their men and women,
Those who were far off too we followed and made prisoners [e]
We took their wives and their children.

The purport of these verses is, that when the Hazāras stopped the van, on its route, our men were all rather perplexed, and halted. In this situation I came up singly. Having called out to the men who were fleeing, 'Stand! Stand!' I attempted to encourage them. Not one of them listened to me, or advanced upon the enemy, but they stood

[a] What is the good of such a servant? He is no use to you He is worth nothing.
[b] We advanced boldly.
[c] chased them
[d] We shot them with arrows
[e] Their notables we made prisoners

[1] That is, if the master furnish the principal part of the entertainment by being *the meat*, the servant ought, at least, to be *the seasoning*, or *sauce* If the master bears the brunt of the day, the

scattered about in different places. Although I had not put on my helmet, my horse's mail, or my armour, and had only my bow and quiver, I called out that servants were kept that they might be serviceable, and, in time of need, prove their loyalty to their master; not for the purpose of looking on while their master marched up against the foe: after which I spurred on my horse. When my men saw me making for the enemy, they followed. On reaching the hill which the Hazāras occupied, our troops instantly climbed it, and, without minding the arrows which poured down on them, made their way up, partly on horseback, partly on foot. As soon as the enemy saw that our men were in real earnest, they did not venture to stand their ground, but took to flight. Our people pursued them up the hills, hunting them like deer or game. Such property or effects as our troops could lay hold of, they brought in with them, and made the families and children of the enemy prisoners.[1] We also gathered in some of their sheep, which we gave in charge to Yārek Taghāi, while we proceeded forward. We traversed the heights and eminences [a] of the hill-country, driving off the horses and sheep of the Hazāras, and brought them to Langer-Taimūr-Beg, where we encamped. Fourteen or fifteen of the most noted insurgents and robber chiefs of the Hazāras had fallen into our hands. It was my intention to have put them to death with torture at our halting-ground, as an example and terror to all rebels and robbers; but Kāsim Beg happening to meet them, was filled with unseasonable commiseration, and let them go

> To do good to the bad is the same thing
> As to do evil to the good
> Salt ground does not produce spikenard,—
> Do not throw away good seed on it [2]

[a] valleys

[1] [The text from 'The purport' to 'enemy prisoners' is omitted in P. de C.'s translation. This passage is merely a summary of the verses.]

[2] From the *Gulistān* of Sadi [chapter 1, story 4].

The same pity was extended to the other prisoners, who were all set at liberty.

Defection of Muhammed Hussain Mirza.

Khan Mirza proclaimed king

While we were plundering the Turkomān Hazāras, information reached us that Muhammed Hussain Mirza Dughlet, and Sultan Sanjer Birlās, having drawn over to their interests the body of Moghuls who had stayed behind in Kābul, had declared Khan Mirza king,[1] were now besieging Kābul, and had spread a report that Badiā-ez-zemān Mirza and Muzaffer Mirza had seized the king, and carried him away to the fort of Ikhtiyār-ed-din at Heri, which is now known by the name of Aleh-kurghān.[2] The chief persons in the fort of Kābul were Mulla Bābā Peshāgheri, Khalīfeh, Muhibb Ali Kōrchi, Ahmed Yūsef, and Ahmed Kāsim. These officers had all conducted themselves well, had put the fort into a strong state of defence, and done everything to guard it. At Langer-Taimūr-Beg I wrote an intimation of my having arrived in this quarter, and sent it to the nobles who were in Kābul, by Muhammed Andejāni, one of Kāsim Beg's servants.[a] I arranged with them that I was to descend by the straits of Ghūrbend, and to march on and take the enemy by surprise. The signal of my coming was to be, that I was to kindle a blazing fire after passing Minār hill; and I enjoined them, on their side, to make a large fire in the Citadel, on the top of the Old Kiosk, which is now the Treasury, in order that we might be sure that they were aware of our approach; and while we assailed the enemy from without, they were to sally out from within, and to leave nothing undone to rout the besiegers. Such were the instructions [b] which I dispatched Muhammed Andejāni to communicate.

Bābur's plan for surprising the rebels in Kābul

[a] an ensign in Kāsim Beg's service. [b] *Add* in writing

[1] Khan Mirza was Sultan Weis Mirza, the youngest son of Bābur's uncle, Sultan Mahmūd Mirza of Hissār, by a half-sister of Bābur's mother, and consequently his cousin Muhammed Hussain Mirza Dughlet had married another sister of Bābur's mother, and had been governor of Uratippa, whence he had been expelled by Sheibāni Khan

[2] Eagle Castle It was an extremely strong castle on the north of Herāt, and much used as a state-prison It is pretended that Shahrokh Mirza employed no less than seven hundred thousand men in rebuilding it.

Next morning we left Langer, and halted opposite to Ushter-sheher. Mounting again before day, we descended the Pass of Ghūrbend towards night, and halted near Sir-e-pul.[1] Having refreshed our horses, and bathed them, we left Sir-e-pul at noon-day prayers. Till we reached Tūtkāwel [2] there was no snow. After passing that place, the farther we went the snow was deeper. Between the village of Nūh [3] and Minār the cold was so excessive, that, in the whole course of my life, I have seldom experienced the like I sent Ahmedi Yasāwel,[4] along with Kara Ahmed Yūrchi, to the Begs in Kābul, to let them know that we had come according to our engagement, and to require them to be on the alert, and bold. After surmounting the hill of Minār, we descended to the skirts of the hill, and, being rendered quite powerless from the frost, kindled fires and warmed ourselves. This was not the place where we were to kindle our fires, but, being unable to stand the cold, we were obliged to kindle them to warm ourselves. The morning was near when we set out from the skirts of the hill of Minār. Between Kābul and Minār the snow reached up to the horses' thighs. Every place was covered with snow,[a] so that such of our people as deviated from the road were exposed to mischef.[b] This whole distance we passed, sinking and rising again in the snow.[c] In this way we reached Kābul undiscovered, by the appointed time. Before we arrived at Bībi Māh-rūī, we saw a fire blazing in the Citadel We then knew that they were prepared. When we came to Syed Kāsim's Bridge, I sent Shīrīm Taghāi, with the right wing, towards Mulla Bāba's Bridge. With the centre and left wing, I advanced by way of Bāba Lūli ; at that time, where the Bāgh-e-Khalīfeh now is, there was a small garden and house, which Ulugh Beg Mirza had made to

[a] The snow reached the horses' knees and was very hard,
[b] found great difficulty in extricating themselves
[c] one after the other in single file

[1] Bridge-head, a common name in these countries
[2] [According to P de C this word is [illegible] 'toll', and hence toll-house]
[3] [P. de C has Zameh-Yakhshi] [4] [Messenger.]

serve as a *langer*.[1] Although its trees and wood were gone, yet its enclosure was still left. Khan Mirza had his quarters there. Hussain Mirza was in the Bāgh-e-behisht,[2] which had been made by Ulugh Beg Mirza. We had got to the burying-ground near[a] Mulla Bāba's garden, when they brought back to me, wounded and unhorsed, a party that had pushed on in advance. This party, which had preceded us and had entered Khan Mirza's house, was four in number, Syed Kāsim Ishik-agha, Kamber Ali Beg, Sher Kuli Karāwel, Moghul, and Sultan Ahmed Moghul, who was one of Sher Kuli Moghul's followers, these four persons, as soon as they came up, without halting, entered the palace where Mirza Khan lived. All was instantly in uproar and alarm. Khan Mirza mounted on horseback, galloped off, and escaped Muhammed Hussain Korbegi's younger brother, also in the service of Khan Mirza, attacked Sher Kuli Moghul, one of the four, sword in hand, and threw him down; but Sher Kuli contrived to escape while his opponent was endeavouring to cut off his head. These four persons, still smarting from their sabre and arrow wounds, were brought to me as I have mentioned. The alley was narrow, and our horsemen crowded into it, so that a confusion and bustle ensued. Some of the enemy also collected, and though much crowded, made a stand.[b] Our people could not get forward, and could not get back. I desired some men who were near me to dismount and push on. Dost Nāsir, Khwājeh Muhammed Ali Kitābdār,[3] Bāba Sheizād, Shah Mahmūd, and a few others, having accordingly dismounted, advanced and assailed the enemy with their arrows. The enemy were shaken and took to flight. We waited a long time for the coming of our people from the fort, but they did not arrive in time for action. After the enemy were defeated, they

He attacks them.

Khan Mirza escapes.

[a] *Add* the lane of

[b] *Omit this sentence*

[1] A *langer* is a house, in which *kalenders*, or the religious devotees of the Muhammedans, live in a sort of collegiate state. A *caravanserai* is generally connected with it, and is often the only part remaining of the establishment. [As alms are generally distributed to the poor by the monks of the *langer*, it often connotes an almshouse.]

[2] Garden of Heaven.

[3] [Librarian.]

began to drop in by ones and twos. Before we reached the Chār-bāgh, in which Khan Mirza's quarters had been, Ahmed Yūsef and Syed Yūsef joined me from the fort, and we entered the garden that he had left. On finding that Khan Mirza had escaped, we instantly left it. Ahmed Yūsef was behind me, when, at the gate of the Chār-bāgh, as I was coming out, Dost Sirpuli Piādeh,[1] a man to whom I had shown particular marks of favour in Kābul, on account of his valour, and whom I had left in the office of *kotwāl*,[2] advanced with a naked sword in his hand, and made at me. I had on my stuffed waistcoat,[3] but had not put on my plate-mail. I had also omitted to put on my helmet. Although I called out to him, 'Ho, Dost! Ho, Dost!' and spoke to him; and though Ahmed Yūsef also called out; whether it was that the cold and snow had affected[a] him, or whether he was hurried away by a confusion of ideas arising from the bustle of fight, he did not know me, and, without stopping, let fall a blow on my bare arm. The grace of God was conspicuous; it did not hurt a single hair:

Bābur in danger

> However the sword of man may strike,[b]
> It injures not a single vein, without the will of God.

I had repeated a prayer, by virtue of which it was that Almighty God averted my danger, and removed from me the risk to which I was exposed. It was as follows: (*Arabic*)—

His prayer

'O my God! Thou art my Creator; except Thee there is no God. On Thee do I repose my trust; Thou art the Lord of the mighty throne. What God wills comes to pass; and what He does not will, comes not to pass; and there is no power nor strength but through the High and Exalted God; and, of a truth, in all things God is Almighty; and verily He comprehends all things by His knowledge, and has taken account of everything. O my Creator! as I sincerely trust in Thee, do Thou seize by the forelock all evil proceeding

[a] rendered me unrecognizable,

[b] Although a sword may convulse the world,

[1] [Foot soldier.]

[2] The *kotwāl* is a Superintendent of Police.

[3] The *jibeh* is a sort of waistcoat quilted with cotton. The *qhar-bīcheh*, or plate-mail, are four plates of iron or other metal, made to cover the back, front, and sides.

from within myself, and all evil coming from without, and all evil proceeding from every man who can be the occasion of evil, and all such evil as can proceed from any living thing, and remove them far from me; since, of a truth, thou art the Lord of the exalted throne!'

He attempts to seize Muhammed Hussain Mirza

Proceeding thence, I went to the Bāgh-e-behisht, where Muhammed Hussain Mirza resided; but he had fled, and had escaped and hid himself. In a breach in the wall of the Bāgheheh (or Little Garden), in which Muhammed Hussain Mirza had resided, seven or eight archers kept their post. I galloped and spurred my horse at them; they durst not stand, but ran off. I came up with one of them, and cut him down. He went spinning off in such a way, that I imagined his head had been severed from his body, and passed on. The person whom I had hit was Tūlik Gokultāsh, the foster brother of Khan Mirza; I struck him on the arm.[a] Just as I had reached the door of Muhammed Hussain Mirza's house, there was a Moghul sitting on the terrace, who had been in my service, and I recognized him. He fitted an arrow to his bow, and aimed at me.[b] A cry rose on all sides, 'That is the King!' he turned from his aim, discharged the arrow, and ran off. As the time for shooting was gone by, and as the Mirza and his officers had fled away or were prisoners, what purpose was to be answered by his shooting? While I was at this palace, Sultan Sanjer Birlās, whom I had distinguished by favours, and to whom I had given the Tumān of Nangenhār, but who had nevertheless engaged in this rebellion, was taken, and dragged before me with a rope round his neck. Being in great agitation he called out, 'What fault have I done?' 'Is there a greater crime than for a man of note like you to associate and conspire with insurgents and rebels?' As Shah Begum,[1] the mother of my maternal uncle the Khan, was his sister's daughter,[c]

[a] shoulder

[b] *Add* full at my face from a very short distance

[c] As he was the son of the sister of Shah Begum, the mother of the Khan, my grandfather,

[1] Shah Begum was one of the wives of Yunis Khan, the maternal grandfather of Bābur, and was the mother of Sultan Nigār Khanum, who was Khan Mirza's mother.

I ordered them not to drag him in this shameful way along the ground, but spared his life, and did him no more harm.

Leaving this place, I directed Ahmed Kāsim Kohbur, who was one of the chiefs that had been in the fort, to pursue Khan Mirza with a body of troops. Close by the Bāgh-e-behisht,[1] Shah Begum and the Khanum [2] dwelt, in palaces which they had themselves erected. On leaving the palace,[a] I went to visit Shah Begum and the Khanum. The town's-people and the rabble of the place had taken to their clubs, and were making a riot. They were eager to lay hold of men in corners, to plunder property, and profit by the confusion. I therefore stationed parties in different places, to chastise and disperse them, and to drive them away. Shah Begum and the Khanum were sitting together in the same house. I alighted where I had always done, and went up and saluted them with the same respect and form as I had been accustomed to use. Shah Begum and the Khanum were out of all measure alarmed, confounded, dismayed, and ashamed. They could neither stammer out an excuse, nor make the inquiries which politeness required. It was not my wish that they should feel uneasy [b]; yet the faction which had been guilty of such excesses was composed of persons who, beyond all doubt, were not disposed to neglect the suggestions of the Begum and the Khanum. Khan Mirza was the grandson of Shah Begum, and night and day with the Begums. If he did not pursue their advice, it was in their power to have prevented his leaving them, and they could have kept him near them under their own eye. On several occasions, too, when, from adverse circumstances and ill fortune, I was separated from my country, my throne, my servants, and dependants, I had fled to them

Bābur visits the Begums.

[a] And it was there that

[b] Besides I hardly cared to receive their excuses and inquiries;

[1] Garden of Paradise

[2] The Khanum, or princess, here mentioned must be either Meher Nigār Khanum, the eldest sister of Bābur's mother, and one of the widows of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, or perhaps her youngest sister of the full blood, Khūb Nigār Khanum, the wife of Muhammed Hussain Mirza Khan Mirza was the youngest son of their sister of the half blood, Sultan Nigār Khanum, the widow of Sultan Mahmūd Mirza

for refuge and shelter, and my mother had also gone to them, but we experienced no sort of kindness or support. Khan Mirza, my younger brother,[1] and his mother, Sultan Nigār Khanum, at that time possessed valuable and populous countries, while I and my mother had not even a single village, nor a few fowls. My mother was a daughter of Yunis Khan, and I was his grandson. But whether I was or not, every one of that connexion who happened to come in my way was sure to benefit by it, and was treated as a relation or cousin. When Shah Begum came to live with me, I bestowed on her Pamghān, which is one of the most desirable places in Kābul. Indeed, I never failed in my duty or service towards any of them [a] Sultan Saīd Khan, the Khan of Kāshghar,[2] came to me with five or six naked followers on foot; I received them like my own brothers, and gave him the Tumān of Mandrāwar, one of the districts of Lamghān. When Shah Ismāel overthrew and slew Sheibāni Khan in Merv,[3] and I passed over into Kunduz, the men of Andejān began to turn their eyes towards me. Several of them displaced their Dāroghas, while others held their towns on my account, and sent to give me notice of their proceedings. I dispatched Sultan Saīd Khan, with my Bāburi servants and an additional reinforcement, to hold the government of my own native country of Andejān, and raised him to the rank of Khan; and, down to this moment, I have always continued to treat every man of that family, who places himself under my protection, with as much kindness as my own paternal relations; as, for example, Chīn Taimūr Sultan, Īsān Taimūr Sultan, Tukhteh Būgha Sultan, and Bāba Sultan, are at this instant with me, and I have received and treated them with more distinction and favour than my own paternal cousins. I have no intention, by what I have written, to reflect on any one;

[a] her

[1] Cousins are often familiarly called brothers in eastern countries The meaning is, Khan Mirza, whom I regarded as my younger brother, &c

[2] He also was a near relation of Yunis Khan He married a daughter of one of Bābur's aunts

[3] [In 1510. *E.B.*, p. 303.]

all that I have said is only the plain truth : and I have not mentioned it with the least design to praise myself ; I have only spoken of things as they happened. In all that I have written, down to the present moment, I have in every word most scrupulously followed the truth. I have spoken of occurrences precisely as they really passed ; I have consequently described every good or bad act, were it of my father or elder brother, just as it occurred, and have set forth the merit or demerit of every man, whether friend or stranger, with the most perfect impartiality. Let the reader therefore excuse me, and let not the hearer judge with too much severity

Leaving their palace, I went to the Chār-bāgh, which had been occupied by Khan Mirza On reaching it I wrote letters to different parts of the country, as well as to the Aimāks and wandering tribes,[a] announcing my victory. I then mounted my horse and entered the citadel.

Muhammed Hussain Mirza, after making his escape, had in his fright taken refuge in the Khanum's wardrobe, and hid himself among the carpets.[b] Mīrim Diwāneh and some others were sent from the fort, to search the house and bring him out[c] On coming to the Khanum's palace-gate, they made use of rough, and not very polite language. They, however, discovered Muhammed Hussain Mirza hid among the carpets, and conveyed him into the citadel. I behaved to him with my wonted respect, rose on his coming in, and showed no symptoms of harshness in my manner. Muhammed Hussain Mirza had conducted himself in such a criminal and guilty way, and had been actively engaged in such mutinous and rebellious proceedings, that, had he been cut in pieces, or put to a painful death, he would only have met with his deserts As we were in some degree of relationship to each other, he having sons and daughters by my mother's sister, Khūb Nigār Khanum, I took that circumstance into consideration, and gave him his liberty, allowing him to set out for Khorasān. Yet this ungrateful, thankless man, this coward, who had been treated by me

Muhammed Hussain Mirza taken prisoner.

[a] retainers, [b] in some bedding

[c] search the houses of the Princesses, find the fugitive, and bring him to me

with such lenity, and whose life I had spared, entirely forgetful of this benefit, abused me and scandalized my conduct to Sheibāni Khan. It was but a short time, however, before Sheibāni Khan put him to death, and thus sufficiently avenged me :

Deliver over him who injures you to Fate ;
For Fate is a servant that will avenge your quarrel

Khan Mirza also taken.

Ahmed Kāsim Kohbur, and the party who were sent in pursuit of Khan Mirza, overtook him among the hillocks of Kurgh-e-yalāk. He was unable to flee, and had neither strength nor courage enough to fight. They took him prisoner, and brought him before me. I was sitting in the old Diwānkhāneh[1] (or Hall of Audience), in a portico on its north-east side, when he was brought in. I said, 'Come and embrace me.' From the agitation in which he was, he fell twice before he could come up and make his obeisance After we had saluted I seated him at my side, and spoke encouragingly to him. They brought in sherbet. I myself drank of it first, in order to reassure him, and then handed it to him. As I was still uncertain of the fidelity of a considerable part of the soldiers, the country people, the Moghuls, and Chaghatāi, who were yet unsettled, I sent Khan Mirza into custody at large in the house of his sisters,[2] with orders to him not to leave it [a] ; but, as the commotions and sedition of the Ils and Ulūses [3] still continued, and as the Khan's stay in Kābul did not seem advisable, I allowed him, in the course of a few days, to proceed to Khorasān.

Bābur visits Bārān, &c.

After he had taken leave, I set out on a circuit through Bārān, Chāstūbeh, and the low grounds [b] of Gulbehār.[4] In the spring, the country about [c] Bārān, the plain of Chāstūbeh, and the low country of Gulbehār, is excessively

[a] *Omit this clause.* [b] lower slopes [c] the plateau of

[1] The *Akbarnāmeh* says that the young prince was brought to Bābur by the Khanum, his mother, and gives the address which she made him on the occasion The account of this affair there given is, in several respects, inconsistent with that of Bābur His mother does not appear to have been at Kābul She had married Uzbek Khan

[2] [P. de C. has 'eldest sister'.] [3] [i e the nomad population]

[4] These places lie to the north of Kābul, among the hills.

pleasant. Its verdure is much superior to that of any place in Kābul. It abounds with tulips of various species. I once desired the different kinds to be counted, and they brought me in thirty-four sorts. I wrote some verses in praise of the district:

(*Tūrkī*)—Its verdure and flowers render Kābul, in spring, a heaven;
But above all, the spring of Bārān, and of Gulbehār, is enchanting

In this same tour I finished the *ghazel* which begins thus:

(*Tūrkī*)—My heart is like a rose-bud, spotted with blood,
Were there a hundred thousand springs, the rose-bud of my heart can never blow.[a]

In truth, few places can be compared to these in the spring, either for beauty of prospect, or for the amusement of hawking,[b] as has been more particularly noticed in the summary account I have given of Kābul and Ghaznī.

Nāsir Mirza expelled from Badakhshān.

This same year, the Amirs of Badakhshān, such as Muhammed Korchī, Mubārek Shah, Zobeir, and Jehāngīr, being offended with the conduct and proceedings of Nāsir Mirza,[1] and some of his favourites, rose in insurrection, united, and formed an army. After collecting their horse and foot in the plain which lies on the river Kokcheh,[2] towards Yaftel and Rāgh, they advanced by way of the broken hillock grounds[3] near Khamchān.[4] Nāsir Mirza, and those who were about him, being inexperienced young men, of no consideration or foresight, marched towards the hillocks to give the insurgents battle, and engaged them The ground is a mixture of hill and plain. The enemy had a numerous infantry. Though several times charged by cavalry they stood fast, and in their turn attacked so

[a] My poor heart, like a rosebud, is folded in ensanguined layers
Can it ever become full-blown at the breath of a thousand springs?

[b] *Add* or for shooting birds,

[1] [This was Bābur's younger brother, who had been acknowledged as King of Badakhshān, and governed that country for two or three years.—*E B*, p 229]

[2] The river on which Faizābād stands; it joins the Amu from the south, rising in Kaferistān It is one of the two chief branches of the Oxus.

[3] [i. e. foot-hills]

[4] These places lie south-east from Kunduz

spiritedly, that the Mirza's horse were unable to keep their ground, and fled. The Badakhshānians having routed Nāsir Mirza pillaged and plundered all who were connected with or dependent on him Nāsir Mirza, with his routed and plundered adherents, fled by way of Ishkamish and Narīn[1] to Kila-kāi, and, going up the Surkh-āb, proceeded on to Ābdareh; whence, descending by the hill-pass of Shibertū, he reached Kābul with seventy or eighty plundered and worn-out servants and followers, naked and hungry. It was a striking dispensation of Providence. Two or three years before, Nāsir Mirza had instigated all the Ils and Ulūses to rise up and march off with him in rebellion from Kābul, had proceeded to Badakhshān, put the forts in a state of defence, guarded the valleys, and indulged in the most ambitious views; now he returned, ashamed and distressed at his former doings and afflicted and distracted at his former defection. I did not show him the least symptom of displeasure, but asked him a number of questions, conversed with him and showed him marks of regard, in order to dissipate his uneasiness and embarrassment.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 913[2]

Bābur's foray against the Ghiljis

I SET out from Kābul for the purpose of plundering and beating up the quarters of the Ghiljis[3] By the time we

[1] [Narīn lies north of Ishkamish on an affluent of the Surkhāb]

[2] This year commenced on May 13, 1507

[3] [The Ghilzais are a very numerous and important tribe, nomadic and pastoral in their habits, which are mostly settled in the neighbourhood of Kalāt i Ghilzai and Ghaznī, and northwards to within ten miles of Kabul Certain sections of the tribe (known as Powindahs), such as the Sulemān Kheyls, Kharotis, and Tarakis, move eastwards in the beginning of the cold weather through the Gumal, Tochi, and other passes, and settle on our borders (chiefly in the Derah Ismail Khan District) for the winter months They bring their families with them as well as their camels and flocks, and to ensure their safety in passing through the country of the Border tribes, they move in large well-armed bodies under the orders of a chief appointed for the purpose. They import into British territory various articles of merchandise, the produce of Persia, Bokhara, Samarkand, and Afghanistān, which they dispose of to native dealers often at high prices Raverty gives an interesting account of these *Powindahs* in his *Notes*, pp. 495 et seq]

halted at Sardeh, they brought me notice that a large body of Mahmands,[1] quite unaware of our approach, were lying at Masht and Sihkāneh,[2] which are about a farsang from Sardeh. The Amirs, and men who accompanied me, were eager to be allowed to fall upon these Mahmands. I answered, 'Would it be right, while the object of the expedition on which we were bent is still unaccomplished, to turn out of our way to chastise and injure our own subjects? It cannot be' Leaving Sardeh, we crossed the *dasht* of Kattehwāz[3] by night. The night was dark, and the ground uneven.[a] We could see neither hill nor hillock, nor any trace of a road or passage. Nobody was able to guide us. At last I myself led the way. I had passed once or twice before through this ground, and, trusting to my recollection of it, I advanced, keeping the pole star on my right hand Almighty God was propitious, and we came right on Kiaktū, and the stream of Ulābātū, towards the place where the Ghiljis were lying, called Khwājeh Ismāel Sirītī. The road passes over the stream; we halted in the hollow in which the stream flows, rested and refreshed ourselves and our horses for an hour; and having slept [b] and taken breath, towards morning we set out again. The sun was up before we emerged from these hills and knolls,[c] and reached the *dasht*. From thence, a good farsang from the Ghilji camp, we observed a blackness, which was either owing to the Ghiljis being in motion, or to smoke. The young and inexperienced men of the army [d] all set forward full speed; I

[a] a level plain stretched in front of us
[b] *Omit* for an hour *and after* slept *add* a little
[c] mountain slopes and foot-hills,
[d] The soldiers, whether from sheer wilfulness or the ardour of youth,

[1] [According to Raverty (*Notes*, pp 121–2) the Mahmands are one of the five Afghan tribes constituting the Ghwārī sept They are divided into two sections—the Eastern, which dwell on the borders of the Peshawar District, and the Western, whose territory lies on the north of the Kabul river, and extends from the Khaibar to the Kunar boundary]

[2] Sihkāneh lies south-east of Shorkach, and near Kharbīn Sardeh is about twenty-five or thirty miles south of Ghazni

[3] The *dasht* [or plain] of Kattehwāz is to the south of Ghazni.

followed them for two kos, shooting arrows at their horses,[a] and at length checked their speed. When five or six thousand men set out on a pillaging party, it is extremely difficult to maintain discipline. The Almighty directed everything favourably. Our people stopped. When we had got about a shiraa kos from the enemy, we saw the blackness occasioned by the encampment of the Afghans, and sent on the pillagers In this foray we took a number of sheep. I had never seen so many taken at any other time. While we were dismounted, and employed in collecting the property and spoil,[b] the enemy gathered in troops all around, descended into the plain, and provoked us to fight. Some of the Begs and men [c] having gone out, surrounded and took one body of them whole and entire, and put every man of them to the sword. Nāsir Mirza attacked another body of them, and entirely cut them to pieces. A minaret of skulls was erected of the heads of these Afghans. Dost Pīādeh, the *kotwāl*, whose name has been already noticed, was wounded in the leg by an arrow, and died by the time we reached Kābul.

Marching back from Khwājeh Ismāel, we halted at Ulābātū. Here some of my Begs and officers were directed to go and separate the fifth of the spoil.[1] Kāsim Beg, and some others, as a mark of favour, had not the fifth taken from them. The fifth so taken was returned at sixteen thousand sheep, so that the spoil amounted to eighty thousand, and, making allowance for losses and for the fifths not demanded, must have amounted to a hundred thousand sheep.

Forms the hunting-ring.

Marching from this ground next morning, I directed the large hunting-ring to be formed by the troops in the plain of Kattehwāz,[2] for the purpose of the chase. The deer and *gorkhars*[3] of this plain are always very fat, and in great plenty. A number of deer and *gorkhars* were enclosed in

[a] *Add* and men, [b] sending away the cattle from our camp,
[c] the officers of my household

[1] [The King's perquisite.]

[2] [The plain of Kattāwāz extends from Gwashta to within twenty miles of Ghazni.]

[3] The *gorkhar* is the wild ass.

our circle, and many of them were killed. During the hunt I pursued a *gorkhar*, and, on coming near, discharged first one arrow at it, and then another, but the wounds were not such as to bring it down. Yet, in consequence of these two wounds, it ran slower than before. Spurring on my horse, and getting nearer it, I hit it such a blow with my sword on the back part of the head, behind its two ears, that its windpipe was cut, and it fell tumbling over, its hind legs striking my stirrups. My sword cut excessively well, and it was a wonderfully fat *gorkhar*. Its rib might be somewhat less than a gaz in length. Shirīm Taghāi, and some others who had seen the deer of Moghulistān, were surprised, and declared that, even in Moghulistān, deer so fat and large were very rarely to be met with. I killed also another *gorkhar*, and the deer and *gorkhars* in general that were killed in this hunt were very fat; but none equalled in size the *gorkhar* which I have mentioned.

Affairs of Khorasān.

When this foray was over I returned to Kābul, and encamped. In the end of last year,[1] Sheibāni Khan had set out from Samarkand with his army, for the purpose of conquering Khorasān. Shah Mansūr Bakhshi, a traitor, who held Andekhūd, sent persons to Sheibāni Khan, inviting him to hasten his approach. When he came near Andekhūd,[2] this wretch, relying on his having invited the Uzbeks, dressed himself very fine, put a plume on his head, and taking along with him a *peshkesh* and a present of his choicest curiosities, issued forth. On his approach, the Uzbeks, who had no officer of rank with them, flocked round him on every side. In the twinkling of an eye they fell upon the procession, pulled away and plundered his effeminate attire, his *peshkesh* and his rarities, and stripped and robbed him and all his people.[a]

Irresolution of the Princes.

Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza, Muzaffer Mirza, Muhammed Berendūk Birlās, and Zūlnūn Arghūn, all lay in the vicinity of Bāba Khāki[3] with the army which they had collected.

[a] and scattered his followers

[1] Spring of 1507

[2] Andekhūd may be about twenty-five miles west of Shaberghān, and lies near the Desert

[3] [A place east of Herāt]

They had neither made up their minds to fight, nor had they agreed to put the fort [1] in a defensible state. They had nothing in order, and had come to no final resolution; but continued lying there panic-struck, ill informed, and irresolute. Muhammed Berendūk Bilās, who was a man of sense and talent, proposed that Muzaffer Mirza and he should fortify themselves in Heri, while Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza and Zūlnūn Beg should proceed to the hill-country in the adjoining territory, should call in to their assistance Sultan Ali Arghūn from Sīstān, and Shah Beg and Mukīm, with their armies, from Kandahār and Zamīn-dāwer, so as to strengthen themselves by a junction with these chieftains; that when the troops of the Hazāras and Nukderis were once in the field, and in motion, it would be difficult for the enemy to advance into the hill-country,[a] and that, as they would then be harassed, and kept on the alarm by the army without, it would be quite impossible for them to act with effect against the town. His advice was most judicious, and was founded on deep consideration and foresight. Zūlnūn Arghūn, though a man of courage, yet was mean, avaricious, and of very slender judgement. He was a flighty, crack-brained man. During the time that the brothers were joint-kings in Heri, he was Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza's prime-minister and chief adviser, as has been mentioned. His avarice made him unwilling that Muhammed Berendūk should remain in the city. He was anxious that he himself should be left there; but this he could not accomplish. A more striking proof of his wrong-headedness and derangement is, that he suffered himself to be grossly deluded and cheated, by trusting to needy flatterers and impostors. The incident occurred when he was prime minister, and in the highest trust at Heri, at which time a body of Sheikhs and Mullas came and told him, that they had discovered by their communications with the Spheres, that he was to have the appellation of Hizaber-ullah (the

Anecdote of Zūlnūn Beg

[a] that at the same time they should gather round them as many Hazāras and Nukderis as possible, and hold themselves in readiness to meet any emergency in the mountains, where it would be difficult for the enemy to advance,

[1] [i. e. Herat.]

Lion of God), and was to defeat the Uzbeks. Relying on this assurance, and hanging this prediction[a] about his neck, he returned thanks to God; and hence it was that he paid no attention to the wise suggestions of Muhammed Berendūk; did not put the fort in a defensible state; did not prepare ammunition and warlike arms; did not appoint either an advance or pickets to get notice of the enemy's approach, nor even exercise his army, or accustom it to discipline, or battle-array, so as to be prepared and able to fight with readiness when the enemy came

Shaibāni Khan's irruption into Khorasān

Shaibāni Khan having passed the Murghāb in the month of Muharrem,[1] the first notice they had of his approach was the news of his arrival in the vicinity of Sarkāi.[2] Being filled with consternation, they were unable to do any one thing that was requisite. They could neither assemble their men, nor draw up their army in battle array; every man went off to shift for himself. Zūlnūn Arghūn, infatuated by absurd flattery, as has been mentioned, kept his ground at Kara Rabāt against fifty thousand Uzbeks, with a hundred or a hundred and fifty men. A great body of the enemy coming up, took him in an instant, and swept on.[b] They cut off his head as soon as he was taken.

Death of Zūlnūn Beg

Herāt taken

The mother, sister,[3] *haram*,[4] and treasures of the Mirzas were in the castle of Ikhtiyār-ed-dīn, which commonly goes by the name of Aleh Kūrghān.[5] The Mirzas reached the city late in the evening: they slept till midnight to refresh their horses. At dawn they abandoned the place, without even having thought of putting the fort in a state of defence. During this interval of leisure, they took no means for carrying off their mother, sister, wives, or children, but ran away, leaving them prisoners in the hands of the Uzbeks.[6] Payandeh Sultan Begum, Khadījeh Begum, with the

[a] a silk kerchief

[b] surrounded his force and took him without his being able to strike a blow in defence

[1] May and June 1507

[2] Perhaps Sarakhs

[3] [P de C has 'elder and younger sisters']

[4] [i e. wives]

[5] This strong castle lies, as has been mentioned, close to Herāt on the north

[6] It may only be necessary to add, that Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza took refuge with Shah Ismāel Safavi, who gave him Tabrīz. When

wives and women of Sultan Hussain Mirza, of Badī'ez-zemān Mirza, and Muzaffer Mirza, their children, infants, and whatever treasure and effects the Mirzas possessed, were all in Aleh Kūrghān. They had not put the fort in a sufficient posture of defence, and the troops that had been appointed to garrison it had not arrived. Āshik Muhammed Arghūn, the younger brother of Mazīd Beg, having fled on foot from the army, arrived at Herī and entered the castle. Alī Khān, the son of Amīr Umer Beg, Sheikh Abdallah Bekāwal, Mirza Beg Kai-Khosravi, and Mīraki Kūr Diwān, also threw themselves into the castle. On Sheibāni Khan's arrival, after two or three days, the Sheikh-ūl-Islam and the chief men of the city, having made a capitulation, took the keys of the walled town, went out to meet him and surrendered the place. Āshik Muhammed, however, held out the castle for sixteen or seventeen days longer; but a mine being run from without, near the horse-market, and fired, a tower was demolished. On this the people in the castle, thinking that all was over with them, gave up all thoughts of holding out, and surrendered.

Sheibāni's harsh conduct.

After the taking of Herī, Sheibāni Khan behaved extremely ill to the children and wives of the kings; nor to them alone, he conducted himself towards everybody in a rude, unseemly, and unworthy manner, forfeiting his good name and glory for a little wretched earthly pelf. The first of Sheibāni Khan's misdeeds in Herī was, that for the sake of some worldly dirt, he ordered Khadījeh Begum to be given up to Shah Mansūr Bakhshi, the catamite, to be plundered and treated as one of his meanest female slaves.[a] Again, he gave the reverend and respected saint, Sheikh Purān, to the Moghul Abdul Wahāb to be plundered; each of his sons he gave to a different person for the same purpose. He gave the poets and authors to Mulla Banāi to be squeezed

[a] to be given up to the vile wretch, Shah Mansūr Bakhshi, to be ill-treated in various ways in order to gratify his despicable avarice

the Turkish Emperor Selīm took that place in A. H 920 (A D 1514), he was taken prisoner and carried to Constantinople, where he died A. H 923 (A D 1517) Muhammed Zemān Mirza, who is often mentioned in the course of Bābur's transactions in Hindustān, was his son

Among the *jeux d'esprit* on this subject, one tetrastich is often repeated in Khorasān :

Except only Abdallah Kīrkhar,[1] to-day,
There is not a poet can show the colour of money,
Banāi is inflamed with hopes of getting hold of the poet's cash,
But he will only get hold of a *kīrkhar*[2]

There was a Khan's daughter called Khanum, one of Muzaffer Mirza's *haram*.[a] Sheibāni Khan married her immediately on taking Heri, without being restrained by her being in an impure state.[3] In spite of his supreme ignorance, he had the vanity to deliver lectures in explanation of the Koran to Kazi Ikhtiyār and Muhammed Mīr Yūsef, who were among the most celebrated Mullas in Khorasān and Heri. He also took a pen and corrected the writing and drawings of Mulla Sultan Ali, and Behzād the painter. When at any time he happened to have composed one of his dull couplets, he read it from the pulpit, hung it up in the Chārsū (or Public Market), and levied a benevolence from the townspeople on the joyful occasion. He did know something of reading the Koran,[b] but he was guilty of a number of stupid, absurd, presumptuous, infidel words and deeds, such as I have mentioned.

Ten or fifteen days after the taking of Heri, he advanced from Kahdastān to the bridge of Sālār, and sent his whole army, under the command of Taimūr Sultan and Abīd Sultan, against Abul Hassan Mirza and Kūpek Mirza, who were lying in Meshhad,[4] quite off their guard. At one time they thought of defending Kalāt[5]; at another time, on

Death of Abul Hassan and Kūpek

[a] One of Muzaffer Mirza's wives was Khan-zādeh Khanum.

[b] *Add* rose early, and never neglected his Five Prayers,

[1] Kīrkhar (*asini nervus*) seems to have been the nickname of some poet who was plundered

[2] There is a Persian phrase, when a man is engaged in an unprofitable undertaking, *kīr-e-khar khāhad girift* (*asini nervum deprehendet*).

[3] The *ādet*, or unlawful times of a woman, according to the Muhammedan law, are chiefly three,—while she is mourning the death of her husband, when menstruous, and for a certain period after her divorce

[4] A celebrated city of Khorasān, west from Herāt.

[5] The birth-place of Nādir Shah, north of Meshhad. It stands on very strong ground.

hearing of the approach of this army, they had thoughts of giving it the slip, and of pushing on by forced marches by another road, and so falling on Sheibāni Khan by surprise. This was a wonderfully good idea; they could not, however, come to any resolution, and were still lying in their old quarters, when Taimūr Sultan and Abīd Sultan came in sight with their army, after a series of rapid marches The Mirzas, on their side, put their army in array, and marched out. Abul Hassan Mirza was speedily routed Kūpek Mirza, with a few men, fell on the enemy who had engaged his brother. They routed him also. Both of them were made prisoners. When the two brothers met they embraced, kissed each other, and took a last farewell. Abul Hassan Mirza showed some dejection,[a] but no difference could be marked in Kūpek Mirza. The heads of the two Mirzas were sent to Sheibāni Khan while he was at the Bridge of Sālār.

Bābur marches to Kandahār.

At this time Shah Beg, and his younger brother Muhammed Mukīm,[1] being alarmed at the progress of Sheibāni Khan, sent me several ambassadors in succession, with submissive letters, to convey professions of their attachment and fidelity. Mukīm himself, in a letter to me, explicitly called upon me to come to his succour. At a season like this, when the Uzbeks had entirely occupied the country, it did not appear to me becoming to remain idly looking on; and, after so many ambassadors and letters had been sent to invite me, I did not think it necessary to stand on the ceremony of waiting till these noblemen came[b] personally to pay me their compliments. Having consulted with all my Amirs and best-informed counsellors, it was arranged that we should march to their assistance with our army, and that, after forming a junction with the Arghūn Amirs, we might consult together, and either

[a] signs of fear,

[b] there seemed to be hardly any doubt that they would come

[1] These two noblemen were the sons of Zūlnūn Beg, and, after their father's death, were in possession of Kandahār, Zamīn-dāwer, and part of the hill-country to the south The former, who was a brave warrior, afterwards founded an independent sovereignty (that of the Arghūns) in Sind.

march against Khorasān, or follow some other course that might appear more expedient With these intentions, we set out for Kandahār. At Ghaznī I met Habībeh Sultan Begum, whom, as has been mentioned, I called my Yanka,[1] and who had brought her daughter Maasūmeh Sultan Begum, as had been settled between us at Herī Khosrou Gokultāsh, Sultan Kulī Chanāk, and Gadai Balāl had fled from Herī to Ibn Hussain Mirza, and had afterwards left him also, and gone to Abul Hassan Mirza. Finding it equally impossible to remain with him, they came for the purpose of joining me, and accompanied the ladies.

When we reached Kalāt,[2] the merchants of Hindustān, who had come to Kalāt to traffic, had not time to escape, as our soldiers came upon them quite unexpectedly. The general opinion was, that, at a period of confusion like the present, it was fair to plunder all such as came from a foreign country I would not acquiesce in this. I asked, 'What offence have these merchants committed ? If, for the love of God, we suffer these trifling things to escape, God will one day give us great and important benefits in return ; as happened to us not very long ago, when we were on our expedition against the Ghiljis ; the Mahmands, with their flocks, their whole effects, wives, and families, were within a single farsang of the army. Many urged us to fall upon them. From the same considerations that influence me now, I combated that proposal, and the very next morning Almighty God, from the property of the refractory Afghans, the Ghiljis, bestowed on the army so much spoil as had never perhaps been taken in any other inroad.' We encamped after passing Kalāt, and merely levied something from each merchant by way of *peshkesh*.[3] Passes Kalāt.

After passing Kalāt, I was joined by Khan Mirza, whom I had suffered to retire into Khorasān after his revolt in Kābul, and by Abdal Razāk Mirza,[4] who had stayed behind Is met by Khan Mirza.

[1] [Sister-in-law, which includes an uncle's wife]

[2] This is Kalāt-e-Ghiljī on the Tarnek, about a degree east from Kandahār.

[3] [i e toll or tribute]

[4] Khan Mirza, it will be recollected, was the youngest son of Sultan Mahmūd Mirza, one of Bābur's uncles, and King of Hissār, afterwards of Samarkand, and Abdal Razāk Mirza was the son of another of them, Ulugh Beg Mirza, late King of Kābul.

in Khorasān when I left it. They had just escaped from Kandahār. The mother of the Pīr Muhammed Mirza, who was the grandson of Bahār Mirza, and the son of Jehāngīr Mirza, accompanied these Mirzas, and waited on me.

Shah Beg and Mukīm refuse to surrender Kandahār

I now sent letters to Shah Beg and Mukīm, informing them that I had advanced thus far in compliance with their wishes; that, as a foreign enemy like the Uzbeks had occupied Khorasān, it was necessary, in conjunction with them, to concert such measures as might seem most advisable and expedient for the general safety. Immediately upon this, they not only desisted from writing and sending to invite me, but even[a] returned rude and uncivil answers. One instance of their rudeness was, that in the letter which they wrote me, they[b] impressed the seal on the back of the letter,[c] in the place in which one Amir writes to another, nay, where an Amir of some rank sets his seal in writing to an inferior Amir.[1] Had they not been guilty of such insolence, and returned such insulting answers, things never would have come to such an issue, as it has been said,

(*Persian*)—An altercation has sometimes gone so far as to overthrow an ancient family (dynasty)

The result of their passionate and insolent conduct was, that their family, and the accumulated wealth and honours of thirty or forty years, were given to the wind.

In Shaher i Safā,[2] one day, there was a false alarm in the camp: all the soldiers armed and mounted. I was busy bathing and purifying myself. The Amirs were in great alarm. When ready I mounted; but, as the alarm was a false one, everything was soon quieted.

Bābur arrives before Kandahār

Proceeding thence by successive marches, we encamped at Guzer.[3] There too, in spite of all my attempts to come

[a] Forgetting the letters they had written to me, and the pressing appeals for assistance they had sent me, they

[b] Shah Beg wrote me,

[c] *Add* and in the middle of the sheet of paper,

[1] The Persians pay great attention, in their correspondence, not only to the style, but to the kind of paper on which a letter is written, the place of signature, the place of the seal, and the situation of the address. Chardin gives some curious information on this subject.

[2] Shaher i Safā lies about forty miles east of Kandahār.

[3] The ford. This village probably stands at the passage over a river.

to an explanation, they paid no attention to my overtures, but persisted in their obstinacy and contumacy. My adherents, who knew every part of the country, advised me to advance by the rivulets which flow towards Kandahār, on the side of Bāba Hassan Abdāl, and Khalishak,[1] and to occupy a strong position on their course. I adopted the plan, and next morning having armed our troops, and arrayed them in right and left wings and centre, we marched in battle order for Khalishak. Shah Beg and Mukīm had erected [a] a large awning on the projecting face of the hill of Kandahār, somewhat below the place where I have built a palace,[2] and lay there with their army.[b] Mukīm's men pushed forward and advanced near us. Tūfān Arghūn, who had deserted and joined us near Shaher i Safā, advanced alone towards the Arghūn line. One Āshik-ullah, with seven or eight men, separating from the enemy, rode hard towards him. Tūfān advanced singly, faced them, exchanged some sword-blows, dismounted Āshik-ullah, cut off his head, and brought it to us as we were passing by Sang Lakhsheh.[3] We hailed this exploit as a favourable omen. As the ground was broken by villages and trees, we did not reckon it a good place to select for the battle. We therefore passed over the skirts of the hills, and having chosen our ground by the stream of an *auleng* (or meadow), near Kandahār, had halted, and were encamping, when Sher Kuli, who led the advance, rode hastily up, informing me that the enemy were in full march towards us, drawn up in battle array. After passing Kalāt, our people had suffered much from

[a] seated themselves under [b] *Omit this clause*

[1] Bāba Hassan Abdāl is probably the same as Bāba Wali, five or six miles north of Kandahār; at least, the saint who gives his name to Hassan Abdāl, east of Atak, is called indiscriminately Hassan Abdāl, and Bāba Wali Kandahāri Khalishak is on a little hill about three miles west of Bāba Wali, beyond the Arghandāb

[2] [This may be 'The chamber cut out of the solid rock' referred to in Major Lumsden's Report (pp 187–8) It contains an inscription in Persian to the effect that Bābur conquered Kandahār on 13th Shawāl, A H 928]

[3] There are two Lakhshehs, Little Lakhsheh, a mile west of modern Kandahār, and Great Lakhsheh, about a mile south-west of the old city of Kandahār, and five or six from the modern one [P. de C. has Lakhshak.]

hunger and want. On coming to Khalishak, most of them had gone out in various directions, some up the country and others down, to collect bullocks, sheep, and other necessaries, and were now much scattered Without wasting time in attempting to gather in the stragglers, we mounted for action. My whole force might amount to about two thousand ; but when we halted on our ground, from the numbers that had gone off in different directions on foraging parties, as has been mentioned, and who had not had time to rejoin us before the battle, when the enemy appeared I had only about a thousand men with me.

His order of battle

Though my men were few in number, yet I had been at great pains to train and exercise them in the best manner Perhaps on no other occasion had I my troops in such perfect discipline. All my household dependants [1] who could be serviceable were divided into bodies of tens and fifties, and I had appointed proper officers for each body, and had assigned to each its proper station on the right or left, so that they were all trained and perfectly informed of what they were to do ; and had orders to be on the alert, and active, during the fight. The right and left wings, the right and left divisions, the right and left flanks, were to charge on horseback, and were drawn up and instructed to act of themselves, without the necessity of directions from the *tawāchis*;[2] and in general the whole troops knew their proper stations, and were trained to attack those to whom they were opposed. Although the terms Barānghār, Ung-kūl, Ungyān, and Ung have all the same meaning, yet for the sake of distinctness, I gave the different words different senses. As the right and left are called Barānghār Jawānghār (Maimench and Maisareh), and are not included in the centre, which they call Ghūl, the right and left do not belong to the Ghūl ; in this instance, therefore, I called these separate bodies by the distinctive names of Barānghār and Jawānghār. Again, as the Ghūl or centre is a distinct

[1] The *Tabīneh khāseh* are the troops that belong immediately to the prince, and who are not the retainers or dependants of any of the Begs or Chiefs

[2] The *tawāchis* were a sort of adjutants, who attended to the order of the troops, and carried orders from the general

body, I called its right and left by way of distinction, Ung-kūl and Sūl-kūl. The right and left of that part of the centre where my immediate dependants were placed, I called Ungiān and Sūliān The right and left of my own household troops, who were close at hand, I called Ung and Sūl. In the Barānghār or right wing were Mirza Khan, Shīrīm Taghāi, Yārek Taghāi, with his brother, Chilmeh Moghul, Ayūb Beg, Muhammed Beg, Ibrahīm Beg, Ali Syed Moghul, with the Moghuls, Sultan Ali Chihreh, Khuda Bakhsh, and his brothers [a] In the Jawānghār or left wing were Abdal Razāk Mirza, Kāsim Beg, Tengri Berdi, Kamber Ali, Ahmed Elchi Būgheh, Ghūri Birlās, Syed Hussain Akber, Mīr Shah Kūchīn Harāwel, Nāsir Mirza, Syed Kāsim the Ishik-agha (or chamberlain), Muhibb Ali Korchi, Pāpa Ughli, Allah Weirān Turkomān, Sher Kuli Karāwel Moghul, with his brothers, and Ali Muhammed. In the Ghūl or centre on my right hand, Kāsim Gokultāsh, Khosrou Gokultāsh, Sultan Muhammed Duldāi, Shah Mahmūd Parwānchi (the secretary), Kūl Bayezīd Bekāwel (the taster), Kamāl Sherbetji (the cup-bearer). On my left, Khwājeh Muhammed, Ali Dost, Nāsir Mīram, Nāsir Bāba Sherzād, Jān Kuli, Wali Khizānchi (the treasurer), Kūtluk Kadem Karāwel, Maksūd Sūchi,[1] and Bāba Sheikh, besides these, all my own immediate servants and adherents were in the centre; there was no Beg or man of high rank in it; for none of those whom I have mentioned had yet attained the rank of Beg With the party which was ordered to be in advance were Sher Beg, Jānim Korbegi, Kūpek Kuli, Bāba Abul Hassan Korchi; of the Urūs Moghuls, Ali Syed Darwīsh, Ali Syed Khūsh-Gildi, Chilmeh Dost Gildi, Chilmeh Yaghenchi,[b] Dāmāji Mahdi; of the Turkomāns Mansūr and Rustam, with his brothers, and Shah Nazer Siyūndūk.

The enemy were divided into two bodies. One of them was commanded by Shah Shujaa Arghūn, who is known Order of battle of the Arghūns.

[a] Abul Hasan and his brothers [b] Bāghchi,

[1] Probably butler [Or cup-bearer Steingass says *sūchī* means wine in Turkī]

by the name of Shah Beg, and shall hereafter be called Shah Beg; the other by his younger brother Mukīm. From the appearance of the Arghūns, they looked about six or seven thousand in number. There is no dispute that there were four or five thousand men in armour with them. He himself was opposed to my right wing and centre, while Mukīm was opposed to the left wing. Mukīm's division was much smaller than his elder brother's. He made a violent attack on my left wing, where Kāsim Beg was stationed with his division. During the fight, two or three messages came to me from Kāsim Beg, to ask succour; but as the enemy opposed to me were also in great force, I was unable to detach any men to his assistance. We advanced without loss of time towards the enemy. When within bowshot they suddenly charged, put my advance into confusion, and forced them to fall back on the main body, which, having ceased shooting, marched on to meet them; they on their part also gave over shooting, halted, and stood still a while. A person who was over against me, after calling out to his men, dismounted and deliberately aimed an arrow at me. I galloped up instantly to meet him; when I came near him, however, he did not venture to stand, but mounted his horse and returned back. This man who had so dismounted was Shah Beg himself. During the battle, Pīrī Beg Turkomān, with four or five of his brothers, taking their turbans in their hands,[1] left the enemy and came over to us. This Pīrī Beg was one of those Turkomāns who, when Shah Ismāel vanquished the Bayander Sultans, and conquered the kingdoms of Irāk, had accompanied Abdal Bāki Mirza, Murād Beg Bayander, and the Turkomān Begs, in their flight. My right wing continued to advance towards the enemy.[a] Its farther extremity made its way forward with difficulty, sinking in the soft ground close by the place where I have since made a garden. My left wing proceeded a good deal lower down than Bāba Hassan Abdāl, by the larger river and its streams and channels. Mukīm, with his dependants and adherents, was opposed to my left wing,

The battle.

[a] driving the enemy before it.

[1] This was equivalent to an offer of submission

which was very inconsiderable in number, compared with the force under his command. Almighty God, however, directed everything to a happy issue. Three or four of the large streams which flow to Kandahār and its villages[a] were between the enemy and my left. My people had seized the fords and obstructed the passage of the enemy, and in spite of the fewness of their numbers, made a gallant fight, and stood firm against every attack. On the part of the Arghūns, Halwāchi Tarkhān engaged in a skirmish with Kamber Ali and Tengri Berdi in the water. Kamber Ali was wounded; Kāsim Beg was struck with an arrow in the forehead; Ghūri Birlās was wounded above the eyebrows by an arrow, which came out by the upper part of his cheek. At that very crisis I put the enemy to flight, and passed the streams towards the projecting face of the hill of Murghān. While we were passing the streams, a person mounted on a white[b] charger appeared on the skirt of the hill, going backwards and forwards, apparently in dismay and irresolute, as if uncertain which way to take; at last he set off in a particular direction. It looked very like Shah Beg, and was probably himself No sooner was the enemy routed than all our troops set out to pursue them and make prisoners. There might perhaps be eleven persons left with me. One of these was Abdallah Kitābdār (the Librarian). Mukīm was still standing his ground and fighting. Without regarding the smallness of my numbers, and relying on the providence of God, I beat the kettle-drum and marched towards the enemy.

Bābur victorious.

(*Tūrki*)—God is the giver of little and of much;
In his court none other has power

(*Arabic*)—Often, at the command of God, the smaller army has routed the greater

On hearing the sound of my kettle-drum, and seeing my approach, their resolution failed, and they took to flight. God prospered us. Having put the enemy to flight, I advanced in the direction of Kandahār, and took up my quarters at the Chār-bāgh of Farrukhzād, of which not a vestige now remains. Shah Beg and Mukīm not being able

[a] suburbs [b] grey

to regain the fort of Kandahār in their flight, the former went off for Shāl and Mastāng,[1] and the latter for Zamīndāwer, without leaving anybody in the castle able to hold it out The brothers of Ahmed Alī Terkhān, Kuli Beg Arghūn,[a] and a number of others, with whose attachment and regard to me I was well acquainted, were in the fort. A verbal communication taking place, they asked the life of their brothers, and out of favourable consideration towards them, I granted their request They opened the Mashūr-gate of the fort. From a dread of the excesses which might be committed by our troops, the others were not opened. Shīrīm Beg and Yārek Beg were appointed to guard the gate that was thrown open. I myself entered with a few of my personal attendants, and ordered one or two marauders whom I met to be put to death by the *atkū* and *tikeh*[2] I first went to Mukīm's treasury, it was in the walled town Abdal Razāk Mirza had reached it before me and alighted I gave Abdal Razāk Mirza a present from the valuables in the treasury, placed Dost Nāsir Beg and Kūl Bāyezīd Bekāwul in charge of it, and appointed Muhammed Bakhshi as paymaster.[b] Proceeding thence, I went to the citadel, where I placed Khwājeh Muhammed Alī and Shah Mahmūd in charge of Shah Beg's treasury I appointed Taghāi Shah to be paymaster.[c] I sent Mīram Nāsir and Maksūd Sūchi to the house of Mīr Jān, who was Zūlnūn Beg's Dīwān (or chief minister of revenue); Nāsir Mirza had the squeezing of him. Sheikh Abūsaīd Terkhān was given to Mirza Khan

Kandahār surrenders

[a] Ahmed Alī Terkhān, a younger brother of Kuli Beg Arghūn,

[b] and appointed Dost Nāsir Beg, Kūl Bāyazīd Bekāwul, and Muhammed Bakshi, one of the secretaries, in charge of it

[c] *Omit this sentence and add* and Taghāi Shah Bakhshi *after* Shah Mahmūd *in the previous sentence.*

[1] Shāl and Mastāng lie upwards of two degrees south of Kandahār, on the borders of Belūchistān Zamīn-dāwer lies west of the Helmand, below the Hazāra hills. [Mastāng is the modern Quetta.]

[2] In this punishment the head of the criminal is fixed between two pieces of wood, and a very heavy log or plank of several hundredweight, raised by placing a weight on one end of it This weight being removed, the heavy end falls down and dashes out the criminal's brains. [P. de C. has 'I attacked the marauders and put one or two to death' and omits 'by the *atkū* and *tikeh*'.]

to be laid under contribution. . . .[1] was given to Abdal Razāk Mirza to try what he could extort from him. Such a quantity of silver was never seen before in these countries; indeed no one was known ever to have seen so much money. That night we stayed in the citadel. Sambal, a slave of Shah Beg's, was taken and brought in. Although at that time he was only in the private confidence of Shah Beg, and did not hold any conspicuous rank, I gave him in custody to one of my people, who not guarding him properly, Sambal effected his escape. Next morning I went to the Garden of Farrukhzād, where the army lay. I gave the kingdom of Kandahār to Nāsir Mirza. After the treasure was secured, when they had loaded it on the beasts of burden, and were carrying it from the treasury that was within the citadel, Nāsir Mirza took away a string of (seven) mules[a] laden with silver; I did not ask them back again, but made him a present of them. Kandahār given to Nāsir Mirza.

Marching thence, we halted in the *auleng* (or meadow) of Kūsh-khānch.[2] I sent forward the army, while I myself took a circuit,[b] and arrived rather late at the camp. It was no longer the same camp, and I did not know it again. There were Tipchāk horses, strings of long-haired male and female camels, and mules laden with silk-cloth and fine linen; long-haired female camels bearing portmanteaus, tents, and awnings of velvet and purpet, in every house, chests, containing hundreds of *mans*[3] of the property and effects of the two brothers, were carefully arranged and packed as in a treasury. In every storehouse were trunks upon trunks, and bales upon bales of cloth, and other effects, heaped on each other; cloak-bags on cloak-bags, and pots upon pots, filled with silver money. In every man's dwelling and tent there was a superfluity of spoil. There were likewise many sheep; but they were little valued. To Kāsim Beg I gave Extent of the spoil.

[a] camels [b] excursion,

[1] The name does not appear in any of the MSS. Perhaps Bābur, when writing, had forgotten it.

[2] There is a Ghūch-khānch a mile and a half south of Kandahār, inclining west. It is probably a corruption of the name here mentioned.

[3] The Tabrīz *man* is nearly seven English pounds.

up the garrison that was in Kalāt, who were servants of Mukīm, and commanded by Kūch Arghūn and Tāj-ed-dīn Mahmūd, together with all their property and effects. Kāsim Beg, who was a man of judgement and foresight, strongly urged me not to prolong my stay in the territory of Kandahār, and it was his urgency that made me commence my march back. Kandahār, as has been said, I bestowed on Nāsir Mirza; and, on his taking leave of me, I set out for Kābul While we stayed in the Kandahāi territory, we had not time to divide the treasure. On reaching Karabāgh, we found leisure to make the division. It being difficult to count the money, we used scales to weigh and divide it. The Begs, officers, servants, and household carried off on their animals whole *kharwārs* [1] and bags of silver money, with which they loaded them as with forage [a], and we reached Kābul with much wealth and plunder, and great reputation.

Bābur marries Maasūmeh.

On my arrival at this period, I married Maasūmeh Sultan Begum, the daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, whom I had invited from Khorasān

Sheibāni Khan besieges Kandahār.

Six or seven days afterwards, I learned by Nāsir Mirza's servants, that Sheibāni Khan had arrived, and was blockading Kandahār. It has already been mentioned, that Mukīm had fled towards Zamīn-dāwer. He went thence, and waited on Sheibāni Khan. Shah Beg had also sent persons one after another, to invite him to their assistance; and Sheibāni Khan had in consequence advanced from Heri by the hill-country, in hopes of taking me by surprise in Kandahār, and had posted on the whole way by forced marches for that purpose. It was a foresight of the possibility of this very occurrence, that had induced Kāsim Beg, who was a man of judgement, to urge with so much earnestness my departure from Kandahār:

(*Persian*)—What the young man sees in a mirror,
The sage can discern in a baked brick

On his arrival he besieged Nāsir Mirza in Kandahār.

Bābur is alarmed.

When this intelligence reached me, I sent for my Begs,

[a] *Omit this clause.*

[1] The *kharwār* [ass-load] is nearly seven hundred pounds weight, being a hundred Tabrīz *mans.*

and held a council. It was observed, that foreign bands and old enemies, as were the Uzbeks and Sheibāni Khan, had occupied the countries so long under the dominion of the family of Taimūr Beg; that of the Tūrks and Chaghatāi, who were still left on various sides, and in different quarters,[a] some from attachment, and others from dread, had joined the Uzbeks; that I was left alone in Kābul; that the enemy was very powerful, and I very weak; that I had neither the means of making peace, nor ability to maintain the war with them; that, in these difficult circumstances, it was necessary for us to think of some place in which we might be secure, and, as matters stood, the more remote from so powerful an enemy the better; that it was advisable to make an attempt either on the side of Badakhshān, or of Hindustān, one of which two places must be pitched upon as the object of our expedition. Kāsim Beg and Shīrīm Beg, with their adherents, were for our proceeding against Badakhshān. At that time, the chief persons who still held up their heads in Badakhshān in any force were Mubārek Shah, Zobeir, Jehāngīr Turkomān, and Muhammed Korchi, who had driven Nāsir Mirza out of that country, had never been reduced to submission by the Uzbeks, and were likewise in some force [b] I and a number of my chief Amirs and firmest adherents, on the other hand, having preferred the plan of attacking Hindustān, I set out in that direction, and advanced by way of Lamghān. After the conquest of Kandahār, I had bestowed Kalāt, and the country of Tarnek,[1] on Abdal Razāk Mirza, who had accordingly been left in Kalāt When the Uzbeks came and besieged Kandahār, Abdal Razāk Mirza,[2] not finding himself in a situation to maintain Kalāt, abandoned it, and rejoined me. He arrived just when I was setting out from Kābul, and I left him in that place.[3]

Hesitates which way to march.

As there was no king, and none of royal blood in Badakh-

[a] in corners and remote parts,
[b] *Omit this clause*

[1] The country of Tarnek lies on the river of that name [an affluent of the Helmand], which runs from Mukur towards Kandahār.
[2] [Son of Ulugh Beg Mirza, King of Kābul]
[3] [i. e. as governor.]

Khan Mirza sets out for Badakhshān

shān, Khan Mirza,[1] at the instigation of Shah Begum,[2] or in consequence of an understanding with her,[a] showed a desire to try his fortunes in that quarter. I accordingly gave him leave. Shah Begum accompanied Khan Mirza; my mother's sister, Meher Nigār Khanum,[3] also took a fancy to go into Badakhshān. It would have been better, and more becoming, for her to have remained with me. I was her nearest relation. But however much I dissuaded her, she continued obstinate, and also set out for Badakhshān.

Bābur marches against Hindustān Sept. 1507

In the month of the first Jumāda, we marched from Kābul against Hindustān. We proceeded on our route by way of Little-Kābul; on reaching Sukh Rabāt we passed Kurūk-sāi,[4] by the hill pass. The Afghans who inhabit between Kābul and Lamghān are robbers and plunderers, even in peaceable times. They fervently pray to God for such times of confusion as now prevailed, but rarely do they get them. When they understood that I had abandoned Kābul and was marching for Hindustān, their former insolence was increased tenfold. Even the best among them were then bent on mischief; and things came to such lengths, that, on the morning when we marched from Jagdālīk, the Afghans, through whose country we were to march, such as the Khizer-khail, the Shimū-khail, the Khilchi, and the Khugiāni, formed the plan of obstructing our march through the *kotal* or hill-pass of Jagdālīk, and drew up on the hill which lies to the north, beating their drums, brandishing their swords, and raising terrific shouts.[b] As soon as we

Is opposed by Afghan tribes

[a] and in consequence of his relationship to her,

[b] making a great show

[1] [Khān Mirza was the son of Sultan Mahmūd, and grandson of Shah Begum He was acknowledged king in Badakhshān (1508) — *E.B*, p. 282.]

[2] Shah Begum was the daughter of Shah Sultan Muhammed, king of Badakhshān, and the widow of Yunis Khan, Bābur's maternal grandfather She was the mother of Sultan Nigār Khanum, whose son, Khan Mirza, was by Sultan Mahmūd Mirza of Hissār Shah Begum was therefore the young prince's grandmother, and he probably relied for success on the interest of her family in Badakhshān

[3] She was the eldest sister of Bābur's mother, and widow of Sultan Ahmed Mirza of Samarkand

[4] [The Pass of the Dry Ravine]

had mounted, I ordered the troops to ascend the hill and attack the enemy, each in the direction nearest to him. Our troops accordingly advanced, and making their way through different valleys, and by every approach that they could discover, got near them, upon which the Afghans, after standing an instant, took to flight without even shooting an arrow. After driving off the Afghans, we reached the top of the ascent. One Afghan who was fleeing down the hill below me, on one side, I wounded in the arm with an arrow. He and a few others were taken and brought in. Some of them were impaled by way of example.

We halted in the Tumān of Nangenhār, before the fort of Adīnapūr Till our arrival here, we had not availed ourselves of our foresight, nor fixed upon any places for our stations. We had neither arranged a plan for our march, nor appointed ground for halting. We now separated the army into four divisions, who were to move about, some up the country, and others down, till we received further intelligence. It was the end of autumn. In the plains, in most places, they had housed the rice. Some persons who were thoroughly acquainted with every part of the country informed us, that up the river of the Tumān of Alisheng, the Kafers sow great quantities of rice, and that probably the troops might there be able to lay in their winter's corn. Leaving the dale of Nangenhār, therefore, and pushing speedily forward, we passed Sāigal, and advanced up the valley of Bīraīn.[1] The troops seized a great quantity of rice. The rice-fields were at the bottom of the hills. The inhabitants in general fled and escaped, but a few Kafers were killed. They [a] had posted some men in a breastwork on a commanding eminence in the valley of Bīraīn. When the Kafers fled, this party descended [b] rapidly from the hill, and began to annoy us with arrows. Having wounded Purān, the son-in-law of Kāsim Beg, they were on the point of coming up with him, and of making him prisoner, when the rest of his party made a push, put the enemy to flight, and

Plundering expedition to Alisheng

[a] We [b] When these were coming back, the Kafers descended

[1] [This may be the Pārūn Valley in Kafiristān referred to in Raverty's *Notes*, p 134.]

extricated and rescued him. We stayed one night in the Kafers' rice-fields, where we took a great quantity of grain, and then returned back to the camp.

At this same time, Mukīm's daughter, Māh-chūchak, who is now the wife of Shah Hassan, was married to Kāsim Gokultāsh, in the territory of the Tumān of Mandrāwar.

As we did not find it expedient to proceed in our expedition against Hindustān, I sent back Mulla Bāba Peshāgheri with a few troops towards Kābul. Marching from Mandrāwar, I proceeded by Ater and Shīwah,[1] and continued for some days in that neighbourhood, from Ater I went on by Kuner and Nūrgil,[2] and examined the country. From Kuner I came in a *jāleh* (or raft) to the camp Before this time I had not sailed in a *jāleh*, but I found that sort of conveyance very pleasant; and from this time forward I frequently made use of it

Sheibāni Khan retires from Kandahār, which is abandoned by Nāsir Mirza

At this time Mulla Mīrak Farketi arrived from Nāsir Mirza. He brought the detailed news of Sheibāni Khan's having taken the walled town of Kandahār, and of his retiring without having taken the citadel · he also brought information, that after Sheibāni Khan's retreat, Nāsir Mirza had abandoned Kandahār on several accounts, and retired to Ghazni. A few days after my departure, Sheibāni Khan had unexpectedly appeared before Kandahār, and, as our people were not in sufficient strength to maintain the walled town, they abandoned it. The enemy ran mines in various directions about the citadel, and made several assaults. Nāsir Mirza was wounded by an arrow in the neck, and the citadel was on the point of being taken. In this extremity, Muhammed Amīn, Khwājeh Dost Khāwend, and Muhammed Ali Piādeh, the cup-bearer, giving up all for lost, let themselves down over the walls, and escaped from the fort. At the very moment when the place must inevitably have fallen, Sheibāni Khan made some proposals for an accommodation, and hastily raised the siege The reason of his retreat was, that, when he came against Kandahār, he had sent his *haram* to Nirehtū.[3] Some persons having revolted

[1] [Shīwah is a village in the Mīr Valley]

[2] These places, it will be recollected, lie on the Cheghānserāi river.

[3] A strong fort to the east of Herāt.

in Nirehtū, had taken the fort. This induced him hurriedly to patch up a sort of peace and retire.

Bābur returns to Kābul.

A few days afterwards, though it was the middle of winter, I arrived in Kābul by way of Badij. Above Badij I directed the date of the passage to be engraved on a stone.[1] Hāfiz Mīrak wrote the inscription. Ustād Shah Muhammed performed the stone-cutter's part. From haste it is not well cut.

I bestowed Ghazni on Nāsir Mirza; to Abdal Razāk Mirza I gave the Tumān of Nangenhār, Mandrāwar, the valley of Nūr, Kuner, and Nūrgil.

Assumes the title Pādshāh.

Till this time the family of Taimūr Beg, even although on the throne, had never assumed any other title than that of Mirza. At this period, I ordered that they should style me Pādshāh.[2]

Birth of Humāiū

In the end of this year, on Tuesday the fourth day of the month of Zilkaadeh,[3] when the sun was in Aquarius, Humāiūn was born.[a] Moulāna Meshadi, the poet, discovered the date of his birth in the words *Sultan Humāiūn Khan*. One of the minor poets of Kābul found it in *Shāh-e-firoz-kadr*.[4] A few days after I gave him the name of Humāiūn. After Humāiūn's birth, I went for five or six days to the Chārbāgh, and celebrated the festival of his nativity. Those who were Begs, and those who were not, great and small, brought their offerings. Bags of silver money were heaped up. I never before saw so much white money in one place. It was a very splendid feast.

[a] *Idd* in the citadel of Kābul

[1] Abul-Fazl, in the short account of Bābur's reign prefixed to the *Akbarnāmeh*, says, that this inscription was still to be seen in his time.

[2] The title of *Pādshāh* corresponds with that of emperor It is often used, however, merely to signify king It is to be observed, that Bābur applies it to himself before this time, and indeed in the very opening of his Memoirs, 'I became Pādshāh of Ferghāna' He probably did not use that style in his Chancery.

[3] March 6, 1508.

[4] The king victorious in might.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 914 [1]

Desertion of several officers

In the spring I surprised and plundered a body of Mahmand Afghans, in the neighbourhood of Maaber.[2] A few days after we had returned from the expedition, and resumed our quarters, Kūch Beg, Fakīr Alī, Kerīmdād, and Bāba Chihreh, formed a plan for deserting from me On discovering their intentions, I dispatched a party, who seized them below Isterghach,[3] and brought them back During the life-time of Jehāngīr Mirza,[4] too, they had frequently indulged in most improper conduct. I ordered that they should all be delivered over to punishment in the market-place. They had been carried to the Gate, and the ropes were being put round their necks, for the purpose of hanging them, when Kāsim Beg sent Khalīfeh to me, earnestly to entreat forgiveness for their offences. To gratify the Beg, I gave up the capital part of their punishment, and ordered them to be cast into prison.

Revolt of the Hissāris and Moghuls.

The Hissāris and Kunduzis, and the Moghuls of superior rank, who had been in Khosrou Shah's service, among whom were Chilmeh Alī, Syed Shekmeh, Sher Kuli, Ikū Sālim, and others, who had been promoted and patronized by him; certain of the Chaghatāi, such as [a] Sultan Alī Chihreh, Khuda Bakhsh, with their dependants; some of the Siyūndūk Turkomāns, Shah Nazer, with his adherents, amounting in all to two or three thousand good soldiers, at this very time, having consulted and conspired together, had come to a resolution to revolt Those whom I have mentioned lay near Khwājeh Rīwāj, stretching from the valley of Sūng-Kurghān to the valley of Chālāk [5] Abdal

[a] such of the Chaghatāi as Khusru Shah had treated with distinction, of whom the leaders were

[1] The year of the Hijra 914 commenced on May 2, 1508

[2] [Or 'Makar', according to P. de C. According to Raverty this place is near the source of the Tarnak]

[3] North of Kābul

[4] This is the first notice taken of Jehāngīr's death He seems to have died soon after the expedition into Khorasān, Khāfi Khan says of a dysentery, or, according to Ferishta, of hard drinking

[5] These places lie close by Kābul Khwājeh Rawāsh is in Būtkhāk, two or three miles south of Kābul.

Razāk Mirza having come from Nangenhār, took up his quarters in Deh-Afghān. Muhibb Ali Korchi had once or twice communicated to Khalīfeh and Mulla Bāba some intimations of this conspiracy and assembling; and I myself had received some hints of its existence. I had reckoned the surmises not entitled to credit, and paid them no kind of attention. I was sitting one night at the Chār-bāgh, in the presence-chamber, after bed-time prayers, when Mūsa Khwājeh and another person came hurriedly close up to me, and whispered me that the Moghuls had, beyond a doubt, formed treacherous designs. I could not be prevailed upon to believe that they had drawn Abdal Razāk Mirza into their projects, and still less could I credit that their treasonable intentions were to be executed that very night. I therefore did not give that attention to the information that I ought, and a moment after I set out for the *haram*. At that time the females of my family were in the Bāgh-e-khilwat, and in the Bāgh-e-tūr-tuhfeh. When I came near the *haram*, all my followers, of every rank and description, and even my night-guards,[1] went away. After their departure I went on to the city, attended only by my own people and the royal slaves. I had reached the Ditch at the Iron Gate, when Khwājeh Muhammed Ali, who had just come that way from the market-place, met me, and . . .[a]

[The events of this year conclude abruptly in the same manner in all the copies.]

[a] When I approached the *haram*, the pages and night guards had gone off in another direction. After their departure the commander of the guard and I proceeded towards the city. Walking along the Ditch I reached the Iron Gate, when Muhammed Ali suddenly met me, coming from the direction of the market. As for me, from the vaulted gate of the Baths . .

[1] The *yatish* are the persons who watch by night at the prince's door.

SUPPLEMENT

CONTAINING

AN ABRIDGED ACCOUNT OF BĀBUR'S TRANSACTIONS FROM THE BEGINNING OF A.H. 914 TO THE BEGINNING OF A.H. 925[1]

Revolt of the Moghuls

THE Memoirs of Bābur are once more interrupted at a very important crisis, and we are again left to glean, from various quarters, an imperfect account of the transactions that ensued. It is probable that Khwājeh Muhammed Ali, who had just passed through the market-place, informed Bābur that he had seen a gathering of Moghuls, and that measures were taken to seize his person. This at least is certain, that Bābur escaped the impending danger, and regained his camp. The Moghuls who had been in Khosrou Shah's service were the most active agents in this conspiracy. They do not appear ever to have co-operated heartily with Bābur, who always speaks of them and their race with strong marks of dislike and resentment.[2] They had combined with the other men of influence mentioned in the Memoirs, and had agreed not only to raise Abdal Razāk Mirza to the throne of Kābul and Ghazni, which had been held by his father, Ulugh Beg Mirza, Bābur's uncle, but also to put him in possession of Badakhshān, Kunduz, and Khutlān, and all the territories which had formerly been

[1] From A. D 1508 to the beginning of January A D. 1519

[2] Under these circumstances, it may seem one of the strangest caprices of fortune, that the empire which he founded in India should have been called, both in the country and by foreigners, the empire of the Moghuls, thus taking its name from a race that he detested This arose not so much from his being a descendant of Chingiz Khan, as from his being a foreigner from the north; and from the age of Chingiz Khan downwards, all Tartars and Persians, in the loose colloquial language of India, seem to have been denominated Moghuls.

hell by Khosrou Shah. Such were the effects produced in Bābur's army by this sudden defection of so many men of eminence, of different nations and tribes, that next morning he could not muster in his whole camp more than five hundred horse. Great numbers of his followers and soldiers had hastily retired to Kābul, under pretence of taking care of their families.[1]

General defection of Bābur's troops.

Bābur, enraged at these events, instead of retiring into the hill-country, or shutting himself up in a fortress, appears to have kept the field with his few faithful followers. He made several furious assaults on the army of the rebels, whom he intimidated by the bravery which he displayed. Bābur computes the original number of the rebels at two or three thousand men, but Ferishta relates that their number rose to twelve thousand. In this reduced state of his fortunes, he appears, for a while, to have assumed the courage of despair, and to have given to the adventurous gallantry of the soldier and the champion, the place which he generally allowed the cool valour of the prince and the general to hold. He exposed himself in every rencounter, and attacked the insurgents wherever they could be found. On one occasion he is said to have advanced before the line, and challenged Abdal Razāk to single combat. The challenge, we are told, was declined by the prince; but five champions of the rebels having advanced in succession, and accepted it in his room, they all fell, one after another, under the sword of Bābur. Their names, which have been transmitted to us by Ferishta and Khāfi Khan, indicate that they were of different races. They were Ali Beg Shabkūr,[2] Muhammed Ali Sheibāni,[3] Nazer Bahāder Uzbek, Yākūb Beg Bāburjeng, and Abdallah Safshiken. His military skill, his personal strength, and his invincible spirit, scattered dismay among the bands of the enemy, who equally admired and dreaded him; and perhaps, while he seemed to be acting as an inconsiderate young soldier, he really performed the part of

He keeps the field with a small force

Kills five warriors in single combat

[1] See the *Tarīkh e Khāfi Khan*, being a history of the house of Taimūr in Hindustān, vol. ii, MS., and Dow's translation of Ferishta, vol ii, p. 188.

[2] [Night blind.]

[3] Perhaps rather *Sīstāni*, as in Ferishta.

a sagacious general and of a hero His enemies began gradually to drop off; one defeat succeeded to another; Abdal Razāk found death at the close of his short reign; and Bābur saw himself once more the undisputed sovereign of Kābul and Ghazni.[1]

Recovers his dominions

Khan Mirza reduces Badakhshān

When Khosrou Shah's territories fell into the hands of Sheibāni Khan, the inhabitants of Badakhshān, a brave and hardy race, who inhabited a country everywhere mountainous, and in many places almost inaccessible, disliking the Uzbek government, had flown to arms in every quarter, and a number of petty chieftains in different districts had set up for independent princes. Of all these the most powerful was Zobeir, a man of no family, but who, by his conduct and valour, succeeded in reducing under subjection to him the greater number of the other insurgents Khan

A D 1509

Mirza, Bābur's cousin,[2] had crossed from Kābul, A. H. 913, in order to try his fortune in that quarter, as Bābur has himself mentioned. His grandmother, Shah Begum, was the daughter of Shah Sultan Muhammed, the King of Badakhshān; so that the Mirza had probably some hereditary connexions in the country. His outset was not prosperous His grandmother and Meher Nigār Khanum, his aunt, who followed in the rear of his army, were carried off by Mirza Abābeker Kāshghari; and Khan Mirza himself was defeated and obliged to surrender to Zobeir, who detained him in custody. Finally, however, Yūsef Ali, who had formerly been in the Mirza's service, formed a conspiracy against Zobeir, whom he assassinated; when Khan Mirza was raised to the undisputed possession of the throne of Badakhshān, which he held till his death[3]

[1] [In the year A D 1509 two visitors appeared at Bābur's court and claimed his protection, namely, Sultan Sa'id Khan, a son of the younger Khan, and Mirza Haidar Dughlat Their honourable testimony to Bābur's amiable disposition and kindly hospitality is on record, and it is interesting to note that 'the youth and boy whom he thus patronized and cherished became two of the ablest and most accomplished Princes of their age'—*E B*, p 295]

[2] Khan Mirza was, as has been mentioned, the son of Sultan Mahmūd Mirza, the king of Hissār, Khutlān, and Badakhshān, and of Sultan Nigār Khanum, a sister of Bābur's mother He was consequently Bābur's cousin both by the father and mother's side His proper name was Sultan Weis Mirza

[3] [In 1520]

In the year 916 of the Hijira, an event occurred which Bābur had no influence in producing, but which promised the most favourable change on his fortunes. Sheibānī Khan, after the defeat of Badīa-ez-zemān and the sons of Sultan Hussain Mirza, had overrun Khorasān with a large army. Some parties of his troops, in the course of their incursions, had entered and committed devastations on territories claimed by Shah Ismāel, who at that time filled the Persian throne; and he had even sent an army to invade Kirmān [1] Shah Ismāel, having subdued the Turkomāns in Azarbaijān, had reduced under one government the various provinces of Persia to the west of the desert, which for so long a series of years had been divided into petty principalities. On receiving information of these aggressions, he immediately sent to Sheibānī Khan ambassadors, who carried letters, remonstrating, but with great courtesy, against the aggressions which had occurred within the boundaries of his dominions. The Uzbek prince, rendered haughty by long success, returned for answer, that he did not comprehend Shah Ismāel's meaning; that, for his own part, he was a prince who held dominions by hereditary descent; but that, as for Shah Ismāel, if he had suffered any diminution of his paternal possessions, it was a very easy matter to restore them entire to him; and he at the same time sent him the staff and wooden begging-dish [2] of a mendicant. He added, however, that it was his intention one day to go the pilgrimage of Mekka, and that he would make a point of seeing him by the way. Shah Ismāel, who was descended of a celebrated dervīsh, and who prided himself on his descent from the holy Syed, affected to receive the taunt with patient humility. He returned for answer, that if glory or shame, here or hereafter, was to be estimated by the worth or demerit of ancestors, he would never think of degrading his forefathers by any comparison with those of Sheibānī Khan; that if the right of succession to a throne was decided by hereditary descent only, it was to him incomprehensible how the empire had descended through the various

A. D 1510. Quarrel of Sheibānī Khan and Shah Ismāel.

Their correspondence

[1] See the *Tārīkh i ālam-ārāī Abbāsi* [1616] of Mirza Sikander, vol i, MS

[2] The *kachkūl* is a sort of dish or ladle which mendicants hold out for receiving alms.

dynasties of Peshdādians, Kaiānians, and the family of Chingiz,[1] to Sheibāni himself. That he too intended making a pilgrimage, but it was to the tomb of the holy Imām Reza[2] at Meshhad, which might afford him an opportunity of meeting Sheibāni Khan. He sent him a spindle and reel, with some cotton, giving him to understand that words were a woman's weapons; that it would become him either to sit quietly in his corner, busied in some occupation that befitted him, or to come boldly into the field to meet his enemy in arms, and listen to a few words from the two-tongued Zulfikār.[3] 'Let us then fairly try', concluded Shah Ismāel, 'to which of the two the superiority belongs. You will at least learn that you have not now to deal with an inexperienced boy.'[4]

Ismāel Shah invades Khorasān Sheibāni retires to Merv,

Without losing a moment, or giving the enemy time to prepare for meeting him, Shah Ismāel put his army in motion, and advanced through Khorasān as far as Meshhad. The detachments of the Uzbek army all fell back and retired to Herāt. Sheibāni Khan, who had just returned from an expedition into the country of the Hazāras, on hearing of Shah Ismāel's arrival at Meshhad, perceiving that he was too weak to meet his enemy in the field, left Jān Wafā Mirza in Herāt, and set off with such of his troops as he could collect, to Merv Shahjehān, a station where he could receive reinforcements from his northern dominions; or from which, if necessary, he could retire across the Amu. Jān Wafā was not long able to maintain himself in Herāt. He

[1] These were different dynasties that had governed Persia and Khorasān

[2] It is the duty of all Muhammedans to visit Mekka The Shīas alone visit the shrine of Imām Reza, which is at Meshhad, in Khorasān, in the territory then belonging to Sheibāni Khan

[3] Zulfikār was the celebrated two-bladed sword of Ali, from whom Shah Ismāel boasted his descent.

[4] In the account of this correspondence I follow Khāfi Khan, corrected by Mirza Sikander, the author of the *Ālam-ārāī Abbāsi*. Khāfi Khan and Ferishta mention the presents, which are not alluded to by the Persian writer, who probably did not choose to record incidents, the remembrance of which the reigning family, having shaken off the dervīsh, were not proud to recall He mentions the pilgrimages of Mekka and Meshhad, a subject more agreeable to the prevailing prejudices.

found it necessary, very speedily, to follow Sheibāni Khan. Shah Ismāel himself now advanced towards Merv, and sent on Dāneh Muhammed with a large force to clear the way. That officer was met by Jān Wafā Mirza near Takerābād of Merv: a desperate action ensued, in which the Persian general fell, but Jān Wafā was defeated. Sheibāni Khan, unable to oppose the Persians in the field, retired into the fort of Merv. He sent messengers to call all his generals and chieftains from beyond the Amu, most of them having retired with their troops to their various governments, after the conquest of Khorasān. Many desperate actions took place under the walls of Merv Shahjehān. Shah Ismāel, seeing that the siege was likely to extend to great length, which would have exposed him to an attack from the whole force of Turkestān and Māweralnaher, pretended to be under the necessity of raising it. He sent to tell Sheibāni Khan that he had been rather more punctual to his engagements than that prince had been; that he had performed the pilgrimage of Meshhad as he had promised, while Sheibāni Khan had failed to keep his appointment; that he was now under the necessity of returning home to his own dominions, but would still be extremely happy to meet him on the road, whenever he set out on his intended pilgrimage to Mekka. He then retired with all his forces from before Merv, and appeared to be measuring back his way to Irāk. The feint succeeded. Sheibāni Khan followed him with twenty-five thousand[1] men, but had scarcely passed a river about ten miles from Merv, when Shah Ismāel, who threw a body of horse into his rear, broke down the bridge, and fell upon him with seventeen thousand cavalry. The regulated valour of the Kizilbāshes, or red-bonnets, the name given to the Persian soldiers, speedily prevailed. Sheibāni Khan was defeated, and his retreat cut off. He was forced to fly, attended by about five hundred men, chiefly the sons of Sultans, the heads of tribes, and men of rank, into an enclosure which had been erected for accommodating the cattle of travellers, and of the neighbouring peasants. They were closely pursued, and hard pressed. The enclosure had only one issue, which was that attacked

In which he is besieged

Decisive battle.

Sheibāni defeated

[1] The author of the *Ālam-ārāī Abbāsi* says thirty thousand

by the pursuers. The Khan leaped his horse over the wall
and slain. of the enclosure, towards the river, but fell, and was soon overlaid, and smothered by the numbers who followed him. After the battle his dead body was sought for, and was disentangled from the heap of slain by which it was covered. His head was cut off, and presented to Shah Ismāel, who ordered his body to be dismembered, and his limbs to be sent to different kingdoms. The skin of the head was stripped off, stuffed with hay, and sent to Sultan Bayazīd,[1] the son of Sultan Muhammed Ghāzi, the Turkish Emperor of Constantinople. His skull, set in gold, the king used as a drinking-cup, and was proud of displaying it at great entertainments. An anecdote, illustrative of the barbarous manners of the Persians, is recorded by Mirza Sikander. The Prince of Mazenderān, who still held out against Shah Ismāel, had been accustomed often to repeat, that he was wholly in the interests of Sheibāni Khan, and, using an idiomatic expression, that his hand was on the skirts of the Khan's garment; meaning, that he clung to him for assistance and protection. A messenger from Shah Ismāel, advancing into the presence of the prince while sitting in state in his court, addressed him, and said, that *he* never had been so fortunate as literally to have placed his hand on the hem of Sheibāni Khan's garment, but that now Sheibāni's hand was indeed on *his*; and, with these words, dashed the rigid hand of Sheibāni Khan on the hem of the prince's robe, and rushing through the midst of the astonished courtiers, mounted and escaped unimjured. About a thousand[2] Uzbeks, with a number of women of rank, and children, fell into the hands of the Persians.[3]

Shah Ismāel, immediately after the battle, marched to

[1] Called Bajazet by European writers.

[2] In the account of the transactions of Sheibāni Khan, and Shah Ismāel, in Khorasān, and of the subsequent battle, I follow Mirza Sikander as the most intelligent guide. Some circumstances are borrowed from Khāfi Khan, who follows Mirza Haider, the author of the *Tārikh-i-Rashīdi*, a contemporary and well-informed historian. Ferishta, whose information is here very defective, gives Sheibāni Khan an army of a hundred thousand men in the battle.

[3] [The battle of Merv was fought on December 2, 1510.—*E.B.*, p. 306.]

Herāt, the gates of which were opened to him. He commanded the divine service in the Mosques to be celebrated according to the Shīa rites, which he had introduced into Persia, but met with great opposition from the principal men of the place. Enraged at this, he put to death the chief preacher of the Great Mosque, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, who was the chief Musulman doctor and judge, with several of the most eminent divines, as a punishment for the obstinacy and contumacy with which they adhered to the old doctrines and ceremonies; and in the end found that it was a far easier matter to conquer a kingdom than to change the most insignificant religious opinions or usages of its inhabitants. Shah Ismāel occupies Khorasān.

The transactions of the Uzbeks for some time after the death of Sheibāni Khan are not very distinctly detailed. Jāni Beg [1] appears to have succeeded to the immediate command of the Uzbek army, and, with him, Shah Ismāel soon after concluded an agreement, by which it was stipulated that the Uzbeks should all retire beyond the Amu, which was to form the boundary between them and the Persians. Abdallah Khan appears to have held Bokhāra, while Taimūr Khan,[2] the son of Sheibāni Khan, reigned in Samarkand. Subsequent events

The defeat and death of Bābur's most inveterate foe, from whom all his misfortunes had originated, and by whom he had been driven from the dominions of his forefathers, now opened to him the fairest hopes of recovering the kingdoms of his father and uncles. Khan Mirza, his cousin, immediately on hearing of the death of Sheibāni Khan, wrote to congratulate him on the event, and invited him into Badakhshān; and Bābur having, without delay, crossed the mountains from Kābul, united his forces with those of the Mirza.[3] He was in hopes that he might have carried the important fort of Hissār by a sudden attack, and for that purpose advanced across the Amu up to the walls Bābur marches against Hissār. Shawāl, A H 916 Jan A D 1511

[1] [The son of Shaibāni Khan's uncle, Khwaja Muhammed Sultan. —*E B*, p 136]

[2] See the *Alam-ārāī Abbāsi*. Khāfi Khan speaks of him as descended of the great Taimūr Beg

[3] [Bābur's route, according to Erskine's *Bābur* (p 306), lay across the Ābdarch Pass, and he spent the Id at Bāmiān, reaching Kunduz early in January, A D 1511]

of the place. But the Uzbeks had already had leisure to recover from the first effects of the consternation into which they had been thrown by their defeat; and the Governor of Hissār, aware that it was likely to be one of the first objects of attack, had collected a body of men, and put the town in a posture of defence. Though the loss of the Uzbeks in the battle had been great, their power was by no means broken. There was no force left in Māweralnaher from which they had anything to apprehend. It is probable that they were speedily joined by numbers of volunteers, and by some wandering tribes[1] from the deserts beyond the Sirr. The provinces between that river and the Amu were too rich a prey to be easily abandoned by brave and needy Tartars; so that Bābur, after advancing into the vicinity of Hissār, finding that his strength was not adequate to the attempt, was compelled to abandon the enterprise, to re-cross the Amu, and retire towards Kunduz.

But fails in the enterprise

Shah Ismāel sends back Bābur's sister.

About this time Shah Ismāel, who appears to have been disposed to cultivate the friendship of Bābur, sent back, with an honourable retinue, that prince's sister, Khanzādeh Begum, who had fallen into his hands along with the other prisoners, after the defeat of Sheibāni Khan at Merv. The Begum had been left behind in Samarkand, when Bābur, about ten years before, had been forced to abandon the town after defending it for five months. She had been conveyed into the *haram*[2] of Sheibāni Khan, who had by her one son, to whom he gave the kingdom of Badakhshān, but who died young, two years after this time. Sheibāni Khan afterwards gave her in marriage to a man of no family, and much below her station.[3] She was now sent back by Shah Ismāel with a conciliatory message, and Bābur, who had been preparing to send an embassy of congratulation to that prince embraced this opportunity of dispatching Khan Mirza with

[1] The Khanship of Kipchāk had terminated, the country falling under the power of Russia in 1506, only four years before, and several of the tribes had probably shifted their ground in consequence of the change.

[2] He is not said by Bābur to have married her; but Khāfi Khan affirms, on the authority of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi*, that he did, and that he afterwards divorced her.

[3] [Sayyid Hādi — *E. B.*, p. 308.]

rich presents, to thank him for this proof of his friendship, to congratulate him on his victory, and, at the same time, to dispose him to lend him some support in recovering his former dominions.[1]

Bābur soon after made a second march towards Hissār,[2] but, on hearing that the Uzbeks had collected a large army, he prudently retreated, his force not being adequate to meet them in the field, or to attempt the siege of Hissār.[3] For some time he withdrew with his force into the rugged and mountainous parts of the surrounding country, whence, having watched the favourable moment of attack, he at length issued forth, defeated a body of the enemy with great slaughter, and released Sultan Mirza and Mahdi Mirza Sultan, his maternal cousins,[4] who had fallen into their hands.

Bābur again attacks Hissār

The embassy of Khan Mirza to Shah Ismāel had been so successful that he now returned accompanied by a detachment of Persian auxiliaries, sent by the King to the assistance of Bābur, under the command of Ahmed Sultan Safavi, a relation of the Persian monarch, of Ali Khan Istajlu, and of Shahrokh Sultan, his seal-bearer, an Afshār,[5] by whose co-operation Bābur defeated and slew Jamshīd

Bābur receives assistance from Shah Ismāel.

[1] Ferishta, Khāfi Khan, and Bābur himself, in his Memoirs [According to *E B*, pp 310–11, while Bābur was awaiting the result of his application for aid, he received information that Ferghāna had been recovered for him by Sayyid Muhammed Mirza Shortly after this Bābur was exposed to a new danger through the treachery of the Moghul chiefs, led by Shīrim Taghāi and Ayūb Begchik, who waited on Sultan Sa'īd Khan, son of the younger Khan, and offered him the crown The Khan declined the offer and was nominated to the government of Ferghāna and sent to Andejān in 1511]

[2] Ferishta says towards Khozār, but that he retired on finding the Uzbeks strongly posted at Nakhsheb or Karshi.

[3] [According to the *T R*, p 243, the two armies lay encamped facing each other at Pul i sangīn for a month before Bābur found it prudent to retreat towards Ābdareh]

[4] *Tārīkh-i-Khāfi Khan*; but the transactions of this period are very uncertain; and, from Bābur's Memoirs, it is rather probable that he defeated Mahdi Sultan. [According to the *T.R*, quoted by Erskine (*Bābur*, p. 315), Hamzah Sultan and Mahdi Khan were defeated in the battle, after which they were made prisoners and executed by Bābur, who occupied Hissār A.D. 1511]

[5] The Afshārs are a Türki tribe celebrated in the history of Persia

Sultan, and Mahmūd Sultan, who had the chief authority in the country of Hissār, and gained possession of Hissār as well as of Kunduz, Khutlān, and Khozār; and so rapidly did his situation improve, that, if we may believe Ferishta, whose authority is supported by that of Khāfi Khan, he now saw himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand horse.

Reduces Hissār, Khutlān, Khozār, &c.

Encouraged by this prosperous state of his affairs, he resolved to attempt the conquest of Bokhāra, which, since the death of Sheibāni Khan, had been held by Obeidullah Khan and his Uzbeks [1] On his approach, they abandoned the country and retired to Turkistān.[2] Bābur advanced up the river from Bokhāra, and was soon in possession of Samarkand, as well as of the districts dependent on it; he entered it about the beginning of October 1511, as a conqueror, and the *khutbeh*,[3] or prayer for the sovereign, was read, and the coin struck in his name

Bokhāra and Samarkand.

Middle of Rajeb, A H 917

Having thus, for the third time, taken possession of Samarkand, he committed the government of Kābul to Nāsir Mirza, and dismissed the generals of Shah Ismāel, after having amply rewarded them for their services.[4]

[1] [Obeidullah Khan, the chief of Bokhāra, had fortified himself in Karshi Bābur, however, marched past it and encamped, when his scouts reported that Obeidullah had quitted Karshi, and was in full march on Bokhāra. Bābur accordingly pushed on by forced marches to Bokhāra, driving the Uzbegs before him into the deserts of Turkistān —*E B*, pp 315-16]

[2] Turkistān, in its extensive sense, is applied to the whole country inhabited by the Tūrki tribes It is, in a more limited sense, applied to the countries north of the Sirr below Tāshkend, where there is also a town of the name of Turkistān In the details of the events of this period, the author of the *Ālam ārāī Abbāsi* is more consistent than Ferishta or Khāfi Khan

[3] See Ferishta and Khāfi Khan, the Indian authorities Mirza Sikander, the Persian authority, says that the *khutbeh* was read in the name of Shah Ismāel, and some circumstances render this not improbable, but it is difficult to disentangle the truths of history from the maze of Persian and Indian flattery [Sikander Munshi, in his *Tārīkh i ālam-ārāī Abbāsi* (1616), adds that coins were also struck in Shah Ismail's name, and Sheikh Muhammed 'Alī Hazīn, in his Memoirs (1741), states that Bābur courted the support of this powerful monarch by giving currency to his *khutbah* and coin in Samarkand —*E B*, p. 322.]

[4] [In the *T R*, p. 246, it is stated that the Persian auxiliaries were dismissed at Bokhāra]

Bokhāra invaded by the Uzbeks. A H 917–18, from October 1511 to the beginning of June 1512

Bābur had now spent eight months of the succeeding winter and spring in all the enjoyments of Samarkand, when he was alarmed by the unwelcome news that an army of Uzbeks, more in number, says the historian,[1] than ants or locusts, had collected, and were on their march for Bokhāra, under the command of Muhammed Taimūr Sultan, the son of Sheibāni Khan, who, as has been already mentioned, after his father's death, had been raised by the Uzbeks to the rank of Sultan of Samarkand.[2] Bābur, without delay, and with very inferior force, sought them out, and falling in with them near Bokhāra, engaged them in a bloody battle,[3] in which, from the inferiority of his numbers, he met with a complete defeat, and was obliged to fly back to Samarkand. He soon discovered, however, that he had no chance of being able to defend himself in that capital. He therefore withdrew to Hissār, whither he was followed by the Uzbek chiefs and closely blockaded In this exigency he retired into the town and suburbs, blocked up the entrance of the streets, and threw up strong defences. He at the same time dispatched messengers to Balkh, to Bairām Khan Karamanlu, who was then in that neighbourhood with an army of Persians. Bairām Khan instantly sent a detachment to his relief, and at their approach the Uzbeks raised the siege and retreated.

Bābur defeated Safer A H 918 April or May 1512 Abandons Samarkand Is besieged in Hissār

A D 1512. Siege raised

Shah Ismāel, on hearing of these events, being probably apprehensive of a new Uzbek invasion, sent Najm Sāni Isfahāni, one of his principal officers, with a large force, for the protection of Khorasān This general, without orders from his sovereign,[4] was wrought upon to march to the assistance of Bābur; with whom having formed a junction, he enabled him to reduce first Khozār and next

Bābur joined by Najm Sāni, advances towards Bokhāra.

[1] Khāfi Khan

[2] [The Uzbegs advanced in two bodies, one under Muhammed Timur marching to attack Tāshkend, while another under Obeidullah proceeded against Bokhara —*E B*, p 322.]

[3] [The battle of Kul Malek in which Obeidullah defeated Bābur According to the *T R*, Bābur's forces consisted of 40,000 men against Obeidullah's 30,000 men]

[4] [According to some authorities the Shah gave Najm Sāni orders to assist Bābur Najm Sāni was the Shah's Minister of Finance, and had been entrusted with the settlement of Khurasān —*E B*, p. 323]

Karshi, which last place was carried by storm, and Sheikhim Mirza Uzbek, with fifteen thousand men, including Uzbeks and inhabitants, put to the sword. The circumstances of this massacre disgusted Bābur, who found that he was condemned to play a subordinate part in the army that was professedly acting under his authority. He had ardently desired to save the inhabitants of the place, who were Chaghatāi Tūrks of his own race, and urgently besought Amir Najm to comply with his entreaties; but the unrelenting Persian was deaf to his wishes. Moulāna Banāi the poet, one of the most eminent men of his time, who happened to be in the town, was slain during the confusion and tumult, with many Syeds and holy men; 'And from this time,' says Mirza Sikander, 'Amir Najm prospered in none of his undertakings.'

Massacre of Karshi A D 1513, or beginning of 1514

Siege of Ghajdewān.

After these successes the army advanced to subdue the other countries still occupied by the Uzbeks, and laid siege to Ghajdewān, which lies not far west of Bokhāra, on the borders of the desert. This fort was bravely defended, for four months, by Muhammed Taimūr Sultan and Abūsaīd Sultan, who had thrown themselves into it. The Uzbeks well saw that Bābur's further progress would be fatal to their hopes of retaining possession of Māweralnaher, and their other rich conquests. All the Princes and Chieftains in their alliance were therefore summoned, collected their forces, formed a junction, and marched from Bokhāra, under the command of Obeidullah Khan and Jāni Beg Sultan, against the invaders. Muhammed Taimūr Sultan, having issued from Ghajdewān, joined them in the field. The battle, which was fought on Sunday, October 22, 1514,[1] was long and desperate; but it was perfectly decisive. The Uzbeks gained a great victory. Bairām Khan, who was the ablest general of the Kizilbāshes, being wounded with an arrow and unhorsed, his fall occasioned the rout of the army. The Uzbeks by a resolute charge broke their centre. The Persian Chiefs, disgusted with the haughty deportment and harsh inflexibility of Amir Najm, are said not to have afforded him

Great battle. 3rd Ramzān

[1] No year is mentioned, but the date, Sunday the 3rd of Ramzān, can only correspond with the year 920

proper support. He fell into the hands of the Uzbeks, who put him to death. Many of the Persian officers, flying from the field of battle,[1] escaped across the Amu by the passage of Kirki, and returned into Khorasān. Shah Ismāel, who was much dissatisfied with their conduct, commanded some of them to be seized and put to death. Bābur is represented as having had little share in the action, and he was probably not much consulted by the haughty Persian general. He saw himself once again compelled to retire to Hissār-Shādmān as a fugitive, and with scarce a hope left of recovering his hereditary dominions. Defeat of Bābur.

But his misfortunes did not terminate here. Some Moghul tribes had long possessed considerable power in the country about Hissār, and they had joined his party, and supported him during the former siege. Whether Bābur had given them any cause of disgust, or whether the ruin of his fortunes alone had inspired their leaders with ambitious hopes of independence, does not appear[2]; but, at this time, a serious conspiracy was formed among them, for the purpose of destroying the remains of his army. The chief leaders were Yādgār Mirza, Nazer Mirza, Mīr Ayūb, and Mīr Muhammed, who fell upon Bābur by night, slaughtered such of his followers as came in their way, and plundered and carried off whatever booty they could find. So unexpected was the attack, that Bābur himself with difficulty escaped into the citadel of Hissār in his night-clothes, not having even had time to put on his shoes; and so desperate had the situation of his affairs now become, that he had not a hope left of being able to revenge Revolt of the Moghuls in Hissār

Bābur escapes with difficulty

[1] [The Persians are said to have ascribed their defeat to the treachery of Bābur, who is accused of drawing off his troops during the battle, and Humāyūn, when a refugee in Persia, was often taunted with the perfidy of his father. In the *Tārīkh i Badāuni* the following couplet is quoted (in Persian), which Bābur is reported to have written and shot into the town tied to an arrow, to intimate his hatred of his allies

We have sacrificed the Shah for the sake of the Uzbegs;
If we have done wrong (before) we have (now at any rate) cleared the road.—*E B*, p 326.]

[2] [Ferishta states that he gave the Moghul leaders offence by reproaching them with misconduct in the late expedition.]

the affront. The power and influence of the Uzbeks daily increased, till they regained the undisputed possession of all Māweralnaher, including the country of Hissār. A famine and pestilence were added to the calamities of war, and Bābur, who was shut up within the citadel of Hissār, was reduced to the last extremes of misery.[1]

Disaffection to his government

What diminished his ultimate chance of success was a marked disaffection to his government, which had manifested itself from Hissār to Bokhāra When he first entered the country on the defeat of Sheibāni Khan, the news of his approach was received with the strongest demonstrations of joy, both in the territories of Hissār and of Samarkand; and he was hailed as a deliverer. But causes of mutual disgust speedily arose. As he relied much on the assistance of Shah Ismāel, the King of Persia, for reconquering his dominions, in order to gratify that prince, he is said to have dressed himself and his troops in the Persian fashion, and to have issued an order that all his troops should wear a red cloth in their caps like Kizilbāshes. The principal men of Samarkand and Bokhāra were highly offended at this order, which, with the general distinction shown to the Persian auxiliaries, and perhaps some acts of Bābur implying a dependence on the Persian king, appeared like a preparation for their becoming subjects of Persia. Their hostility to the Persians was now increased by difference of religion, Shah Ismāel being a warm and zealous apostle of the Shīa faith, while Māweralnaher, from the earliest ages of the Islām, was always famous for the orthodoxy of its doctors and inhabitants. The detestation which the orthodox Sunnis of Māweralnaher then bore to the heretical Shīas of Persia was certainly increased by the persecutions at Herāt; and it continues undiminished at the present hour, particularly among the Uzbeks, one of whom seldom willingly enters the territories of Persia [2] except as an

[1] [Bābur, shortly after this, finding it impossible to keep the field with his remaining force, left some trusty Amirs to defend Hissār and retired to Kunduz In the same year (1514) Sultan Sa'īd Khan, who had governed Ferghana since 1511, abandoned it to Siyūnjak Sultan, the Uzbeg chief, and retired to Kāshgar, which, after the expulsion of the tyrant Abā Bakr, he ruled for many years with honour —*E B*, pp 328 and 332]

[2] I happened to meet with a singular instance of this, while

enemy. The nobles and religious men of Samarkand and Bokhāra had expressed great indignation that their soldiers should be disguised as Kizilbāshes. The usual weapons of ridicule and abuse were plentifully lavished on the king and his army, to expose these innovations to derision.[1] The massacre at Karshi, though it occurred in spite of Bābur's efforts to prevent it, probably produced its natural consequences. Such an execution inevitably generates alienation and hatred; and unless supported by an overwhelming force, so as to keep alive feelings of terror, is sure to be fatal by the detestation it produces. The contempt and hatred excited against the invaders spread in all directions, and finally extended to the king and all his measures. Bābur, in the end, seeing all hope of recovering Hissār and Samarkand totally vanished, once more recrossed the Hindū-kūsh mountains, attended by a few faithful followers, who still adhered to his fortunes, and again arrived in the city of Kābul.[2] From this time he seems to have abandoned all views [3] on the country of Māweral-naher; and he was 'led by divine inspiration', says the courtly Abulfazl, writing in the reign of his grandson, 'to turn his mind to the conquest of Hindustān'.

Bābur in despair returns to Kābul.

But his arms were previously employed for several years in attempting a conquest nearer to his capital. When

Bābur's attempts on Kandahār

making some inquiries regarding the geography of Uzbek Turkestān An Uzbek Mulla, whom I consulted, had just made the pilgrimage of Mekka. On inquiring if he had passed through Persia, he expressed great horror I found, that to avoid touching the soil of Persia, he had gone from Bokhāra to Kokān, thence to Kāshghar, thence to Astrakhān, whence by Krim Tartary he had reached Constantinople. He went by sea to Egypt, and joined the caravan of Cairo I saw him at Bombay, whither he had come from Jedda, after making the *haj*, or pilgrimage He was preparing to return home by Delhi, Lahore, and Peshāwer, to avoid coming in contact with the Persian Shīas.

[1] They insulted the king and his troops, asking how they came to cover their heads *nervis asininis*, as they deridingly called the red piece of cloth that hangs from the top of the Persian cap —See Khāfi Khan, vol. i, MS.

[2] [Nāsir Mirza, Bābur's younger brother, who was ruler of Kābul at the time, received him with every mark of respect and welcome, and resigned to him the government —*E B*, p 334]

[3] His hopes were revived for a moment near the close of his life.

H. 913. D 1507. Sheibānī Khan was obliged to raise the siege of the citadel of Kandahār, to return to the rescue of his family in Nirehtu,[1] Nāsir Mirza, Bābur's youngest brother, who defended the place, had been reduced to great difficulties. The departure of Sheibānī Khan did not much improve his situation; for Shah Beg and Mukīm remained in the neighbourhood, and, in a short time, so much straitened the young prince, who, from the first, was but ill prepared for a siege, that he soon found it necessary to abandon the citadel of Kandahār, and return to the court of his brother. Bābur bestowed on him the government of Ghazni, an incident mentioned among the events of the year 913. The year in which Bābur came back from Kunduz to Kābul,[2] I have not discovered; but his return was probably in the course D. 1515. of 921.[3] Of the transactions of the three following years, our accounts are very imperfect. There is reason to believe that they were chiefly spent in an annual invasion of the territory of Kandahār, the forts of which were defended by Shah Beg, though he did not venture to oppose the invaders in the field.

The fragment of Bābur's Memoirs which follows describes his first invasion of India, and also what Khāfi Khan and Ferishta regard as the second. It includes a period of only one year and a month. The Memoirs here assume the form of a journal.

[1] [This was a strong fort near Herāt in the District of Badghīs — *E.B*, p. 282]

[2] [Ghazni was bestowed on Nāsir Mirza in 1507, and later in the same year Kandahār was assigned to him. In 1508 he gave up Kandahār to Sheibānī Khan and retired to Ghazni, the government of which was made over to him by Bābur. In 1511-12 Kābul was added to his charge, and this he held till Bābur's return in 1514, when he again retired to Ghazni, where he died of intemperance in the following year (1515). After his death a revolt of the Moghal chiefs occurred at Ghazni, led by Shīrīm Taghāi, and other nobles of Bābur's court. It was quelled after a pitched battle in which Kambar Ali, who had come up with reinforcements from Kunduz, took a leading part —*E B*, pp 279, 282, 319, and 335]

[3] [Bābur appears to have returned to Kābul in 1514. In 1518, Shah Beg's son, Shah Hasan, fled to Kābul, and was courteously received by Bābur. In 1520 Bābur commenced the siege of Kandahār, and in the following year turned it into a blockade. In 1522 it was surrendered to him.—*E B*, pp 354-5]

THE

MEMOIRS OF BĀBUR

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 925 [1]

A D 1519 January 3 Bābur marches to attack Bajour

On Monday,[2] the first day of the month of Muharrem, there was a violent earthquake in the lower part of the valley, or *julga* of Chandūl,[3] which lasted nearly half an astronomical hour. Next morning I marched from this stage, for the purpose of attacking the fort of Bajour. Having encamped near it, I sent a trusty man of the Dilazāk Afghans to Bajour, to require the Sultan of Bajour and his people to submit, and deliver up the fort. That stupid and ill-fated set refused to do as they were advised, and sent back an absurd answer. I therefore ordered the army to prepare their besieging implements, scaling-ladders, and engines for attacking fortresses. For this purpose we halted one day in our camp.

January 6.

On Thursday, the fourth of Muharrem, I ordered the troops to put on their armour, to prepare their weapons, and to mount in readiness for action. The left wing I ordered to proceed higher up than the fort of Bajour, to cross the river at the ford, and to take their ground to the north of the fort; I ordered the centre not to cross the river, but to station themselves in the broken and high grounds to the north-west. The right wing was directed to halt to the west of the lower gate. When Dost Beg and the Begs of the

[1] Dr. Leyden's translation here begins again.

[2] The whole of the year 925 of the Hijra is included in A. D 1519.

[3] This valley is now called Jondol, or Jandol It is about a day's journey from Bajour, to the north or north-east. The name of Chandūl, however, is still known [According to Raverty (*Notes*, pp. 115–17) the country of Bajaur consists of eight valleys, of which one is Chandāwal, or Jandol, and another Rūd, in which was situated the Khahr or Shahr (city). This was the principal town of Bajaur, and the residence of its chiefs. About two miles to the west of it on the south bank of the river was the strong fort of Lashora, which may have been the place stormed by Bābur.]

left wing were halting, after crossing the river, a hundred or a hundred and fifty foot sallied from the fort, and assailed them by discharges of arrows. The Begs, on their side, received the attack, and returned the discharge, chased back the enemy to the fort, and drove them under the ramparts. Mulla Abdal Malūk of Khost madly pushed on his horse, and rode close up to the foot of the wall If the scaling-ladders and *tūra* [1] had been ready, and the day not so nearly spent, we should have taken the castle at that very time. Mulla Tūrk Alı, and a servant of Tengrı Berdi, having each engaged in single combat with an enemy, took their antagonists, cut off their heads, and brought them back. Both of them were ordered to receive honorary presents. As the people of Bajour had never seen any matchlocks, they at first were not in the least apprehensive of them, so that when they heard the report of the matchlocks, they stood opposite to them, mocking and making many unseemly and improper gestures. That same day, Ustād Alı Kulı brought down five men with his matchlock, and Walı Khāzin also killed two. The rest of the matchlock-men likewise showed great courage, and behaved finely. Quitting their shields, their mail, and their cowheads,[2] they plied their shot so well, that before evening, seven, eight, or ten Bajouris were brought down by them ; after which, the men of the fort were so alarmed, that, for fear of the matchlocks, not one of them would venture to show his head. As it was now evening, orders were given that the troops should be drawn off for the present, but should prepare the proper implements and engines for assaulting the fortress in the morning twilight.

January 7 On Friday, the fifth day of Muharrem, at the first dawn of light, orders were given to sound the kettle-drum for action. The troops all moved forward according to the stations assigned them, and invested the place. The left wing and centre having brought at once an entire *tūra* from their trenches, applied the scaling-ladders, and began to

[1] The *tūra*, as has already been observed, were probably broad *testudos*, under cover of which the besiegers advanced to the storm.

[2] The cowheads were probably a kind of awning, covered with cow-hides, to admit of the matchlock-men loading in safety

mount. Khalīfeh, Shah Hassan Arghūn, and Ahmed Yūsef, with their followers, were ordered from the left of the centre, to reinforce the left wing. Dost Beg's men reached the foot of a tower on the north-east of the fort and began undermining and destroying the walls. Ustād Alī Kulī was also there, and that day too he managed his matchlock to good purpose, the *feringhī* [1] piece was twice discharged. Walī Khāzin also brought down a man with his matchlock. On the left of the centre, Malik Kutub Alī [a] having mounted the walls by a scaling-ladder, was for some time engaged hand to hand with the enemy. At the lines of the main body, Muhammed Alī Jeng-Jeng, and his younger brother Nouroz, mounted by a scaling-ladder, and fought bravely with spear and sword. Bāba Yasāwel, mounting by another scaling-ladder, busied himself in demolishing with an axe the parapet of the fort. Many of our people bravely climbed up, kept plying the enemy with their arrows, and would not suffer them to raise their heads above the works; some others of our people, in spite of all the exertions and annoyance of the enemy, and not minding their bows and arrows, employed themselves in breaking through the walls, and demolishing the defences. It was luncheon-time [2] when the tower to the north-east, which Dost Beg's men were undermining, was breached; immediately on which the assailants drove the enemy before them, and entered

The fort breached and taken

[a] Malik Alī Kujmī

[1] Much has been written concerning the early use of gunpowder in the East. There is, however, no well-authenticated fact to prove the existence of anything like artillery there, till it was introduced from Europe. Bābur here, and in other places, calls his larger ordnance *feringī*, a proof that they were then regarded as owing their origin to Europe. The Turks, in consequence of their constant intercourse with the nations of the West, have always excelled all the other Orientals in the use of artillery, and, when heavy cannon were first used in India, Europeans or Turks were engaged to serve them. [In this connexion the name of Rūmī Khan, a Turk of Constantinople, may be mentioned. This officer commanded the artillery of Bahādur Shah of Gujerāt in his battle with Humāyūn at Mundesor (A. D. 1532), and afterwards entered the service of Humāyūn, on whose behalf he conducted the siege of Chunār (A. D. 1538).]

[2] [*Chāsht* rather means breakfast.]

the tower. The men of the main body,[a] at the same time, also mounted by their scaling-ladders, and entered the fort. By the favour and kindness of God, in the course of two or three hours, we took this strong castle. All ranks
A. D 1519. displayed the greatest courage and energy, and justified their right to the character and fame of valour. As the men of Bajour were rebels, rebels to the followers of Islām, and as, beside their rebellion and hostility, they followed the customs and usages of the infidels, while even the name of Islām was extirpated from among them, they were all put to the sword, and their wives and families made prisoners. Perhaps upwards of three thousand men were killed. As the eastern side of the fortress was not attacked, a small number made their escape by that quarter. After taking the fortress, I went round and surveyed it, and found an immense number of dead bodies lying about on the terraced roofs, within the houses, and in the streets, insomuch, that persons coming and going to and fro, were obliged to tread on and pass over them. On my return from surveying the place, I took my seat in the palace of the Sultans, and bestowed the country of Bajour on Khwājeh Kalān,[1] and having given him a number of my best men to support him, returned to the camp about evening prayers.

January 8, Marches to Bāba Kāra

Next morning I pursued my march, and halted in the vale of Bajour, at the fountain of Bāba Kāra.[2] At the intercession of Khwājeh Kalān, I pardoned a few prisoners who were still left, and suffered them to depart with their wives and families. Several of the sultans and arch-rebels, who had fallen into our hands, were put to death. I sent the heads of the sultans, with some other heads, to Kābul, along with the dispatches announcing this victory. Letters conveying accounts of the victory were also sent, together with some heads, to Badakhshān, Kunduz, and Balkh.

[a] the centre,

[1] Khwājeh Kalān was the son of Moulāna Muhammed Sader, who was one of the chief men of Omer-Sheikh Mirza's court He had six brothers, all of whom spent their lives in Bābur's service, to whom they were distantly related, if we may believe Abulfazl.

[2] The valley of Bāba Kāra is seven kos north of the town of Bajour, on the road to Jandol.

Shah Mansūr Yūsefzai, who had come on a mission from the Yūsefzais, was present at this victory and massacre. Having invested him with a dress of honour, and written threatening letters to the Yūsefzais,[1] I gave him leave to depart.

The expedition against Bajour being thus terminated to my entire satisfaction, on Tuesday, the 9th of Muharrem, I moved on, and halted a kos farther down, in the same vale of Bajour, where I gave orders for the erection of a pillar of skulls on a rising ground. January 11

On Wednesday, the 10th of Muharrem, I mounted and rode to the castle of Bajour, where we had a drinking party [2] in Khwājeh Kalān's house The Kafers in the neighbourhood of Bajour had brought down wine in a number of skins. The wines and fruits of Bajour are wholly from that part of Kaferistān which lies about Bajour I stayed there all night, and next morning surveyed the towers and ramparts of the fort; after which I mounted and rode back to the camp. January 12.

The morning after, I marched on, and encamped on the banks of the river of Khwājeh Khizer.[3] Marching thence, I halted on the banks of the river Chandūl. Orders were here issued that all such persons as had been named for the defence of the fort of Bajour should, without exception, repair to that place. January 13 January 14

On Sunday, the 14th of Muharrem, having given Khwājeh Kalān a *tūgh* [4] (or banner), I sent him back to the fort of January 16.

[1] [This powerful Afghan tribe occupy the valleys of Panj-kora, Dīr, Bashkar, Swat, and Buner.—Raverty's *Notes*, pp 193 et seq]

[2] Bābur has now got over his scruples about drinking wine, and seems henceforward to have indulged in it to excess, till near the end of his life

[3] There does not appear to be any river between Bajaur and Jandol, except that of Bāba Kāra, which may also, perhaps, have been called Khwājeh Khizer Mr Elphinstone informs me . . that it joins the river of Panjkōra a march or two above the junction of that river with the river of Swāt (or Sawād), while the Jandol river joins the river of Bajaur a march from the town of Bajaur.

[4] The *tūgh* is a banner of the *kitās* or mountain-cow's [yak] tail, which belongs only to noblemen of the first class

Bajour. A day or two after his departure, I composed the following lines,[1] which I wrote and sent him :

Such was not the agreement and promise between my friend and me,—
Separation has stung me and made me wretched at last,
What can be done against the freaks of Fortune,
Which tears by force friend from friend at last!

January 19 On Wednesday, the 17th of Muharrem, Sultan Alā ud dīn Sawādi arrived as an envoy on the part of Sultan Weis Sawādi,[2] and waited on me to offer his submission

January 20. On Thursday, the 18th of Muharrem, I hunted on a hill that lies between Bajour and the Chandūl. The bison[3] and *gawazen* of this hill are black, except the tail, which is of a different colour. Below this, the bullocks and deer[4] of Hindustān are wholly dark-coloured. The same day we caught a *sārik* bird ;[5] its body was black, as were its eyes. This day, too, Burkhut[6] took a deer. As there was a scarcity of grain in the army, we went to the valley of Kahrāj, where we seized a quantity of corn, and then proceeded towards Sawād, on an expedition against the Yūsefzai Afghans.

January 21. On Friday, we marched, and encamped between the Panjkora and the junction of the Chandūl and Bajour rivers.[7] Shah Mansūr Yūsefzai had brought some very pleasant but highly inebriating *kamāl*.[8] I cut a *kamāl* into

[1] The turn of these verses is on the word *Bajour*, so that the last line signifies either *Bajour* has separated friend from friend, or friend is separated from friend *by force*

[2] Sultan Weis or Oweis was King of Swāt (or Sawād) His possessions extended from the river of Swāt to Baramula, at the entrance of Kashmīr He was expelled by the Yūsefzais

[3] Or rather perhaps the mountain-bull [This animal could not have been the Yak, which is only found close to the snow line The Indian Bison (*Gavaeus gaurus*) may be referred to, as this animal used to have a very wide range, though at present confined to southern and eastern India]

[4] [These terms evidently refer to the animals named above.]

[5] [*Sārik* means starling, but P. de C translates it Golden Oriole (*Oriolus galbula*).]

[6] Burkhut is probably the name of a favourite hawk. [*Burkhut* signifies the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*)]

[7] It has already been remarked that the Jandol and Bajour rivers join before they fall into the Panjkora

[8] A sort of intoxicating confection.

three parts, and ate one part myself, giving another to Gadāi Taghāi, and the third to Abdullah Kitābdāi. It affected me strangely, and with such a degree of intoxication, that, when the Begs met in council about evening prayers, I was unable to make my appearance, which is the more surprising, as now I may eat a whole *kamāl* of that kind, without being in the slightest degree affected, though, on that occasion, less than the half of one produced inebriety.[a]

Levies a contribution on Kahrāj

Marching thence, we halted near the mouth of the valley of Kahrāj and of Peshgrām,[1] before Panjkora. While we stayed here, it snowed in these places.[b] It rarely does snow there, and the inhabitants were surprised at the circumstance. By the advice of Sultan Weis Sawādi, I demanded a contribution of four thousand *kharwārs*[2] of rice for the use of the army from the inhabitants of Kahrāj, and sent Sultan Weis himself for the purpose of collecting it. These rude mountaineers and peasants, on whom such a contribution had never before been imposed, were unable to discharge it, and were reduced to great distress.

A. D. 1519.

Plunders Panjkora January 25

On Tuesday, the 23rd of Muharrem, I sent the army, under the command of Hindu Beg, in order to plunder in Panjkora. Panjkora lies a little above the middle of the slope of the hill. On account of the steepness of the ascent, it is necessary, for nearly a kos, to climb up, laying hold of the ground.[c] Before they reached Panjkora, the inhabitants had fled. They brought back some of their sheep, mares, bullocks, and grain.

January 26

Next morning, I dispatched the army, under Kūch Beg, on a plundering party; and on Thursday, the 25th of

January 27.

[a] If I should now consume a whole piece of this kind of confection, it would not produce the same degree of intoxication that half the quantity did on that occasion

[b] snow fell above our ankles in depth

[c] the steep slopes of which we had to climb for nearly a kos (two miles) before reaching the villages

[1] Peshgrām lies north of Mahyar. Kahrāj I have not found, but it may be part of the same valley.

[2] [A *kharwār* (ass-load) weighs a hundred *mans* at four *seers* a *man*. Four *seers*, or the weight of four rupees copper change to a *man*, weighs about seven pounds, which makes the *kharwār* about seven hundred pounds weight.]

Muharrem, in order to secure a supply of grain, the army moved, and encamped in the midst of the valley of Kahrāj, in the district of Mandīsh.

This year several children were born to me younger than Humāiūn [a]; but none of them lived Hindāl was not yet born. While we remained here, I received a letter from Māham, in which she said, 'Whether the expected child be a son or daughter, I shall take my chance [b]; I will regard the
January 28 child as mine, and educate it as my own.' On the 26th, in this same camp, I gave up Hindāl to Māham,[1] and, writing an answer to her letter, sent it to Kabul by Yūsef Alī Rikābdār.[2] Hindāl was not yet born. At this same encampment, in the district of Mandīsh, in the heart of the valley, on a rising ground, I erected a large *suffeh*, or terrace of stone, of such extent, that it could contain my large set of tents with the smaller set [3] usually sent in advance. The stones of this work were wholly brought by my officers and the soldiers

Malik Shah Mansūr, the son of Malik Suleiman Shah, had come from the Yūsefzai Afghans with professions of submission and of attachment to my interests In order to conciliate the Yūsefzais, I had asked his daughter in marriage. At this encampment we learned that the daughter [4] of Shah Mansūr was coming with the tribute of the Yūsefzais.

[a] After Humāyūn I had several children by his mother,

[b] make it over to me,

[1] [Māham was Bābur's principal wife and mother of Humāyūn Dildār was Hindāl's mother] [2] [Stirrup-holder]

[3] *Pīshkhāneh* Bābur means that the terrace could hold the state-tent, and also one of the sets of tents which is sent in advance each stage in travelling

[4] [The lady's name was Mubārikeh] The Afghan histories make the chief, to whose daughter Bābur was married, Malik Ahmed, nephew of Malik Sulemān Malik Sulemān had been treacherously murdered at a banquet by Ulugh Beg Mirza It may be worth while to give the history of this marriage, as related by the Afghans It will at least serve to show at how early a period history is corrupted by tradition.

They tell us, that after Ulugh Beg Mirza, the king of Kābul, had expelled the Yūsefzais from their old abodes, he died of an ulcer in the thigh, and Bābur got possession of the conquered country The Yūsefzais also submitted to him, and sent Malik Ahmed, and some other Maliks, with presents to Bābur Ahmed went from Sana through Swāt to Bajour, and so to Laghmān, whence he pro-

We had a drinking party about evening prayers. I invited Sultan Alā ud dīn [1] to the party, made him sit down, and gave him one of my own dresses as a dress of honour.

On Sunday the 28th we marched from the valley of Kahrāj, and encamped. Taūskhan Yūsefzai, the younger brother of Shah Mansūr, brought his niece, who has been mentioned, to this encampment. As the people of Besūd [2] are connected with those of Bajour, I sent Yūsef Ali Bekāwel from this station to collect them, and remove them to Bajour. I sent orders to the troops that had been left in Kābul to join me without delay. January 30.

ceeded to Kābul The King received him well, but was offended at heart, having received complaints from the Dilazāks, who were his favourite subjects, and who had bribed his ministers to procure the death of Ahmed The Gagiānis, who had been enemies of Malik Ahmed, but were now reconciled to him, gave him notice of the King's evil intentions He sent away the other Maliks, and stayed himself The King took his bow to shoot him Malik Ahmed bared his breast, that the King's arrow might not be impeded Bābur was so pleased that he forgave him

Next year, Bābur sent for Ahmed, who sent his brother in his stead The King was civil, but Ahmed, from comparing circumstances, surmised that he would attack them the year following. He retired, therefore, with his tribe, to the Mahoreh hills, which they strengthened, shutting up all the passes

The King accordingly set out for Swāt. On his way he besieged a Gebri fort, which was held by Malik Haider Ali Gebri. Having taken it, he moved on to Manglor

Bābur, after searching in vain by his spies for a pass into the Mahoreh hills, went himself in the disguise of a *kalender*, and was present at one of their feasts The daughter of Malik Ahmed, observing the stranger, sent him some provisions. Bābur, captivated with her appearance and manners, fell in love with her, and, on his return back, sent to ask her in marriage Ahmed consented, and, accompanied by all his Maliks, waited on the King The lady, whose name was Bibi Mubārikeh, so charmed Bābur by her grace and conversation, that he remitted the revenue of her tribe, and returned to Kābul. The Yūsefzais, we are told, then rose into great power, and Bābur raised to a very distinguished rank her brother, Mir Jamāl, who accompanied him and her into Hindustān. The brother and sister both died in Akber's time.

[1] The Yūsefzai ambassador

[2] Behsūt —*Leyden* [Besūd is marked on the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* map as lying on the left bank of the Kābul river, opposite Jelālābād, at the mouth of the Kunar Valley. The Besūd plain opens out a mile distant from the Behār Rabāt ferry]

February 4 On Friday, the 3rd of the month of Safer, we encamped at the junction of the Bajour and Panjkōra rivers.

February 6 On Sunday the 5th, I went from this station to Bajour, and had a drinking party at Khwājeh Kalān's house.

Expedition against the Afghans February 8 On Tuesday the 7th, I sent for the Begs and the Dilazāk Afghans,[a 1] and held a council, in which it was agreed, that, as it was the close of the year, only a day or two of Aquarius remaining, and as all the grain had been carried off from the level country, should we enter Sawād now, the army would suffer greatly from want of provisions; that it was therefore better to proceed by way of Ambahir and Pani-Māh, and crossing the river of Sawād above Hashnaghar,[2] to advance our troops with all possible expedition opposite to the *sanger* (or hill-fort) of Māmūra, belonging to the Yūsefzais, and to make an incursion upon the Afghans inhabiting the open country and plain, who are composed of the Yūsefzais and Muhammedzais, to beat up their quarters, and plunder them[b]; and that, by coming next year earlier, while the grain was on the ground, we should find effectual means of reducing them. Having come to February 9. this determination, next morning, being Wednesday, I bestowed horses and dresses of honour on Sultan Weis and Sultan Alā ud dīn, and dismissed them with every assurance of protection and assistance; and then, continuing our march, we halted opposite to Bajour. I left the daughter of Shah Mansūr in the fort of Bajour, till the return of the

[a] the notables of the Dilazāk Afghans,

[b] and fall suddenly on the Yūsafzai and Muhammedzai Afghans, who are settled in the plain opposite the Yūsafzai *sangar* (fortified hill) of Mahūra,

[1] [The Dilazāks are a tribe of Karlārni Afghans When the Khāshi Afghans, who included the Yūsafzais, Gagiānis and other tribes, were driven from the neighbourhood of Kābul by Ulugh Beg Mirza, Bābur's uncle, the Dilazāks were in possession of Peshāwar, the Duābah, Kalah Parni, half of Bajaur, Tirah, and a great part of Ningrahār. The Dilazāks assigned the Duābah to the Khāshis to settle in Some time after this, in Bābur's time, the Dilazāks were turned out of their ancestral territories by the Khāshis, and compelled to retire to the east bank of the Indus, when they settled in Hazāra and the tracts north of Atak.—Raverty's *Notes*, pp. 35–6]

[2] Hashnaghar stands not far above the junction of the Sawād river with the river of Kābul.

army. Next morning, proceeding in our course, and passing Khwājeh Khizer, we halted. Khwājeh Kalān here took leave of me on his return. The heavy baggage was sent on towards Lamghān, by way of Kuner. Next morning we again marched, and I gave the heavy baggage and camels to the charge of Khwājeh Mīr Mirān, and sent him on by the road of Khur-ghātu, Darwāzeh, and the pass of Karakūbeh; while I myself, with a light-armed and unencumbered force of cavalry, proceeded on our expedition. Having surmounted the pass of Ambahir, and likewise another pass,[a] we reached Pani-Māli before afternoon prayers. I sent forward Aughān Berdi with a small party, in order to get information. As there was but a short interval between us and the Afghans, we did not march early. It was about luncheon-time when Aughān Berdi returned, having taken an Afghan, and cut off his head, which he lost on his way back; but he did not succeed in procuring any satisfactory intelligence. It was mid-day when we marched, and we halted a little before afternoon prayers, after crossing the river of Sawād. About bed-time prayers we again mounted, and proceeding with speed, about sunrise, when the sun was a spear-length high, Rustam Turkomān, who had been sent forward on the look-out, rejoined us with information that the Afghans, having had notice of our approach, were in confusion on all hands; and that a body of them was retiring by the hill-road.

February 10

February 11.

A. D. 1519

February 12

February 13.

Instantly on receiving this intelligence, we increased our speed, and sent on a skirmishing party before us, which overtook and killed several Afghans, whose heads they cut off, and brought back to the main body, along with a number of prisoners, bullocks, and sheep. The Dilazāk Afghans also cut off and brought in several heads. Returning from thence, we halted in the neighbourhood of Kātlang,[1] where I sent guides in search of Khwājeh Mīr Mirān, who had been sent on with the baggage, with instructions to bring him to join me in Makām.

[a] *Add* very high

[1] Kātlang is forty miles north of Akōra, inclining to the east.

February 14. Next morning we marched, and passing by way of Kātlang, halted in the midst of Makām.[a 1] One of Shah Mansūr's people here joined us, and I dispatched Khosrou Gokultāsh and Ahmedi Perwānchi with a body of troops to meet and protect the baggage. On Tuesday the 14th, just as we halted in Makām, the baggage joined us. In the course of the last thirty or forty years, one Shahbāz Kalender, an impious unbeliever, had perverted the faith of numbers of the Yūsefzais and Dilazāks. At the abrupt termination of the hill of Makām, there is a small hillock that overlooks all the plain country. It is extremely beautiful, commanding a prospect as far as the eye can reach, and is conspicuous from the lower grounds.[b] Upon it stood the tomb of Shahbāz Kalender I visited it, and surveyed the whole place. It struck me as improper that so charming and delightful a spot should be occupied by the tomb of an unbeliever. I therefore gave orders that the tomb should be pulled down, and levelled with the ground. As the situation was fine, both for climate and beauty, I took a maajūn,[2] and continued there for some time.

February 15.

When we left Bajour, we did it with the intention of attacking Behreh [3] before we returned to Kābul. We were always full of the idea of invading Hindustān.[c] This was prevented by various circumstances. For three or four months that the army had been detained in Bajour, it had got no plunder of value. As Behreh is on the borders of Hindustān, and was near at hand, I conceived that, if I were now to push on without baggage, the soldiers might light upon some booty. Moving on under these impressions, and plundering the Afghans in our progress, when I reached Makām, several of my principal adherents advised me,

[a] I encamped between Kātlang and Makām

[b] *Omit this clause.*

[c] Bhīra, for ever since we came to Kābul we were always full of the idea of invading India

[1] Makām appears to lie in Bunīr. [It may be Mardān]

[2] These *maajūns*, generally composed of *bhang*, are taken to produce what is regarded as an agreeable intoxication.

[3] [Or Bhīra, which is a town on the Jhelum, in the Shāhpūr District of the Panjāb]

that if we were to enter Hindustān, we should do it on a proper footing, and with an adequate force; that a great part of our army had been left behind at Kābul; that a body of our best troops had been left at Bajour; that a number, too, in consequence of the weakness of their horses, had returned to Lamghān; that the horses even of those who still continued with us, were so wretched, that they were unfit for a single day's hard service. Though the advice was perfectly judicious, we made the inroad in spite of all these objections.

Early next morning we marched towards the passage over the Sind. I dispatched Mīr Muhammed *jālehbān*[1] in advance, with his brothers and some troops to escort them, for the purpose of examining the banks of the river, both above and below. After sending on the army towards the river, I myself set off for Sawāti,[2] which they likewise call Karak-khāneh,[3] to hunt the rhinoceros. We started many rhinoceroses,[4] but, as the country abounded in brush-wood, we could not get at them. A she rhinoceros that had whelps,[a] came out and fled along the plain, many arrows were shot at her, but as the wooded ground was near at hand she gained cover. We set fire to the brushwood, but the rhinoceros was not to be found. We got sight of another,[b] that, having been scorched in the fire, was lamed and unable to run.[c] We killed it, and every one cut off a bit of it as a trophy of the chase. Leaving Sawāti, after a wide and fatiguing circuit,[d] we reached the camp about bed-time

February 16.

[a] a calf,
[b] a young one,
[c] lay there struggling
[d] after much groping about to find the way,

[1] [Raftsman, *jālah* is a raft made of leathern bottles.]

[2] [This may be Swābī, the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Peshāwar District, on the Buner border about ten miles due north of the Indus.]

[3] [Rhinoceros place (= Karg-khāneh).]

[4] It is worthy of notice, that the rhinoceros is now no longer to be found to the west of the Indus. [When I was in charge of the Rājanpūr Sub-division of the Derahghāzī Khān District (Panjāb) in 1879 I remember seeing a tiger which had come down to the river Indus to drink. This was one of the last seen in this neighbourhood, though a few were shot on the Bahāwalpūr side of the river a year or two later. Tigers are now extinct in the Panjāb.]

prayers. The party that had been sent to survey the passage over the river did so, and returned.

Bābur crosses the Sind, February 17.

Next morning, being Thursday the 17th,[a] we crossed the ford [1] with our horses, camels, and baggage; the camp bazar and the infantry were floated across on rafts. The same day [b] the inhabitants of Nilāb [2] waited on me, bringing an armed horse and three hundred shahrokhis,[3] as a *peshkesh*. As soon as we had got all our people across, that same day at noon-day prayers, we proceeded on our march, which we continued for one watch of the night, and halted at the river of Kacheh-kot. Marching thence before day, we crossed the river of Kacheh-kot, and the same evening [c] surmounted the Pass of Sangdaki,[4] and halted. Syed Kāsim Ishek-Agha, who brought up the rear guard, took a few Gujers who followed the camp, cut off some of their heads and brought them in.

February 18

Marching at the dawn from Sangdaki, and crossing the river Suhān [5] about noon-day prayers, we encamped. Our stragglers continued to come in till midnight. It was an uncommonly long and severe march, and as it was made when our horses were lean and weak, it was peculiarly hard on them, so that many horses were worn out, and fell down by the way. Seven kos from Behreh to the north, there is a hill. This hill, in the *Zafer-nāmeh* [6] and some

February 19.

[a] sixteenth, [b] *Add* when I was by the ferry [c] towards noon

[1] Bābur appears to have crossed a little above Atak

[2] Nilāb lies fifteen miles below Atak on the Sind. [Nilāb (Blue spring), according to Raverty, though now in ruins, was once a great city, and the capital of the Kathar tribe. It is situated on the left bank of the Indus two miles below its junction with the Harru river Before Atak was founded, it lay on the main route between Peshāwar and Lahore]

[3] Something less than £15 sterling

[4] The river of Kacheh-kot is the Harru, or river of Gharshīn [which joins the Indus nine miles below Atak on the left bank] By his ascending a pass so speedily after leaving the river, and by his reaching the Suhān so soon, it appears that Bābur turned sharp to the south after crossing the Harru

[5] [The Suhān lies between the Indus and the Jhelum, and is an affluent of the former]

[6] The *Zafer-nāmeh*, or Book of Victory, is the history of Taimūr Beg, or Tamerlane, written in a very elegant style, by Sharif ed dīn Ali Yezdi. It has been well translated by Petis de la Croix.

other books, is called the hill of Jūd [1] At first I was ignorant of the origin of its name, but afterwards discovered that in this hill there were two races of men descended of the same father. One tribe is called Jūd, the other Janjūheh [2] From old times, they have been the rulers and lords of the inhabitants of this hill, and of the Ils and Ulūses which are between Nilāb and Behreh ; but their power is exerted in a friendly and brotherly way. They cannot take from them whatever they please. They take as their share a portion that has been fixed from very remote times. The one never takes, and the others never give, a single grain more or less. Their agreement is as follows : They give a *shahrokhi* [3] for each head of cattle ; seven *shahrokhis* are paid by each master of a family, and they serve in their armies. The Jūd are divided into various branches or families, as well as the Janjūheh. This hill, which lies within seven kos of Behreh, branching off from the hill-country of Kashmīr, which belongs to the same range as Hindū-kūsh, takes a south-westerly direction, and terminates below Dīnkot,[4] on the river Sind.[5] On the one half of this hill are the Jūd, and on the other the Janjūheh. This hill got the name of Jūd

[1] [The road from Katakhsh to Malot, 15 miles north of Bhīra, crosses a spur of the Salt Range, a thousand feet high, which may be the hill referred to here Malot was the ancestral home of the Janjūas]

[2] [According to the *Jhelum Gazetteer* the Janjūas are a tribe of Rahtor Rajpūts now reduced in size, but still of considerable importance. The Jaipāl who opposed Mahmūd of Ghaznī is said to have been a Janjūa chief, and in Bābur's time they held much of the country between the Jhelum and the Indus—the Jūds were apparently a branch of the Janjūas]

[3] The *shahrokhi* may be taken at a shilling or elevenpence sterling

[4] Dīnkot from this seems to have lain near Kārabāgh [or Kālabāgh on the right bank of the Indus On Major Rennell's map Dīnkot is marked on the left bank of the Indus, nearly opposite its junction with the Kuram river, and about sixty miles west of Pirhāla.]

[5] Bābur's account of this hill is not very exact. [The Salt Range runs almost in a semicircle south-eastwards from Kohāt, across the Indus near Kālabāgh, and east and north-east to the Jhelum] It is evident that he supposes all the rough and mountainous country between the Kheiber and Salt Ranges to be one hill, and to be continued up to Kashmīr.

from a supposed resemblance to the celebrated hill of Jūd.[a 1] The chief man among them gets the name of Rai. His younger brothers and sons are called Malik.[2] These Janjūheh were the maternal uncles of Langer Khan. The name of the Hākim of the Ils and Ulūses in the neighbourhood of the river Suhān was Malik Hast. His original name was *Asad*, but as the people of Hindustān often drop the vowels, calling, for instance, *khabar*, *khabr*, and *asad*, *asd*, this word, going on from one corruption to another, ended in becoming *Hast*.

Immediately on reaching our ground I sent Langer Khan in order to bring in Malik Hast. He galloped off, and by impressing him with a persuasion of my generosity and favourable intentions in his behalf, returned, accompanied by him, about bed-time prayers. Malik Hast brought a caparisoned horse with him by way of *peshkesh*, and made his submission. He was about the twenty-second or twenty-third year of his age.[3]

Many flocks of sheep, and herds of brood-mares, were feeding on all sides of the camp. As I always had the conquest of Hindustān at heart, and as the countries of Behreh, Khushāb, Chenāb, and Chiniot,[4] among which I now was,

[a] It has been given the name of the first mentioned tribe (i e the tribe of Jud)

[1] Jūd or Ararat, in Armenia, on which the ark was supposed to have rested

[2] [The chief men of the Salt Range are still styled Maliks]

[3] Here Dr Leyden's version finally closes.

[4] [Bhīra is the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Shāhpūr District of the Panjāb situated on the left bank of the Jhelum in 32° 28′–72° 56′ The old city, which lay on the right bank of the river, and is by some authorities identified with the ancient capital of Sophytes, belonged at this time to Ali Khan, the son of Daulat Khan, Governor of Lahore under the Delhi emperors It is said to have been destroyed by the Hill tribes shortly after Bābur's invasion. The new town was built in 1540. Khushāb, the head-quarters of another Tahsīl of the same district, and now a flourishing trade centre, lay forty miles down on the right bank of the Jhelum. Chenāb, as Erskine points out, was probably the name of a district which stretched over to the river of that name Chiniot is the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Jhang District of the Panjāb situated 52 miles north-east of Jhang city in 31° 43′–73° 0′. It is a very old town, and is identified

had long been in the possession of the Tūrks, I regarded them as my own domains, and was resolved to acquire the possession of them either by war or peace. It was, therefore, right and necessary that the people of the hill should be well treated. I accordingly issued orders that no one should molest or trouble their flocks or herds, or take from them to the value of a bit of thread or a broken needle.

Marching thence rather late, about noon-day prayers we reached Kaldeh-Kahār,[1] where we halted. On every side there were many cornfields, where the grain was still green This Kaldeh-Kahār is a considerable place. Ten kos from Behreh, in the middle of the hill of Jūd, there is a level plot of ground, in the centre of which is a large reservoir or lake, which receives the water[a] from the surrounding hills, as well as the rain water, by which it is swelled to about a circumference of three kos. On the north is the valley of Khūbi[b]; on the west, on the skirts of the hill, is a spring of water, which rises in the high grounds that overhang the lake. As the place suggested itself as suitable for such a purpose, I formed a garden on it, called the Bāgh-e-safā (or Garden of Purity). It has an extremely agreeable climate, is a very beautiful place, and will be mentioned hereafter.

At dawn we set out from Kaldeh-Kahār. On the very top of the Pass of Hambātu[2] we met, in different places, men[c] who were coming bringing in *peshkeshes* of small value, and tendering their submission. These men I sent forward along with Abdal-Rahīm Shaghāwal to Behreh, in order to reassure the people of the place; to tell them that these countries, from remote times, had belonged to the Tūrks, A. D 1519. February 20.

[a] rain water, *and omit* as well as the rain water.
[b] a fine meadow,
[c] men from different places,

by some with the ancient Sākala. It is now famous for its brass work and wood carving]

[1] [This is Kāla Kahār, a place in the Jhelum District twelve miles from Malot The lake still exists, as well as Bābur's garden, and the platform cut out of the solid rock, on which he sat to admire the view.—Murray's *Handbook of the Panjab*, London, 1883.]

[2] The *kotal* or Hill-pass of Hambātu appears to lie in the Salt

and that they must be on their guard not to permit any commotions, which would inevitably terminate in the plunder and ruin of the country, of its inhabitants, and of the property and wealth, which for years they had been accumulating [a]

Bābur reaches Behreh

About luncheon-time we reached the bottom of the pass, where we halted and sent on Kurbān Chirkhi and Abdal Malūk Khosti, with seven or eight others, to reconnoitre and bring in intelligence. Mīr Muhammed Mahdi Khwājeh, one of the persons who was so sent in advance, brought in one man. At this time some chiefs of the Afghans came with *peshkeshes* and tendered their submission. I sent them on with Langer Khan, for the purpose of inspiring the inhabitants of Behreh with confidence. Having cleared the pass, and emerged from the wooded ground, I formed the army in regular array, with right and left wing and centre, and marched towards Behreh. When we had nearly reached that place, Deweh Hindu, and the son of Siktu, who were servants of Ali Khan, the son of Doulet Khan Yūsef-Khail, accompanied by the head-men of Behreh, met us, bringing each a horse and camel as a *peshkesh*, and tendered their submission and service. Noon-day prayers were over when we halted to the east of Behreh, on the banks of the river Behāt, on a green field of grass, without having done the people of Behreh the least injury or damage.

History of Behreh from the time of Tamerlane.

From the time that Taimūr Beg had invaded Hindustān, and again left it, these countries of Behreh, Khushāb, Chenāb, and Chiniot, had remained in the possession of the family of Taimūr Beg, and of their dependants and adherents. Sultan Masaūd Mirza, the grandson of Shahrokh Mirza and son of Siyūrghatmish Mirza,[1] was, in those days, the ruler and chief of Kābul and Zābul, on which account he got the name of Sultan Masaūd Kābuli. After his death,

[a] for we know this country and its inhabitants, and it is not right that they should be exposed to plunder and pillage.

[1] Siyūrghatmish Mirza died A. H. 830—A. D. 1426. [According to Lane-Poole's *Muhammedan Dynasties* (London, 1894), Sultan Mas'ūd, King of Kābul, reigned from 1426 to 1439.]

and that of his son Alı Asgher Mırza, some of the persons whom he had brought forward and patronized, such as the sons of Mīr Ali Beg, Bāba Kābulı, Daryā Khan, and Apāk Khan, who was afterwards called Ghāzı Khan, having a commandıng ınfluence, took possessıon of Kābul, Zābul, and those countrıes of Hındustān whıch have been mentioned, and usurped the government.[a] In the year 910, whıch 1504–5.
was the date of my first comıng to Kābul, I passed through Kheıber and advanced to Peshāwer, with the ıntentıon of ınvading Hındustān; but, by the persuasıon of Bākı Cheghāniānı, was dıverted towards the Lower Bangash, whıch ıs called Kohāt, and after havıng pıllaged and ravaged a great part of Afghanistān, and plundered and laid waste the *dasht* (or low country), I returned by way of Dūkı. At that tıme the government of Behreh, Khushāb, and Chenāb, was held by Syed Alı Khan, the son of Ghāzi Khan, and grandson of Mīr Alı Beg. He read the *khutbeh* ın the name of Iskander Bahlol,[1] and was subject to hım. Beıng alarmed at my ınroad, he abandoned the town of Behreh, crossed the rıver Behāt, and made Sherkot, a place ın the dıstrict of Behreh, hıs capital. After a year or two, the Afghans havıng conceıved suspicıons against Syed Ali on my account, he became alarmed at theır hostılity, and surrendered hıs country to Doulet Khan son of Tātār Khan Yūsef-khaıl, who at that tıme was Hākım[2] of Lahore. Doulet Khan gave Behreh to hıs eldest son Alı Khan, by whom it was now held. Tātār Khan, the father of Doulet Khan, was one of the six or seven chiefs who ınvaded and conquered Hındustān, and made Bahlol Emperor. Thıs Tātār Khan possessed Sırhınd and all the country to the north of the Satlej. The revenue of these territorıes was upwards of three *krors*.[3] After Tātār Khan's death, Sultan Sikander, the reignıng Emperor, had taken these countrıes from hıs

[a] *Add* In the tıme of Abu Sa'ıd Mırza they lost Kābul and Zābul, but the terrıtorıes ın Hındustān remaıned ın theır hands.

[1] [Sıkander Bahlol Lodı, Emperor of Delhı (A. D. 1488–1506)]

[2] The Hākım ıs a chıef or governor

[3] Three *krors* or crores of *dāms*, at forty to the rupee, would make thıs 750,000 rupees, or about £75,000 sterlıng.

family. Two years [a] before my coming to Kābul, the same prince had given Lahore alone to Doulet Khan.

A D 1519 February 21. Next morning I sent out several foraging parties in proper directions, and afterwards rode round Behreh. The same day Sanger Khan Janjūheh came with a horse, which he presented to me with tenders of service

February 23. On Wednesday the 22nd, I sent for the head-men and *chouderis* [1] of Behreh, and agreed with them for the sum of four hundred thousand *shahrokhis* [2] as the ransom of their property; and collectors were appointed to receive the amount. I then rode out to see the country, embarked in a boat, and ate a maajūn. I had sent Haider Ālemdār (the standard-bearer) to the Balūches,[3] who were settled

February 24. in the country of Behreh and Khushāb. Next morning, being Thursday, they came in with a bay [b] Tipchāk horse as a *peshkesh*, and made their submission. Having learned that the troops had exercised some severities towards the inhabitants of Behreh, and were using them ill, I sent out a party, who having seized a few of the soldiers that had been guilty of excesses, I put some of them to death, and slit the noses of some others, and made them be led about the camp in that condition. As I reckoned the countries that had belonged to the Tūrks as my own territories, I therefore admitted of no plundering or pillage.

Embassy to Sultan Ibrahīm. People were always saying, that if ambassadors were to be sent in a friendly and peaceable way into the countries that had been occupied by the Tūrks, it could do no harm. I therefore [4] dispatched Mulla Murshid to Sultan Ibrahīm, whose father Sultan Iskander had died five or six months before,[5] and who had succeeded his father in the empire

[a] A year or two

[b] almond-coloured

[1] *Chouderi* in some districts signifies the head-man of a trade, in others a landholder

[2] Nearly £20,000 sterling.

[3] [The Belūchis, who form 2 per cent. of the total population of the Shāhpūr District, are still settled mostly in the Bhera and Khushāb Tahsīls]

[4] [P. de C. adds the date Thursday the first of Rabi ul awwal]

[5] [Sikander Lodi, according to Ferishta, died on Nov. 21, 1517, though Erskine would put it a year later (1518) on Bābur's authority. —*E.B*, p 407.]

of Hindustān ; and, giving him the name and style of ambassador,[a] sent him to demand, that the countries which from old times had belonged to the Tūrks, should be given up to me. Besides these letters for Sultan Ibrahīm, I gave Mulla Murshid letters to Doulet Khan, and having also delivered to him verbal instructions, dismissed him on his mission. The people of Hindustān, and particularly the Afghans, are a strangely foolish and senseless race, possessed of little reflection, and less foresight. They can neither persist in, and manfully support a war, nor can they continue in a state of amity and friendship This person, who was sent by me, Doulet Khan detained some time in Lahore, neither seeing him himself, nor suffering him to proceed to Sultan Ibrahīm ; so that my envoy, five [b] months after, returned to Kābul without having received any answer [c]

On Friday, letters of submission came from the people of Khushāb Shah Hassan,[1] the son of Shah Shujaā Arghūn, was appointed to proceed to that district. February 25

On Saturday the 25th, I directed Shah Hassan to set out for Khushāb There was such a fall of rain,[2] that the whole plain was covered with water. Between Behreh and the hills [d] where we were encamped, there was a little stream. By the time of noon-day prayers, it was equal in breadth to a considerable lake [e] Near Behreh, for upwards of a bowshot, there was no footing in the ford, and it was necessary to pass paddling and swimming. Between afternoon and evening prayers,[f] I rode out for the purpose of surveying these waters. The rain and wind were so violent Inundation in Behreh February 26

[a] and giving him a hunting falcon to present to the King,

[b] a few

[c] *The passage from* As I reckoned *to* any answer *on pages* 98–9 *is placed after the sentence ending* Syed Kāsim and Muhibb Ali *on page* 100.

[d] gardens [e] river. [f] In the afternoon

[1] This Shah Hassan afterwards made a distinguished figure in the history of Sind, on the throne of which he succeeded his father Shah Beg

[2] This rain is too early for the south-west monsoon It was probably a severe fall of the spring rain, which prevails at this season, or rather earlier, and which extends all over the west of Asia

that, in our return, we were afraid we should not have been able to rejoin the camp. I passed the stream that was in flood by swimming[a]; the troops were extremely terrified. Many of them leaving behind their tents and heavy baggage, and taking their coats of mail, horse furniture, and arms on their shoulders, after stripping their horses of all their harness, swam them across. The whole plain was covered with water. In the morning, many of the troops carried their tents and baggage across the inundation, in boats which they brought from the river. Toward evening prayers,[b] Kūch Beg's men, having gone about a kos higher up, discovered a ford, by which all the rest of the army passed.

February 27

We remained one day in the fort of Behreh, which they call Jehān-numā,[1] and on the morning of Tuesday we marched, and encamped on the rising grounds which skirt along Behreh towards the north, in order to escape the inconveniences of the rain and inundation. The inhabitants now began to contrive delays in paying the money which they had consented to give. Having divided the country into four districts, I ordered the Begs to use all diligence in collecting the whole contribution. One district I gave in charge to Khalīfeh, another to Kūch Beg, a third to Dost Nāsir, the fourth to Syed Kāsim and Muhibb Ali.

February 28. March 1. A D 1519

On Friday, the second of the month, Sheibāk Pīādeh and Derwīsh Ali Pīādeh, who are now matchlock-men,[2] brought me letters from Kābul, containing news of the birth of Hindāl. As this news came when I was on an expedition against Hind, taking it as a good omen, I named him Hindāl.

Birth of Hindāl, March 4.

Kamber Beg, at the same time, brought letters from Balkh, from Muhammed Zemān Mirza.[3]

Next morning, after the Diwān[4] was dismissed, when I had finished my ride, I went on board of a boat, and had

A drinking party, March 5.

[a] *Add* my horse ; [b] noon,

World-exhibiting, or Miniature of the World.

[2] The matchlock-men seem to have been considered as a superior service.

[3] Muhammed Zemān Mirza, who is often mentioned in the sequel of these Memoirs, was a son of Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza, the late King of Khorasān

[4] [i e the Court]

a drinking party [a] with Khwājeh Dost Khāwend, Khosrou Mīram, Mirza Kuli, Muhammedi, Ahmedi, Gadāi, Naamān, Langer Khan, Ruhdem, Kāsim Ali *tarākī*,[1] Yūsef Ali, and Tengri Kuli. Towards the bow of the vessel a space was roofed in. It had a level platform above, and I and some others sat on the top of it A few others sat below the scaffolding Towards the stern of the ship, too, there was a place for sitting. Muhammedi, with Gadai and Naamān, sat there. We continued drinking spirits till after noon-prayers.[b] Disliking the spirits, we then took to maajūn.[c] Those who were at the other end of the vessel, did not know that we were taking maajūn, and continued to drink spirits About night-prayers we left the vessel, and mounting our horses, returned late to the camp. Muhammedi and Gadai, thinking that I had been taking nothing but spirits, and imagining that they were doing an acceptable service, brought me a pitcher of liquor, carrying it by turns on their horses. They were extremely drunk and jovial when they brought it in. 'Here it is,' they said; 'dark as the night is, we have brought a pitcher. We carried it by turns.' They were informed that we had been using a different thing [d] The maajūn-takers and spirit-drinkers, as they have different tastes, are very apt to take offence with each other.[e] I said, 'Don't spoil the cordiality of the party; whoever wishes to drink spirits, let him drink spirits; and let him that prefers maajūn, take maajūn; and let not the one party give any idle or provoking language to the other.' Some sat down to spirits, some to maajūn. The party went on for some time tolerably well. Bāba Jān *kabūzi* [2] had not been in the boat; we had sent for him when we reached the royal tents. He chose to drink spirits. Tardi Muhammed Kipchāk, too, was sent for and joined the spirit-drinkers.

[a] I drank *'arak* (toddy) with

[b] afternoon prayers

[c] We, who were at the bow of the boat, decided to give up drinking spirits, and indulged in ma'jūn

[d] Afterwards they got to know that our party was not like theirs, and had not got drunk in the same way

[e] As spirit-drinkers do not get on with ma'jūn-takers, they were very disgusted with what happened

[1] [i.e opium-eater]

[2] *Kabūzi*, one who plays on the *kabūz*

As the spirit-drinkers and maajūn-takers never can agree in one party, the spirit-bibbing party began to indulge in foolish and idle conversation, and to make provoking remarks on maajūn and maajūn-takers. Bāba Jān, too, getting drunk, talked very absurdly. The tipplers filling up glass after glass for Tardi Muhammed, made him drink them off, so that in a very short time he was mad drunk. Whatever exertions I could make to preserve peace were all unavailing; there was much uproar and wrangling. The party became quite burdensome and unpleasant, and soon broke up.

March 7. On Monday the 5th, I gave the country of Behreh to Hindū Beg, and the country of Chenāb to Hussein Ikzāk; when Hussein Ikzāk, and the men of Chenāb, took leave

At this time Manucheher Khan, the son of Syed Ali Khan, who had given me notice of his intention to wait on me, but who, as he was coming from Hindustān by the upper road, was intercepted by Tātār Khan Gakker (who would not suffer him to depart, carefully watched him and made him his son-in-law, by giving him his own daughter in marriage), after having been detained a considerable time, at length came and tendered me his services.

Hāti Gakker surprises and puts to death Tātār Gakker.

In the hill-country between Nilāb and Behreh, but apart from the tribes of Jūd and Janjūheh,[1] and adjoining to the hill-country of Kashmīr, are the Jāts, Gujers, and many other men of similar tribes, who build villages, and settle on every hillock and in every valley.[a] Their Hākim[2]

[a] hill

[1] [The Janjūas, who inhabit the Salt Range, are pure Rājpūts and were the earliest settlers of this tract They were invaded by Ghakkars, who then became the dominant race The Ghakkars were supreme in the Salt Range during the period of the first Muhammedan incursions, and subsequently became the most loyal vassals of the House of Bābur during the zenith of the Moghal period They are said to have entered the Panjāb with Mahmūd of Ghazni, and overran and occupied the districts of Rawalpindi, Mianwāli, Gujerāt, Jhelum, and Shāhpūr, as well as parts of Hazāra and Kashmīr The last independent Ghakkar chief Mubārak Khan was defeated under the walls of Gujerāt by the Sikh general Gujar Singh in 1765]

[2] [Head man or Chief.]

was of the Gakker race, and their government resembles that of the Jûds and Janjûheh. The government of these tribes, which stretch along the skirt of the hills, was at that time held by Tâtâr Gakker and Hâti Gakker, sons of the same family; they were cousins. Their places of strength were situated on ravines and steep precipices. The name of Tâtâr's stronghold was Parhâleh. It was considerably lower than the snowy mountains. Hâti's country is close adjoining to the hills. Hâti had also brought over to his interest Bâba Khan, who held Kalinjer. Tâtâr Gakker had waited on Doulet Khan, and was in a certain way subject to him.[a] Hâti had never visited him, but remained in an independent, turbulent state. Tâtâr, at the desire of the Amirs of Hindustân, and in conjunction with them, had taken a position with his army a considerable way off, and in some sort kept Hâti in a state of blockade. At the very time when we were in Behreh, Hâti had advanced upon Tâtâr by a stratagem,[b] had surprised and slain him, and taken his country, his women, and all his property.

Drinking party.

About the time of noon-day prayers, I mounted to take a ride, and afterwards going on board of a boat, we had a drinking bout.[c] The party consisted of Dost Beg, Mirza Kuli, Ahmedi, Gadai, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Hassan Aughân, and Berdi Moghul. The musicians were Rûhdem, Bâba Jân, Kâsim Ali, Yûsef Ali, Tengri Kuli, Abul Kâsim, and Ramzân Lûli. We continued drinking spirits in the boat till bed-time prayers, when, being completely drunk, we mounted, and taking torches in our hands, came at full gallop back to the camp from the river-side, falling sometimes on one side of the horse, and sometimes on the other. I was miserably drunk, and next morning, when they told me of our galloping into the camp with lighted torches in our hands, I had not the slightest recollection of the circumstance. After coming home, I vomited plentifully.

March 11 A. D. 1519.

On Friday I mounted to ride out, and crossed the river in a boat, went round the gardens and parterres[d] on the

[a] whom he regarded as his suzerain
[b] on pretext of a hunting party,
[c] *'arak* was drunk.
[d] orchards

opposite side, with the grounds where the sugar-cane is cultivated, examined the buckets and wheels for irrigation, drew some water, inquired into the mode of their operation, and made them raise the water again and again, that I might observe their action. During our ride, I had taken a maajūn, and when we had seen everything, we returned to the boat. Munucheher Khan had also taken a maajūn, but so strong that two people were obliged to take hold of his arms and support him along. We dropped the anchor, and for a while remained stationary in the midst of the river; we next went a good way down the river, and afterwards desired the boat to be worked up the stream. That night we slept in the boat, and towards morning returned to the camp.

March 12 On Saturday, the 10th of the first Rabi, the sun entered the Ram; that day I rode out about noon-day prayers, went on board a vessel, and had a drinking party. The party was composed of Khwājeh Dost Khāwend, Dost Beg, Mīram Mirza Kuli, Muhammedi, Ahmedi, Yunis Ali, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Gadai, Taghāi, Mīr Khurd Asās. The musicians were Rūhdem, Bāba Jān, Kāsim Ali, Yūsef Ali, Tengri Kuli, Ramzān. Having got into a large branch of the stream, we went down it for some time, after which we landed[a] considerably lower down than Behreh, and reached the camp late.

That same day Shah Hassan came back from Khushāb He had been sent as ambassador, to invite the countries that had formerly been held by the Tūrks to return to their allegiance, and had made a capitulation with them. Some of the money that had been settled for, had also been paid to us. The heats were now close at hand; I therefore appointed Shah Muhammed Moherdār,[1] his younger brother, Dost Moherdār, with a number of the most efficient men, and of those who were best suited to the service, to remain to support Hindū Beg. I settled on each of them a stated allowance, suited to his rank and circumstances. On Langer Khan, who was the prime cause and

[a] *Add* opposite to and

[1] The Keeper of the Signet.

adviser of this expedition, I bestowed Khushāb, and gave him the *tūgh*,[1] or banner of mountain-cow's tail. I left him also behind to support Hindū Beg. With the same view, I placed under the orders of Hindū Beg a number of Tūrki soldiers and Zemīndārs,[a] who were in Behreh, and increased their allowances. Among these was Manucheher Khan, who has been already mentioned[b]; another was Sanger Khan Janjūheh, who was[c] Malik Hast of the Janjūheh.

Having arranged the affairs of the country in such a way as to give a prospect of its being kept quiet, on Sunday, the 11th of the first Rebi, I marched from Behreh on my return to Kābul. We halted at Kaldeh-Kahār. That day also there was a most uncommon fall of rain. Those who had cloaks,[2] and those who had none, were all in the same state. The rear of the camp continued dropping in till after bed-time prayers. March 13

Some persons who were acquainted with the country, and with the political situation of the neighbouring territories, and particularly the Janjūheh, who were the old enemies of the Gakkers, represented to me that Hāti the Gakker had been guilty of many acts of violence, had infested the highways by his robberies, and harassed the inhabitants; that therefore it was necessary either to effect his expulsion from this quarter, or, at least, to inflict on him exemplary punishment.

For effecting this object, next morning, I left Khwājeh Mīr Mirān and Mīram Nāsir in charge of the camp, and, about breakfast[d] time, set out with a body of light troops, to fall upon Hāti Gakker, who, a few days before, had killed Tātār, seized the country of Parhāleh,[3] and was now at March 14. Expedition against Parhāleh

[a] local levies,
[b] *Add* and one of his relations, Nazar Ali Turk,
[c] and
[d] luncheon

[1] The *tūgh* standard, as already mentioned, is a pennon with a *kitās* or mountain-cow's [yak's] tail. It is only bestowed on officers of rank It resembles the Turkish horsetail standard

[2] [*Kipik*, a kind of (waterproof) mantle, covered with wool]

[3] [The village of Pharwāla, the ancient capital of the Ghakkars, now almost deserted, lies 12 miles to the east of Rawulpindi

Parhāleh, as has been mentioned. About afternoon prayers we halted, and baited our horses; and set off again about bed-time prayers. Our guide was a servant of the Malik Hast, by name Sarpa. He was a Gujer. All night long we proceeded straight on in our course, but halted towards
March 15 morning, and sent on Beg Muhammed Moghul towards their camp.[a] When it was beginning to be light we again mounted; and, about luncheon[b] time, put on our armour, and increased our speed. About a kos from the place where we had made this halt, Parhāleh began to appear faintly in sight. The skirmishers were now pushed forward; the right wing proceeded to the east of Parhāleh. Kūch Beg, who belonged to that wing, was directed to follow in their rear, by way of reserve. The left wing and centre poured in straight towards Parhāleh Dost Beg was appointed to command the party charged to support the left wing and centre, who made the direct attack on Parhāleh.

Parhāleh, which stands high in the midst of deep valleys and ravines, has two roads leading to it; one of them on the south-east, which was the road that we advanced by. This road runs along the edge of the ravines, and has ravines and precipices on both sides. Within half a kos of Parhāleh the road becomes extremely difficult, and continues so up to the very gates of the city; the ravine road, in four or five places, being so narrow and steep, that only one person can go along it at a time; and, for about a bowshot, it is necessary to proceed with the utmost circumspection.[c] The other road is on the north-west. It advances towards Parhāleh through the midst of an open valley.[d] Except these two roads there is no other on any side. Although the place has no breast-work nor battlement, yet it is so situated that it is not assailable. It is surrounded by a precipice seven or eight gaz in perpendicular height. The troops of the left wing having passed along the narrows, went pouring on

[a] back to the camp [b] breakfast [c] in single file
[d] *Add* This route too can only be used by people travelling one at a time

(Panjāb). The old fort is perched on a cliff overlooking the Sūhān]

towards the gate. Hātı, with thirty or forty horsemen, all, both man and horse, in complete armour, accompanied by a number of foot soldiers, attacked and drove back the skirmishers. Dost Beg, who commanded the reserve, coming up, and falling on the enemy with great impetuosity, brought down a number of them, and routed the rest. Hātı Gakker, who distinguished himself by his courage and firmness in the action,[a] in spite of all his exertions could not maintain his ground, and fled. He was unable to defend the narrows; and, on reaching the fort, found that it was equally out of his power to maintain himself there. The detachment, which followed close on his heels, having entered the fort along with him, Hātı was compelled to make his escape, nearly alone, by the north-west entrance.[b] Dost Beg, on this occasion, again greatly distinguished himself. I ordered an honorary gift [1] to be given to him. At the same time I entered Parhāleh, and took up my abode at Tātār's palace. During these operations, some men, who had been ordered to remain with me, had joined the skirmishing party. Among these were Amīn Muhammed Karāchı, and Tarkhān Arghūn.[2] In order to punish them for this offence, I gave them the Gujer, Sarpa, for their guide, and turned them out disgracefully into the deserts and wilds, to find their way back to the camp. A D 1519 Parhāleh taken

Next morning, passing by the ravine on the north-west, we halted on the sown fields, when I gave Walı, the treasurer, a body of select troops, and sent him off to the camp. March 16

On Thursday the 15th we halted at Anderābeh,[3] which lies on the banks of the river Sūhān. This fort of Anderābeh depended, from old times, on the father of Malık Hast. When Hātı Gakker slew Malik Hast's father, it had been destroyed, and had remained in ruins ever since. About March 17.

[a] whose bravery was celebrated in those parts,

[b] Hātı succeeded in effecting his escape by passing through the defiles and ravines to the north-west of Parhāleh

[1] *Jıldu* [= a special reward]

[2] [P de C has Amīn Muhammed Tarkhān Arghūn, and Karāchı.]

[3] [Anderābeh is marked on Rennell's map as lying on the left bank of the Sūhān river north-west of Pharwāla.]

bed-time prayers, the party that had been left with the camp at Kaldeh-Kahār rejoined us.

Submission of Hāti Gakker

Hāti, after dispatching [1] Tātār, had sent to me one Parbat, his relation, with a caparisoned horse, and a *peshkesh* He did not meet me, but fell in with that part of the army that had been left behind with the camp; and having arrived along with the division that accompanied the baggage, now presented his offerings and tribute, and tendered his submission. Langer Khan, who was to be left behind in Behreh, but who had accompanied the camp in order to finish some business, also rejoined me; and, having brought everything to a conclusion, took leave on his return to Behreh, accompanied by some Zemmdārs of

March 18

that district. After this we marched on, crossed the river Sūhān, and encamped on a rising ground. I gave a dress of honour to Parbat, Hāti Khan's relation; and, having written letters to confirm Hāti in his good intentions, and to remove any apprehensions that he might entertain, dispatched Parbat in company with a servant of Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng.

Submission of the Karlūk Hazāras

Some of Humāiūn's servants had gone along with Bāba Dost and Halāhul to Nilāb, and to the Karlūki Hazāras,[2] who had been given to Humāiūn, and submitted to receive Dāroghas.[a] Sanger Karlūk, accompanied by Mirza Malvi Karlūk, and thirty or forty of the chiefs of the tribe, came to us, after sending on before them [b] a horse fully caparisoned, and tendering their obedience. The army of the Dilazāk

[a] And to Karlūk in order to perform the functions of *daroga* among the Hazāras of those districts which had been assigned to Humāyūn

[b] came to meet me and to present me with

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[1] [i. e. conquering.]

[2] There is still a part of the country, on the east bank of the Indus, called Hazāra, probably after this tribe, for in all these countries, the name of a tribe is applied to its country, without any addition [There is an interesting account of this clan in Raverty's *Notes*, pp 280–1 The Karlugh Turks formed one of the *mings* of Tamerlane's army of invasion, and on his way back from Hindustān in 1398 he settled them in the district now called Hazāra, which is the Tājik rendering of the Turkish word *ming* (= a body of a thousand soldiers).]

Afghans having also arrived, we next morning marched thence and halted, after advancing two kos. I here ascended a rising ground to survey the camp, and directed the camels of the army to be numbered. They mounted to five hundred and seventy camels. I had formerly heard the *sumbal* plant[1] (spikenard) described; I now saw it at this station On the skirts of this hill there are a few *sumbal* plants scattered here and there. They are more abundant in the skirts of the hills of Hindustān, where the plant is both more plentiful and larger in size. When I describe the animals and forests of Hindustān, it will be more particularly mentioned. March 19.

Marching hence at the time when the kettle-drum beats,[2] we halted about luncheon [a] time at the foot of the pass of Sangdaki. About noon-day prayers we renewed our march, and ascended the pass, crossed the river, and halted on an eminence; we again set out at midnight. In going to examine the ford by which we had passed in our way to Behreh, we found a raft, loaded with grain, that had stuck fast in the mud and clay; the owners, with all their exertions, had not been able to extricate it. We seized this corn, and divided it among the men who were with us; the grain came very seasonably. Towards evening [b] we halted lower down[3] than the junction of the Sind and Kābul rivers, and higher up than old Nilāb, between the two. We brought six boats from Nilāb, and divided them among the right and left wings and centre, who immediately began to exert themselves in crossing the river. On the Monday, being the day on which we arrived, and the night following, and on Tuesday and the night following, till Wednesday, they continued passing; on Thursday, also, a few passed. Bābur re-crosses the Sind. March 20. March 21 March 21, 22, and 23. March 24

Parbat, Hāti's relation, who had been sent from the neighbourhood of Anderābeh with the servant of Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, returned to us, while we were on the banks of the river, bringing from Hāti a horse clad in armour, by way of tributary offering. The inhabitants of

[a] breakfast [b] noon

[1] [*Nardostachus jatamansi.*] [2] That is, an hour before day
[3] This was probably at the Atak pass

Nilāb brought an armed horse as a *peshkesh*, and tendered their submission. Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng having a wish to remain in Behreh, and Behreh itself having been given to Hindū Beg, I bestowed on him the tract of country between Behreh and the Sind, with the Ils and Ulūses in the district, such as the Karlūk Hazāras, and Hāti, and Ghāsdāl, and Kīb. Whoever submitted his neck was to be treated with kindness; and as for such as were rebellious and refractory,[a]

Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng gets the country between Behreh and the Sind.

(*Tūrki verse*)—Whoever does not submit his head, must be subjected to punishment, and humbled by pillage.

After making these grants to Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, I gave him one of my own black velvet Kilmāk corslets, and the *tūgh* (or banner) of mountain-cow's tail. I gave Hāti's relation leave to depart; presented him[b] with a sword, and a dress of honour; and sent by him letters calculated to confirm Hāti in his duty.

March 24 On Thursday, at sun-rise, we moved from the banks of the river, and resumed our march. This day I ate a maajūn While under its influence, I visited some beautiful gardens. In different beds, the ground was covered with purple and yellow *arghwān*[1] flowers. On one hand were beds of yellow flowers, in bloom; on the other hand, red flowers were in blossom. In many places they sprung up in the same bed, mingled together as if they had been flung and scattered abroad I took my seat on a rising ground near the camp, to enjoy the view of all the flower-plots. On the six sides of this eminence they were formed as into regular beds. On one side were yellow flowers, on another the purple, laid out in triangular[c] beds. On two other sides there were fewer flowers; but, as far as the eye could reach, there were flower-gardens of a similar kind. In the neighbourhood of Peshāwer, during the spring, the flower-plots are exquisitely beautiful.

A D. 1519

Tiger hunt. Early in the morning we marched from our ground.

[a] *Omit the whole sentence*
[b] directed him to present his master on my behalf
[c] sextuple

[1] [*Cercis siliquastrum*]

Where the road separates from the river we heard a tiger howling, and it soon issued out.[a] The moment the horses heard the tiger's cry they became unmanageable, and ran off with their riders, plunging down the steeps and precipices. The tiger retreated again into the jungle. I directed a buffalo to be brought, and put in the wood, for the purpose of luring him out. He soon issued out again howling: arrows poured down on him from every side; I, too, shot my arrow. When Khalwa Piādeh struck him with a spear, he twisted, and broke the point of the spear with his teeth, and tossed it away. The tiger had received many wounds, and had crept into a patch of brushwood, when Bāba Yasāwel, drawing his sword, approached, and struck him on the head, at the moment he was on the spring After this, Ali Sīstāni struck him on the loins, when he plunged into the river, where they killed him. After they had dragged the animal out of the water, I ordered him to be skinned

March 25. Bābur reaches Bekrām

Visits Gurh-Katri

Next morning, we continued our march, and halted at Bekrām. We visited the Gurh-Katri. There are nowhere else in the whole world such narrow and dark hermits' cells as at this place.[b] After entering the door-way, and descending one or two stairs, you must lie down, and proceed crawling along, stretched at full length. You cannot enter without a light. The quantities of hair, both of the head and beard, that are lying scattered round about and in the vicinity of this cave,[c] are immense. On all the sides of this Gurh-Katri there are numerous cells, like those of a college or monastery.[1] The number of apartments is very great[d] The first year that I came to Kābul, when I plundered and laid waste Kohāt, Bannu, and the *Dasht*, I passed through

[a] a tiger suddenly came out of the forest which borders the river
[b] This is a small retreat narrow and dark like a hermit's cell
[c] hall,
[d] *Omit this sentence*

[1] This description makes it probable that these excavations originally belonged to the Buddhist sect, the huge gigantic statues at Būt-Bāmiān have certainly the same origin The hair found lying was what had been cut off and left by the pilgrims as a votive offering. [The Gor Katri is included in the modern city of Peshāwar, and is now used as the Tahsīlī. Akbar visited the building in 1581]

Bekrām and Barkalān,[1] and was vexed at not having seen the subterraneous excavations [a]; but there was no reason for so much regret.

This same day I lost my best hawk. Sheikhim, the chief huntsman, had the charge of it. It took herons and storks excellently. It had flown away [b] twice or thrice before. It pounced so unfailingly on its quarry, as to make even one with so little skill [c] as myself the most successful of fowlers.

On each of the six chief Dilazāk Afghans who accompanied Malik Tarkhān and Malik Mūsa, I bestowed a hundred mishkāls of silver, one vest, three bullocks, and one buffalo, out of the spoil of Hindustān. On the others, also, I bestowed money, cloth, bullocks, and buffaloes, according to the circumstances of each.

March 26 When we had reached our ground at Ali Masjid, one Maarūf, a Yākūb-khail Dilazāk, brought ten sheep, two loads [d] of rice, and eight large cheeses, as tribute.

March 27 From Ali Masjid we halted at Yadeh Bīr. From Yadeh Bīr we reached Jūī-Shāhi, at noon-day prayers, and halted.

March 28. This same day, Dost Beg was seized with a burning fever.

March 29. Early in the morning we marched from Jūī-Shāhi, and passed the mid-day [e] at the Bāgh-e-wafā [2] At noon-day prayers we left the Bāgh-e-wafā, and passed the Siāh-āb of Gandamak. Evening prayers were over, when, after having given [f] our horses breath in a cultivated field, we mounted again in a *gari*[3] or two, and, passing the Surkhāb, halted at

March 30. Karek, where we slept. Before dawn we again mounted, and, at the separation of the Karatū road, I and five or six others went to view a garden which I had made in Karatū. I sent Khalīfeh, Shah Hassan Beg, and other persons,

[a] I paid a visit to the huge banian tree (*barkalān*) at Bekrām and regretted I had not seen the Gor Khatri;

[b] moulted

[c] taste for this kind of sport

[d] ass-loads

[e] ate our mid-day meal

[f] Crossed the Siāh āb at Gandamak at evening prayer time, and after having given

[1] [Barkalān, which Erskine takes to mean the name of a place, signifies the 'Great Bar, or Banyān tree', which was doubtless grown from a cutting of the celebrated Bar tree at Buddhagāya]

[2] Near Adīnapūr

[3] A *gari* is 24 minutes

straight on to Kūrūk-Sāi,[1] where they were to wait for me. On reaching Karatū, one Kizīl, a *tawāchi*[2] of Shah Beg Arghūn's, brought me information that Shah Beg had taken and plundered Kāhan[3] and retired. I issued orders that nobody should carry forward intelligence of my approach. I reached Kābul at noon-day prayers; no one knew of my approach till I reached the bridge of Kutlūk-kadam. After that, there was no time to put Humāiūn and Kāmrān on horseback. They brought them forth in the arms of the nearest servants,[a] between the gate of the fort and that of the citadel, to offer me their duty. About afternoon prayers, Kāsim Beg, with the Kazi of the city, and such of my court as had remained in Kābul,[b] waited on me

Bābur reaches Kābul

On Friday, the first day of the second Rabi, I had a jovial[c] party about afternoon prayers. I bestowed a dress of honour from my own wardrobe on Shah Hassan.

April 1

At daybreak on Saturday morning, I went on board of a boat, and had a morning-party.[4] At this entertainment, Nūr Beg played on the lute; he had not then adopted a rigid severity of life. At noonday prayers we left the vessel, and amused ourselves in a garden which I had laid out between Kulkineh[5] and the hill. About afternoon prayers we went to the Bāgh-e-banafsheh,[6] and sat down to our wine. I returned from Kulkineh over the ramparts into the citadel.

April 2.

On the night of Tuesday the 5th, Dost Beg, who had caught a severe fever on the road, was received into the mercy of God. I was extremely concerned and grieved at this event. His body was carried to Ghazni, and buried in front of the entrance into the Sultan's Mausoleum.[d] Dost Beg was an admirable man.[e] He was rising to the highest

April 3 Death of Dost Beg

[a] pages, [b] *Add* and the notables, [c] wine
[d] garden [e] a warrior of consummate valour

[1] [Kūrūk is the name given to a lofty mountain range which bounds the plain of Chahār dih on the south —Raverty's *Notes*, p 689]

[2] *Tawāchi*, an adjutant or commissary

[3] [This may be the well-known capital of the Marri tribe in Belūchistān, as Shah Beg was at this time in Sind reducing that country to subjection]

[4] [*Sabūhi* means a morning draught of wine]

[5] Or Gulgūneh [6] Violet Garden.

His character.

rank in the order of nobility. Before he had reached the rank of Beg, while attending my court, and attached to my person, he performed several gallant actions. One of these was when Sultan Ahmed Tambol surprised us by night, within a farsang of Andejān, at the Rabāt of Zourak.[1] With only ten or fifteen men, I stood my ground, charged him, and put his party to flight. By the time I came up with the main body of the enemy, where we found him standing with about a hundred men drawn up, I had only three men left with me, the rest having fallen behind; so that we were but four in number. One of the three was Dost Nāsir, another Mirza Kuli Gokultāsh, the third Kerīmdād. I had on my corslet Tambol, with another person, stood in front of his troops, about as far in advance as the outer vestibule of a house is from the door. I advanced right to Tambol, face to face, and struck him on the helmet with an arrow. I shot another arrow, which pierced his shield and plate-mail.[a] They discharged an arrow at me, which passed close by my neck.[b] Tambol let fall a heavy sword-blow on my head. It is a singular fact, that, though not a thread of my cap of mail was injured, yet my head was severely wounded. No one coming up to my succour, and finding myself alone, I was obliged to retreat full gallop. Dost Beg, who was somewhat behind me, interposed himself, and engaged him sword in hand, to favour my escape. On another occasion, at Akhsi, when we were retreating out of that place, he had a single combat with Bāki Hīz; though they called him Hīz (the effeminate), yet he was a stern and sturdy soldier, and wielded his sword right powerfully. When I retired from Akhsi,[2] and had only eight persons left with me, he was one of them. The enemy, after dismounting two others, at last dismounted Dost Beg. After he was elevated to the rank of Beg, too, when Siūnjek Khan came with the Sultans to Tāshkend, and besieged Ahmed Kāsim,

[a] and the leather attachment to which it was secured.

[b] which grazed my thigh.

[1] [In 1502 —*E B*, p 172.]

[2] [The retreat from Akhsi occurred later in the same year (1502) — *E B.*, pp. 176–7.]

he broke their ranks, passed through the middle of their army, and entered the city. He likewise showed great self-devotion in defending the place [1] Ahmed Kāsim, without giving him notice, abandoned the city and fled. Under these circumstances, he manfully attacked the Khans and Sultans, forced his way out of Tāshkend, broke through the midst of their army, and bravely effected his escape. After this, when Shīrīm Taghāi and Mazīd, with their adherents, were in a state of rebellion, Dost Beg having been detached A H 914 from Ghazni with a party of two or three hundred men on a plundering expedition, the Moghuls sent three or four hundred chosen men, to seek him out and chastise him Dost Beg fell in with this force of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Sherūkān, where he completely beat them, dismounted and took a number of them prisoners, and brought back with him a quantity of heads which he had cut off.[2] At the storm of the fort of Bajour, too, Dost Beg's people came up and mounted the ramparts before any of the others ; and, at Parhāleh, Dost Beg defeated Hāti, put him to flight, and took the place.[3] After Dost Beg's death, I gave his governments to his younger brother, Mīram Nāsir.

On Friday, the 8th of the latter Rabi, I left the fort, and A. D 1519 went to the Chār-bāgh. April 8

On Tuesday the 12th, Sultānim Begum, the eldest April 12 daughter of Sultan Mirza,[a] who, during the late occurrences,[b] had been in Khwārizm, where Īsān Kuli Sultan, the younger brother of Yelpars [4] Sultan, had married her daughter, arrived with her[c] in Kābul. I assigned her the Bāgh-e-khilwat for her residence. After she had taken up her abode there, I went and waited on them. As I visited them

[a] *Add* and mother of Muhammed Sultan Mirza,

[b] the recent troublous times,

[c] with her *is omitted, and no mention is made of the Sultan's daughter throughout the passage*

[1] [In 1512—*T R*, p 275.]

[2] [This incident occurred in 1515.—*E.B*, p. 334]

[3] [The capture of the forts of Bajaur and Parhāla took place in 1519.]

[4] He is before called Dilbars, which seems to be the correct name

with the same ceremony as if they were my elder sisters, I bowed down as a mark of politeness and respect; they also bowed down. I then went up to them and we embraced each other; and we always afterwards observed the same usage.

April 17 On Sunday the 17th, I released from custody that traitor Bāba Sheikh, who had long been in confinement; forgave his offences, and bestowed on him a dress of honour.

April 19 On Tuesday the 19th, I went out about noon, to make a tour round Khwājeh Sehyārān [1] That day I was fasting. Yūnis Ali and some others said with surprise, 'What! Tuesday, and you fasting! This is a miracle' On reaching Behzādi, we halted at the Kazi's house That night we had made every preparation for a jolly party, when the Kazi came to me, and said, 'Such a thing was never yet seen in my house; however, you are Emperor and the Master.' Although the whole apparatus for our merry-making was ready, yet, to please the Kazi, we gave up our intention of drinking wine.[a]

April 21 On Thursday the 21st, I directed that an enclosure or fence [b] should be made on the hill, on the brow of which I had planned out a garden.

April 22. On Friday, I embarked above the bridge on a raft. On coming opposite to the Khāneh Sayādān (sportsmen's house), a bird called *ding* [2] was caught and brought to me. I had never before seen a *ding*. It has a singular appearance, and will be more particularly mentioned in the account of the animals of Hindustān.

April 23 On Saturday the 23rd, I planted shoots of the plane, and
April 24. of the sycamore,[c] within the enclosure.[d] At noon-day prayers we had a drinking party. At daybreak next morn-

[a] *Add* On Wednesday I repaired to Khwāja Sihyārān
[b] a large round platform [c] willow,
[d] round the circular platform

[1] [Sih yārān, or 'the three friends', is thus referred to in Masson's *Belūchistān, Afghānistān, and the Panjāb* (London, 1842), vol iii, p 137 'Visible from Chārikār is a white building called the Sandūq, or chest, by the people It is a quadrangular building with a pillar at each angle and was once covered with a cupola']

[2] The adjutant bird [*Leptoptilus argala*].

ing, we had an early drinking party within the new enclosed ground. After mid-day we mounted and returned towards Kābul. Reaching Khwājeh Hassan, completely drunk, we slept there. At midnight we mounted again, left Khwājeh Hassan, and arrived at the Chār-bāgh. At Khwājeh Hassan, Abdallah, being intoxicated, had leaped into the water, arrayed as he was in his robe and dress of honour. As it was late, he was affected with the cold, was unable to move,[a] and stayed all night at Kutlūk Khwājeh's estate. Next morning he came to me ashamed and penitent for his excesses, having formed a resolution to abstain from wine.[b] I said to him, 'Now, speak out:[c] Is your repentance to be effectual and profitable for the future or not? You are not to abstain from wine in my presence, and go on drinking everywhere else.'[d] He adhered to his resolution for some months,[e] but could not observe it longer. April 25

On Monday the 25th, Hindu Beg, who had been left in Behreh and the adjoining provinces without sufficient means, in hopes of their remaining peaceable, rejoined me. My back had no sooner been turned than the Afghans and Hindustānis, without listening to any invitations to remain quiet, or paying the slightest attention to me or my orders, instantly assembled in great numbers, and marched against Hindu Beg in Behreh. The Zemīndārs[1] also joined the party of the Afghans; so that Hindu Beg, being unable to defend himself in Behreh, retired by Khushāb, passed through the country of Dīnkot, and proceeding on by Nilāb, arrived in Kābul. Deo Hindu, with the son of Sektu, and some other Hindus,[f] had been brought as prisoners from Behreh. We now settled with each of them for a certain contribution, on payment of which these Hindustānis were Hindu Beg obliged to abandon Behreh. April 25.

[a] It was late when we mounted our horses, and, as his body was benumbed with cold, he was unable to move,

[b] *Omit this clause.* [c] For the present!

[d] Prove your sincerity by promising not to drink anywhere but in my company.

[e] *Add* He agreed to this condition and adhered to it for some months,

[f] Deo Hindu, the son of Sektu, and another Hindu,

[1] [i. e. people of the district.]

all presented with horses and dresses of honour, and dismissed, with liberty to return home.

April 29 On Friday the 29th, I felt some symptoms of an intermittent fever, and got myself let blood. At that time there was an interval sometimes of two days, sometimes of three days, between the return of its attacks. At each attack the fever continued till a perspiration arose, when I was relieved. After ten or twelve days, Mulla Khwāja prescribed wine mixed with narcissus flowers. I took it once or twice, but it did me no good.

A D 1519. May 15 On Sunday, the 15th of the first Jumāda, Khwājeh Muhammed Ali came from Khost.[1] He brought a saddled horse as tribute, and also some money as an offering. Muhammed Sherīf *munajjim*,[2] and some sons of the Mirzas of Khost, accompanied Khwājeh Muhammed Ali, and tendered their services.

May 16. Next morning, being Monday, Mulla Kabīr arrived from Kāshghar. He had gone from Andejān to Kāshghar, and had thence come on to Kābul.

May 23. On Monday the 23rd, Malik Shah Mansūr Yūsefzai, with five or six chiefs of the Yūsefzais, came from Sawād, and waited on me.

May 30. On Monday, the first of the latter Jumāda, I bestowed dresses of honour on the Afghan Yūsefzai chiefs who had accompanied Shah Mansūr; I gave Shah Mansūr a silken robe with rich buttons; presented another with a robe of waved silk,[a] and gave other six persons robes of silk, after which I dismissed them. It was settled that they should never enter the country of Sawād higher up than Anūbeh; and should strike out the contributions of the inhabitants from the rolls of their usual collections[b]; and further, that the Afghans who cultivate lands in Bajour and Sewād should pay six thousand *kharwār*[3] or loads of rice to the government.

[a] silk robe and sleeves,

[b] and should turn out all such as were liable to contributions;

[1] Khost lies on the Kurram river, north of Dour, in the Afghan country.

[2] The astrologer

[3] This would amount to nearly thirty-eight thousand hundredweight.

On Wednesday the 3rd, I took a julep.[1] June 1.

On Monday, the 8th of the month, they brought the wedding present of Hamzah, the younger son of Kāsim Beg, who was married to the eldest daughter of Khalīfeh. It consisted of a thousand *shahrokhis*,[2] with a saddled horse. June 6.

On Tuesday, Shah Hassan Beg sent to ask my permission to have a drinking party. He carried Muhammed Ali, and other Begs of my court, to his house. Yunis Ali and Gadāi Taghāi were with me. I still abstained from the use of wine.[3] I said, 'I never in my life sat sober while my friends were getting merry, nor remained cool and observant while they were quaffing wine and getting jovial. Come, therefore, and drink near me, that I may observe for a while the different progress and effects of society on the sober and the drunk'[a] On the south-east of the Picture-gallery,[4] which was built at the gate of the Chenār-bāgh, was a small set of tents, in which I sometimes sat. The party was held there. Ghiās, the buffoon, made his appearance, they several times in sport turned him out of the party; but at last, after much wrangling in jest, he forced his way into the meeting. We sent for Tardi Muhammed Kipchāk and Mulla Kitābdar. I composed extempore, and sent to Shah Hassan and his party, the following verses: June 7. Shah Hassan Beg's drinking party.

(*Türki*)—My friends enjoy the rose-garden of beauty in this banquet,
While I am deprived of the delights of their society.
Yet since the charms of social bliss are theirs,
I breathe a hundred prayers that no evil may betide them.

I sent these lines by Ibrahīm Chihreh. Between noon-day and afternoon prayers, the party got drunk, and began to be guilty of follies.[b] While they were in this state of intoxication,[c] I made myself be carried out in my *takht-rawān*. For several days before this I had drunk the wine mixture but afterwards, in consequence of its doing me no service I had given up using it. Towards the close of my illness

[a] what is the effect of the association of the drunk with the sober.
[b] *Omit this clause* [c] During the period of my indisposition,

[1] [*Julāb* = purgative.] [2] Nearly £50.
[3] Probably in consequence of his intermittent [fever].
[4] *Sūrat-khāneh*, or Picture-palace.
[5] A sort of litter, generally carried between two mules

I made a party to the south-west of Tālāi-chemiti,[1] under an apple tree, when we drank the medicated wine.

June 10 On Friday the 12th, Ahmed Beg and Sultan Muhammed Duldāi, who had been left in Bajour to assist in the defence of the country, rejoined me.

June 15 On Wednesday, the 17th of the month, Tengri Berdi, with some Begs and young officers, gave a party in Haidei Tāki's garden. I too went to the party, and drank wine. After bed-time prayers, we rose, left the place, and sat down to drink together in the Grand Public Tents.[2]

June 23. On Thursday, the 25th of the month, Mulla Mahmūd was appointed to read the *fikh-e-seifī*.[3]

June 28. On Tuesday, the last day of the month, Abū Muslim Gokultāsh arrived from Shah Shujaa Arghūn,[4] as ambassador. He brought a Tipchāk horse as a *peshkesh* This same day Yūsef Ali Rikābdār having swum across the water-plot of the Bāgh-e-chenār a hundred times, received a dress of honour and a saddled horse [a] as a present.

July 6 On Wednesday, the 8th of Rajeb, I went to Shah Hassan's house, where we had a drinking party. Many of my nobles and courtiers were present.

July 9 On Saturday the 11th, there was a party between afternoon and evening prayers. We went out to the terrace of the Pigeon-house, and sat down to our wine. When it was rather late, some horsemen were observed coming along the Deh-Afghānān road, proceeding to the city. I ascertained that they were Derwīsh Muhammed Sārbān and his people, who were coming on an embassy from Mirza Khan ; we sent for him up to the terrace. 'Put aside the form and state of an ambassador,' said I, 'and sit down and join us without ceremony.' Derwīsh Muhammed accordingly came, and, having placed before me a few articles of the presents which he had brought,[b] sat down beside us. At that time he was strict in his deportment, and did not drink wine. We

[a] *Add* and a sum of money

[b] *Omit this clause.*

[1] [Tālār garden]

[2] [Large audience-tents.]

[3] Sacred extracts from the Korān, which were to operate as charm for his recovery

[4] Generally called Shah Beg.

however, got extremely drunk Next morning, when I was sitting in the hall of audience, he came with all due state and ceremony, and having been introduced, presented the tributary offerings which Mirza Khan had sent.

Last year, with extreme difficulty, and by unceasing exertions and management,[a] all the natives in the neighbouring tracts, along with the Aimāks, had been moved and brought down into Kābul. Kābul is but a small country. It has not sufficient room for the range of their flocks of sheep and brood-mares,[b] and the Aimāks and Turks have not there any proper situations for their summer and winter residences. The tribes who inhabit the desert and wilds, if they have their own will, never will settle in Kābul. Through Kāsim Beg, they begged leave to pass into another country. Kāsim Beg pleaded hard for them, and at last procured leave for the Aimāks to go over to Kunduz and Baghlān.[1]

Hāfiz, Mīr Kātib's elder brother, had come from Samar- A D. 1519.
kand. I now gave him leave to return. I sent by him my *diwān* for Pūlād Sultan, and on the back of it I wrote the following verses :

(*Persian*)—O Zephyr, if thou enter the sanctuary of that cypress,
Remind him of this heart-broken victim of separation—
The object of my love thinks not of Bābur, yet I cherish a hope
That God will pour pity into his iron heart—(or Pūlād's[2] heart)

On Friday, the 17th of the month, Muhammed Zemān July 15.
Mirza brought an offering, and a horse, as tribute from Shah Mazīd Gokultāsh,[c] and was introduced to me.

The same day, having arrayed Abū Muslim Gokultāsh, the ambassador of Shah Beg, in a dress of honour, and given him some presents,[d] I gave him his audience of leave.

[a] promises and threats, [b] herds of cattle,
[c] Shah Mazīd Gokultāsh arrived on behalf of Muhammed Zemān Mirza with tribute, and a horse as a present,
[d] *Omit this clause*

[1] [Baghlān lies east of Narīn on the same affluent of the Surkhāb river]

[2] *Pūlād* means steel, whence the play on the words, and the epigrammatic turn of these lines [Pūlād Sultan was a son of Kuchum, Khan of the Uzbegs]

The same day, I also gave an audience of leave to Khwājeh Muhammed Ali and Tengrī Berdī, who held the countries of Khost and Anderāb.[1]

July 21. On Thursday the 23rd, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, whom I had left in the neighbourhood of Kacheh-kot and Karlūk,[2] districts which I had placed under his control, came to me accompanied by Mirza Malvī Karlūk's son, Shah Hussein and by some of Hātī's people.

This same day, Mulla Alī Jān, who had gone to Samarkand to bring his family, having returned, waited on me.

Inroad on the Abdal-Rahmān Afghans. The Abdal-Rahmān Afghans[3] had settled themselves within the limits of Gerdez, and did not pay their taxes nor demean themselves peaceably. They molested the caravans both in coming and going In order to chastise these

July 27 Afghans, and beat up their quarters, on Wednesday, the 29th of Rajeb, I set out on an expedition against them. We halted and took some food in the neighbourhood of Tang i Waghchān ;[4] and again set out after noon-day prayers. That night we lost our road, and wandered a great deal to the south-east of Panjāb shakhneh,[5] among hillocks and waste[a] grounds. After a time we again found the road, passed the *kotal* (hill-defile) of Chashmeh-e-tīreh,[6]

July 28. and about the time of morning prayers, reached the plain (descending to it by the valley of Yakıshlīk, on the side of Gerdez), and sent out our plundering parties to scour the country. One detachment went out to plunder the country,

[a] broken

[1] Khost lies north-west of Dour on the Kurram, and Anderāb south-west of Badakhshān

[2] Beyond the Sind Kacheh-kot seems to be Chach [Karlūk appears to be the present Hazāra district.]

[3] [Raverty says these were a clan of the Khugiānı tribe of Afghans —*Notes*, p 91.]

[4] [According to Raverty (*Notes*, p. 70) the Uchagān Pass lies in the Lohgar Tumān between the Khushi valley and the village of Taghrau.]

[5] The Persian has Pātakhāb i shakhneh. [According to Raverty, the proper name was Pātakhāb i shahnah (the *morass of overseers*), a place in the Lohgar Valley on the way to Hissārak.]

[6] [Raverty calls this the Chashmah e tūreh, and says it lies under the Gardez pass on the north side —*Notes*, p 91]

and beat up the enemy's quarters on the side of the hill of Kirmās,[1] which lies south-east of Gerdez. I sent Khosrou Mirza Kuli and Syed Ali, with a division under their command, from the right of the centre, to follow and support this body. A considerable party of troops [a] proceeded on a plundering excursion up the *julga* (or dale), to the east of Gerdez, Syed Kāsim Ishek-agha,[2] Mīr Shah Kūchīn, Kiyām and Hindu Beg, Kutlūk Kadem, Hussain, and their followers, were sent to support this second detachment.

As the party that went up the dale was the most considerable, after seeing them pass, I followed them. The inhabitants were a great way up, so that the troops which went to find them out tired their horses, and did not get the slightest thing worth mentioning. Forty or fifty Afghans came in sight on the plain. The party that had been sent to follow and support the troops rode up towards them, and sent a horseman to hasten my advance. I immediately rode briskly forward, but before I could come up, Hussain Hassan, without motive or reason, had spurred on his horse into the midst of the Afghans, and while he was laying about him with his sword, his horse, being wounded with an arrow, threw him. He had no sooner risen, than they wounded him in the leg with a sword, threw him down again, dispatched him with their hangers and swords, and cut him in pieces. The Amirs stopped short, and stood looking on, but gave him no assistance. On getting information of this, I ordered Gadāi Taghāi, Payandeh Muhammed Kiplān, Abul Hassan Korchi, Mūmin Atkeh, with my immediate followers, and some chosen troops, to gallop on at full speed. I myself followed them at a quick pace. First of all, Mūmin Atkeh, on getting into action, struck down an Afghan with a spear, and cut off his head, which he brought away. Abdal Hassan Korchi had not

[a] The bulk of my army

[1] [P de C reads 'Girmās', which he says means 'impenetrable mountain'.] On the Kurram there is a village called Karmān. Perhaps the hill-country at the sources of the Kurram may be meant, the whole country watered by that river being sometimes called Karmān

[2] The Chamberlain

arrayed himself in his mail, but he advanced bravely, posted himself in the road by which the Afghans were marching, charged among them full speed on horseback, brought down an Afghan with his sabre, and cut off his head, which he brought in as a trophy. He himself received three wounds, and his horse was also wounded in one place. Payandeh Muhammed Kiplān also advanced very gallantly, attacked and wounded an Afghan, sword in hand, made him prisoner,[a] and brought in his head. Though the courage of Abul Hassan and Payandeh Muhammed Kiplān had been distinguished on former occasions, yet in this affair they gave still more conspicuous proofs of their gallantry. These forty or fifty Afghans were all shot or cut down to a man. After slaying the Afghans, we halted in a cultivated field, and I directed a tower of skulls to be made of their heads. By the time I reached the road, the Begs who had been with Hussain came up. Being very angry, and resolved to make an example of them, I said,—'As you, though so many in number, have stood by and seen a young man of such distinction and merit killed by a few Afghans on foot, and on plain ground, I deprive you of your rank and station, take from you your commands and governments, direct your beards to be shaven, and that you be led ignominiously round the streets of the town, that no man may henceforward give up a youth of such worth to so contemptible an enemy. On level ground you stood looking on, and never lifted an arm. Be this your punishment.'[b] That detachment of the army which had gone towards Kirmās brought in some sheep and plunder. Bāba Kashkeh, who was a very resolute man,[c] while an Afghan was in the act of lifting his sword, and rushing on to come to close quarters with him, stood his ground without flinching, applied his arrow to the string with the greatest coolness, hit the Afghan, and brought him down.

[a] *Omit* made him prisoner,

[b] that all may know that such will be the punishment of every one who gives up to such a contemptible enemy, a soldier of so much worth on level ground without raising a hand to help him and looking on as an impassive spectator

[c] and had taken part in this expedition,

Next morning we set out on our return towards Kābul. July 29.
I ordered Muhammed Bakhshi, Abdal-azīz Mīr Akhūr,[1] A. D. 1519
and Mīr Khurd Bekāwel,[2] to remain at Chashmeh-tīreh, and take some *karkāwels*.[3] I myself, with a small body, went by the way of Meidān-e-Rustam,[4] as I had never seen that road. The Meidān-e-Rustam lies in the heart of a hill country, towards the top of the hills. The place is not remarkable for beauty. In the middle of a hill is an open *julga*, or dale.[a] To the south, on the skirts of an eminence, is a small fountain of water. It is surrounded with extremely large trees. Along the road leading from Gerdez to this Meidān-e-Rustam there are springs. They also have many trees about them, but these trees are not so lofty as the former. Although the *julga* is rather narrow, yet below these last-mentioned trees the valley is extremely verdant, and it is a most beautiful little dale. On reaching the top of the hill which rises to the south of Meidān-e-Rustam, the hill-country of Kirmās and the hill-country of Bangash appear under our feet. As the rains do not reach that tract of ground,[b] there is never a cloud seen on it. About noon-day prayers I reached Hūlı, and halted.

Next morning, I halted at the village of Muhammed Aka, July 30
and, indulging myself with a maajūn, made them throw into the water the liquor used for intoxicating fishes, and caught a few fish.

On Sunday, the third of Shābān, I arrived in Kābul. July 31

On Tuesday, the 5th of the month, I inquired into the August 2
conduct of Darwīsh Muhammed Fazlı, and the servants of Khosrou, regarding the surrender of Nılāb,[c] and it appearing

[a] It consists of a rather broad valley which opens out between two mountain ranges

[b] As the rainy season does not prevail beyond the Karwār mountains,

[c] regarding the capture of Hosain,

[1] Master of Horse [2] Taster. Pheasants

[4] [Raverty in his *Notes*, pp 456–7, gives a long account of this place, and says it is situated on the main western range of the Mehtar Sulemān mountains at a point where it sends off a branch to the north-east. The Tochi and Zurmat rivers take their rise in the southern part of this *julgah*, and here too are to be found the ruins of the ancient city of Zābul.]

clearly in the course of the examinations that they had behaved ill, I degraded them from their rank and employments. About noon-day prayers, there was a drinking party under a plane tree. I bestowed a dress of honour on Bāba Kashkeh Moghul.

August 5. On Friday the 8th, Kīpek, who had been sent to Mirza Khan, returned back.

August 11 On Thursday, we mounted,[a] in order to ride round and visit the *dāmenkoh* (or skirts of the hill-country) of Khwājeh Sehyārān and Bārān. About bed-time prayers, we alighted

August 12 at Māma Khātūn.[1] Next morning, we went as far as Istālīf, where we halted. That day I took a maajūn.

August 13 On Saturday, we had a drinking party at Istālīf.

August 14 Next morning we left Istālīf, and passed through the Sinjid *dareh*. When we had nearly reached Khwājeh Sehyārān, they killed a large serpent, which was as thick as the arm, and as long as a man.[b] Out of this large serpent crept a thinner one, which had apparently been caught and swallowed immediately before. All its parts were quite uninjured and sound. The thin serpent might be somewhat shorter than the thick one. Out of the thin serpent came a large rat,[c] which likewise was perfectly sound; no limb of it was injured. On reaching Khwājeh Sehyārān, we had a drinking party.

I wrote letters[d] which I sent by the hand of Kichkīneh *tunketār*[2] to the Amirs beyond the hills, desiring them to assemble the force[3] of the country, mentioning that the army was in the field, and about to make an inroad; that they must therefore array themselves and join the camp.[e]

August 15. Next morning I mounted, and took a maajūn. We threw into the river Parwān, where it meets the road,[f] some

[a] *Add* in the afternoon,
[b] the two arms outstretched.
[c] a small mouse,
[d] *Add* the same day,
[e] *Add* at the fixed rendezvous.
[f] at its confluence with the Kābul rive

[1] [Masson mentions Māmā Khātūn as a pass that opens on to the Kārā-dushman plain north of Kābul.]

[2] [Night watch, according to P. de C.

[3] *Ilyār*, the military force of the country of Kābul being still called *ilyāri*.

of the drug which is used by the inhabitants of the country to intoxicate the fishes, and took a very great quantity of fish Mīr Shah Beg presented me with a horse, and gave us a dinner. From thence we went on to Gulbehār. After bed-time prayers we had a drinking party. Derwīsh Muhammed Sārbān was present at these parties. Though young, and a soldier, yet he never indulged in wine. He always rigidly abstained from it. Kūtluk Khwājeh Gokultāsh had for a long time renounced the profession of arms, and become a Derwīsh. He was very aged, and his beard had become white, but he always joined us at our wine in these jovial drinking parties. 'Does not the hoary beard of Kūtluk Khwājeh make you ashamed?' said I to Muhammed Derwīsh; 'Old as he is, and white as is his beard, he always drinks wine. You, a soldier, young, with a black beard, and never drink! What sense is there in this?' It never was my custom, as I did not think it polite, to press anybody to drink who did not wish; so that this passed as a mere pleasantry, and he was not induced to take wine.

Next morning we had a morning cup. August 16

On Wednesday, we left Gulbehār, and came to the village of Alūn,[1] where we dined, and then went on to Bāghāt khām, where we halted. After noon-day prayers we had a drinking party. August 17

Next morning, we set out again on our progress, and after having visited and circumambulated the tomb of Khwājeh Khan-Saīd, embarked in a raft at Chīneh Kurghāneh. At the conflux of the river Penjhīr, where the hill juts out, the raft struck on a rock, and began to sink When the raft struck, the shock was so violent, that Rūhdem, Tengrī Kulī, and Mīr Muhammed Jālehbān, were tossed into the river. Rūhdem and Tengrī Kulī were dragged again into the raft with much difficulty. A china cup with a spoon and cymbal fell overboard. Putting off from thence, as we reached a place opposite to Sang-e-burīdeh (the Cut-rock), the raft again struck on something in the midst of the stream, I know not whether the branch of a tree, or a stake, which had been driven in for making a stop-water. Shah Hassan Shah Beg went over on his back. While falling, he laid hold of Mirza August 18

[1] [Or Atūn, according to the Persian version.]

Kuli Gokultāsh, and drew him in along with him. Derwīsh Muhammed Sārbān likewise tumbled into the water. Mirza Kuli Gokultāsh fell in an odd way. He had in his hand a knife for cutting melons, which, while in the act of falling, he struck into the mat that was spread over the raft, and fell overboard. Not being able to regain the raft, he kept swimming in his gown and dress of honour, till he reached the shore On disembarking from the raft, we passed that night in the raftsmen's houses. Derwīsh Muhammed made me a present of a cup of seven colours, like that which had fallen overboard

August 19 On Friday, we left the banks of the river. We halted on the skirt of a small hill situated lower down than Koh-Bārik,[a] where I plucked a number of toothpicks [1] with my own hand.[b] About noon-day prayers, we halted in Kūtluk Khwājeh's village,[2] in a district of Lamghān. Kūtluk
A. D. 1519 Khwājeh got ready a hasty dinner, of which I partook; after which I rode back to Kābul.

August 22 On Monday the 25th, I bestowed a *khilaat i khāseh*[3] (or dress of honour of the highest degree), and a saddled horse, on Derwīsh Muhammed Sārbān, and he was presented on being raised to the rank of Beg.[c] For four or five months
August 24 I had never cut the hair of my head. On Wednesday the 27th I had it cut. This day we had a drinking party.

August 26 On Friday the 29th, I invested Mīr Khūrd with the office of governor to Hindāl, on which occasion he brought me a present of a thousand *shahrokhis*[4]

[a] Koh Injikah

[b] *Add* Thence we went to the house of Khwāja Khizr Khaih where we partook of food, after which we rode on

[c] he was made to do me homage as a vassal

[1] [*Miswāks*, which are generally made from the thorny shrub called *Capparis aphylla*]

[2] *Tūl* is a jaghīr or estate

[3] The *khilaat i khāseh*, or dress of honour of the highest degree, in the time of Bābur, probably consisted of a robe or vest of rich cloth, a cap, sabre and dagger with enamelled handles, a military standard, and a horse with trappings enriched with gold, and perhaps the *nakāra-khāneh*, or band of music

[4] About £50 The mention of such sums shows the poverty of the country.

On Wednesday, the 5th of Ramzān, one Jekni, a servant of Tūlik Gokultāsh Birlās,[a] came from his master with a letter reporting that an Uzbek plundering party had appeared in his neighbourhood, and that he had overtaken, attacked, and defeated it. The messenger brought one Uzbek alive, and the head of another. August 31.

On the night of Saturday the 8th, we went to Kāsim Beg's house, and broke our fast.[1] He presented me with a saddled horse. Next morning, we broke our fast at the house of Khalīfeh, who presented me with a saddled horse. Sept 3.

The morning after, Khwājeh Muhammed Alī and Jān Nāsir, who had been sent for in order to consult about military matters, arrived from their governments. Sept. 4.

On Wednesday the 12th, Sultan Alī Mirza, the maternal uncle of Kāmrān, who, in the year in which I passed over from Khost to Kābul, had proceeded to Kāshghar, as has been mentioned, waited on me. Sept 7.

On Thursday, the 13th of Ramzān, I set out on an expedition for the purpose of repelling and chastising the Yūsefzais, and halted at a valley[b] which lies near Deh-Yākub, on the Kābul side of that village. As I was mounting my horse, Bāba Jān, my waiting-man, having presented it in an awkward manner,[c] I was angry, and struck him a blow on the face with my fist, by which I dislocated my thumb. I did not feel it much at the time; but when I had dismounted at the end of our march, it had become extremely painful. For a long while I suffered excessively from it, and I was unable to write a single letter. It got well, however, at last Sept. 8.

At this station, one Kutlūkdam,[d] a foster-brother of my aunt, Doulet Sultan Khanum, arrived from Kāshghar, bringing letters and news of the Khanum.

The same day, Būkhān and Mūsa, the chiefs of the Dilazāks, came with their tribute, and were introduced.[e]

[a] Barlās Jūki, a servant of Tūluk Kukultāsh,
[b] meadow
[c] having brought forward a sorry nag,
[d] Muhammed Kutlūk,
[e] did me homage

[1] This being Ramzān, Bābur did not break his fast till sunset In like manner, during Ramzān, they eat in the morning, before sunrise

Sept 11. On Sunday the 16th, Kūch Beg arrived.

Sept 14 On Wednesday the 19th, we marched, and, passing by But-khāk,[1] halted in the place where we had been accustomed to encamp on the banks of the But-khāk river. As Bāmiān, Kahmard, Ghūri, and the districts held by Kūch Beg, were much exposed, in consequence of the vicinity of the Uzbeks, I excused him from accompanying the army, and at this station, presenting him with a turban which I myself had worn, together with a complete dress of honour, dismissed him to his government

On Friday the 21st, we halted at Bādām-chashmeh.

Sept 16 Next morning, we halted at Bārīk-āb.[2] I went and rode all round Karayūl.[a] In the course of this day's march, we found honey in a tree Advancing, march after march, on Wednesday the 26th we halted at Bāgh.[3] All Thursday we stayed at Bāgh. On Friday, we marched, and halted after passing Sultānpūr The same day, Mīr Shah Hussain arrived from his government Būkhān and Mūsa, the chiefs of the Dilazāks, and the Dilazāks themselves, also arrived this day. I had intended to make an expedition against Sawād, in order to check the Yūsefzais. The Dilazāk chiefs represented to me, that, in Hashnaghar, there were a great number of Ulūs (or wandering tribes), who had large quantities of corn, and urged me to attack them. After consulting, I finally arranged that, as there seemed to be large quantities of grain in Hashnaghar, we should plunder the Afghans of that neighbourhood; that we should fit up the fort of Hashnaghar, or that of Pershāwer, and lay up magazines of grain in them; and that Mīr Shah Hussain should be left there with a body of troops for their defence.

Sept 21, 22, and 23

[a] Karatū

[1] [But-khāk (idol dust) lies about ten miles due east of Kābul on the Jelālābād road, according to Raverty It owes its name to the legend that Mahmūd of Ghazni here broke up and pounded to dust the idols he had brought from Hindustān]

[2] [Bārīk-āb, according to Elphinstone's map, is situated on the right bank of the Kābul river some five miles west of its junction with the Panjshīr It is the intermediate stage on the Kābul-Jelālābād road between But-khāk and Gandemak (Vigne's *Personal Narrative*, London, 1840)]

[3] [i. e. the Bāgh i wafā]

In consequence of this resolution, Mīr Shah Hussain got leave of absence for a fortnight, that he might go back to his government, and return with such warlike stores as were requisite

Next morning, we resumed our march, and came to Jūī Shāhi,[1] where we halted. Tengri Berdi and Sultan Muhammed Duldāi overtook and joined us at this station. Hamzah likewise arrived this day from Kunduz. Sept 24

On Sunday, the 30th of Ramzān, we marched from Jūī Shāhi, and halted at Kirik arik.[2] I went on board of a raft with a few of my intimate friends We passed the feast of the new moon [3] in this station. Some people had brought several animals loaded with wine from the valley of Nūr After evening prayers, there was a drinking party, consisting of Muhibb Ali Korchi, Khwājeh Muhammed Ali Kitābdar, Shah Hassan Shah Beg, Sultan Muhammed Duldāi, and Derwīsh Muhammed Sārbān Derwīsh Muhammed always abstained from wine. From my childhood down, it has been my rule that no one should be pressed to drink against his will. Derwīsh Muhammed was always of our parties, and never was urged to drink at all. Khwājeh Muhammed Ali would not suffer him to take his own way, but, by pressing and urging, made him drink some wine. Sept 25.

Early on Monday, being the day of the Id,[4] we renewed our march; on the way I took a maajūn to remove the crop sickness At the time of my taking the maajūn [a] they brought a coloquint apple [5] Derwīsh Muhammed had never seen one I told him it was a Hindustāni melon, and cutting it up, gave him a slice, which he put hastily into his mouth, and chewed eagerly The bitter taste did not leave Sept. 26

[a] When under the influence of a ma'jūn

[1] [Raverty states that this is the old name of Nimgrahār. It may be located at the point where the Lamghān river joins the Kābul]

[2] [Kirik arik = the forty channels (P de C)]

[3] The Id-e-fitr is the festival on the conclusion of the feast of the Ramzān, celebrated on seeing the new moon of Shawāl

[4] That is, of the new moon of Shawāl The new moon having been seen the evening before, which to the Musulmans was Monday evening, they had celebrated the Id-e-fitr on Monday eve

[5] [*Citrullus colocynthus*, or wild gourd.]

A. D. 1519. his mouth that whole day. We halted on the rising ground of Garm-chashmeh [1] Some meat had been already dressed and presented, when Langer Khan, who had been for some time at his place, arrived with an offering of some maajūn [a] as tribute, and made a tender of his services. We went and halted at Badeh-sū At afternoon prayers, I went aboard of a raft with several of my intimates, sailed down the stream about a kos, and then returned back.

Sept. 27. Next morning we marched thence and halted at the bottom of the Kheiber Pass. The same day Sultan Bayazīd, who had passed over from Nilāb by way of Bāreh (whence, having got notice of my motions, he had traced me out), arrived and gave me information, that the Afrīdī [2] Afghans, with their families and property, were settled in Bāreh, where they had sown a great quantity of rice,[3] which had not yet been carried off the ground. As I had fixed on plundering the country of the Yūsefzai Afghans and Hashnaghar, I did not care to meddle with these others. At noonday prayers, we had a drinking party at the quarters of Khwājeh Muhammed Alī. During this party I sent to Khwājeh Kalān at Bajour, by the hands of Sultan Tīrāhī, a detailed account of our march into these countries. On the margin of the letter I wrote the following couplet :

O, Zephyr [4] kindly say to that beautiful fawn—
Thou hast condemned me to wander in the hills and deserts [4]

Marching thence at dawn, we passed the defiles of Kheiber, and halted at Alī Masjid. Marching again about noon-day prayers, and leaving the baggage to follow, we reached the banks of the river of Kābul when the second watch was over,[5] and had a short sleep. At break of day we discovered a ford,

[a] *Add* and a horse

[1] Hot-spring.

[2] [The Afrīdīs are a powerful tribe inhabiting the Khaiber Pass, Kohāt Pass, and part of Tirah For guarding the two former they receive subsidies from the British Government]

[3] [The Bāra river flows past Peshāwar and its canals irrigate the gardens and fields near the city Bāra rice is still considered the finest in India]

[4] Two Persian verses from an ode of Hāfiz

[5] [i. e. midnight]

and crossed the river. We got notice from our advanced party, that the Afghans had received information of our approach, and fled. Proceeding in our course we crossed the river of Sawād, and halted amidst the cornfields of the Afghans. We did not find one half of the grain that we had been led to expect; indeed, not one-fourth. I consequently gave up my intention of fortifying Hashnaghar as a dépôt. The Dilazāk chiefs who had urged us to make this inroad were rather mortified. About afternoon prayers we crossed to the Kābul side of the Sawād river, and halted. A. D 1519.

Next morning, having marched from the Sawād river,[1] we crossed the Kābul river and halted. Having summoned the Begs who were admitted to council, we held a consultation, in which it was resolved to plunder the country of the Afrīdī Afghans, as had been proposed by Sultan Bayazīd, to fit up the fort of Peshāwer for the reception of their effects and corn, and to leave a garrison in it. Hindu Beg, and the Mīrzādehs[2] of Khost, joined us at this station This day I took a maajūn. Derwīsh Muhammed Sārbān, Muhammed Gokultāsh, and Gadāi Taghāi, the captain of the night-guard, were of the party. We afterwards sent also for Shah Hassan After dinner, about afternoon prayers, we embarked on a raft. We sent for Langer Khan Sāri likewise to join us on the raft. About evening prayers we landed and returned to the camp. Sept. 30.

Marching early in the morning from the banks of the river, in execution of the plan which had been formed, and passing Jām,[3] we halted on reaching the mouth of the river of Ali Masjid. Abul Hāshem Sultan Ali, who had followed us, reported, that on the eve of *Arafeh*,[4] he had, at Jūi Shahi, met with a person who was come from Badakhshān, and who had informed him, that Sultan Saīd Khan was marching against Badakhshān, which had induced him to hasten to October 1.

[1] [The Swat river joins the Kābul on the left bank at Nisatta.]

[2] Sons of the Mīrs

[3] Now Jamrūd.

[4] This appears to be a mistake or oversight of Bābur. The *shab* or eve of *Arafeh* was not till the evening of December 2, 1519. He probably meant to say, the Īd-e-fitr, which had occurred only five days before, on September 26

me with the intelligence. I immediately sent for the Begs and consulted them, when it was resolved to renounce our plan of garrisoning the fort, and to set out on an expedition into Badakhshān. I bestowed a dress of honour on Langer Khan, and appointing him to reinforce Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, gave him his leave. That night we had a drinking party in Khwājeh Muhammed Ali's tent

October 2 Early next morning we set out on our march, and crossing the Kheiber Pass, halted at the foot of it. The Khizer-Khail had been extremely licentious in their conduct. Both on the coming and going of our army they had shot upon the stragglers, and such of our people as lagged behind or separated from the rest, and carried off their horses. It was clearly expedient that they should meet with a suitable chastisement With this view, early in the morning, we marched from the foot of the Pass, and spent the noon in Deh-ghulāmān[1] About noon-day prayers we fed our horses, and dispatched Muhammed Hussain Korchi to Kābul, with orders to seize all the Khizer-Khail in the place, to put their property under sequestration, and to send me an account of what was done. I also desired them to write minutely, and send by some swift person whatever information had been received from Badakhshān. That night we continued marching till midnight, and halted a little beyond Sultānpūr; from which place, after having taken a short sleep, we mounted again. The quarters of the Khizer-Khail extended from Bahār and Masīkh-kirām[2] as

October 3 far as Kara-sū.[3] The morning had dawned when we came up with and charged them. Much property, and many of their children, fell into the hands of our troops. A few of them gained a hill which was [a] near at hand, and escaped.

October 4 Next morning we encamped at Kila-ghu, where we took

[a] the hills which were

[1] [Also called Basāul (Raverty's *Notes*, p. 54) It lies on the right bank of the Kābul river about ten miles east of Kāmeh, where the Chitrāl river joins the Kābul]

[2] [Hīchgrām, according to Raverty]

[3] [The Kara-sū, or *dark water*, is crossed on the route between Bāgh i safā and Bālā bāgh, and joins the Surkh-rūd east of the latter place (Raverty's *Notes*, p. 53).]

some *karkāwels*. The baggage which had been left behind joined us to-day at this station. A.D. 1519.

The Wazīrī[1] Afghans had been very irregular in paying their taxes Alarmed at this example of punishment, they now brought three hundred sheep as tribute.

Till my hand had got better I could not write at all. At this station, on Sunday the 14th, I was able to write a little. October 9

Next morning the chiefs of the Khirilchi and Shamū-Khail arrived, accompanied by a body of Afghans. The Dilazāk chiefs earnestly besought me to overlook and forgive the offences of these people, I accordingly pardoned them, and set the prisoners at liberty. I fixed their tribute at four thousand sheep; and, having given their chiefs vests of honour, sent them back into their country, accompanied by collectors, whom I appointed. October 10.

Having settled these affairs, on Thursday the 18th we marched, and halted at Bahār and Masīkh-kirām. Next morning I reached the Bāgh-e-wafā; it was the season when the garden was in all its glory. Its grass-plots were all covered with clover; its pomegranate trees were entirely of a beautiful yellow colour. It was then the pomegranate season, and the pomegranates were hanging red on the trees. The orange trees were green and cheerful, loaded with innumerable oranges, but the best oranges were not yet ripe. Its pomegranates are excellent, though not equal to the fine ones of our country. I never was so much pleased with the Bāgh-e-wafā (the Garden of Fidelity), as on this occasion. During the three or four days that we stayed at the Garden, all the people in the camp had pomegranates in abundance. October 13. October 14

On Monday we marched from the Garden; I stayed till the first watch, and bestowed the oranges on different persons. I gave Shah Hassan the oranges of two trees; to several Begs I gave one tree, and to several two orange trees.[a] As I had an intention of travelling through the Lamghān in October 17.

[a] In other cases the fruit of one tree was divided between two persons

[1] [The territory of this troublesome tribe lies roughly between the Tochi and Gumal rivers, and so they had a long distance to cover in order to reach Bābur's camp.]

the winter, I desired them to save about twenty trees, around the piece of water, for my use. This day we reached Gandamak.

October 18 Next morning we halted at Jagdālīk. Towards evening prayers we had a drinking party; many of my courtiers were present. About the end of the party, Gadāi Muhammed, sister's son of Kāsim Beg, became very noisy and troublesome; and, when he got drunk, placed himself on the pillow on which I reclined, whereupon Gadāi Taghāi turned him out of the party.

October 19. Marching thence, before break of day, I went to visit the country up the Bārīk-āb of [a] Kūrūk-sāi. Many *turāk* [1] trees were in excellent bearing. We halted at that place; and, having dined on a dish called *yulkerān*, we drank wine in honour of the rich crop. We made them kill a sheep which was picked up on the road, caused some meat to be dressed, kindled a fire of oak branches, and entertained ourselves. Mulla Abdal Malūk Diwāneh having petitioned to be allowed to carry to Kābul the news of my approach, I accordingly dispatched him for that city.

Hassan Nabīreh, who had come on the part of Mirza Khan, after giving me due notice of his intentions, here met and waited on me. We continued at this place drinking till the sun was on the decline, when we set out. Those who had been of the party were completely drunk. Syed Kāsim was so drunk, that two of his servants were obliged to put him on horseback, and brought him to the camp with great difficulty. Dost Muhammed Bākir was so far gone, that Amīn Muhammed Terkhān, Masti Chilreh, and those who were along with him, were unable, with all their exertions, to get him on horseback. They poured a great quantity of water over him, but all to no purpose. At this moment a body of Afghans appeared in sight. Amīn Muhammed Terkhān, being very drunk, gravely gave it as his opinion, that rather than leave him, in the condition in which he was, to fall into the hands of the enemy, it was better at once to

[a] which borders

[1] [*Turāk* is the Arabic name for the common Purslain (*Portulaca oleracea*), but it is a prostrate herb and not a tree]

cut off his head and carry it away. Making another exertion, however, with much difficulty, they contrived to throw him upon a horse, which they led along, and so brought him off.

We reached Kābul at midnight. Next morning Kuli Beg, who had been sent to Kāshghar on an embassy to Sultan Saīd Khan, returned and waited on me in the hall of audience. Bishgeh Mirza *ambārchi*,[1] who had been sent along with Kuli Beg on an embassy to me, brought with him a few of the rarities of that country as presents. October 20

On Wednesday, the first of Zilkaadeh, I went alone and had an early cup close by Kābil Beg's[a] tomb; the party afterwards dropped in, by one or two at a time. When the sun waxed hot, we retired to the Bāgh-e-banafsheh,[2] and sat down to our wine by the side of the piece of water. At midday we took a nap; and, about noon-day prayers, again returned to our wine. At this afternoon party, I gave wine to Tengri Kuli Beg and Mehndi, which I had never before done. At bed-time prayers I reached Hamām,[3] and stayed there that night. October 26

On Thursday, I bestowed dresses of honour on the merchants of Hindustān, who were under the guidance of Yāhīd Lūhāni, and gave them leave to depart. October 27

On Saturday, the 4th of the month, I granted audience of leave to Bishgeh Mirza, who had come from Kāshghar, when I gave him a dress of honour, and made him some presents October 29.

On Sunday, I had a party in the small Picture-cabinet that is over the gate. Although the apartment is very small, our party consisted of sixteen. October 30

On Monday, I went to Istālīf, to see the harvest. This day I took a maajūn. During the night there was a great deal of rain. Most of the Begs and courtiers who had attended me were obliged to take refuge in my tent, which was pitched in the middle of a garden.[b] October 31

Next morning we had a drinking party in the same tent. Nov 1

[a] Kābil's

[b] Bāgh-i kalān or the Great Garden

[1] Warehouse keeper [2] Violet Garden [3] The Hot Baths

A. D. 1519 We continued drinking till night. On the following morning we again had an early cup, and, getting intoxicated,
Nov. 2 went to sleep. About noon-day prayers, we left Istālīf, and I took a maajūn on the road. It was about afternoon prayers before I reached Behzādi.[1] The crops were extremely good. While I was riding round the harvest-fields, such of my companions as were fond of wine began to contrive another drinking bout. Although I had taken a maajūn, yet, as the crops were uncommonly fine, we sat down under some trees that had yielded a plentiful load of fruit,[a] and began to drink. We kept up the party in the same place till bed-time prayers. Mulla Mahmūd Khalīfeh having arrived, we invited him to join us. Abdallah, who had got very drunk, made an observation which affected Khalīfeh. Without recollecting that Mulla Mahmūd was present, he repeated the verse,

(*Persian*)—Examine whom you will, you will find him suffering from the same wound

Mulla Mahmūd, who did not drink, reproved Abdallah for repeating this verse with levity.[2] Abdallah, recovering his judgement, was in terrible perturbation, and conversed in a wonderfully smooth and sweet strain all the rest of the evening.[b]

Nov. 10 On Thursday the 16th, I took a maajūn in the Bāgh-e-banafshch, and embarked in a boat with several of my more intimate associates. Humāiūn and Kāmrān also joined us. Afterwards Humāiūn shot a water-fowl in very handsome style.

Nov. 12. On Saturday the 18th, we rode out from the Chārbāgh about noon,[c] and, after dismissing our grooms and atten-

[a] I was so enchanted with the beauty of the trees, all laden with fruit, that I seated myself under them,

[b] *Add* Having surveyed all the crops I reached the Chārbāgh at evening-prayer time and alighted there

[c] midnight,

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[1] [Masson (vol. iii, p. 115) refers to Bezādī as a large village north of Kābul on the elevated side of a deep ravine between Shakardarah and Bedak.]

[2] This verse, I presume, is from a religious poem, and has a mystical meaning. The profane application of it is the ground of offence

dants,[a] passed Mulla Bāba's bridge, and, mounting the strait of Deverīn,[1] reached the subterraneous water-runs[2] of Kūsh-nāder and Bāzārīān.[3] We then passed behind Khus-khānch,[4] and came late, about the time of the first sleep, to Terdi Beg Khāksār's subterraneous conduit. Terdi Beg, on hearing of our arrival, ran out in a great hurry to wait on me. I well knew Terdi Beg's thoughtless profuse turn, and that he did not dislike his glass. I had[b] taken with me a hundred *shahrokhis*,[5] which I now gave him, telling him to get ready wine and everything else for an entertainment, as I wished to make merry with some jolly companions. Terdi Beg set out for Behzādi to bring wine. I sent my horse with one of Terdi Beg's slaves to graze in a valley, while I myself sat down behind the water-course, on a rising ground. It was past the first watch (nine o'clock) when Terdi Beg came back with a pitcher of wine, and we set about drinking it. While Terdi Beg was bringing the wine, Muhammed Kāsim Birlās and Shahzādeh, who had guessed at the object of his errand, but had no suspicion that I was concerned, had dogged Terdi Beg on foot. We invited them to be of the party. Terdi Beg said, that Hul-hul-ankeh wished to drink wine with us. I said, 'I have never seen a woman drink wine: Call her to be of the party.' He likewise sent for a kalender,[6] called Shāhi, and a man connected with the conduit, who played on the rebeck.[7] We sat drinking wine on the eminence behind the water-run till evening prayers; after which we went to Terdi Beg's house, and drank by candle-light till after bed-time prayers. It was a wonderfully amusing and guileless party. I lay down, and the party went to another house, where they drank till the kettle-drum beat. Hul-hul-ankeh came, and was very riotous with me; at last, however, I threw myself down, as if completely drunk, and so escaped. I intended to mount my horse alone, and set off for Ister-

[a] night guards,

[b] I well knew that Terdi Beg did not dislike his glass, and so had

[1] Durīn [2] *Kārez* [3] [i. e. the Bazars]

[4] Bear-house [5] About £5 sterling.

[6] A *kalender* is a religious mendicant of a particular class.

[7] *Rabāb.*

ghach, without letting them know. They discovered my
Nov. 13. design, however, so that it did not succeed. At length, when the kettle-drum beat, I mounted. Having desired Terdi Beg and Shahzādeh to accompany me, we all three rode on towards Isterghach. About early morning prayers we reached Khwājeh Hassan, below Istālīf. We halted for a little, and I took a maajūn, and made a circuit of the crops. Towards sunrise, we halted at the garden of Istālīf, and ate grapes, and finally halted and slept at Khwājeh Shahāb, in the territory of Isterghach. The house of Ata Mīr Akhūr was there. While we were asleep, he prepared an entertainment, and got ready a pitcher of wine. It was of excellent vintage. We drank several cups and mounted. At noon-day prayers, we alighted in a beautiful[a] garden at Isterghach, and had a merry party. In a little time Khwājeh Muhammed Amīn joined us. We continued drinking till night prayers. During the course of that night and day, Abdallah, Asas, Nūr Beg, and Yūsef Ali arrived from Kābul.

Nov. 14 Next morning we breakfasted, and rode round the Bāgh-e-pādshāhi,[1] which is below Isterghach. One apple-tree had been in excellent bearing. On some branches[b] five or six scattered leaves still remained, and exhibited a beauty which the painter, with all his skill, might attempt in vain to portray. From Isterghach we rode to Khwājeh Hassan, where we dined. About evening prayers, we came to Behzādi, and drank wine in the house of one of Khwājeh Muhammed Amīn's servants, named Imām Muhammed.

Nov. 15 Next morning, being Tuesday, we arrived at the Chār-
Nov. 17 bāgh of Kābul. On Thursday the 23rd I entered the fort

Nov. 18. On Friday, Muhammed Ali Haider Rikābdar having taken a *tūeghūn*,[2] brought it in and presented it to me.

Nov. 19. On Saturday the 25th, I had a party in the Bāgh-e-chenār.[3] About bed-time prayers I mounted. As Syed Kāsim had taken offence at something, I alighted on coming to his house, and drank a few glasses.

[a] abounding in fruit

[b] On each of its branches

[1] Royal Garden

[2] [White falcon, according to P. de C.]

[3] The plane-tree garden

On Thursday, the 1st of Zilhijeh, Tāj ed dīn Mahmūd, who had come from Kandahār, waited on me. Nov. 24.

On Monday the 19th, Muhammed Alı Jeng-Jeng arrived from Nılāb. Dec. 12

On Tuesday, Sanger Khan Jenjūheh, who had come from Behreh, waited on me. Dec 13.

On Friday the 23rd, I finished my extracts from the four *dıwāns* of Alı Sher Beg, the *ghazels* of which I had selected and arranged according to their measure. Dec. 16.

On Tuesday the 27th, I had a party in the citadel. In this party, the rule was, that every person who got drunk should leave the place, and another person be invited to supply his room.[a] Dec 20.

On Friday, the 30th of Zılhıjeh, I set out to make a circuit of Lamghān. Dec. 23

THE OCCURRENCES OF 926.[1]

On Saturday, the 1st of Muharrem, I reached Khwājeh Schyārān, and had a drinking party upon the mound, which had been thrown up by the Jūī-nou (or new river).[b] A. D. 1519 Dec 24

Next morning, I mounted and rode to visit Reg i rawān.[2] I alighted at the Khānch bulbuli,[3] belonging to Syed Kāsım, where we had a party. Dec. 25.

Next morning, I mounted and continued my tour. I took a maajūn, and went on till we reached Bılker. Although we had taken wine over-night, in the morning we had a morning cup. About noon-day prayers, we proceeded on to Durnāmeh,[4] where we halted, and had a drinking party. Before break of day, we had a morning draught. Hak-dād, the chief of Durnāmeh, presented me with his garden as a *peshkesh*. Dec 26 Dec 27

[a] I ordered that whoever left the room in a state of intoxication should not be admitted to it again

[b] on the banks of the new canal where it came out

[1] [The year A. H 926 began on 23rd Dec A D 1519.

[2] Moving sand. [Khwājā Reg i rawān is a hill and Ziārat near Begrām (three miles east of Kābul) to which a sterile sandy tract ascends (Masson, vol III, p. 152)]

[3] Nightingale-hall.

[4] Durnāmeh is a little valley that joins that of Nijrau from the north-west

A D 1519 Dec 29 On Thursday, we mounted and rode on to Deh-Tājikān,[1] in Nijrau, where we halted.

Dec 30 On Friday, we hunted the hill which lies between Kulbeh[2] and the river Bārān, and killed many deer. From the time my finger was hurt I had never drawn an arrow. This day I shot an arrow right on the shoulder-bone of a stag. The arrow entered half-way up to the feather. At afternoon prayers I left the chase, and proceeded on to Nijrau.

Dec. 31. Next morning, the tribute of the inhabitants was fixed at sixty *mishkāls*[3] of gold.

A D 1520 Jan. 2 On Monday, I set out again on my tour in Lamghān. I had intended to have carried Humāiūn along with me on this journey, but he preferred staying, and I took leave of him at the Pass of Kūra; after which I went on, and halted at Bedrau [a] The fishermen take great quantities of fish in the river of Bārān. At afternoon prayers I embarked on a raft, and had a drinking party. After evening prayers I landed from the raft, and again sat down to wine in the public tents.[b] Haidar Ālemdār[4] had been sent by me to the Kāfers. He met me below the Pass of Bādīj, accompanied by some of their chiefs, who brought with them a few skins of wine [c] While coming down the Pass, he saw prodigious numbers of *chikors*[5] [d]

Jan 3 Next morning I went on board of a raft, and ate a maajūn. Landing below Bulān, I returned to the camp.

Jan 6. Marching again on Friday, I halted at Dāmeneh[6] below Mandrāwar. At night, we had a drinking party.

Jan. 7. On Saturday I embarked in a raft, and passing the strait of Darūta,[7] landed higher up than Jehān-nūmāi. We went to the Bāgh-e-wafā, which is opposite to Adīnāpūr.

[a] *Add* thence we went on to Ulugh nūr. [b] my tent
[c] *Add* and did homage [d] locusts

[1] [The Tājik villages]
[2] [P. de C. has Chihil kulbeh, or forty ploughs]
[3] This seems an easy tribute It is only about 400 rupees, or £40
[4] [Standard-bearer]
[5] A bird of the partridge kind (*Caccabis chikor*)
[6] [Skirt of the hills]
[7] Darūta is west of Jelālābād, up the river [This is possibly Raverty's Darūn-tha, a village near which the Surkh-rūd joins the Kābul river]

Kiyām Urdūshah, the Hākim of Nangenhār, met us as we landed from the raft, and paid me his respects. Langer Khan Niāzai,[1] who had long been in Nilāb, waited on me on the road, and offered me his duty. We alighted at the Bāgh-e-wafā. Its oranges were well advanced in their yellow hue, and the verdure of the green plants was beautiful. We stayed five or six days in the Bāgh-e-wafā As I intended, when forty years old, to abstain from wine,[2] and as now I wanted somewhat less than one year of being forty, I drank wine most copiously.

On Sunday the 16th, I took an early draught, and when sobered, as I was taking a maajūn, Mulla Yārek played an air which he had composed in the *panjgāh* time, to the *mukhammas*[3] measure. The air was beautiful. For some time I had not much attended to such matters. I took a fancy that I too should compose something, and was induced by this incident to compose an air in the *chārgāh* measure, as will be mentioned in its proper place. Jan 8

On Wednesday, while taking an early glass, I said in sport that every person who sang a Tājik air[a] should receive a goblet of wine. In consequence of this, many persons drank their goblet of wine About nine in the morning, some persons who were sitting in our party under a *tāl* tree,[b 4] proposed that every one who sang a Tūrki song[c] should have a goblet of wine, and numbers sang their song, and claimed and received their goblet of wine. When the sun mounted high we went under the orange-trees, and drank our wine on the banks of the canal[d] Jan 11.

Next morning I left Darūta, embarked on the raft, and passing Jūī Shāhi, reached Ater. At Ater we mounted on horseback, and rode through the valley of Nūr, till we had reached and passed the village of Sūsan. We halted at Amleh.[e] Jan 12

[a] who spoke like a Sart
[b] under the willows in the midst of a meadow,
[c] who speaks like a Turk
[d] tank
[e] We then turned back and halted at Amleh

[1] [He is apparently identical with the Langar Khan Sāri on page 133]
[2] Bābur unfortunately did not adhere to this resolution
[3] [*Mukhammas* = quintuple measure *Panjgāh* = five time]
[4] [The willow]

Khwājeh Kalān had regulated everything at Bajour, and brought the country into the best order. As he was a prudent and able counsellor, I sent for him that he might be along with me, and I gave Shah Mīr Hussain the charge of Bajour.

Jan. 14 On Saturday the 22nd, I gave Shah Mīr Hussain his audience of leave. This day, likewise, I had a drinking party at Amleh.

Jan 15 Next morning it rained heavily. I went from Kuner to Kileh-Kerām,[1] where Malik Kuli had a house, and halted at his second son's house, which was situated overlooking an orange plantation. As the rain prevented our going out among the orange-trees, we had our wine in the house. The rain poured down in torrents. I knew a charm, and taught it to Mulla Ali Jān. He wrote it on four scraps of paper, and hung it up to the four points of the compass; the rain ceased that moment, and the sky immediately began to clear up.

Jan 16 The following morning I went on board of one raft, and some young men embarked in another. In Sawād, Bajour, and the neighbouring countries, they make a peculiar kind of *būzeh* (or beer).[2] There is a substance which they call *kīm*, composed of the tops [a] of certain herbs, and of various drugs. They make it round like a loaf, and then dry and lay it up. This *kīm* is the essence from which the *būzeh* (or beer) is made. Many of the potions composed of it are wonderfully exhilarating, but they are terribly bitter and ill-tasted. I had thoughts of taking this *buzeh*, but, from its extreme bitterness, was unable to swallow it: I then took a little maajūn. I desired Asas, Hassan Ikerek, and Masti, who were in the other raft, to drink some of the potion, which they did, and became intoxicated. Hassan Ikerek immediately began to play a number of unpleasant freaks. Asas, also, became perfectly drunk; and performed so many disagreeable pranks as to make us quite uncomfortable; insomuch, that we had thoughts of turning them out of the raft, and of landing

[a] roots

[1] [Or Kuligrām See Raverty's *Notes*, p 111]

[2] [*Būzeh*, according to Steingass, is a drink brewed from rice, millet, or barley.]

them on the opposite side of the river, but were prevailed upon by urgent entreaties[a] to desist. A.D. 1519.

I have mentioned that I had bestowed Bajour on Shah Mīr Hossain, and recalled Khwājeh Kalān. Having a high opinion of Khwājeh Kalān as a wise and able counsellor, I did not wish to prolong his residence in Bajour; I was of opinion, too, that the management of Bajour was now become easier. I met Shah Mīr Hossain, as he was on his way to Bajour, at the passage over the river of Kuner, sent for him, and had some[b] conversation with him, after which I gave him one of my own corslets,[1] and he took leave. When we came opposite to Nūrgil, an old man came and begged alms; the people in the raft each gave him something, a robe, a turban, or a sash, in this way, the old man received articles to a considerable amount. About mid-way the raft struck on some bad ground. We were much afraid; but though the raft did not sink, Mīr Muhammed, who guided it, was pitched into the water We passed that night near Ater. On Tuesday we came to Mandrāwar.[2] Jan 17
Kutlūk Kadem, and his father Doulet Kadem, prepared for us an entertainment Although the place had nothing beautiful to recommend it, yet, to please them, I drank a few glasses of wine, and returned to the camp about afternoon prayers.

On Wednesday we went and visited the fountain of Gidger.[3] Gidger is a district dependent on the Tumān of Mandrāwar. In this district alone, of all the Lamghānāt, are there any dates. The village stands higher up than the *dāmenhoh* (skirts of the hills); its date groves lie to the east of it. It is situated on the edge of the date groves, in an open space. Six or seven cubits below the fountain, they have built a barricade of stones, for retaining the water for the purpose of bathing The water is made to Jan 18.

[a] *Add* of some of their companions

[b] *Add* serious

[1] *Qūr*, which means armour used by horsemen [cp *kūrchi* = cuirassier]

[2] In this excursion, Bābur seems to have gone north-east till he got into Kuner, then to have floated down the river to the junction, and either tracked or rode up to Mandrāwar

[3] Kindger, in the Persian copy.

run over this basin in such a way as to fall on the heads of those who bathe below. The water of this fountain is extremely soft, if any one bathes in it in winter, his limbs at first feel excessively cold, but afterwards, however long he stay in, his sensations become altogether agreeable.

Jan. 19 On Thursday, Sher Khān Turkolāni made us alight at his house, and entertained us. About noon-day prayers we mounted again, and setting out, reached the fishing-houses or pools, which have been built for taking fish. These fishing-houses have already been described.

Jan 20 On Friday we halted near a village under the charge of Mīr Miran About evening prayers we had a party

Jan 21. On Saturday we hunted the hill which lies between Alisheng and Alingār. On one side the men of Alisheng, and on the other the people of Alingār, made a ring, and drove in the deer from the hill, numbers of deer were killed On leaving the chase we halted at Alingār, in the Bāgh-e-malikān,[1] and had a party. The half of one of my front teeth had been broken off, and the other half left, this day, while I was eating, the half that had been left also came out.

Jan 22 Next morning I mounted, and went and threw a net for fish [2] It was noon before I went to a garden at Alisheng, where we drank wine.

Jan. 23. Next morning Khamzeh Khan, the Malik of Alisheng, having been guilty of many crimes, and spilt innocent blood in murder, I delivered him up to the avengers [3] of blood, by whom he was put to death in retaliation.

Jan. 24 On Tuesday, having read a section of the Koran I returned for Kābul, by way of Yan-būlāgh About afternoon prayers we passed the river at Alghātū.[4] At evening prayers we came to Karanghu,[a] where, having fed our horses and taken a hasty dinner, we remounted the instant our horses had finished their barley.

[a] Karabougha,

[1] [Bāgh i malikān = the Garden of Kings]

[2] The *tura* is a fishing-net.

[3] This right of private revenge, which forms a part of the law of most rude nations, exists in a mitigated form under the Muhammedan law The criminal is condemned by the judge, but is delivered up to the relations of the person murdered, to be ransomed or put to death as they think fit.

[4] The Persian has Ulugh-nūr

SUPPLEMENT

CONTAINING

AN ABRIDGED VIEW OF BĀBUR'S TRANSACTIONS FROM A. H. 926 TO A. H. 932 [1]

Uncertainty regarding Bābur's expeditions into India.

ANOTHER hiatus here occurs in all the manuscripts, and extends for a space of nearly six years, from the beginning of Safer A. H. 926, to the beginning of Safer A. H. 932, from the end of what is generally called Bābur's second expedition into India, to the beginning of his fifth and final invasion of that country. The materials for supplying this blank are not so copious as might have been expected. Abulfazl, who wrote in Hindustān, in the reign, and at the court of Bābur's grandson, whose secretary he was, and from whom we might therefore have expected the most authentic and ample details of Bābur's different invasions of India, treats the march of Bābur in 910, when he took Kohat, passed through Bannu, went down the Sind as far as the territory of Multān, and returned to Kābul by Chotiāli and Āb i istādeh, as the first,[2] the expedition on the Cheghān-serāi, or Kashkār river,[3] in 913, in his account is the second, probably because Bābur had, at one period of this expedition, formed the intention of proceeding to Hindustān, an intention which he did not accomplish; and the expedition to Behreh in 925, is the third: of the fourth, he acknowledges that he had not been able to get any account; an acknowledgement which, at the same time that it shows the uncertainty of tradition, seems also to prove that Abulfazl, who on other occasions follows the Memoirs of Bābur,

A. D. 1505.

A. D. 1507

A. D. 1519

[1] From the end of January 1520 to the middle of November 1525. This interval, in the west, was distinguished by the progress of the Reformation under Luther, the taking of Belgrade and Rhodes by Soliman the Magnificent, and by the battle of Pavia. In America, Cortez conquered Mexico

[2] See *Akbernāmeh*, vol. i, MS.

[3] [i. e. the Chitrāl river.]

had them in exactly the same imperfect state in which they have come down to our times; and the recapitulation of previous events which the Memoirs themselves contain, in the beginning of the account of the transactions of the year 932 of the Hijra, seems to confirm the same supposition; since, had an account of all the transactions of the six preceding years been given by way of journal, it would have rendered the recapitulation, by which the history of that year is prefaced, altogether unnecessary. It is plain, however, that Bābur regarded his expedition into Bhīra, or Behreh, in A. H. 925, not as his third, but as his first expedition into Hindustān; so that the ignorance of Abulfazl was greater than he himself supposed.

The expedition against the Yūsefzais and refractory Afghans, which is described by Bābur in the end of the year 925, and from which he was recalled by the events in Badakhshān, is regarded by Ferishta as his second[1] expedition into Hindustān; but Bābur himself does not intimate that he had any intention at that time of crossing the Indus. It appears, however, that Peshāwer, or Bekrām, as well as a great part of the country west of the Indus, were anciently regarded as belonging to India; whence the inaccuracy apparent on this subject among the writers of Hindustān may perhaps in part proceed. Indeed, Bābur himself informs us, that Kandahār was formerly regarded as the boundary between Hindustān and Khorasān. I am not, however, convinced that Bābur reckoned this as one of his invasions of Hindustān.

His third expedition A. D. 1520

Bābur's third expedition against Hindustān appears to have been made A. H. 926. In his way through Bhīra he inflicted punishment on those who had formerly joined him, but who had afterwards been seduced to revolt and to expel his officers. He drove from the country some Afghans, while he put to death and made prisoners a number of others, to the great relief of the peasantry and labouring classes

[1] Khāfi Khan describes Bābur as having, in his second expedition, advanced towards Sirhind, Multān, and Lahore, but as he, in common with all other authors, fixes Bābur's third invasion in A. H. 926, this supposition, independent of other objections, is incompatible with the chronology of the Memoirs.

whom they had oppressed. He advanced to Siālkot, the inhabitants of which submitted and saved their possessions, but the inhabitants of Syedpūr, who resisted, were put to the sword, their wives and children carried into captivity, and all their property plundered. Bābur at this time received information that his territories had been invaded on the side of Kandahār by Shah Beg, which obliged him to interrupt his expedition, and to return to the defence of his dominions. He soon drove Shah Beg from the field, and shut him up in his capital, which he kept in a state of partial blockade for nearly three years. For the reduction of Kandahār, which was a place of great strength, he appears to have trusted more to the effects of his annual [1] invasions in wasting and ruining the surrounding country, than to the operations of an active siege.

He gives Badakhshān to Humāiūn. A. D. 1521.

The events which had occurred proved to him the necessity of leaving his own territories quiet and protected, before he ventured upon foreign conquests. In the course of the year 927 of the Hijira, having received information of the death of Khan Mirza [2] in Badakhshān, he bestowed that country on Humāiūn Mirza, his eldest son. The same year he again entered the territories of Shah Beg, and reduced him to great distress.[3]

A. D. 1522. Reduction of Kandahār.

The following year, 928, seems to have been marked by the final reduction of Kandahār.[4] Shāh Beg had retired towards Shāl,[5] Dour,[6] and Siwistān, and in the end con-

[1] See Ferishta's *General History of Hindustān*, translated by Dow, vol ii, p 194, and the *Tārīkh i Khāfi Khan*, vol ii, MS

[2] The period of Khan Mirza's death is very uncertain Abulfazl says it occurred A H 917 Khāfi Khan seems to fix it in 915 Ferishta mentions it as occurring about 926 It must have happened either in that or the succeeding year.

[3] [It is stated by Erskine in his *History of Bābur* (p. 355) that in A H. 927 (A. D 1521) Shah Beg being reduced to great distress concluded a treaty with Bābur, under which he agreed to surrender Kandahār in the following year He took advantage of the interval to remove his family to Sind, which he had subjugated]

[4] [According to Erskine's *Bābur* (p 355) the keys of Kandahār were delivered to Bābur by Mir Ghyās ud dīn, nephew of the historian, Khwandamīr, the celebrated author of *Habīb us siyar.*]

[5] [The modern Quetta]

[6] [Daur, or the Valley of the Tochi, lies west of Bannu, and south of Khost, and is hemmed in on both sides by the Wazīrī Hills. The

quered the kingdom of Sind [1] Bābur pursuing his successes, occupied the country of Garmsīr along the Helmend, which had been part of the dominions of Shah Beg. The year
A. D. 1523. 929 he occupied in various expeditions within his own territories, in checking the refractory Afghans, and in introducing some degree of order and arrangement into the affairs of his government.

State of Hindustān.

The invasion of Hindustān had long been the favourite object of Bābur's ambition. The Uzbeks had established themselves in too great force in Māwerālnaher to leave him any hopes of expelling them. Khorasān had been occupied by the Safavi dynasty of Persian kings, who were now in the height of their power and glory; while the provinces of Hindustān, which in all ages have been an easy prey to the rapacity of every invader, afforded the prospect of a rich and a splendid conquest. The moment was every way favourable to such an attempt. The empire of Delhi was not then what it afterwards became under Akber or Aurengzeb, nor even what it had been under Muhammed Ghori or Alā ud dīn Khilji. For some time past, it had been in the hands of Afghan invaders. The reign of Ibrahīm had been an unvaried scene of confusion and revolts. His haughty and cruel temper, joined to the impolitic arrogance with which he had treated the Afghan nobles, who considered themselves as having raised his family to the throne, and as being still placed not very far below it, had completely alienated their affections. Many of his discontented nobles had retired beyond the Ganges, and the whole eastern provinces, from Badāun to Behār, were in the hands of rebels, who occupied Behār itself So extensive had the defection become, that his dominions did not extend much beyond Delhi, Agra, the Doāb, Biāna, and Chanderi. Bengal had still its own sovereign, as well as Malwa and Guzerāt. The Rājpūt Princes, from Mewāt to Udaipūr, had joined in a confederacy, of which Rāna

inhabitants of this very fertile district are the Shitaks, the lowest in the scale of the Afghan races]

[1] [Shah Beg died on 25th June 1524 and was succeeded by his son Hassan, who acknowledged Bābur's suzerainty. (*E B.*, pp. 376-9.)]

Sanka, the Prince of Udaipūr, was at the head. The Panjāb was held by Doulet Khan, and his sons Ghāzi Khan and Dilāwer Khan, who, Afghans themselves, were alarmed at the fate of the Afghan nobles in other parts of the empire, and eager to deliver themselves from the power of the emperor; persuaded that it was safer to rebel than to continue in subjection to a prince whose violent and unrelenting disposition, adding new terrors to the harsh maxims of his government, had destroyed all confidence in him. Guided by their fears, they sent envoys to offer their allegiance to Bābur, and to beseech him to march to their succour.[1] No circumstance could have been more in unison with his wishes. He made instant preparations for the expedition, and entered Hindustān for the fourth time.

Bābur invited into Hindustān
A H 930
A D 1521
Fourth expedition

He marched by the country of the Gakkers, whom he reduced to obedience. Behār Khan Lodi, Mubārek Khan Lodi, and some other Afghan Amīrs, who were still in the interest of Ibrahīm, or who disliked the arrival of a foreign enemy, collected a large body of Afghans, and gave him battle as he approached Lahore, the capital of the province.[2] The Afghans were defeated, and the conquerors, elated with their success, and enraged at the obstinacy of the resistance, plundered and burned the bazar and town of Lahore. He next advanced to Debālpūr, the garrison of which holding out, the place was stormed, and a general massacre ensued.

Burns Lahore.

At Debālpūr he was joined by Doulet Khan, and his sons Ghāzi Khan, and Dilāwer Khan, who, after their revolt, had been compelled to seek refuge among the Balūches.[3] They informed him that Ismāel Jilwāni was lying on the side of a rising ground near Sitāra,[4] with a large body of

Joined by Doulet Khan and his sons.

[1] [Dilāwar Khan was his father's envoy according to the *Tārīkh i Salātīn i Afāghanah* Another appeal for aid was made to Bābur by Ibrahīm Lodi's uncle, Alā ud dīn Lodi —*E.B*, p 412]

[2] [Daulat Khan on Behāi Khan's approach had abandoned Lahore, and fled to the country of the Belūchis. Bābur halted only four days at Lahore —*E B*, p 418]

[3] [Bābur gave Daulat Khan Jalandhar and Sultānpūr instead of his former government of Lahore, which was the cause of grave misunderstanding between them —*E B*, p 419]

[4] [In Erskine's *Bābur* this place is called Tihāra, a small town situated close to the left bank of the Satlej between Ludhānah and Firozpūr, about twenty-nine miles west of the former.]

troops, intending to harass him in his advance, and that it would be expedient to send a detachment to disperse them. Bābur was making preparations for acting in conformity with this advice, when he was secretly informed by Dilāwer Khan that it was given with a treacherous intention, Doulet Khan being very desirous of dividing Bābur's army in order to serve his own purpose. Bābur was soon after convinced, or pretended to be convinced, from concurring circumstances, of the truth of this information, and threw Doulet Khan and Ghazi Khan into prison. He was soon, however, prevailed on to release them, and gave them in *jagīr*[1] the town of Sultānpūr, which the father had built, with its dependencies. They were afterwards permitted to repair it, where they employed their time in preparing everything for a revolt, and soon after fled, but took shelter in the hill-country to the east of the Panjāb. Bābur, on receiving the news of this event, sent for Dilāwer Khan, gave him possession of their estates, and loaded him with favours. This revolt of a man of such influence in the Panjāb as Doulet Khan, with other adverse circumstances, made it inexpedient for him to advance to Delhi, so that he fell back on Lahore, after he had crossed the Satlej and proceeded as far as Sirhind.[2] He soon after found it necessary to return to Kābul. He had now, however, gained a permanent footing beyond the Indus, and parcelled out the different districts among his most trusty officers, or such great men of the country as it was necessary to conciliate. In the course of this invasion he had been joined by Sultan Alā ed dīn, a brother[3] of the Emperor Ibrahīm. On him Bābur bestowed Debālpūr, and probably flattered him with hopes of the succession to the empire of Hindustān. He now left with him Bāba Kashkeh, one of his favourite officers, to watch him, and retain him in his duty. He appointed Mīr Abdal-azīz to the charge of Lahore, Khosrou Gokultāsh to Siālkot, and Muhammed Ali Tājik to Kalanūr.[4]

Revolt of Doulet Khan

Bābur advances to Sirhind. Returns to Kābul.

[1] A *jagīr* is a grant of lands to be held immediately of the sovereign, often with extensive privileges.

[2] [He had not gone as far as Sirhind when he was obliged to retire on Lahore.—*E. B.*, p. 420.]

[3] [Uncle.]

[4] See Ferishta and Khāfi Khan. [Kalanaur, the scene of Akbar's

Scarcely had Bābur recrossed the Indus, when Doulet Khan and Ghāzi Khan issued from their retreat in the hills, resumed possession of Sultānpūr, by vigorous exertions, succeeded in making Dilāwer Khan prisoner, and detained him in close custody. Their army rapidly increased, and they advanced to Debālpūr, where they defeated Sultan Alā ed dīn, who escaped and fled to Kābul. Bāba Kashkeh repaired to Lahore, which was the head-quarters of the Tūrki army. Doulet Khan, encouraged by his first successes, sent five thousand Afghans against Siālkot, in hopes of reducing the place, but Mīr Abdal-azīz having marched from Lahore, with a detachment of Bābur's troops, encountered the Afghans, and completely defeated them. A H 931. A D 1525

Doulet Khan defeats Alā ed dīn.

Sultan Ibrahīm had now leisure to collect an army, which he sent against Doulet Khan, for the purpose of reducing him to obedience; but so successful were the intrigues of Doulet Khan in the imperial camp, that he contrived to gain over the general, and the army was completely broken up.

Disperses an army sent against him

The crafty old politician soon after learned that Sultan Alā ed dīn had been favourably received at Kābul by Bābur who being himself obliged to march to the relief of Balkh, which was besieged by the Uzbeks, had sent Alā ed dīn into Hindustān, with orders to his generals there to accompany him in his march against Delhi, for the purpose of placing him on the throne of the empire.[1] Doulet Khan instantly wrote to Sultan Alā ed dīn, whose talents appear to have been but slender, congratulating him on the success of his negotiations, and assuring him that he was the very person whom Doulet Khan was most anxious to see placed on the throne. These assurances were accompanied by a deed of allegiance, under the seal of his Kazis and Chiefs. Sultan Alā ed dīn, on reaching Lahore, informed Bābur's generals that they were ordered to accompany him to Delhi, and that Ghāzi Khan, Doulet Khan's son, was to join them

Bābur supports Alā ed dīn

coronation, is a village situated between the Rāvi and the Biās in the Gurdāspūr district, Panjāb.]

[1] [In accordance with the treaty concluded between them Bābur was to receive the formal cession of Lahore and all the countries to the west of it in full sovereignty, in return for which Alā ud dīn was to be elevated to the throne of Delhi.—*E.B.*, p. 423.]

with his army, and to assist them in the expedition. To this Bābur's Begs objected. They declared that they had no confidence in Ghāzi Khan or his father, with whom both Alā ed dīn and themselves had recently been in a state of war; and that he must give hostages before they could place any confidence in him. Their remonstrances, however, were unavailing. Alā ed dīn made a treaty with Doulet Khan, ceding to him all the Panjāb, while it was agreed Alā ed dīn should have Delhi, Agra, and the other dominions of the empire in that quarter, and that Hāji Khan, a son of Doulet Khan, should march with a large body of troops in his army. Dilāwer Khan, who had but recently escaped from his rigid confinement, joined Alā ed dīn. Ferishta says, that Bābur's officers who remained in the Panjāb bargained that their master should have all the country north-west of the Indus, a circumstance not mentioned by Bābur himself, whose narrative never alludes to the claims of Alā ed dīn, in whose name[1] he appears at first to have marched against Ibrahīm. He probably imagined that Alā ed dīn's breach of faith, and subsequent treaty with Doulet Khan, had cancelled all their engagements.

Alā ed dīn's army, in its advance, was joined by many Amīrs of rank, and by the time it reached Delhi, could muster forty thousand horse. The siege of Delhi, the defeat of Alā ed dīn, and the events that followed, are detailed by Bābur himself in his Memoirs, as he was not informed of them till he was considerably advanced in his fifth invasion of Hindustān, with which his narrative recommences.

[1] Compare Bābur's Memoirs, anno 932, the *Akbarnāmah* of Abulfazl, the *Tārīkh i Khāfi Khan*, and Ferishta

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 932[1]

A D 1525 Nov 17 Bābur's fifth invasion of India

On Friday, the 1st of Safer, in the year 932, when the sun was in Sagittarius, I set out on my march to invade Hindustān. Having crossed the hill of Yak-langeh,[2] we halted in a valley which lies west of the river of Deh Yākūb. At this place Abdal Malūk Korchi, who, seven or eight months before, had gone on an embassy to Sultan Saīd Khan,[3] returned to me accompanied by Yangi Beg, a foster brother of the Khan He brought me privately letters from the Khanums,[4] as well as the Khan, with presents and prayers for my well-being [a] I halted here two days for the purpose of collecting [b] my army, after which we marched, and, one night intervening, halted at Bādām-chashmeh At this station I took a maajūn.

Nov 22

On Wednesday, when we were coming to our ground at Bārīk-āb, the brothers [c] of Nūr Beg, who had remained behind in Hindustān, arrived bringing to the amount of twenty thousand *shahrokhs*,[5] in gold, in *ashrafis* and *tankas*, which Khwājeh Hussain, Diwān of Lahore, had sent by them.[d] The greater part of this sum I dispatched through Mulla Ahmed, one of the chief men of Balkh, to serve my interests in that quarter

[a] with a present that was specially intended for me
[b] equipping [c] one of the younger brothers
[d] out of the receipts of the Lahore treasury

[1] [This year commenced on 18th Oct 1525]

[2] [Yak-langeh, according to Masson, is a pass on the Jelālābād road, a short distance from Butkhāk On its crest is the dilapidated fort of Kila' Gujī, and here the road is intersected by a canal (Jūī Khwājā) derived from the Logar river, which may be the 'river of Deh Yakūb' referred to]

[3] The chief of Kāshghar

[4] These were probably Khūb Nigār Khanum, his aunt, who was the mother of the wife of Sultan Saīd Khan, Sultan Nigār Khanum another of his aunts, and her daughter, who had married Rashīd Sultan, Sultan Saīd's son [Khūb Nigār was already dead]

[5] About £1,000 sterling Nothing can afford a stronger proof of the scarcity of specie in Kābul than this appropriation of so small a sum The *tanka*, or *tanga*, is a small silver coin of the value of about fivepence The name of *ashrafi* is applied to the gold *mohur*, which is worth about a guinea and a half It is applied, however, to gold coins of various magnitude and value.

Nov. 24. On Friday the 8th, on halting at Gandamak, I had rather a severe defluxion,[1] but, by the mercy of God, it passed off without any bad effects.

Nov 25 He reaches the Bāgh-e-wafā. On Saturday, I halted at the Bāgh-e-wafā. Here I was forced to wait some days for Humāiūn[2] and the army that was with him. In these Memoirs I have already repeatedly described the limits and extent of the Bāgh-e-wafā, its beauty, and elegance.[a] The garden was in great glory. No one can view it without acknowledging what a charming place it is. During the few days that we stayed there, we drank a great quantity of wine at every sitting,[b] and took regularly our morning cup. When I had no drinking parties,[3] I had maajūn parties.[4] In consequence of Humāiūn's delay beyond the appointed time, I wrote him sharp letters, taking him severely to task, and giving him many hard names.[c]

Dec. 3 Joined by Humāiūn. On Sunday, the 17th of Safer, I had taken my morning draught, when Humāiūn arrived. I spoke to him with considerable severity on account of his long delay. Khwājeh Kalān too arrived this day from Ghazni. That same evening, being the eve of Monday, we marched, and halted at a new garden, which I had laid out between Sultanpūr and Khwājeh Rustam.[5]

[a] the charm of its situation

[b] we had many pleasant wine-parties,

[c] *Omit this clause and read* and urging him with much insistence to join me.

[1] [P. de C thinks the word (*rizandalik*) means nothing more severe than a cold in the head]

[2] Humāiūn was now in his eighteenth year.

[3] Bābur unfortunately did not give up the use of wine at forty, as he had once vowed

[4] The maajūn, it will be recollected, is a medicated confection, which produces intoxication

[5] [The tomb of Khwājā Rustam is situated about three miles to the west of Jelālābād, and 1½ miles south-west of it lies the Bāgh i safā, which is evidently the new garden referred to here Sultānpūr is passed on the direct route between this place and Bālā Bāgh — Raverty's *Notes*, p 53

This Bāgh i safā must not be confounded with another of the same name, which Bābur laid out in the Salt Range near Bhīra It is referred to in the *Ayīn i Akbarī* (Gladwin's edition, p. 451)

On Wednesday, we marched thence, when I embarked on a raft, on which I proceeded down the river, drinking all the way, till we reached Kūsh-gumbez, where I landed and joined the camp Dec 6

Next morning, after putting the troops in motion, I again embarked on a raft, and took a maajūn. We had always been accustomed to halt at Kirik arik. On coming over against Kirik arik, though we looked out in every direction, not a trace of the camp, nor of our horses, was visible. It came into my head, that, as Garm-chashmeh was near at hand, and was a shady, sheltered spot,[a] the army had probably halted there. I therefore went on to that place. On coming near Garm-chashmeh, the day was far spent. Without stopping there, I went on all next night and day,[b] having only made them bring the raft to an anchor, while I took a sleep. About the time of early morning prayers, we landed at Yadeh Bīr, and at sunrise the troops began to make their appearance coming in. They had been for two days encamped in the territory of Kirik arik, though we had not observed them. There happened to be in the boat a good many men who wrote verses, such as Sheikh Abul Wajd, Sheikh Zein, Mulla Ali Jān, Terdi Beg Khāksār, and several others. During the party, the following verse of Muhammed Sālih was repeated · Dec 7. Dec 8

(*Persian*)—What can one do to regulate his thoughts, with a mistress possessed of every blandishment ?
Where *you* are, how is it possible for our thoughts to wander to another ?

It was agreed that every one should make an extempore couplet to the same rhyme and measure. Every one accordingly repeated his verse. As we had been very merry at Mulla Ali Jān's expense, I repeated the following extempore satirical verses :

What can one do with a drunken sot like you ?
What can be done with one foolish as a she-ass ? [c] [1]

[a] *Omit this clause.* [b] through the night,
[c] What can one do with a prodigy like you ?
What can be done with a she-ass that disembowels bullocks ?

in the following terms 'In Jelālābād is the garden called Bāgh i safā, a monument of the Emperor Bābur']

[1] It may be almost needless to observe, that the rhyme, measure,

A D 1525 Before this, whatever had come into my head, good or bad, in sport or jest, if I had turned it into verse for amusement, how bad or contemptible soever the poetry might be, I had always committed it to writing On the present occasion, when I had composed these lines, my mind led me to reflections, and my heart was struck with regret, that a tongue which could repeat the sublimest productions, should bestow any trouble on such unworthy verses, that it was melancholy that a heart, elevated to nobler conceptions, should submit to occupy itself with these meaner and despicable fancies. From that time forward, I religiously abstained from satirical or vituperative poetry. At the time of repeating this couplet, I had not formed my resolution, nor considered how objectionable the practice was.

Bābur renounces satirical poetry.

A day or two after, when we halted at Bekrām,[1] I had a defluxion and fever; the defluxion was attended with a cough, and every time that I coughed I brought up blood. I knew whence this indisposition proceeded, and what conduct had brought on this chastisement.

(*Arabic*)—Then every one who fails and breaks his promise, that promise avenges its breach on his life; and he who adheres to his promises to God, God bestows on him boundless blessings.[2]

(*Turki verse*)—What can I do with you, O my tongue?
On your account I am covered with blood within [a]
How long, in this strain of satire, will you delight to compose verses,
One of which is impure, and another lying?
If you say, Let me not suffer from this crime,[b]—
Then turn your reins, and shun the field

(*Arabic*)—O my Creator, I have tyrannized over my soul, and, if Thou are not bountiful unto me, of a truth I shall be of the number of the accursed.[3]

I now once more composed myself to penitence and self-control,[c] I resolved to abstain from this kind of idle

[a] overwhelmed with anguish
[b] if you do not wish some day to burn in hell,—
[c] to implore the mercy of God and solicit His pardon,

---

and play of words, in the original, give these verses a great similarity to the former, which is totally wanting in the translation. They are a kind of parody of them

[1] Peshāwer. [2] [*Qurān*, xlviii, 10] [3] [*Qurān*, vii, 22]

thoughts, and from such unsuitable amusements, and to break my pen. Such chastenings from the throne of the Almighty, on rebellious servants, are mighty graces, and every servant who feels and benefits from such chastisements, has cause to regard them as overflowing mercies.

Marching thence,[a] I halted at Ali Masjid. On account of the smallness of the encamping ground at this place, I was always accustomed to take up my quarters on an adjoining eminence: the troops all took their ground in the valley. As the hillock on which I pitched my tents commanded the neighbouring grounds, the blaze from the fires of the people in the camp below was wonderfully brilliant and beautiful. It was certainly owing to this circumstance that every time that I halted in this ground I drank wine.[b] Dec 9 Reaches Ali Masjid

I took a maajūn before sunrise, and we continued our march. That day I fasted. We continued our march till we came near Bekrām, and then halted. Next morning we continued halting in the same station, and I went out to hunt the rhinoceros. We crossed the Siāh-āb,[1] in front of Bekrām, and formed our ring lower down the river. When we had gone a short way, a man came after us with notice that a rhinoceros had entered a little wood near Bekrām, and that they had surrounded the wood, and were waiting for us. We immediately proceeded towards the wood at full gallop, and cast a ring round it. Instantly, on our raising the shout, the rhinoceros issued out into the plain, and took to flight. Humāiūn, and those who had come from the same quarter, never having seen a rhinoceros before, were greatly amused.[2] They followed it for nearly a kos, shot many arrows at it, and finally brought it down. This rhinoceros did not make a good set at any person, or any horse. They afterwards killed another rhinoceros.[c] I had often amused myself with conjecturing how an elephant and rhinoceros would behave if brought to face each Dec 10 Reaches Bekrām

Dec. 11.

Rhinoceros hunt

[a] *Idd* in the evening.

[b] *Idd* and this time too much wine was drunk.

[c] two others

[1] Black river [Perhaps another name for the Bāra, which is a turbid stream.]

[2] [i.e. interested.]

other; on this occasion the elephant-keepers brought out the elephants, so that one elephant fell right in with the rhinoceros.[a] As soon as the elephant-drivers put their beasts in motion, the rhinoceros would not come up,[b] but immediately ran off in another direction.

This day, when we stayed at Bekrām, I sent for several Begs and noblemen who were about my person, as well as for the paymasters and Diwāns, and having nominated six or seven of them as superintendents, appointed them to attend at the Nilāb passage, to conduct the embarkation, to take down the name of every man in the army one by one, and to inspect[c] them. That same night I had a defluxion and fever. The defluxion ended in a cough; every time that I coughed I spat blood; I was considerably alarmed, but, praise be to God! it went off in two or three days.[d]

Dec. 12, 13, and 14 — We made two marches from Bekrām; and after the third, on Thursday the 26th, we encamped on the banks of the river Sind.[e]

Dec. 16. Passes the Sind — On Saturday,[f] the 1st day of the first Rabi, we passed the Sind; and having also crossed the river of Kacheh-kot,[1] halted on its banks. The Begs, paymasters, and Diwāns, who had been placed to superintend the embarkation, brought me the return of the troops who were on the service. Great and small, good and bad, servants and no servants, they amounted to twelve thousand persons.

This year there was a deficiency of rain in the lower

[a] just at the moment when a rhinoceros came out in front of them

[b] face them,

[c] enumerate

[d] *Add* On leaving Bekrām I marched in pelting rain to the bank of the Kābul river, where I halted There I received information from India that Daulat Khan and Ghāzi Khan at the head of an army of twenty or thirty thousand men had conquered Kalānaur and were marching on Lahore. I hurriedly dispatched Mūmin 'Ali *tawāchi* to announce the fact that we were advancing by forced marches and that they must be careful not to engage in battle before our arrival

[e] After two more marches we reached on Thursday, the 28th of the month, the bank of the river Sind, where we encamped

[f] Sunday,

[1] [Kacha kot (mud fort) is another name for the Harru river]

grounds, whereas there had been a sufficient quantity in the highlands. To secure a proper supply of corn, we advanced along the skirts of the hills towards Siālkot [1] On coming opposite to the country of the Gakkers,[a] in the bed of a brook, we found in several places a quantity of standing water. These waters were entirely frozen over Although there was not much of it,[b] the ice was in general a span in thickness. In Hindustān such ice is uncommon. We met with it here ; but, during all the years [2] that I have been in Hindustān, I have in no other instance met with any trace of ice or snow. Proceeds by the route of the hills.

Advancing five marches from the Sind, the sixth brought us close by the hill of Jūd, below the hill of Balināt-jogi,[c 3] on the banks of a river, at the station of Bakiālān,[d] where we encamped Dec 22.

Next morning we halted in the same encampment, for the purpose of allowing the troops to procure grain. That day I drank spirits [4] Mulla Muhammed Pargharı told us a great many stories. I have seldom seen him so talkative. Mulla Shams was generally riotous in his cups, and, when once affected, he continued noisy and troublesome from morning till night. Dec. 23.

The slaves and servants, and men of all descriptions, that had gone to bring in grain, instead of employing themselves in searching for grain,[e] went confusedly and unrestrained over hill, wood, and dingle, making a number of prisoners [f] ; in consequence of which Kichkineh *tunkātār* and some others of our men were cut off.

[a] On reaching the high grounds of the country of the Hāti Gakkars, [b] *Omit this clause*

[c] below the hill of Balināt-jogi which is connected with the hill of Jūd, [d] Bekiāl [e] passed beyond the limits of cultivation and

[f] *Omit this clause*

[1] Siālkot lies on the east of the Chenāb river, below the mountains

[2] This passage must have been written not long before Bābur's death

[3] [Balināth Jogi or Tilla Gorakhnāth is a monastery of the Jogis, situated on an isolated peak of the Tilladanga (3,200 feet) in the head quarters Tahsil of the Jhelum district, about twenty miles west of Jhelum. It is one of the oldest religious institutions in India (*Gaz of the Jhelum Dist*). The Hill of Jūd appears to be another name for Tilladanga]

[4] *Arak.*

Dec. 24. Arrives on the Behāt.

Marching thence, we halted, after passing the river Behāt below Jhelum,[1] by the ford. Wali Kizil, who held the *pergannas* of Bīmragīri and Akerbādehpūr, and who had been ordered to assist in the defence of Siālkot, arrived and waited on me at this place. I was displeased, and chided him for not remaining in Siālkot.[2] He excused himself by informing me, that he had left it in order to repair to his *pergannā*, and that Khosrou Gokultāsh, on leaving Siālkot had given him no intimation of his intention. I listened to his excuse, but asked him, 'As you did not remain in Siālkot to defend it, why did you not repair to Lahore, and join the rest of the Begs?' He had no good answer to make; but as we were near about entering upon action, I overlooked his offence. From this encampment I sent forward Syed Tufān and Syed Sachīn,[a] giving each of them a spare horse, with directions to push on with all speed to Lahore, and to enjoin our troops in that city not to fight, but to form a junction with me at Siālkot or Parsrūr.[3] The general report was that Ghāzi Khan had collected an army of thirty or forty thousand men; that Doulet Khan, old as he was, had buckled on two swords;[4] and that they would certainly try the fate of a battle. I recollected the proverb which says, Ten friends are better than nine. That no advantage might be lost, I judged it most advisable, before fighting, to form a junction with the detachment of my army that was

[a] Lachīn,

[1] [Jhelum, the head-quarters of a district of the same name in the Panjāb, is situated on the right bank of the Jhelum river. A few miles down the river lies Jelālpūr, the reputed site of Alexander's Bucephala.]

[2] [Siālkot is now the head-quarters of the district of the same name in the Panjāb. It is situated on the Chenāb, 72 miles north of Lahore and some 50 miles south-east of Jhelum. It is a town of great antiquity, and is identified by some authorities with the ancient Sākala. It contains the shrine of the celebrated Bāba Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion. It is now a large cantonment and a flourishing trade centre.]

[3] [Pasrūr is the head-quarters of a Tahsīl of the same name in the Siālkot district, Panjāb, situated eighteen miles south of Siālkot town. It used to be a place of considerable importance on the road between Siālkot and Kālānaur.]

[4] [This was to intimate that he was prepared to fight to the death.]

in Lahore. I therefore sent on messengers with instructions to the Amirs, and at the second march reached the banks of the river Chenāb, where I encamped. I rode on towards Bahlūlpūr,[1] which is an imperial domain, and surveyed it on every side. Its castle stands on the banks of the Chenāb, upon an elevated ravine. It pleased me extremely, and I formed a plan of transferring the population of Siālkot to this place. God willing, as soon as I find leisure I will complete my project. I returned from Bahlūlpūr to the camp in a boat, and had a party, some drank *arak*,[2] some *būzeh*, and some took maajūn. I landed from the boat about bed-time prayers, and we drank a little in my pavilion. I halted one day on the banks of the river to rest our horses.

Reaches the Chenāb Dec 26 Dec 27

Dec 28.

On Friday, the 14th of the first Rabi, we arrived at Siālkot. Every time that I have entered Hindustān, the Jāts and Gujers[3] have regularly poured down in prodigious

Reaches Siālkot Dec 29

[1] [This place, which is marked on sheet 29 of the Indian Atlas, is situated in the north-east corner of the Gujerāt district (Panjāb) on the right bank of the Chenāb (i. e. across the river from Siālkot), and at a distance of fifteen miles from Siālkot and twenty-two from Gujerāt. The *Gujerat District Gazetteer* states that 'in the reign of Bahlol Lodi (1450–88) a tract of country on the right bank of the Chenāb and including part of the Gujerāt district was separated from the Province of Siālkot and formed into an independent charge under the name of Tila Bahlūlpūr.' The old district of Bahlūlpūr included portions of Gujerāt, Siālkot, and Jammu.]

[2] The name *arak* is applied to any spirituous distilled liquor. The *būzeh* is a liquor like ale, brewed from millet or other grain, it is said to be bitter and ill tasted, and is very heady.

[3] [The vexed question as to the origin of the Jāts and Gujars still awaits solution. By some authorities the Jāts are considered a degraded type of Rājpūts and classed as Indo-Aryans, while according to others they belong to the Scytho (White Hun)-Dravidian branch, and entered India with the Gujars in the fifth century A. D. The total number of Jāts in Northern India is said to exceed seven millions. They form a considerable proportion of the population in the Punjāb, Rājpūtāna, and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces, and are also widely scattered over Kashmīr, North-west Frontier Province, Central Provinces, Sinde, Belūchistān, and Bombay. In the Panjāb they include both Sikhs and Muslims. In Rājpūtāna they are mostly Hindus, and in Sind and Beluchistan Mohammedans. They speak the local language where they are found, as Rājasthāni in Rājpūtāna and Panjābi or Lahndi in the Pānjab. They seem originally to have occupied the valley of the

numbers, from their hills and wilds,[a] in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes. These were the wretches that really inflicted the chief hardships, and were guilty of the severest oppression on the country. These districts, in former times, had been in a state of revolt, and yielded very little revenue that could be come at.[b] On the present occasion, when I had reduced the whole of the neighbouring districts to subjection, they began to repeat their practices. As my poor people were on their way from Siālkot to the camp, hungry and naked, indigent and in distress, they were fallen upon by the road with loud shouts and plundered.[1] I sought out the persons guilty of this outrage, discovered them, and ordered two or three of the number to be cut in pieces.[c]

Receives news of the defeat of Ālim Khan.

At this same station a merchant arrived, who brought us the news of the defeat of Ālim Khan by Sultan Ibrahīm. The particulars are as follows. Ālim Khan,[2] after taking leave of me, had marched forward in spite of the scorching

[a] plains, [b] and so were not very well organized

[c] *Add* While I was at Siālkot I dispatched Shāham and Nūr Beg to the Begs at Lahore enjoining them to ascertain the position of the enemy, and when they had found out from some one well acquainted with the country at what place they could join me, to send me information about it

Indus and formed the bulk of the population at the time of the Mohammedan conquest of Sind (A D 712) They had the audacity to attack Mahmūd of Ghazni on his return from Somnāth, and his last expedition (A D 1026) was undertaken to chastise them. It is not till the decay of the Moghul Empire that they again appear in history One branch which remained Hindu founded the two dynasties which still exist at Bharatpūr and Dholpūr Another section, having adopted the Sikh religion, ultimately made themselves masters of the Panjāb under Ranjīt Singh, and are now represented by the princely houses of Patiāla, Jhind, and Nābha. The Gujars are a Scythic tribe who probably entered India with the White Huns in A D. 452 from the north-west, established a kingdom in Rājpūtāna, and spread southwards in the sixth century. Their ancient capitals were Bhinmal (sixth to seventh centuries) in Rājpūtāna, and Anhilwāra in Gujerāt (746–1295). They founded several petty states in Rājpūtāna, Panjāb, and Gujerāt, but, with a single exception, none of them survived the tenth century They are now a nomad pastoral tribe, and mostly Mohammedan.]

[1] The people alluded to were probably the Tūrki garrison of Siālkot.

[2] Ālim Khan is Alā ed dīn Khan.

heat of the weather, and had reached Lahore, having, without any consideration for those who accompanied him, gone two stages every march. At the very moment that Ālim Khan took leave, all the Sultans and Khans of the Uzbeks had advanced and blockaded Balkh; so that, immediately on his departure for Hindustān, I was obliged to set out for that city. Ālim Khan, on reaching Lahore, insisted with such of my Begs as were in Hindustān, that the Emperor had ordered them to march to his assistance, and that they must accordingly accompany him; that it had been concerted that Ghāzi Khan should likewise join him, and that they were all in conjunction to march upon Delhi and Agra. The Begs answered, that, situated as things were, they could not accompany Ghāzi Khan with any kind of confidence; but that, if he sent to court his younger brother Hāji Khan, with his son, or placed them in Lahore as hostages, their instructions would then leave them at liberty to march along with him, that otherwise they could not; that it was only the other day that Ālim Khan had fought and been defeated by Ghāzi Khan, so that no mutual confidence was to be looked for between them; and that, altogether, it was by no means advisable for Ālim Khan to let Ghāzi Khan accompany him in the expedition. Whatever expostulations of this nature they employed in order to dissuade Ālim Khan from prosecuting his plan, were all ineffectual. He sent his son Sher Khan to confer with Doulet Khan and Ghāzi Khan, and the parties themselves afterwards met Dilāwer Khan,[1] who had been in confinement very recently, and who had escaped from custody and come to Lahore only two or three months before, was likewise associated with them. Mahmūd Khan Khan Jehān,[2] to whom the custody of Lahore [a] had been entrusted, was also pressed into their measures. In a word, it was in the end definitively arranged among them, that Doulet Khan and Ghāzi Khan should take under their orders all the Begs who had been left in Hindustān, and should, at the same time, themselves assume the government of all

Accounts of Ālim Khan's transactions

Ālim Khan forms a league with Ghāzi Khan.

[a] a district of the Lahore Province

[1] Dilāwar Khan was the son of Daulat Khan.

[2] [i.e. son of Khan Jehān.]

the adjacent territories;[1] while Dilāwer Khan and Hāji Khan were to accompany Ālim Khan, and occupy the whole of the country about Delhi and Agra and in that neighbourhood.[a] Ismāel Jilwāni and a number of other Amirs waited on Ālim Khan, and acknowledged him. He now proceeded towards Delhi without delay, by forced marches. On reaching Inderi,[2] Sulcimān Sheikhzādeh came and likewise joined him. The numbers of the confederate army now amounted to thirty or forty thousand men. They laid siege to Delhi, but were unable either to take the place by storm or to reduce it by famine.[b]

Marches against Delhi,

and besieges it

Sultan Ibrahīm, as soon as he heard that they had collected an army, and invaded his dominions, led his troops to oppose them. Having notice of his march as he approached, they raised the siege and advanced to meet him. The confederates concurred in opinion, that if the battle was fought in the daytime, the Afghans, from regard to their reputation with their countrymen, would not flee; but that if the attack was made by night, the night is dark, and no one seeing another, each chief would shift for himself. Resolving, therefore, to attempt a night surprise, they mounted to proceed against the enemy, who were six kos off. Twice did they mount their horses at noon, and continue mounted till the second or third watch of the night, without going either back or forward, not being able to come to a resolution, or agree among themselves. The third time they set out for their surprise, when only one watch of the night remained. Their plan was for the party merely to set fire to the tents and pavilions, and to attempt nothing farther. They accordingly advanced and set fire to the tents during the last watch of the night, at the same time shouting the war-cry. Jalāl Khan Jighet, and several other Amirs, came over, and acknowledged Ālim Khan. Sultan Ibrahīm, attended by a body of men composed of his own tribe and family, did not move from the royal pavilion, but continued steady in the same place till morning. By this time, the

Surprises the camp of Sultan Ibrahīm,

[a] *Omit* and in that neighbourhood.

[b] to cause any serious injury to its defenders

[1] That is, in the Panjāb, or near Lahore.

[2] [Inderi is a village in the Karnāl district (Panjāb), fifteen miles north of Karnāl town.]

troops who accompanied Ālim Khan were dispersed, being busy plundering and pillaging. Sultan Ibrahīm's troops perceived that the enemy were not in great force, and immediately moved forward from the station which they had kept, though very few in number, and having only a single elephant, but no sooner had the elephant come up, than Ālim Khan's men took to flight, without attempting to keep their ground In the course of his flight, Ālim Khan crossed over to the Doāb side of the river, and again re-crossed it towards Panipat, on reaching which place he contrived by a stratagem to get three or four *laks*[1] from Miān Suleimān,[2] and went on his way. Ismāel Jilwāni, Bīban, and Jalāl Khan, the eldest son of Ālim Khan, separating from him, betook themselves to the Doāb. A small part of the army which Ālim Khan had collected, such as Seif ed dīn,[a] Daryā Khan, Mahmūd Khan Khan Jehān, Sheikh Jamāl Fermūli, and some others, deserted before the battle and joined Ibrahīm. Ālim Khan and Dilāwer Khan, with Hāji Khan, after passing Sirhind, heard of my approach, and that I had taken Milwat; whereupon Dilāwer Khan, who had always been attached to my interests, and had been detained three or four months in prison on my account, separated from the others, came on by way of Sultānpūr[3] and Kochi,[4] and waited upon me in the neighbourhood of Milwat, three or four days after the taking of that town. Ālim Khan and Hāji Khan having passed the river Satlej, at length reached Gingūteh,[5] the name of a strong castle in the hills between Dūn and the plain, and threw themselves into it. One of my detach-

but is defeated.

[a] Seif Khan,

[1] £750 or £1,000, but perhaps they were *laks* of rupees [in which case the sum extorted would amount to £30,000 or £40,000]

[2] Probably a rich *shroff* or banker

[3] [Sultānpūr is a town in the state of Kapūrthala, sixteen miles south of Kapūrthala town Founded in the eleventh century by Sultan Khan Lodi, it was once a place of note and lay on the great highway between Lahore and Delhi]

[4] [Perhaps Kanja, a Mohammedan Jāt village in the Jalandhar district on the Hoshiārpūr border (*Gazetteer, Jalandhar District*)]

[5] [This may be Gangot, in the Kangra district, on the Hoshiārpūr border near Bahriwam (*Gazetteer, Hoshiārpūr District*)]

ments, consisting of Afghans and Hazāras, happening to come up, blockaded them, and had nearly succeeded in taking the castle, strong as it was, being only prevented by the approach of night. These noblemen then made an attempt to leave it, but some of their horses having fallen in the gateway, they could not get out. Some elephants that were along with them were pushed forward, and trampled upon and killed a number of the horses. Although unable to escape on horseback, they left the place during a dark night on foot, and after incredible sufferings, joined Ghāzi Khan, who, in the course of his flight, finding that he could not get refuge in Mālwat, had directed his course towards the hills, where they met. Ghāzi Khan did not give Ālim Khan a very friendly reception, which induced him to wait on me, below Dūn, in the neighbourhood of Pelhūr, where he came and tendered me his allegiance. While I was at Siālkot, some of the troops [a] whom I had left in Lahore arrived to inform me, that they would all be up by the morning.

Dec 30. Bābur reaches Parsrūr.

Next morning I marched, and halted at Parsrūr, where Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Khwājeh Hussain, and some others,[1] accordingly came and waited on me. As the enemy's camp was on the banks of the Rāvi,[2] towards Lahore, I sent out Bujkeh with his party to reconnoitre and bring in intelligence. About the end of the third watch of the night they came back with information that the enemy, immediately on getting notice of their approach, had fled away in consternation, every man shifting for himself.

Dec. 31.

On the following morning, leaving Shah Mīr Hussain,[b] and some other officers, to guard the camp and baggage, I separated from them, and pushed on with all possible speed. We reached Kalanūr about the middle of afternoon prayers, and halted. Muhammed Sultān Mirza, Ādil Sultān, and the other Amirs, came here and waited on me.

[a] one of those

[b] *Add* and Jān Beg,

[1] These noblemen had been left with a body of troops to defend the Panjāb.

[2] The Rāvi, or Hydraotes, which is the middle river of the five that compose the Panjāb, is the river on which Lahore stands

Marching before daybreak from Kālanūr,[1] we discovered on the road certain traces[a] that Ghāzi Khan and the fugitives were not far off. Muhammedi and Ahmedi,[b] with several of the Begs about my person, whom I had recently at Kābul promoted to the rank of Beg, were detached to pursue the fugitives, without halting. Their orders were, that, if they could overtake the flying enemy, it was well; but, if not, that they should carefully guard every approach and issue of the fort of Milwat, that the garrison might not be able to effect their escape. Ghāzi Khan was the object that I principally aimed at in these instructions. Having sent forward this detachment under the Begs, we crossed the river Biās opposite to Kanwāhīn,[2] and there halted. From thence, after three marches, we encamped in the mouth of the valley in which lies the fort of Milwat.[3] The Begs, who had arrived before us, and the Amirs of Hindustān, were directed to encamp and lay close siege to the fort. Ismāel Khan, who was Doulet Khan's grandson (being the son of Ali Khan, Doulet Khan's eldest son), having arrived in our quarters, was sent into the fort to offer terms of capitulation, and with a message in which we mingled promises and threats. On Friday I made the camp advance, and take ground half a kos nearer. I myself went out, reconnoitred the fort, and after having assigned to the right and left wing, and to the centre, their respective stations, returned back to the camp.

Jan 1, 1526

Crosses the Biās.

Jan 2, 3, and 4

Blockades Milwat,

Jan. 5.

Doulet Khan now sent a person to inform me, that Ghāzi Khan had escaped and fled to the hills; but that if I would

which is surrendered by Doulet Khan,

[a] news [b] *Idd* and Kutlūk Kadam,

[1] [Kalānaur is a town in the Gurdāspūr district (Panjāb), fifteen miles west of Gurdāspūr town. It was here that Akbar received the news of his father's death, and had himself enthroned on a mound still to be seen outside the town.]

[2] [This place is not marked on any map, but it is referred to in the *Ayīn i Akbarī* as being included in the Batāla Sarkār of the Bāri Duāb. Batāla is now the head-quarters of the Batāla Tahsīl, Gurdāspūr district (Panjāb), twenty-four miles north-east of Amritsar.]

[3] [Malot is an ancient fortress, now in ruins, in the head-quarters Tahsīl of the Hoshiārpūr district (Panjāb). It was founded in the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi (1451–89).]

excuse his own offences, he would come as a slave [a] and deliver up the place. I therefore sent Khwājeh Mīr Mīrān to confirm him in his resolution, and to bring him out. His son Ali Khan accompanied that officer.[b] In order to expose the rudeness and stupidity of the old man,[c] I directed him to take care that Doulet Khan should come out with the same two swords hung round his neck, which he had hung by his side to meet me in combat. When matters had come this length,[d] he still contrived frivolous pretexts for delay, but was at length brought out. I ordered the two swords to be taken from his neck. When he came to offer me his obeisance, he affected delays in bowing; I directed them to push his leg and make him bow. I then made him sit down before me, and desired a man who understood the Hindustāni language to explain to him what I said, sentence by sentence, in order to reassure him [e]; and to tell him, 'I called you Father: I showed you more respect and reverence than you could have desired or expected. I delivered you and your sons from the insults of [f] the Balūches. I delivered your tribe, your family, and women, from the bondage of Ibrahīm. The countries held by Tātār Khan [1] to the amount of three *krors*,[2] I bestowed on you. What evil have I ever done you, that you should come in this style against me, with these two swords by your side: and, attended by an army, stir up tumult and confusion in my

who waits upon Bâbur

[a] make his submission

[b] Having fulfilled his mission that officer returned in company with Daulat Khan and his son Ali Khan

[c] *Omit this clause*

[d] *Add* this man was so stupid and rude that

[e] and in such a way as to impress it well on his mind,

[f] beggary among

[1] [Tātār Khan was Daulat Khan's father.]

[2] About £75,000 sterling. The emperors of Hindustān, from a love of pomp and show, have always used large numbers in reckoning their revenues and in bestowing presents. Their revenue accounts were kept in *dāms*, of which forty go to a rupee. Hence their *laks* and *krors* sink into a very small compass, when reduced to English money, and the revenue of very extensive tracts of country will frequently be found inferior to the rents of an English gentleman's estate.

territories ?' The man, being stupefied, stammered out a few words not at all to the purpose ; and, indeed, what could he say in answer to such confounding truths ? It was settled that he and his family should retain their authority in their own tribes, and possession of their villages, but that all the rest of their property should be sequestrated.[a] They were directed to encamp close by Khwājeh Mīr Mīrān.

On Saturday, the 22nd of the first Rabi, to ensure their good treatment while they were bringing out their dependants and families, I myself went and took my station on a rising ground opposite to the gate of Milwat. Ali Khan came up and presented me with a few *ashrafis* as a *peshkesh*. Towards afternoon prayers they began to remove their dependants and women. [b]Abdal-azīz and Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Kutlūk Kadem, Muhammedi, and Ahmedi, with several other of the Begs about my person, were directed to enter the fort, and to take possession of and secure their treasures, and all their property. Although Ghāzi Khan was said to have left the place and fled, yet some reported that they had seen him within the fort. On this account I placed several of my trusty officers and servants at the gate, with orders to examine every person and place of which [c] they had the least suspicion, that Ghāzi Khan might not escape by any artifice, as now my grand object was to make him prisoner. They had also orders to seize any jewels or precious stones that might be attempted to be secretly conveyed out of the town.[d] The troops made a great riot at the gate of the fort, which obliged me to discharge a few arrows to check their turbulence ; a chance shot struck Humāiūn's reader, who expired on the spot. After remaining on the hillock for two nights, on Monday I entered and surveyed the fort. I examined Ghāzi Khan's library, and found in it a number of valuable books. Some

Jan. 6

Jan 8.

[a] It was decided that he and his family should retain full authority over the members of their households and their womenfolk, but that all their chattels should be sequestrated

[b] *Add* At dawn of day Sultan Juned,

N B *This sentence occurs after the words* passed the night there *lower down* (d)

[c] of whom

[d] *Add* I had pitched my tent on a hillock opposite the gate and passed the night there.

of them I gave to Humâiûn, and some I sent to Kâmrân. There was also a number of theological books, but I did not, on the whole, find so many books of value as, from their appearance, I had expected.

I stayed in the fort all night, and next morning returned to the camp. We had been mistaken in imagining that Ghâzi Khan was in the fort. That traitorous coward had fled, and escaped to the hills with a small number of followers, leaving his father, his elder and younger brothers, his mother, his elder and younger sisters, in Milwat:

(*Persian*)—Observe that faithless man, for never
Shall he see the face of good fortune,
He takes care of his own comforts,
Yet leaves his wife and children in misery [1]

Jan. 10. On Wednesday I marched thence towards the hill to which Ghâzi Khan had fled. After advancing one kos from the station at the gorge of Milwat, we halted in a valley. It was here that Dilâwer Khan came and tendered his allegiance. Doulet Khan and Ali Khan, with Ismâel Khan and some other leading men, were delivered as prisoners to Kitteh, to be carried to the fort of Milwat,[2] in Behreh, there to be detained in custody. The rest were delivered to various persons for the purpose of levying contributions on them, and their ransoms were fixed after Dilâwer Khan's opinion had been taken. Several were liberated on securities; several were committed to prison and close custody. Kitteh set out with the prisoners. He had reached Sultânpûr when Doulet Khan died. I gave the fort of Milwat to Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, who left his elder brother Arghûn in the place, on his part, with a body of troops. About two hundred or two hundred and fifty Hazâras and Afghans were also left to assist in the defence of the fort.

Death of Doulet Khan.

Khwâjeh Kalân had loaded some camels with the wines of Ghazni, and brought them to the camp. His quarters were on a high ground that overlooked the fort and camp. We

[1] From the *Gulistân* of Sadi [chap. i, story 17]

[2] [This is the Malot in the Jhelum district sixteen miles north-west of Pindâdan Khan, remarkable for its fort and fine Buddhist temple. It was the ancestral village of the Janjûa clan, and is identified by Cunningham with Singhapûra, the ancient capital of the Salt Range.]

had a party there in which some drank wine and others spirits. It was a rare party.

Bābur reaches Dūn

Marching thence, and passing the small hills of Ab-kend by Milwat,[a] we reached Dūn. In the language of Hindustān, they call a *julga* (or dale), *dūn*.[1] The finest running water [2] in Hindustān is that in this Dūn. There are many villages around the Dūn, which was a *perganna* of the Jaswāl, who were the maternal uncles of Dilāwer Khan. This Dūn is a very pleasant dale, and there are meadows all along the stream. In several places they sow rice. Through the middle of it runs a stream large enough to turn three or four mills. The width of the dale is one or two kos; in some places it is even three kos. Its hills are very small, like hillocks, and all its villages stand on the skirts of these hillocks. Where there are no villages, there are numbers of peacocks and monkeys. There are also many fowls resembling barn-door fowls: they resemble them in shape,[b] but are generally of a single colour.[3]

Description of Dūn.

As we could nowhere get any certain intelligence of Ghāzi Khan, I sent Tardīkeh with Bīrim Deo Malinhat,[c] with orders to pursue him wherever he might go; to engage him, and bring him back a prisoner. In the country composed of small hills, that has been mentioned as lying around the Dūn, there are some wonderfully strong castles. To the north-east is a castle called Kūtila.[4] It is surrounded by [d] a rock seventy or eighty gaz in perpendicular height. At

Of Kūtila.

[a] and crossing one of the mountains of Milwat which is completely scarred with deep ravines,

[b] *Omit this clause.* [c] Milhas, [d] perched on

[1] [This is the Jaswān or Una Dūn, a fertile valley in the Hoshiārpūr district, from four to eight miles in breadth, situated between the Sola Singhi range of the outer Himalayas and the Katār Dhār ridge of the Sivaliks. It is traversed throughout its length by the Sohān river.]

[2] *Āb i rawān*—running water, is said to be used in Persian for a canal or aqueduct. It may, however, mean a stream of water; and the expression, the *only* āb i rawān, probably may mean, *one of the few* āb i rawāns, or *the finest* of them. The expression again recurs

[3] [The Red Jungle fowl (*Gallus ferrugineus*)]

[4] [This may be Kotlair in the south-west corner of the Kangra district (Hamīrpūr Tahsīl), on the Hoshiārpūr border.]

its chief gate, for the space of about seven or eight gaz, there is a place that admits of a drawbridge being thrown across. It may be ten or twelve gaz wide.[a] The bridge is composed of two long planks, by which their horses and flocks pass out and in. This was one of the forts of the hill-country, which Ghāzi Khan had put into a state of defence and garrisoned. The detachment that had been pushed on attacked the place vigorously, and had nearly taken it, when night came on. The garrison then abandoned the castle and fled away. Near the Dūn is another strong castle called the Fort of Gingūteh, the country around which is all hilly,[b] but it is not so strong as the former. Ālim Khan, in his flight, had thrown himself into this fort, as has been already mentioned.

Bābur resolves to attack Delhi

After sending a detachment in pursuit of Ghāzi Khan, I placed my foot in the stirrup of resolution, and my hand on the reins of confidence-in-God, and marched against Sultan Ibrahīm, the son of Sultan Iskander, the son of Sultan Bahlol Lodi Afghan, in whose possession the throne of Delhi and the dominions of Hindustān at that time were; whose army in the field was said to amount to a hundred thousand men, and who, including those of his Amirs, had nearly a thousand elephants. After one march I bestowed Debālpūr[1] on Bāki Shaghāwel, and sent him to reinforce Balkh. I sent a great part of the gold and effects found in the fort of Milwat, to strengthen my interest in Balkh, and to Kābul as presents to my relations and friends, and to my children and dependants.[c]

[a] [height], except near the gate where it is only seven or eight yards high It is entered by a drawbridge thrown across the moat, which is twelve yards wide.

[b] which was also built over a steep precipice,

[c] I sent him a large sum of money to advance my interests in Balkh, and I made a deduction from the spoils of Milwat to send rich gifts for those of my relations and children, big or little, who were in Kābul

[1] [Dipālpūr is a small town in the Dipālpūr Tahsīl of the Montgomery district (Panjāb) about forty miles south-west of Lahore It is situated on the old bank of the Beās, and the decay of the town may be attributed to the shifting of that river. It is best known as one of the frontier fortresses which defended the Delhi kingdom from Mongol inroads in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Bābur stormed it in 1524]

A march or two below Dūn, Shah Imād Shirāzi came with letters from Arāish Khan and Mulla Muhammed Mazhab,[1] containing assurances of their attachment to my interest, and urging me to continue resolutely the expedition I had commenced. I wrote them in return, to assure them of my protection and favour; and having dispatched the letters by a messenger on foot, continued my route. The detachment which had proceeded into Milwat,[a] advanced against Harūr, Kahlūr,[2] and the forts in that part of the country, among which, from the natural strength of the ground, no enemy had penetrated for a long time before, took the whole of them, and returned and joined me, after having plundered the inhabitants of the district. It was at this time that Ālim Khan, being reduced to great distress, came naked,[b] and on foot, to meet me. I directed several Begs and some noblemen of my court to go out to receive him, and also sent him some horses. He waited upon me in this neighbourhood, and made his submission.[3]

A detachment was sent out among the hills and valleys in this vicinity, but returned after being out a night or two, without having met with anything of value. Shah Mīr Hussain, and Jān Beg, with some other of my people, asked permission to go on a foray, which I granted, and they went off

While I was in Dūn, two or three letters had come from

[a] parted from me at Milwat, [b] stripped bare,

[1] These were lords of Ibrahīm's court.

[2] [Kahlūr is another name for Bilāspūr, capital of the Simla Hill State of the same name, situated on the left bank of the Satlaj Harūr was probably a fort in the same range of hills, but I have not been able to identify it]

[3] From this time forward there seems to have been an end to Ālim or Alā ed dīn Khan's pretensions to the throne of Delhi [He had the nominal command of a part of Bābur's army at the battle with Ibrahīm (A. D 1526) and also led a division in the battle of Kānwā against Rāna Sanga (A. D. 1527) But Bābur, finding his pretensions inconvenient, had him confined in the fort of Kila Zafar in Badakhshān From this custody he escaped, and passing through Sind took refuge with Bahādur Shah, King of Gujerāt. Here he was met by his son Tātār Khan. They were well received, and were subsequently supported by Bahādur in an attempt to expel Bābur's son, Humāyūn, from Agra.—*E.B.*, p 431]

Ismāel Jilwānı and Bībanı [1] I sent them gracious answers from this place, to retain them in their favourable sentiments.[a]

After marching from Dūn we came to Rūpar [2] While we stayed at Rūpar, it rained incessantly, and was so extremely cold, that many of the starving and hungry Hindustānis died. After marching from Rūpar, we had halted at Kernl, opposite to Sirhind,[3] when a Hindustānı presented himself, assuming the style of an ambassador from Sultan Ibrahīm. Though he had no letters or credentials, yet as he requested that one of my people might accompany him back as my ambassador, I accordingly did send back a *sawādı tunketār* [b 4] along with him. These poor men had no sooner arrived in Ibrahīm's camp than he ordered them both to be thrown into prison. The very day that we defeated Ibrahīm, the *sawādı* was set at liberty, and waited on me.

Arrives near Sirhind

[a] in fulfilment of their requests

[b] one or two *sawādıs* of my bodyguard

[1] These were also noblemen of great rank and power among the Afghans in Hindustān

[2] [Rūpar, the head quarters of a subdivision of the Ambāla district, is situated at a point where the Satlaj issues from the hills, and is a place of considerable commercial importance The head works of the great Sirhind Canal are situated here It was the scene of the celebrated meeting between Lord William Bentinck and Ranjīt Singh in 1831]

[3] Sehrind or Sirhind, is situated in latitude 30° 26′ and longitude 76° 30′ It has been a place of great importance, and is still a striking scene though quite deserted It is a very compact town, six miles round, built with brick, and paved with the same material The houses are now unroofed, but the walls all standing The city contains a fort, now in ruins, a fine stone mosque, and many other handsome tombs and places of worship The east of the city is covered by a lake, over which are two handsome bridges On the other sides it is encircled by extensive and beautiful groves of mangoes, and altogether presents a very grand and pleasing spectacle There is a ruined garden and palace near the town, which in splendour yields to no garden in India, except the Shālimār at Lahore [Sirhind, a town in the Sirhind Tahsīl of the Patiāla State (Panjāb), has now a population of 5,500 Owing to its strategic position it was one of the most important strongholds of the Mughal Empire]

[4] The office of the *tunketār* is not well ascertained He seems to have been a confidential servant, perhaps connected with the *ten*, or private treasury [In modern Persian *sawādı* or *ahl ı sawād* means literate or educated The term *tunketār* P de C translates by 'night guard']

After two marches more, we halted on the banks of the stream of Banūr[1] and Sanūr.[2] This is a running water, of which there are few in Hindustān, except large rivers. They call it the stream of Kagar.[3] Chiter stands on its banks. We rode up this stream to view the country. Three or four kos above Chiter, it comes flowing down from a number of little springs. Higher up than the stream by which we had ridden,[a] there issues from an open valley a rivulet fit to turn four or five mills. It is an extremely beautiful and delightful place, with a charming climate. On the banks of this rivulet, where it issues from the spreading valley, I directed a Chār-bāgh (or large garden) to be laid out. The rivulet, after reaching the plain, goes on for a kos or two, and falls into the first-mentioned river. The place where the stream of Kagar issues, and is formed from the junction of the small springs that have been mentioned, may be three or four kos higher up than the place where this rivulet falls into it. During the rainy season, the water of the rivulet, swelling extremely, flows down united with the stream of the Kagar, to Samāneh[4] and Sanām. At this station we had information that Sultan Ibrahīm, who lay on this side of Delhi, was

Hears of Sultan Ibrahīm's approach

[a] As we went up the river,

[1] [Banūr is the head-quarters of a Tahsīl of the same name in the Patiāla State (Panjāb), ten miles north-east of Rajpūra Its ruins testify to its former importance Its ancient name was Push-pawati or 'City of Flowers', so-called on account of the jasmine scent, which was its chief industry, now all but disappeared]

[2] [A town in the Patiāla State (Panjāb) situated four miles south-east of Patiāla town In the reign of Bābur, Malik Bahā ud dīn Khokar became chief of Sanūr, and of eighty-four circumjacent villages, whence the district was known as Chaurāsi]

[3] [The Ghagar river rises in Sirmūr and passing close to Ambāla flows through Patiāla and Hissār and finally loses itself in the Bikanīr desert near Bhatner It is not a perennial stream.]

[4] [Samāna is a town in the Bhawāni-garh Tahsīl of the Patiāla State (Panjāb), about seventeen miles south-west of Patiāla town It is a place of great antiquity, and is frequently mentioned in Muhammedan histories as a fief of Delhi. It surrendered to Muhammed Ghori after his defeat of Prithvi Raja in 1192. Sanām is the head-quarters of the Tahsīl of the same name in the Patiāla State, forty-three miles south-west of Patiāla town Though now of little importance it played a memorable part in the history of the Panjāb after the Muhammedan invasion.]

A D 1526 advancing, and that the Shikdār of Hissār-Firozeh,[1] Hamīd Khan, *khāsch-khail*, had also advanced ten or fifteen kos towards us with the army of Hissār-Firozeh, and of the neighbouring districts. I sent on Kitteh Beg towards Ibrahīm's camp to procure intelligence, and dispatched Mūmin Atkeh towards the army of Hissār-Firozeh to get notice of its motions.

Feb 25. On Sunday, the 13th of the first Jumāda, I marched from Ambāla,[2] and had halted on the margin of a tank, when Mūmin Atkeh and Kitteh Beg both returned on the same day. The command of the whole right wing I gave to Humāyūn, who was accompanied by Khwājeh Kalān, Sultan Muhammed Duldāi, Wali Khāzin, with some of the Begs who had stayed in Hindustān, such as Khosrou, Hindu Beg, Abdal-azīz, and Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng. I also strengthened this force by adding to it several of the inferior Begs, and of my immediate dependants from the centre, such as Mansūr Birlās, Kitteh Beg, Muhibb Ali, with a large body of troops, and directed him to march against Hamīd Khan. It was at this station, too, that Bīban came and made his submission. These Afghans are provokingly rude and stupid.[a] Although Dilāwer Khan, who was his superior, both in the number of his retainers and in rank, did not sit in the presence, and although the sons of Ālim Khan stood, though they were princes,[3] this man asked to be allowed to sit, and expected me to listen to his unreasonable demand.

Detaches Humāyun towards Hissār-Firozeh

[a] tactless.

[1] The Shikdār is a military collector of the revenue, and has often the chief authority in a district [Hissār, the head-quarters of the district of the same name (Panjāb), was founded in 1356 by Firoz Shah Tughlak, whence its name Firozah It was occupied by an Imperial garrison at the time of Bābur's invasion In later days it became remarkable as the head-quarters of the celebrated knight errant, George Thomas, who took possession of it in 1783]

[2] Ambāla is a small town, with a handsome tank The houses are mostly two stories high, more regular than is usual in India; the streets are well paved with brick, and very clean On the whole, it is probably the neatest town in India [Ambāla is the head-quarters of the district of the same name (Panjāb), now chiefly important as one of the largest cantonments in India It was of little importance in early days]

[3] It will be recollected, that Ālim Khan, or Alā ed dīn, was a brother of Sultan Ibrahīm, the reigning emperor.

Next morning, being Monday the 14th, Humāiūn set out with his light force to attack Hamīd Khan by surprise. Humāiūn dispatched on before him a hundred or a hundred and fifty select men, by way of advanced guard. On coming near the enemy, this advanced body went close up to them, hung upon their flanks,[a] and had one or two rencounters, when the troops of Humāiūn appeared in sight following them. No sooner were they perceived than the enemy took to flight. Our troops brought down one hundred or two hundred of their men, cut off the heads of the one half, and brought the other half alive into the camp, along with seven or eight elephants. Beg Mīrak Moghul brought the news of this victory of Humāiūn to the camp at this station on Friday, the 18th of the month. On the spot, I directed a complete dress of honour, a horse from my own stable, with a reward in money, to be given to him.

Feb 26. Humāiūn defeats Hamīd Khan

March 2

On Monday the 21st, Humāiūn reached the camp that was still at the same station, with a hundred prisoners, and seven or eight elephants, and waited on me. I ordered Ustād Alı Kuli and the matchlockmen to shoot all the prisoners as an example. This was Humāiūn's first expedition, and the first service he had seen. It was a very good omen. Some light troops having followed the fugitives, took Hissār-Firozeh the moment they reached it, and returned after plundering it. Hissār-Firozeh, which, with its dependencies and subordinate districts, yielded a *kror*,[1] I bestowed on Humāiūn, with a *kror* in money as a present.

March 5

Hissār-Firozeh taken.

Marching from that station, we reached Shahābād.[2] I sent fit persons[b] towards Sultan Ibrahīm's camp to procure intelligence, and halted several days in this station From this place also I dispatched Rahmet Piādeh to Kābul, with letters announcing my victory.

Halts at Shahābād

(At this same station, and this same day, the razor, or scissors, were first applied to Humāiūn's beard.[3] As my

Humāiūn's note on the Memoirs.

[a] *Omit this clause*

[b] emissaries

[1] About £25,000 sterling

[2] [Shahābād is a town in the Thanesar Tahsīl of the Karnāl district (Panjāb), sixteen miles south of Ambāla]

[3] [This sentence was apparently written by Bābur, and the rest of the parenthesis by Humāyūn, his son.]

honoured father mentions in these commentaries the time of his first using the razor, in humble emulation of him, I have commemorated the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I, Muhammed Humāiūn, am transcribing a copy of these Memoirs from the copy in his late Majesty's own handwriting.[a])[1]

March 12 In this station, on Monday the 28th of the first Jumāda, the sun entered Aries; we now began also to receive repeated information from Ibrahīm's camp, that he was advancing slowly by a kos or two at a time, and halting two or three days at each station. I, on my side, likewise moved on to meet him, and after the second march from Shahābād, encamped on the banks of the Jumna,[2] opposite to Sirsāweh [b]

Bābur encamps near Sirsāweh Haider Kuli, a servant of Khwājeh Kalān, was sent out to procure intelligence. I crossed the Jumna by a ford, and went to see Sirsāweh That same day I took a maajūn. At Sirsāweh there is a fountain, from which a small stream flows. It is rather a pretty place. Terdi Beg Khaksār praised it highly. I said, 'Yours be it'; and in consequence of these praises, I bestowed it on Terdi Beg Khaksār. Having raised an awning [c] in a boat, we sometimes sailed about on the broad stream of the river, and sometimes entered the creeks in the boat [d]

From this station we held down the river for two marches, keeping close along its banks, when Haider Kuli, who had been sent out to collect intelligence, returned, bringing information that Daūd Khan and Hātim Khan had been

[a] *The sentence* At the station heard *is given as part of Bābur's Journal, and Humāyūn's note consists of the sentence* I was then eighteen and the current year is 961 (1553–4).

[b] *Omit* opposite to Sirsāweh [c] couch

[d] I went about sometimes with the aid of the boat and sometimes without using it (i. e. *by land*)

[1] This note of Humāiūn's must have been made about A. D. 1553 during his residence in Kābul, before his last return to Hindustān

[2] This river the Persians call the Jūn It is always so written in the Memoirs

[3] [Sirsāweh is a small town situated in the district of Sahāranpūr on the route between the latter place and Ambāla, ten miles west-north-west of the former]

sent across the river into the Doāb with six or seven thousand [a] horse, and had encamped three or four kos in advance of Ibrahīm's position on the road towards us. On Sunday the 18th of the second Jumāda, I dispatched against this column Chin Taimūr Sultan,[1] Mahdi Khwājeh, Sultan Mirza, Ādil Sultan, with the whole left wing, commanded by Sultan Juneid, Shah Mīr Hūssain, Kūtluk Kadem; as well as part of the centre under Yunis Ali, Abdallah, Ahmedi, and Kitteh Beg, with instructions to advance rapidly and fall upon them by surprise. About noon-day prayers, they crossed the river near our camp, and between afternoon and evening prayers set out from the opposite bank. Next morning, about the time of early prayers,[2] they arrived close upon the enemy, who put themselves in some kind of order, and marched out to meet them; but our troops no sooner came up, than the enemy fled, and were followed in close pursuit, and slaughtered all the way to the limits of Ibrahīm's camp. The detachment took Hātim Khan, Daūd Khan's eldest brother, and one of the generals, with seventy or eighty prisoners, and six or eight elephants, all of which they brought in when they waited on me. Several [b] of the prisoners were put to death, to strike terror into the enemy.

April 1 Attempts to surprise the enemy.

April 2

Marching thence, I arranged the whole army in order of battle,[c] with right and left wing and centre, and after reviewing it, performed the *vīm*.[d][3] The custom of the *vīm* is, that, the whole army being mounted, the commander takes a bow or whip in his hand, and guesses at the number of the army, according to a fashion in use, and in conformity with which they affirm that the army may be so many.[e] The number that I guessed was greater than the army turned out to be.

[The *vīm*]

[a] *Omit* or seven
[b] Most
[c] I reviewed the whole army,
[d] *For* and after reviewing it, performed the *vīm*, *read* each division keeping to its own station
[e] *Omit this sentence*

[1] [The son of Sultan Ahmed, 'the younger Khan']
[2] The *farz* prayers are repeated when there is light enough to distinguish one object from another
[3] [The *vīm* is a march past of troops for purposes of enumeration]

Fortifies his front.

At this station[a] I directed[b] that, according to the custom of Rūm,[1] the gun-carriages should be connected together with twisted bull-hides as with chains. Between every two gun-carriages[2] were six or seven *tūras*[3] or breast-works. The matchlockmen stood behind these guns and *tūras*, and discharged their matchlocks. I halted five or six days in this camp, for the purpose of getting this apparatus arranged. After every part of it was in order and ready, I called together all the Amīrs, and men of any experience and knowledge, and held a general council. It was settled, that as Pānipat was a considerable[c] city, it would cover one of our flanks by its buildings[d] and houses, while we might fortify our front by *tūras*, or covered defences, and cannon, and that the matchlockmen and infantry should be placed in the rear of the guns and *tūras*.[e] With this resolution we moved, and

April 12

Reaches Pānipat.

in two marches, on Thursday, the 30th of the last Jumāda, reached Pānipat.[4] On our right were the town and suburbs. In my front I placed the guns and *tūras* which had been

[a] *Add* I ordered all the soldiers to bring up wagons, each according to his means. Some seven hundred were in this way collected

[b] *Add* Ustād Alī Kulī

[c] *Add* and very populous

[d] suburbs

[e] while the other flank would rest on the line of wagons and palisades behind which the matchlockmen and infantry should be posted.

[1] That is, of the Ottomans.

[2] [For *guns* and *gun-carriages* P. de C reads throughout *wagons*.]

[3] The meaning assigned to *tūra*, here, and in several other places, is merely conjectural, founded on Petis de la Croix's explanation, and on the meaning given by Meninski to *tūr*, viz *reticulatus*. The *tūras* may here have been formed of the branches of trees, interwoven like basketwork, so as to form defences, or they may have been covered defences from arrows and missiles, such as we have seen used in several sieges. [The *tura*, according to P. de C., was a kind of palisade or mantelet.]

[4] [Pānipat, the head-quarters of the Tahsīl of the same name in the Karnāl district (Panjāb), is situated on the Delhi–Kālka Railway, about fifty miles north-west of the former place. It is a town of great antiquity, and was of considerable importance in Muhammedan times. Its chief title to fame is that it was the scene of three of the most decisive battles of northern India, viz. Bābur's defeat of Ibrahīm Lodi (1526), Hemu's defeat by Akbar (1556), and Ahmed Shah's victory over the Mahrattas (1761).]

prepared. On the left, and in different other points, we drew ditches and made defences of the boughs of trees. At the distance of every bowshot, a space was left large enough for a hundred or a hundred and fifty men to issue forth Many of the troops were in great terror and alarm. Trepidation and fear are always unbecoming. Whatsoever Almighty God has decreed from all eternity, cannot be reversed, though, at the same time, I cannot greatly blame them, they had some reason, for they had come two or three months' journey from their own country, we had to engage in arms a strange nation, whose language we did not understand, and who did not understand ours,

(*Persian*)—We are all in difficulty, all in distraction,
Surrounded by a people, by a strange people

Misconduct of the enemy.

The army of the enemy opposed to us was estimated at one hundred thousand men, the elephants of the emperor and his officers were said to amount to nearly a thousand. He possessed the accumulated treasures of his father and grandfather, in current coin, ready for use. It is an usage in Hindustān, in situations similar to that in which the enemy now were, to expend sums of money in bringing together troops who engage to serve for hire. These men are called *bedhindi*. Had he chosen to adopt this plan, he might have engaged one or two hundred thousand more troops. But God Almighty directed everything for the best. He had not the heart to satisfy even his own army, and would not part with any of his treasure. Indeed, how was it possible that he should satisfy his troops, when he was himself miserly to the last degree, and beyond measure avaricious in accumulating pelf? He was a young man of no experience. He was negligent in all his movements; he marched without order; retired or halted without plan, and engaged in battle without foresight. While the troops were fortifying their position in Pānipat and its vicinity, with guns,[a] branches of trees, and ditches, Derwīsh Muhammed Sarbān said to me, 'You have fortified our ground in such a way that it is not possible he should ever think of coming here.' I answered, 'You judge of him by the Khans

[a] wagons,

and Sultans of the Uzbeks. It is true that, the year in which we left Samarkand and came to Hissâr, a body of the Uzbek Khans and Sultans having collected and united together, set out from Derbend [1] in order to fall upon us. I brought the families and property of all the Moghuls and soldiers into the town and suburbs, and closing up all the streets, put them in a defensible state. As these Khans and Sultans were perfectly versed in the proper times and seasons for attacking and retiring, they perceived that we were resolved to defend Hissâr to the last drop of our blood, and had fortified it under that idea; and seeing no hopes of succeeding in their enterprise, fell back by Bundak Cheghânîân [a] But you must not judge of our present enemies by those who were then opposed to us. They have not ability to discriminate when it is proper to advance and when to retreat.' [b] God brought everything to pass favourably. It happened as I foretold. During the seven or eight days that we remained in Pânipat, a very small party of my men, advancing close up to their encampment and to their vastly superior force, discharged arrows upon them.[c] They did not, however, move, or make any demonstration of sallying out. At length, induced by the persuasions of some Hindustânî Amîrs, in my interest, I sent Mahdî Khwâjeh, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Âdil Sultan, Khosrou Shah, Mir Hûssain, Sultan Juneid Birlâs, Abdal-azîz, the master of horse (*Mîr akhûr*), Muhammed Alî Jeng-Jeng, Kûtluk Kadem, Wali Khâzin, Muhibb Alî Khalîfeh, Muhammed Bakhshi, Jân Beg, and Karakûzî, with four or five thousand men, on a night attack. They did not assemble properly in the first instance [d], and as they marched out in confusion, did not get on well. The day dawned, yet they continued lingering near the enemy's camp till it was broad daylight,

April 19 or 20.

Bâbur harasses the enemy

[a] Nûndek, near Cheghânîân.

[b] They have not learned how to carry out a military operation nor to conduct a manœuvre.

[c] *Add* and brought back some decapitated heads

[d] *Add* owing to the darkness

[1] The celebrated pass of Kolugha, or Kohlugheh, in the hills between Hissâr and Shaheï e sabz [This defence of Hissâr by Bâbur occurred in A. D. 1512.]

when the enemy, on their side, beat their kettle-drums, got ready their elephants, and marched out upon them. Although our people did not effect anything, yet, in spite of the multitude of troops that hung upon them in their retreat, they returned safe and sound, without the loss of a man. Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng was wounded with an arrow,[a] and though the wound was not mortal, yet it disabled him from taking his place[b] on the day of battle. On learning what had occurred, I immediately detached Humāiūn with his division a kos or a kos and a half in advance, to cover their retreat, while I myself, remaining with the army, drew it out, and got it in readiness for action. The party which had marched to surprise the enemy fell in with Humāiūn, and returned with him. As none of the enemy came near us, I drew off the army, and led it back to the camp. In the course of the night we had a false alarm, for nearly[c] one *ghari*[1] the call to arms and the uproar continued. Such of the troops as had never before witnessed an alarm of the kind, were in great confusion and dismay. In a short time, however, the alarm subsided.

The enemy attacks Bābur, April 21.

By the time of early morning prayers, when the light was such that you could distinguish one object from another,[d] notice was brought from the advanced patrols that the enemy were advancing, drawn up in order of battle. We too immediately braced on our helmets and our armour, and mounted. The right division was led by Humāiūn, accompanied by Khwājeh Kalān, Sultan Muhammed Duldāi, Hindu Beg, Wali Khāzin, and Pir Kuli Sīstāni; the left division was commanded by Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Mahdi Khwājeh, Ādil Sultan, Shah Mīr Hussain, Sultan Juneid Birlās, Kūtluk Kadem, Jān Beg, Muhammed Bakhshi, Shah Hussain Bargi, and Moghul Ghānchi. The right of the centre was commanded by Chin Taimūr Sultan,[e] Muhammedi Gokultāsh, Shah Mansūr Birlās, Yunis Ali, Derwīsh Muhammed Sārbān, and Abdallah Kitābdār; the left of the

[a] *Add* in the foot,
[b] playing an active part
[c] more than
[d] *Add* on Friday the 8th of the month of Rajab,
[e] *Add* Sultan Selim Mirza,

[1] A *ghari* is twenty-four minutes

centre by Khalīfeh, Khwājeh Mīr Mīrān, Ahmedi Perwānchi, Teirdi Beg, Kūch Beg, Muhibb Ali Khalīfeh, and Mirza Beg Terkhān. The advance was led by Khosrou Gokultāsh and Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng.[1] Abdal-azīz, master of horse, had the command of the reserve.[2] On the flank of the right division I stationed Wali Kizil, Malik Kāsim, Bāba Kashkeh, with their Moghuls, to act as a *tulughmeh* (or flanking party) On the extremity of the left division were stationed Kara-Kūzi, Abul Muhammed Nezehbāz, Sheikh Ali, Sheikh Jemāl Bārīn, Mahdi, Tengrī Kuli Moghul, to form the *tulughmeh* (or flankers), with instructions, that[a] as soon as the enemy approached sufficiently near, they should take a circuit and come round upon their rear.[b]

When the enemy first came in sight, they seemed to bend their force most against the right division. I therefore detached Abdal-azīz, who was stationed with the reserve, to reinforce the right. Sultan Ibrahīm's army, from the time it first appeared in sight, never made a halt, but advanced right upon us, at a quick pace. When they came closer, on getting
* a view of my troops, and finding them drawn up in the order and with the defences that have been mentioned, they were brought up and stood for a while, as if considering, 'Shall we halt or not? Shall we advance or not?' They could not halt, and they were unable to advance with the same speed as before. I sent orders to the troops stationed as flankers on the extremes of the right and left divisions, to wheel round the enemy's flank with all possible speed, and instantly to attack them in the rear;[c] the right and left divisions were also ordered to charge the enemy.[d] The flankers accordingly wheeled on the rear of the enemy, and began to make discharges of arrows on them. Mahdi Khwājeh came up before the rest of the left wing.[e] A body of men with one elephant advanced

[a] These two corps had orders that

[b] *Add* on the right and left.

[c] *Add* with showers of arrows, and press them vigorously,

[d] while the right and left wings should advance and charge the enemy in front

[e] *Add* and was the first to engage

[1] [This officer took a prominent part in the battle in spite of his wound.]

[2] *Terekh.*

to meet him. My troops gave them some sharp discharges of arrows, and the enemy's division was at last driven back. I dispatched from the main body Ahmedi Perwānchi, Terdi Beg, Kūch Beg, and Muhibb Ali Khalīfeh, to the assistance of the left division. The battle was likewise obstinate on the right. I ordered Muhammedi Gokultāsh, Shah Mansūr Birlas, Yunis Ali, and Abdallah, to advance in front of the centre and engage. Ustād Ali Kuli also discharged his guns [1] many times in front of the line [a] to good purpose. Mustafa, the cannoneer, on the left of the centre, managed his artillery with great effect. The right and left divisions, the centre and flankers having surrounded the enemy and taken them in rear, were now engaged in hot conflict, and busy pouring in discharges of arrows on them. They made one or two very poor charges on our right and left divisions. My troops, making use of their bows, plied them with arrows, and drove them in upon their centre. The troops on the right and left of their centre, being huddled together in one place, such confusion ensued, that the enemy, while totally unable to advance, found also no road by which they could flee. The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset of battle began, and the combat lasted till mid-day, when the enemy were completely broken and routed, and my friends victorious and exulting. By the grace and mercy of Almighty God, this arduous undertaking was rendered easy for me, and this mighty army, in the space of half a day, laid in the dust. Five or six thousand men were discovered lying slain, in one spot, near Ibrahīm. We reckoned that the number lying slain, [b] in different parts of this field of battle, amounted to fifteen or sixteen thousand men. On reaching Agra, we found, from the accounts of the natives of Hindustān, that forty or fifty thousand men had fallen in this field. After routing the enemy, we continued the pursuit, slaughtering, [c] and making them prisoners

But is completely defeated.

[a] centre [b] *Add* besides these, [c] completing their defeat,

[1] *Farangīhā*.—The size of these artillery at the time in question is very uncertain. The word is now used in the Dekkan for a swivel In common usage, *zarb-zan*, at the present day, is a small species of swivel. Both words, in the time of Bābur, appear to have been used for field cannon.

Those who were ahead, began to bring in the Amīrs and Afghans as prisoners.[a] They brought in a very great number of elephants with their drivers, and offered them to me as *peshkesh*. Having pursued the enemy to some distance and supposing that Ibrahīm had escaped from the battle I appointed Kismāi Mirza, Bāba Chihreh, and Bujkeh, with a party of my immediate adherents, to follow him in close pursuit down as far as Agra.[b] Having passed through the middle of Ibrahīm's camp, and visited his pavilion and accommodations,[c] we encamped on the banks of the Siāh-āb

Ibrahim found among the slain

It was now afternoon prayers when Tāhir Taberi, the younger brother of Khalīfeh, having found Ibrahīm lying dead amidst a number of slain, cut off his head, and brought it in.

Bābur sends a detachment to occupy Agra and Delhi

That very day I directed Humāiūn Mirza, Khwājeh Kalān Muhammedi, Shah Mansūr Birlās, Yunis Ali, Abdallah, and Wali Khāzin, to set out without baggage or encumbrances and proceed with all possible expedition to occupy Agra and take possession of the treasuries. I at the same time ordered Mahdi Khwājeh, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Ādi Sultan, Sultan Juneid Birlās, and Kūtluk Kadem, to leave their baggage behind, to push on by forced marches, to enter the Fort of Delhi, and seize the treasuries

April 22

Next morning we marched, and having proceeded about a kos, halted on the banks of the Jumna in order to refresh our horses.

April 23 and 24. Visits the mausoleum of Nizām Aulia

After other two marches, on Tuesday I visited the mausoleum of Nizām Aulia,[2] and at the end of the third march

[a] Soldiers arrived from all sides with prisoners, both Afghans and others, that they had captured in the midst of the fight

[b] *Add* and make him prisoner

[c] the tents that surrounded it [the pavilion]

[1] Black river [i. e. stagnant water]

[2] [The Dargāh or shrine of Sheikh Nizām ud dīn Aulia, situated three miles south-west of Delhi, is one of the principal places of Muhammedan reverence in India. The saint, who was a disciple of the celebrated Faīd ud dīn Shakarganj of Pākpattan, was born at Budaon in 1236, settled at Delhi during the reign of the Emperor Balban, and died there in 1324. The tomb has been so often restored by pious donors that little of the ancient structure remains. The adjacent Jamā'at Khānah, or Khizri Mosque, is a fine specimen of the earlier ornate so called Pathān style.]

encamped near[a] Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna That same night, being Wednesday, I circumambulated the tomb of Khwājeh Kutb ed dīn,[1] and visited[b] the tomb and palaces A D 1526, April 25

[a] exactly opposite

[b] On the evening of the same day I went to see the fort, and spent the night there The next morning, being Wednesday, after making a pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwāja Kutb ud dīn, I visited

[1] [The shrine of Khwāja Kutb ud dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī is situated near the village of Mihrauli about eleven miles from Delhi, and a mile south-west of the Kutub Mināŕ This saint was born at Ush in Ferghāna, and, coming to Delhi with the earliest Muhammedan conquerors, died there in 1235 in the reign of Sultan Altamsh The saint's tomb consists of a plain earthen mound surrounded by a low marble railing, and is covered by a canopy erected on four marble columns To the west of Mihrauli is the Hauz i shamsi, or Sun Tank, which had once a pavilion in the middle of it This was built by Sultan Altamsh (1210-36), and repaired by Sultan Firoz Shah (1351-88) It must once have been a fine reservoir, but contains little water now The so-called Royal Tank is the Hauz i khās, or Hauz i alāi, which is situated near Firoz Shah's tomb on the right of the Delhi-Gurgaon road It is distant about nine miles south of Delhi, and two to the north-west of the Kutub Mināŕ Like the Sun Tank it had a pavilion in its midst, but contains no water at present It is said to have been built by Sultan Alā ud dīn in 1293 The ruined tomb of Sultan Ghyās ud dīn Balban (1266-87) is one of the numerous buildings that surround the Kutub Mināŕ, and is situated near the Jamālī Mosque It was a large square building with a spacious room on each side, which was probably the Dār al amān (Haven of Refuge), or College, established by the king This latter building, which was restored by Firoz Shah, may be the palace alluded to by Bābur The tomb of Alā ud dīn (1296-1315) was in the centre of the three ruined rooms behind the great screen of arches of the Kutub Mosque The rooms at either end were probably sepulchral chambers, while those in the wings to the front of it formed part of a college attached to the tomb, which may be the palace referred to above The Kutub Mināŕ or minaret (which is probably referred to here, as the Alāi Mināŕ was left unfinished), one of the glories of Indian architecture, was begun by Kutub ud dīn Aibek (1206-10), and was primarily intended to serve as a minaret to his mosque The lower storey contains the name of Kutub ud dīn, the next two that of his master Muhammed Ghori (1193-1206), the fourth that of Sultan Altamsh, and the fifth has an inscription relating to its restoration by Firoz Shah, who entirely rebuilt the two uppermost storeys in 1368 The present height of the *minār* is 238 feet. The three lower storeys are of red sandstone, while the two upper ones are faced with white marble It is formed in three divisions separated

of Sultan Ghīas ed dīn Balban, of Sultan Alā ed dīn Khilji, and his minaret, the Shams tank, the royal tank, the tombs and gardens of Sultan Bahlol and Sultan Sikander; after which I returned into the camp, and went on board of a boat, where we drank *arak*. I bestowed the office of Shikdār (or military collector) of Delhi on Wali Kizil, I made Dost the Diwān of Delhi, and directed the different treasuries to be sealed and given into their charge.

April 26. On Thursday we moved thence, and halted hard by [a] Tughlakābād,[1] on the banks of the Jumna.

April 27 On Friday we continued to halt in the same station. Moulāna Mahmūd, Sheikh Zein, and some others, went into Delhi, to Friday prayers, read the *khutbeh* in my name distributed some money among the fakīrs and beggars, and then returned back.

April 28 On Saturday we marched from our ground, and proceeded, march after march, upon Agra I went and saw Tughlakābād [b]; after which I rejoined the camp.

[a] opposite

[b] I turned aside from my route to visit Tughlakābād;

from each other by projecting galleries, each division being fluted and ornamented with bands of Arabic inscriptions Fergusson says that 'it is the most beautiful example of its class known anywhere, its only rival being the Campanile at Florence' The Kutub Minār is eleven miles south of Delhi The tomb of Sultan Bahlol Lodi (died 1488) is of unusual shape, having five domes over it, and the details of the sandstone decoration are entirely Hindu in character It is situated about two miles to the north-west of the Kutub Minār close to the shrine of Chirāghi Delhi, the attendants of which now live in the tomb The mausoleum of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (died 1517) lies about five miles from Delhi to the left of the Gurgaon road and a short distance to the north-east of the village of Khairpūr It is a fine building with Hindu details in its decoration. See Fanshawe's *Delhi Past and Present*]

[1] [The Fort of Tughlakābād lies five miles due east of the Kutub Minār The city and fort were built by Sultan Ghyās ud dīn Tughlak in 1321–3. It was soon deserted, probably on account of its bad water-supply and insalubrious climate, and the curse of the saint (Nizām Aulia), with the building of whose tank the king had interfered, was fulfilled to the letter (*Yā base gujar yā rahe ujar*) The fort stands on a rocky height, and the circuit of the walls is about four miles The tomb of Tughlak Shah (died 1325) is inside the citadel, and used to stand in the midst of a lake which has now disappeared —Fanshawe's *Delhi Past and Present.*]

On Friday, the 22nd of Rajeb, I halted in the suburbs of Agra, at the palace of Sulemān Fermūli. As this position was very far from the fort, I next morning moved and took up my quarters at the palace of Jalāl Khān Jighat. The people of the fort had put off Humāiūn, who arrived before me, with excuses, and he, on his part, considering that they were under no control, and wishing to prevent their plundering the treasure, had taken a position to shut up the issues from the place.[a] Arrives at Agra, May 1

Bikermajīt, a Hindu, who was Raja of Gwāliār, had governed that country for upwards of a hundred years.[b][1] Sikander had remained several years in Agra, employed in an attempt to take Gwāliār. Afterwards, in the reign of Ibrahīm, Azīm Humāiūn Sarwāni invested it for some time, made several attacks, and at length succeeded in gaining it by treaty, Shamsābād[2] being given as an indemnification. In the battle in which Ibrahīm was defeated, Bikermajīt was sent to hell.[3] Bikermajīt's family, and the heads of his clan,[c] were at this moment in Agra. When Humāiūn arrived, Bikermajīt's people attempted to escape, but were taken by the parties which Humāiūn had placed upon the watch, and put in custody. Humāiūn did not permit them to be plundered. Of their own free will they presented to Humāiūn a *peshkesh*, consisting of a quantity of jewels and precious stones. Among these was one famous diamond, which had been acquired by Sultan Alā ed dīn.[4] It is so valuable, that a judge of diamonds valued it at half of the daily

[a] *Add* till I arrived

[b] Bikramajīt, a Hindu, was Raja of Gwāliār, a country which he had inherited from his ancestors, who had ruled it for upwards of a hundred years

[c] members of his family,

[1] [According to Sir A Cunningham, Vikramadītya, a Tomār Prince, succeeded his father, Mān Singh, as ruler of Gwāliār in 1516 In 1518 Gwāliār was captured by Ibrahīm Lodi.]

[2] [Shamsābād is a town in the Farrukhābād district of the United Provinces, eighteen miles north-west of Farrukhābād town. It took its name from Shams ud dīn Altamsh, who expelled the Rahtors and refounded the town in 1228]

[3] The charitable mode in which a good Musulman signifies the death of an infidel

[4] [Alā ud dīn Khiljī (1296–1316).]

expense[a] of the whole world. It is about eight *mishkals*. On my arrival, Humāiūn presented it to me as a *peshkesh*, and I gave it back to him as a present.

Among the officers of superior importance in the fort were Malik Dād Kerāni, Malik Sūrdek, and Firoz Khan Miswāni, who, having been convicted of some frauds, were ordered for punishment[b]. When Malik Dād Kerāni was carried out, much intercession was made for him.[c] Backwards and forwards, the matter was not settled for four or five days, when, according to the desire of his intercessors, I pardoned him, and even conferred on him some marks of favour. I also permitted all his adherents to retain their property.

A perganna[d] of the value of seven laks[2] was bestowed on Ibrahīm's mother. Pergannas were also given to each of her Amīrs. She was conducted with all her effects to a palace[e] which was assigned for her residence, about a kos below Agra.

May 10. Bābur enters Agra

On Thursday, the 28th of Rajeb, about the hour of afternoon prayers, I entered Agra, and took up my residence at Sultan Ibrahīm's palace. From the time when I conquered the country of Kābul, which was in the year 910, till the [1504] present time, I had always been bent on subduing Hindustān. Sometimes, however, from the misconduct[f] of my Amīrs and their dislike of the plan, sometimes from the cabals and opposition of my brothers, I was prevented from prosecuting any expedition into that country, and its provinces escaped being overrun. At length these obstacles were removed. There was now no one left, great or small, noble or private man, who could dare to utter a word in [1519] opposition to the enterprise. In the year 925 I collected an army, and having taken the fort of Bajour by storm in

[a] a day's expenses [b] were condemned to death
[c] several persons interceded for him
[d] I not only pardoned him, but also accorded full and entire immunity to all his adherents
[e] An estate [f] camping ground [g] pusillanimity

[1] Or 320 *ratis*. [This diamond is by some authorities supposed to be the celebrated Koh i nūr. A *rati* is a weight equal to eight barley corns, the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*, weighing about 1·82 of a Troy grain.]

[2] Probably of *dāms*, or about £1,750.

two or three *gharis*, put all the garrison to the sword I next advanced into Behreh, where I prevented all marauding and plunder, imposed a contribution on the inhabitants,[a] and having levied it to the amount of four hundred thousand *shahrokhis* in money and goods, divided the proceeds among the troops who were in my service, and returned back to Kābul. From that time till the year 932, I attached myself [1525] in a peculiar degree to the affairs of Hindustān, and in the space of these seven or eight years entered it five times at the head of an army [1] The fifth time, the Most High God, of his grace and mercy, cast down and defeated an enemy so mighty as Sultan Ibrahīm, and made me the master and conqueror of the powerful empire of Hindustān From the time of the blessed Prophet (on whom and on his family be peace and salvation !) down to the present time, three foreign kings had subdued the country, and acquired the sovereignty of Hindustān. One of these was Sultan Mahmūd Ghāzi,[2] whose family long continued to fill the throne of that country. The second was Sultan Shahābeddīn Ghūri,[3] and for many years his slaves and dependants swayed the sceptre of these realms. I am the third. But my achievement is not to be put on the same level with theirs ; for Sultan Mahmūd, at the time when he conquered Hindustān, occupied the throne of Khorasān, and had absolute power and dominion over the Sultans of Khwārizm and the surrounding chiefs.[b] The King of Samarkand, too, was subject to him. If his army did not amount to two hundred thousand, yet grant that it was only one hundred

Reflections on the conquest of Hindustān.

[a] *Add* in return for the immunity of their property from pillage,
[b] and Transoxiana

[1] [The dates of the first, third, fourth, and fifth of these invasions are well authenticated (1519, 1520, 1524, and 1526), but that of the second is doubtful (See *E B*, p 417 *note.*)]

[2] [The celebrated Sultan of Ghazni (A D. 997–1030), who made no less than seventeen incursions into India, though the Panjāb Province was the only permanent possession which he acquired in India, and which was held by his descendants till A. D 1187.]

[3] [Shahāb ud dīn, or, as he is sometimes called, Muhammed Ghori, was the younger brother of Ghyās ud dīn, the King of Ghor and Ghazni (A D. 1157–1203). After a succession of campaigns (A. D. 1178–1203) he accomplished the reduction of Upper India, and died by the hand of an assassin in A D 1206]

thousand,[a] and it is plain that the comparison between the two conquests must cease.[b] Moreover, his enemies were Rajas. All Hindustān was not at that period subject to a single Emperor: every Raja set up for a monarch on his own account, in his own petty territories. Again, though Sultan Shahābeddīn Ghūri did not himself enjoy the sovereignty of Khorasān, yet his elder brother, Sultan Ghiaseddīn Ghūri, held it. In the *Tabakāt-e-Nāsiri*[1] it is said, that on one occasion he marched into Hindustān with one hundred and twenty thousand cataphract[2] horse. His enemies, too, were Rais and Rajas; a single monarch did not govern the whole of Hindustān. When I marched into Behreh, we might amount to one thousand five hundred, or two thousand men at the utmost. When I invaded the country for the fifth time, overthrew Sultan Ibrahīm, and subdued the empire of Hindustān, I had a larger army than I had ever before brought into it. My servants, the merchants and their servants, and the followers of all descriptions that were in the camp along with me, were numbered, and amounted to twelve thousand men. The kingdoms that depended on me were Badakhshan, Kunduz, Kābul, and Kandahār; but these countries did not furnish me with assistance equal to their resources; and, indeed, some of them, from their vicinity to the enemy, were so circumstanced, that, far from affording me assistance, I was obliged to send them extensive supplies from my other territories. Besides this, all Māweralnaher was occupied by the Khans and Sultans of the Uzbeks, whose armies were calculated to amount to about a hundred thousand men, and who were my ancient foes. Finally, the whole empire of Hindustān, from Behreh to Behār, was in the hands of the Afghans.[3] Their prince, Sultan Ibrahīm, from the

[a] it could not have been less than a hundred thousand
[b] *Omit this clause.*

[1] [This work is an excellent history of the Musulman world down to the time of Sultan Nāsir ud dīn Mahmūd, King of Delhi, to whom it was dedicated. It was written in A D 1252 by Minhāj us Sirāj Jurjāni, a native of Georgia]
[2] [i. e. barbed]
[3] [The Afghan Empire in A. D. 1525 nominally included the

resources of his kingdom, could bring into the field an army of five hundred thousand men. At that time[a] some of the Amīrs to the east were in a state of rebellion. His army on foot was computed to be a hundred thousand strong; his own elephants, with those of his Amīrs, were reckoned at nearly a thousand. Yet, under such circumstances, and in spite of this power, placing my trust in God, and leaving behind me my old and inveterate enemy the Uzbeks, who had an army of a hundred thousand men, I advanced to meet so powerful a prince as Sultan Ibrahīm, the lord of numerous armies, and emperor of extensive territories. In consideration of my confidence in Divine aid, the Most High God did not suffer the distress and hardships that I had undergone to be thrown away, but defeated my formidable enemy, and made me the conqueror of the noble[b] country of Hindustān. This success I do not ascribe to my own strength, nor did this good fortune flow from my own efforts, but from the fountain of the favour and mercy of God.

Description of Hindustān.

The empire of Hindustān is extensive, populous, and rich. On the east, the south, and even the west, it is bounded by the Great Ocean.[c] On the north,[d] it has Kābul, Ghazni, and Kandahār. The capital of all Hindustān is Delhi. From the time of Sultan Shahābeddīn Ghūri to the end of Sultan Firoz Shah's time,[1] the great part of Hindustān was in the possession of the Emperors of Delhi. At the period when I conquered that country, five Musulman Kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable Rais and Rajas in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance. One of these powers was the

Musulman princes.

Kingdom of the Afghans or of Delhi,

[a] Although

[b] vast

[c] *Add* on the north it is bounded by a range of mountains which is connected with those of the Hindū-kūsh, Kāferistān, and Kashmīr.

[d] On the north-west

Panjāb, the Delhi Province, Jaunpūr, Bundelkhand, and Behār, but, owing to the revolts of many of Ibrahīm Lodi's feudatories, his hold over a large portion of it was very insecure]

[1] [i. e. from 1206 to 1388]

including the Purbi kingdom.

Afghans, whose government included the capital, and extended from Behreh to Behār. Jaunpūr, before it fell into the power of the Afghans, was held by Sultan Hussain Sharki. This dynasty they called the Purbi [1] (or eastern). Their forefathers had been cup-bearers to Sultan Firoz Shah and that race of Sultans. After Sultan Firoz Shah's death, they gained possession of the kingdom of Jaunpūr [2] Delhi was at that period in the hands of Sultan Alā ed dīn,[3] whose family were Syeds. When Taimūr Beg invaded Hindustān, before leaving the country, he had bestowed the government of Delhi on their ancestors Sultan Bahlol Lodi [4] Afghan and his son Sultan Sikander,[5] afterwards seized the throne of Delhi, as well as that of Jaunpūr, and reduced both kingdoms under one government

kingdom of Gujerāt

The second prince was Sultan Muhammed Muzaffer, in Gujerāt.[6] He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Ibrahīm's defeat. He was a prince well skilled in learning,[a] and fond of reading the *Hadīs* (or traditions). He was constantly employed in writing the Korān. They call this race Tānk Their ancestors were cup-bearers to the

[a] religious law,

[1] Purbi, in Hindustāni, has the same meaning with Sharki in Arabic or Persian, i e Eastern

[2] [In 1394 Khwāja Jehān was appointed his viceroy in Jaunpūr by Mahmūd Tughlak In 1398, consequent on the troubles that followed the invasion of Timur, Khwāja Jehān's adopted son, Mubārik Shāh, declared his independence He was followed by four successors, viz Ibrahīm, Mahmūd, Muhammed, and Hosain Bahlol Lodi drove Hosain from the throne in A D. 1476 and annexed his kingdom. Bahlol Lodi's successor, Sikander Lodi, completed the reduction of the Jaunpūr dominions, including Behār]

[3] [Khizr Khan, the first of the Sayyid dynasty, who had been placed in charge of Delhi by Timur, died in A D 1421 He was succeeded by three members of his family, the last of whom, Alā ud dīn, abdicated in A D 1451, and retired to Budaon, which he was permitted to rule in peace in virtue of a friendly agreement with Bahlol Lodi] [4] [1421–89] [5] [1489–1517]

[6] [Muzaffar Shah I, appointed Governor of Gujerāt by Firoz Shah Tughlak, declared his independence probably about the time of Timur's invasion of India in A D 1398 Muzaffar Shah II, who is referred to in the text, died in A D 1526 after a reign of fourteen years. His most noteworthy exploit was the restoration of Mahmūd II to the throne of Malwa]

Sultan Fīroz that has been mentioned, and his family. After the death of Fīroz Shah they took possession of the throne of Gujerāt.

Kingdom of the Bahmanis.

The third kingdom is that of the Bahmanis in the Dekhan, but at the present time the Sultans of the Dekhan have no authority or power left.[1] All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and, when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own Amīrs.

Kingdom of Mālwa

The fourth King was Sultan Mahmūd, who reigned in the country of Mālwa, which they likewise call Māndu. This dynasty was called the Khiljī. Rana Sanka, a pagan, had defeated them and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak. Their ancestors, too, had been originally brought forward and patronized by Sultan Fīroz Shah, after whose demise they occupied the kingdom of Mālwa.[2]

Kingdom of Bengal

The fifth prince was Nasret Shah[3] in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been King of Bengal, and was a Syed of the name of Sultan Alā ed dīn. He had attained this throne by hereditary succession. It is a singular

Singular custom.

[1] [The Bahmanī dynasty was founded by an Afghan called Hasan (surnamed Gango Bahmanī), in the reign of Muhammed bin Tughlak (A D 1347) From A D 1374 to 1482 the Bahmanī kingdom was a flourishing state, which included the Hyderābād dominions, the Northern Sirkārs, and a large part of the Bombay Presidency In 1482 the kingdom split up, and the four later rulers were kings only in name The last member of the dynasty was Kalīm, who died in A D. 1526.]

[2] [The governor of Mālwa, Dilāwar Khan Ghorī, declared his independence during the troublous period that followed Timur's invasion. He was followed by six successors, the last of whom was Mahmud II referred to above. This king, whose reign was long and troublous (A. D 1512–31), was eventually defeated, and captured by Bahādur Shah, when his kingdom was absorbed in Gujerat (A D. 1531).]

[3] [Bengal, a quasi-independent fief of the Delhi suzerain since its conquest in A. D 1193, declared its full independence under Ilyās Shah in the reign of Muhammed bin Tughlak, and was formally recognized as such by Fīroz Shah in A D 1355 The greatest of its long line of kings was Alā ud dīn Hosain Shah, who was succeeded by his son Nāsir ud dīn Nasrat Shah (1518–32). It was against this Nasrat that Bābur fought his third great battle of Gogra in 1529, which secured for him the sovereignty of Behār]

custom in Bengal, that there is little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty. There is a throne allotted for the King; there is, in like manner, a seat or station assigned for each of the Amîrs, Wazîrs, and Mansabdârs.[1] It is that throne and these stations alone which engage the reverence of the people of Bengal. A set of dependants, servants, and attendants are annexed to each of these situations. When the King wishes to dismiss or appoint any person, whosoever is placed in the seat of the one dismissed, is immediately attended and obeyed by the whole establishment of dependants, servants, and retainers annexed to the seat which he occupies. Nay, this rule obtains even as to the royal throne itself. Whoever kills the King and succeeds in placing himself on that throne, is immediately acknowledged as King;[2] all the Amîrs, Wazîrs, soldiers, and peasants instantly obey and submit to him, and consider him as being as much their sovereign as they did their former prince, and obey his orders implicitly. The people of Bengal say, 'We are faithful to the throne—whoever fills the throne, we are obedient and true to it'. As, for instance, before the accession of Nasrat Shah's father, an Abyssinian having killed the reigning King mounted the throne, and governed the kingdom for some time.[3] Sultan Alâ ed dîn killed the Abyssinian,

[1] [The Mansabdârs were a sort of official aristocracy, who had to bring a fixed quota of men-at-arms, horses, and elephants into the field, and were rated according to the number they supplied, as Mansabdârs of 10, 20, 100, 1,000, &c.]

[2] Strange as this custom may seem, a similar one prevailed, down to a very late period, in Malabar. There was a jubilee, every twelve years, in the Zamorin's country, and any one who succeeded in forcing his way through the Zamorin's guards and slew him, reigned in his stead. 'A jubilee is proclaimed throughout his dominions at the end of twelve years, and a tent is pitched for him in a spacious plain, and a great feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days with mirth and jollity, guns firing night and day, so, at the end of the feast, any four of the guests that have a mind to gain a crown by a desperate action, in fighting their way through 30,000 or 40,000 of his guards, and kill the Zamorin in his tent, he that kills him, succeeds in his empire.' See Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. i, p. 309. The attempt was made in 1695, and again a very few years ago, but without success.

[3] [This was Shams ud dîn Muzaffar, who reigned three years (1494–7).]

ascended the throne, and was acknowledged as King. After Sultan Alā ed dīn's death, the kingdom devolved by succession to his son, who now reigned. There is another usage in Bengal; it is reckoned disgraceful and mean for any king to spend or diminish the treasures of his predecessors. It is reckoned necessary for every king, on mounting the throne, to collect a new treasure for himself. To collect a treasure is, by these people, deemed a great glory and ground of distinction. There is another custom, that pergannas have been assigned from ancient times to defray the expenses of each department, the treasury, the stable, and all the royal establishments; no expenses are paid in any other manner.[a]

The five kings who have been mentioned are great princes, and are all Musulmans, and possessed of formidable armies.[b] The most powerful of the pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bījnager.[1] Another is the Rāna Sanka,[2] who has attained his present high eminence, only

Hindū princes.

[a] the revenues of which must never be expended for any other purpose

[b] *Add* and ruling over vast territories

[1] [The Hindu kingdom of Vijyanagar was founded shortly after the destruction of the Hoysāla power by Muhammed bin Tughlak in A D 1327 The work of Bakka, the founder, was carried on by his brother Harihara (A D. 1339–76), in whose reign the kingdom developed rapidly The most notable of the Rajas was Krishna Deva (A D. 1509–29), who overcame the armies of Orissa, Golkonda, and Bījapūr The later history of the dynasty was nothing but a record of continual wars with the Bahmani kingdom, and the five Deccan states into which it finally split up The vast city of Vijyanagar is now represented by the extensive ruins at Hampi near Bellary (Madras). In 1443, when Vijyanagar was visited by Abdur Razzāk, the Persian ambassador, it was said to be one of the most magnificent cities in Asia]

[2] [The Rāna of Mewār, who belongs to the clan of Sisodia Rājpūts, is the premier prince of Rājpūtāna, and is reputed to be able to trace his pedigree to Keneksen, who was the first of his race to establish a kingdom in Rājpūtāna (A D 145) Rāna Hamīr Singh, who recovered Chitor in A. D. 1316 from Alā ud dīn Khiljī, re-established the Rājpūt dominion over all Mewār After the separation of Mālwa from the Delhi Empire, the Kings of Mālwa, and the Rānas of Mewār were engaged in frequent hostilities Shortly before Bābur's invasion Mahmūd II of Mālwa had been defeated and taken prisoner by Rāna Sanga (A D. 1519).]

in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitūr.[1] During the confusions that prevailed among princes of the kingdom of Māndu, he seized a number of provinces which had depended on Māndu, such as Rantambhor,[2] Sārangpūr, Bhīlsa, and Chanderi. In
A. D. 1528. the year 934, by the divine favour, in the space of a few hours, I took by storm Chanderi, which was commanded by Medini Rao,[3] one of the highest and most distinguished of

[1] [The famous rock fortress of Chitor was the old capital of Mewār, and is said to have been occupied by the Mewār Rāna Bappa in the eighth century A. D. It is situated seventy miles north-east of the present capital of Udaipūr. It is famous for its three sieges by Alā ud dīn Khiljī in 1303, Bahādur Shah of Gujerāt in 1534, and Akbar in 1567–8. The fort is full of interesting ruins, the most striking of which are the Kīrthistambh, or Pillar of Fame, said to have been erected in A. D. 896 by Rāna Alluji, and the Jayastambh, or Pillar of Victory, built to celebrate Rāna Kumbhos's victory over Mahmūd I, King of Mālwa, in 1439.]

[2] [Rantambhor is a famous fortress in the south-east corner of the State of Jaipūr, situated on an isolated rock 1,578 feet high. Altamsh took it in 1226, and in 1301 it was captured by Alā ud dīn. It was lost to the Delhi Empire during the troubles that followed Timur's invasion of India (1398), and in 1516 it is mentioned as belonging to Mālwa. Rāna Sanga captured it shortly after, but it was made over to Bābur in 1528. Sārangpūr is a town in the State of Dewās situated on the east bank of the Kāli Sind. The town, as it now stands, dates no earlier than the days of the kings of Mālwa (fifteenth century), to whom it originally belonged. It was at one time a large and flourishing place, as is attested by its extensive ruins. In 1526 it was wrested from Mahmūd II by Rāna Sanga of Mewār. Bhīlsa is a town on the east bank of the Betwa in the Gwāliār state. It was originally the capital of eastern Mālwa. It was sacked by Altamsh in 1235, and succumbed to Alā ud dīn in 1290. In its neighbourhood are numerous interesting Buddhist remains, the most important being the Sānchi Topes. Chanderi, a town in the Gwāliār state, is situated in a bay of sandstone hills approached by narrow passes. It was captured by Ghyās ud dīn Balban in 1251, and in 1438 fell to Mahmūd I of Mālwa. In 1520 it was seized by Rāna Sanga, who made it over to Medni Rai, the revolted minister of Mahmūd II of Mālwa, from whom Bābur captured it after a desperate resistance in 1528.]

[3] [Medni Rai was for a long time the all-powerful Hindu minister of Mahmūd II of Mālwa. Alarmed at his growing influence, Mahmūd escaped to Gujerāt and sought the aid of Muzaffar Shah II, who, after a desperate struggle with Medni Rai and his Rajputs, captured Māndu and restored Mahmūd to his throne. After this Medni Rai retired to Chanderi, which Rāna Sanga had made over to him.

Rāna Sanka's officers, put all the pagans to the sword, and from the mansion of hostility which it had long been converted it into the mansion of the faith, as will be hereafter more fully detailed. There were a number of other Raīs and Rajas on the borders and within the territory of Hindustān[a]; many of whom,[b] on account of their remoteness, or the difficulty of access into their country, have never submitted to the Musulman kings.

Geographical position

Hindustān is situated in the first, second, and third climates. No part of it is in the fourth. It is a remarkably fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with our countries. Its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its animals and plants, its inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains, are all of a different nature. Although the *garmsīls* (or hot districts), in the territory of Kābul, bear, in many respects, some resemblance to Hindustān, while in other particulars they differ, yet you have no sooner passed the river Sind than the country,[c] the trees, the stones, the wandering tribes, the manners and customs of the people, are all entirely those of Hindustān. The northern range of hills has been mentioned. Immediately on crossing the river Sind, we come upon several countries in this range of mountains, connected with Kashmīr, such as Pakhli and Shemeng.[1] Most of them, though now independent of Kashmīr, were formerly included in its territories. After leaving Kashmīr, these hills contain innumerable

Northern hills.

[a] *Add* some of whom have embraced Islām,
[b] others,
[c] *Add* the water,

Mahmūd then marched against Medni Raī and the Rāna, and in the battle that ensued Mahmūd was defeated and taken prisoner (1519).]

[1] [Pakhli was an ancient district of the Panjāb now included in the Hazāra District of the North-West Frontier Province It roughly corresponded to the ancient Urasa, which Ptolemy places between the Indus and the Jhelum In Bābur's time the tract was held by the Khakha and Bambha tribes, whose chiefs had been rulers of the country to the east of the Indus, but had been driven out by the Gibari Sultans of Bajaur and Swat. Its inhabitants still speak Pushtu Shemeng may be another name for Dam-taur (now a division of the Hazāra District), the country of the Judūns, situated to the south of Pakhli, in a narrow valley along the river Dūr, which runs south-west and falls into the Indus at Torbela]

tribes and states, pergannas and countries, and extend a
the way to Bengal and the shores of the Great Ocean
Their inhabitants. About these hills are other tribes of men.[a] With all th
investigation and inquiry that I could make among th
natives of Hindustān, I could get no sort of description o
authentic information regarding them. All that I coul
learn was, that the men of these hills were called Kas. I
struck me, that, as the Hindustānis frequently confoun
shīn and *sīn*, and as Kashmīr is the chief, and indeed, as fa
as I have heard, the only city in these hills, it may hav
taken its name from that circumstance.[1] The chief trad
of the inhabitants of these hills is in musk-bags, the tails o
the mountain-cow,[2] saffron, lead, and copper. The native
of Hind call these hills Sawālak-parbat. In the language o
Hind, *sawalāk* means a lak and a quarter (or one hundre
and twenty-five thousand), and *parbat* means a *hill*, that is
the hundred and twenty-five thousand hills. On these hill

[a] *Omit this sentence.*

[1] [The Persian adds, '*mīr* signifying a hill, and *kas* being the nam
of the natives of the hill country' The term *kash* in Kashmīr an
Kāshgar, and changed to *kas* or *kes* in other place-names, probabl
refers to the Khas, a tribe who once played so important a part i
the history of the Lower Himalayas According to the most ancien
Indian authorities, in the extreme north-west of India, in Kashmī
Kāshgar, and the Western Panjāb, there was a group of tribes, on
of which was called Khas, and whose people were looked upon a
Kshatriyas of Aryan origin, but who had become *Mlechchas*, o
Barbarians, by their non-observance of the rules for eating an
drinking Their speech belonged to the Pisācha group of language
Pliny called them *Kasiri*, and accused them of being cannibal
The tribute they brought was Tibetan gold dust, or ant gold, a
recorded by Herodotus Their descendants at the present day ar
the Khakhas of the Jhelum Valley, the Kanets of Kangra and Kulu
the Khasias of Kumaon and Garhwāl, and the Khas, or ruling cast
of Nepal. The derivation of *mīr* is unknown, though the sam
suffix in Ajmīr is said to mean a hill.

I am indebted for this note to the kindness of Sir G. Grierson
whose interesting paper on the subject was published in the *India
Antiquary* (1915)]

[2] The *kutās*, or *kitās*, as here written, is a fringed knot made o
the hair of the tail or mane of the mountain-cow [or yak], often se
in gold, and hung round the necks of horses by way of ornamen
or as a defence against fascination. It appears also to have bee
used as a banner.

the snow never melts, and from some parts of Hindustān, such as Lahore, Sirhind, and Sambal, it is seen white on them all the year round. This range of hills takes the name of Hindū-kūsh, near Kābul, and runs from Kābul eastward, but inclining a little to the south. All to the south of this range is Hindustān. To the north of these hills, and of that unknown race of men whom they call Kas, lies Tibet.[1]

Rivers from the northern hills.

A great number of rivers take their rise in these mountains, and flow through Hindustān. To the north of Sirhind, six rivers, the Sind, the Behāt, the Chenāb, the Rāvi, the Biās, and the Satlej,[2] take their rise in these mountains, and all uniting with the Sind in the territory of Multān, take the common name of the Sind, which, flowing down to the west, passes through the country of Tatta, and disembogues into the sea of Omān. Besides these six rivers, there are other rivers, such as the Jumna, the Ganges, the Rahet,[3] the Gūmti, the Gogra, the Sirūd, the Gandak, and a number of others, that all throw themselves into the Ganges,[4] which,

[1] [Bābur's geography is at fault The Sivāliks are a ridge of hills which run for about 200 miles parallel with the Himalayas from Hardwār to the Hoshiārpūr district of the Panjāb, i. e between the Ganges and Beās Bābur confounds them with the Himalayas.]

[2] [These rivers all have their rise in the ranges of the upper, or lower Himalayas The Indus, rising in Tibet, flows through Kashmīr, the North-West Frontier Province, Panjāb, and Sind, and falls into the Arabian Sea The Satlej rises near the Manasorāwar Lake in Tibet, and, flowing through the Simla Hill States and Panjāb, joins the Indus at Mithankot in the Muzaffargarh district The Chenāb rises in Lahūl in the Kulu subdivision of the Kangra district in two streams (the Chandra and the Bhāga), which unite at Tandi, whence the united stream, flowing through Chamba, Kishtwār, and the Panjāb, falls into the Indus at Mithan Kot. The Rāvi also takes its rise in the Kulu subdivision and falls into the Chenāb The Beās has its source in the Rohtang Pass (Kulu subdivision), and joins the Satlej on the borders of the Kaparthala State. The Jhelum issues from the spring of Vernāg in Kashmīr, and joins the Chenāb at Trimmu.]

[3] Probably the Raptī, which joins the Ganges from Nepāl.

[4] [The Ganges issues from an ice cave at Gangotri in the Tehri State Debouching into the plains at Hardwār, it flows through the United Provinces and Bengal, and joins the sea by the Meghna estuary after a course of 1,557 miles. The Jamna also rises in the Tehri State near the Bandarpanāh peak of the Himalayas, and flowing past Jamnotri, pierces the Sevāliks at Khara, and falls into the Ganges below Allahābād (860 miles). The Raptī takes its rise

preserving its name, proceeds towards the east, and, passing through the midst of Bengal, empties itself into the Great Ocean. The sources of all these rivers are in the Sawālak mountains. There are, however, several other rivers, such as the Chambal, the Banās, the Betwa, and the Son, which rise from ranges of hills that are within Hindustān. In these ranges, it never snows. These rivers likewise fall into the Ganges.[1]

Other rivers.

Other ranges of hills.

There are several ranges of hills in Hindustān. Among these is a detached branch that runs from north to south.[2] It rises in the territory of Delhi, at the Jehān-numā,[3] a palace of Sultan Firoz Shah, which stands on a small rocky hillock. After passing this, it breaks, in the neighbourhood of Delhi, into a number of detached, scattered, small, rocky hills, that lie in different directions. When it gains the country of Mewāt,[4] the hills rise in height, and when it

in the lower ranges of Nepal, and joins the Gogra in the Gorakhpūr District The Gumti has its source near Pilibhīt, a district of the United Provinces, and joins the Ganges at Saidpūr in the Ghāzipūr district The Ghagra rises in Tibet and, flowing through Nepal and the United Provinces, falls into the Ganges near Chapra The Gandak rises in Nepal, and, flowing through the United Provinces and Bengal, joins the Ganges at Patna By Sirūd is probably meant the Sarja, a tributary of the Gogra]

[1] [The Chambal, a tributary of the Jumna, rises in the Jenapao Hill near Mhow, C.I. The Banās river has its source in the Aravallī Hills in Udaipūr and falls into the Chambal at Rameswar The Betwa, which rises in the Bhopāl State, flows past Chanderi and Jhānsi, and joins the Jamna near Hamīrpūr The Son, like the sacred Nerbudda, rises at Amer Kantak in the Rewah State, C I , and joins the Ganges above Dīnapūr.]

[2] [The Aravallis are here referred to This range of hills intersects Rājpūtāna from end to end in a line running north-east and south-west. The main range runs from Khetri in Jaipūr to Mount Abu, but a prolongation of it in the form of detached peaks may be traced through Alwar and Gurgaon to the Ridge of Delhi]

[3] Mirror of the world [This, according to Fanshawe, was the Kushk i shikār, or hunting lodge, built by Sultan Firūz Shah Tughlak in 1374 It is situated on the Delhi Ridge]

[4] [Mewāt is an ill-defined tract lying south of Delhi, and including the British districts of Muttra (U P.), and Gurgaon (Panjāb), most of the Alwar State, and some of Bharatpūr. It takes its name from its inhabitants the Meos, who seem originally to have been the same as the Mīnas of Rājpūtāna]

leaves Mewāt, it enters the country of Biāna.[1] The countries [a] of Sīkri,[2] Bārī,[3] and Dhūlpūr [4] are formed by this range, although not comprehended within it [b]; and the hill-country of Gwāliār,[5] which they also call Galiūr, is formed by a detached offset from it. The hill-country of Rantambhor, Chitūr, Māndu,[6] and Chanderi is formed by branches of this same range. In some places it is interrupted for seven or eight kos. This hilly tract is composed of very low, rough, rugged, stony, and jungly hills. In this range it never snows; but several of the rivers of Hindustān originate among the hills of which it is composed.

Most of the districts of Hindustān are plain and level.

[a] hills [b] *Omit this clause*

[1] [Biāna, once a famous Rājpūt stronghold, is now a small town in the state of Bharatpūr on the Gambhīr river, and lies between Agra and Rantambhor]

[2] [Sīkri is a village in the Karaoli Tahsīl of the Agra district, U P, about twenty-three miles west of Agra It was near this village that Bābur defeated the Rājpūt confederacy in 1527, and here it was that Akbar built the city of Fatehpūr For fifteen years Akbar went on erecting a magnificent series of buildings there, of which the ruins remain to attest their former splendour. The city was abandoned in 1585, soon after its completion]

[3] [Bārī is a town in the Dholpūr State, nineteen miles west of Dholpūr station]

[4] [Dholpūr, the capital of the Dholpūr State, is situated in Rājpūtāna about thirty-four miles south of Agra The ruling family is that of the Bamroha Jats The town was captured by Sikander Lodi in 1501, and by Bābur in 1526]

[5] [Gwālhār is the capital of the largest Treaty state in Central India The ruling dynasty of Sindia was founded by Ranojee (died 1750), who was slipper bearer to the Peshwa Bālaji Bāji Rao The fort, which has figured in ancient history since the sixth century, is full of interesting ruins]

[6] [Māndu, the ancient capital of Mālwa, now deserted, is situated in the Dhār State, C I Hoshang Shah (1405–34) made it his capital, and during the Mālwa dynasty it was the constant scene of siege and battle. It then passed successively to Bahādur Shah of Gujerāt (1535), Kādir Shah (1545), Sher Shah's governor, Shujā'at Khan, his son Bāz Bahādur, and Akbar (1561). In 1585 it was visited by the traveller Fitch, and in 1616 Sir T Roe accompanied Jehāngīr there. The fort, the ramparted walls of which are pierced by ten gates, and cover a circuit of twenty-three miles, enclose extensive ruins of surpassing interest, the most striking being Hoshang's tomb and the cathedral mosque]

Irrigation of the country

Though Hindustān contains so many provinces,[a] none of them has any artificial canals for irrigation. It is watered only by rivers, though in some places, too, there is standing water.[1] Even in those cities which are so situated as to admit of digging a water-course, and thereby bringing water into them, yet no water has been brought in. There may be several reasons for this. One of them is, that water is not absolutely requisite for the crops and gardens. The autumnal crop is nourished by the rains of the rainy season. It is remarkable that there is a spring crop even though no rain falls.[2] They raise water for the young trees, till they are one or two years old, by means of a water-wheel or buckets; after that time it is not at all necessary to water them. Some vegetables they water.[b] In Lahore,[3] Debālpūr, Sirhind, and the neighbouring districts, they water by means of a wheel.[4] They first take two ropes, of a length suited to the depth of the well, and fasten each of them so as to form a circle; between the two circular ropes they insert pieces of wood connecting them, and to these they fix water-pitchers. The ropes so prepared, with the pitchers attached to them by means of the pieces of wood, they

[a] *Add* and towns,

[b] Some vegetables require continual irrigation

[1] Kara-sūlar, literally black waters These are chiefly large tanks [P. de C thinks it means ravines, i e water channels which are generally dry (except after heavy rain), with here and there standing pools of water]

[2] [This is not quite correct. The north-east monsoon, which is of continental origin, comes into full play about the beginning of January, and lasts from the middle of December to the end of May It gives rise to occasional showery weather, and sometimes heavy rain in the plains, which nourishes the spring crops]

[3] [The well-known capital of the Panjāb, situated on the Rāvi, with a population approximating 200,000 In the tenth century the kingdom of Lahore was in the hands of a Brahman dynasty, but in 1036 it was made the capital of the Ghaznevide dominions east of the Indus by Mahmūd, and from that time till the Sikh conquest (1767) it continued in the hands of various dynasties of Muhammedan kings. In 1849 the Panjāb was annexed to the British crown. The chief ornaments of Lahore are the fort, the Shālimār gardens, and Jehāngīr's tomb.]

[4] [This system of well irrigation by the Persian wheel is extensively employed in the Panjāb]

throw over a wheel that is placed on the top of the well. On the one end of the axle-tree of this wheel they place another wheel with teeth, and to the side of this last they apply a third, which they make with an upright axle. When the bullocks turn this last wheel round, its teeth, working upon those of the second wheel, turn the large wheel on which is the circle of pitchers. They make a trough under the place where the water is discharged by the revolution of the pitchers, and from this trough convey the water to whatever place it may be required. They have another contrivance for raising water for irrigation in Agra, Biāna, Chāndwār,[1] and that quarter, by means of a bucket.[2] This is very troublesome, and filthy besides. On the brink of a well they fix in strongly two forked pieces of wood, and between their prongs insert a roller. They then fasten a great water-bucket to long ropes, which they bring over the roller; one end of this rope they tie to the bullock, and while one man drives the bullock, another is employed to pour the water out of the bucket (when it reaches the top of the well). Every time that the bullock raises the bucket from the well, as it is let down again, the rope slides along the bullock-course, is defiled with urine and dung, and in this filthy condition falls into the well. In many instances, where fields require to be watered, the men and women draw water in buckets[a] and irrigate them.

The country and towns of Hindustān are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform look; its gardens have no walls; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places, the plain is covered by a thorny brushwood, to such Its aspect.

[a] pitchers

[1] [Chandwār lies on the right bank of the Jamna, south-east of Agra.]

[2] [This method is used all over north India. The leathern bucket, which contains up to forty gallons of water, is called *moth*. The bullocks, in hauling up the bucket, walk down a ramp which is approximately equal to the depth of the well.]

a degree that the people of the pergannas, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and, trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes. In Hindustān, if you except the rivers, there is little running water.[1] Now and then some standing water is to be met with. All these cities and countries derive their water from wells or tanks, in which it is collected during the rainy season. In Hindustān, the populousness and decay, or total destruction of villages, nay of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (if, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight), in a single day, or a day and a half, are so completely abandoned, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population.[2] And if, on the other hand, they intend to settle on any particular spot, as they do not need to run water-courses, or to build flood-mounds, their crops being produced without irrigation,[3] and the population of Hindustān being unlimited, inhabitants swarm in every direction. They make a tank or dig a well; there is no need of building a strong house or erecting a firm wall; they have abundance of strong grass, and plenty of timber, of which

[1] In Persia there are few rivers, but numbers of artificial canals or water-runs for irrigation, and for the supply of water to towns and villages. The same is the case in the valley of Soghd, and the richer parts of Māweralnaher.

[2] This is the *wulsa* or *walsa*, so well described by Colonel Wilks in his *Historical Sketches* [London, 1810], vol. i, p. 309, note: 'On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual, man, woman, and child above six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers), with a load of gram proportioned to their strength, issue from their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found) exempt from the miseries of war, sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence until the departure of the enemy, and if this should be protracted beyond the time for which they have provided food, a large portion necessarily dies of hunger.' See the note itself. The *Historical Sketches* should be read by every one who desires to have an accurate idea of the south of India. It is to be regretted that we do not possess the history of any other part of India, written with the same knowledge or research.

[3] *Lalmi* [irrigated by rain-water].

they run up hovels, and a village or town is constructed in an instant.

Its quadrupeds.

As for the animals peculiar to Hindustān, one is the elephant, the Hindustānis call it *Hāthi*, which inhabits [a] the district of Kālpi [1]; and the higher you advance from thence towards the east, the more do the wild elephants increase in number. That is the tract in which the elephant is chiefly taken. There may be thirty or forty villages in Karrah [2] and Mānikpūr [3] that are occupied solely in this employment of taking elephants.[4] They account to the Government for the elephants which they take The elephant is an immense animal, and of great sagacity. It understands whatever you tell it, and does whatever it is bid. Its value is in proportion to its size When it arrives at a proper age [b] they sell it, and the largest brings the highest price. They say that in some islands the elephant grows to the height of ten gaz [5] I have never, in these countries, seen one above four or five gaz. The elephant eats and drinks entirely by means of his trunk. He cannot live if he loses it. On the two sides of his trunk, in his upper jaw, he has two tusks; it is by applying these teeth, and exerting all his force, that he overturns walls and tears up trees; and, when he fights

The elephant.

[a] *Add* the borders of

[b] its full size

[1] [Kālpi is a town of great historic interest on the right bank of the Jamna in the Jalaun district, U P]

[2] [Karrah is a town on the left bank of the Jamna in the Allahābād district, U P]

[3] [Mānikpūr is a town in the Partābgarh district, Delhi]

[4] The improvement of Hindustān since Bābur's time must be prodigious The wild elephant is now confined to the forests under Himalayas, and to the Ghāts of Malabār A wild elephant near Karrah (Currah), Mānikpūr, or Kālpi, is a thing, at the present day, totally unknown. May not their familiar existence in these countries, down to Bābur's days, be considered as rather hostile to the accounts given of the superabundant population of Hindustān in remote times? [Wild elephants are now found along the base of the Himalayas as far west as Dehra Dūn, in the great forest tract between the Ganges and the Kistna, and in the wild hill ranges that extend from Mysore to Cape Comorin]

[5] [A *gaz*, it will be remembered, is a unit of measure which, strictly speaking, denotes the distance between the point of the shoulder and the finger-tips This is generally taken to equal a yard, though Bābur's *gaz* is only 2½ feet]

or performs any operation that requires great exertion, he makes use of these tusks, which they call *âj*.[1] The tusks are highly valued by the Hindus. The elephant is not covered with hair or wool [2] like other animals.[a] The natives of Hindustân place great reliance on their elephants; in their armies, every division has invariably a certain number with it. The elephant has some valuable qualities: it can carry a great quantity of baggage over deep and rapid torrents, and passes them with ease; gun-carriages, which it takes four or five hundred men to drag, two or three[b] elephants draw without difficulty. But it has a great stomach, and a single elephant will consume the grain of seven or fourteen[c] camels.

Rhinoceros. The rhinoceros is another. This also is a huge animal. Its bulk is equal to that of three buffaloes. The opinion prevalent in our countries, that a rhinoceros can lift an elephant on its horn, is probably a mistake. It has a single horn over its nose, upwards of a span in length, but I never saw one of two spans. Out of one of the largest of these horns I had a drinking-vessel [3] made, and a dice-box, and about three or four fingers' bulk of it might be left. Its hide is very thick. If it be shot at with a powerful bow, drawn up to the armpit with much force, and if the arrow pierces at all, it enters only three or four[d] fingers' breadth. They say, however, that there are parts of its skin that may be pierced, and the arrows enter deep. On the sides of its two shoulder-blades, and of its two thighs, are folds that hang loose, and appear at a distance like cloth housings dangling over it. It bears more resemblance to the horse than to any other animal.[4] As the horse has a large stomach, so has[5] this; as the pastern of the horse is composed of a single

[a] *Omit* or wool . . . animals.
[b] three or four
[c] *Omit* or fourteen
[d] *Omit* three or

[1] [Ivory]
[2] Its skin is scattered with thin hair.
[3] The rhinoceros's horn was supposed to sweat on the approach of poison, a quality which fitted it, in a peculiar manner, for being made into a drinking-cup for an eastern king
[4] It is to the eye more like the elephant, or a huge overgrown hog.
[5] [This ought to run, according to P de C, 'the rhinoceros, like the horse, has not a large stomach'.]

bone, so also is that of the rhinoceros ; as there is a *gumek*[1] in the horse's foreleg, so is there in that of the rhinoceros. It is more ferocious than the elephant, and cannot be rendered so tame or obedient. There are numbers of them in the jungles of Pershāwer and Hashnaghar, as well as between the river Sind and Behreh in the jungles. In Hindustān, too, they abound on the banks of the river Sarū.[2] In the course of my expeditions into Hindustān, in the jungles of Pershāwer, and Hashnaghar,[3] I frequently killed the rhinoceros. It strikes powerfully with its horn, with which, in the course of these hunts, many men, and many horses, were gored. In one hunt, it tossed with its horn, a full spear's length, the horse of a young man named Maksūd, whence he got the name of Rhinoceros Maksūd[4]

Wild buffalo

Another animal is the wild buffalo. It is much larger than the common buffalo. Its horns go back [a] like those of the common buffalo, but not so as to grow into the flesh.[b] It is a very destructive and ferocious animal.[5]

Nilgau

Another is the *nīlgau*.[6] Its height is about equal to that of a horse. It is somewhat slenderer. The male is bluish, whence it is called the *nīlgau*.[7] It has two small horns, and on its neck has some hair,[c] more than a span in length,[8] which bears much resemblance to the mountain-cow tassels[9] Its tail is like the bull's.[d] The colour of the female is like that of the *gawazen* deer[10]; she has no horns, nor any hair on the under part of her neck ; and is plumper than the male.

Kotah paichel

Another is the *kotah-paicheh*.[11] Its size may be equal to

[a] do not turn back [b] *Omit this clause* [c] tufts of hair,
[d] Its hoof is like that of an ordinary ox

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[1] A marginal note on the Tūrkī copy, translates *qumek*, marrow [P. de C. translates 'The foreleg of the horse is bony']

[2] The Gogra.

[3] The rhinoceros is now entirely expelled from the countries about the Indus [The rhinoceros (*R. Indicus*) is now only found in Assam, the Nepal terai, the Bengal Sundarbands, and in Burmah]

[4] [i. e 'the Rhino's aim']

[5] [The wild buffalo (*Bos bubalus*) is now met with in Assam, Bengal, and Orissa] [6] [*Portax pictus*] [7] Blue ox.

[8] On the lower part of its neck is a thick circumscribed tuft of hair. [9] *Kutās* [10] [*Cervus marāl*]

[11] Short-legged. [The hog deer (*Axis porcinus*)]

that of the white deer. Its two forelegs as well as its thighs are short, whence its name (short-legged). Its horns are branching like those of the *gawazen*, but less. Every year, too, it casts its horns like the stag. It is a bad runner, and therefore never leaves the jungle.

Antelope

There is another species of deer that resembles the male *huneh* or *jīrān*[1] Its back is black, its belly white, its horns longer than those of the *huneh*, and more crooked. The Hindustānis call it *kalhareh*. This word was probably originally *kālahirn*, that is black deer, which they have corrupted into *kalhareh*.[2] The female is white. They take deer by means of this *kalhareh*. They make fast a running [a] net to its horns, and tie a stone larger than a football [b] to its leg,[c] that, after it is separated from the deer,[d] it may be hindered from running far. When the deer sees the wild *kalhareh* it advances up to it, presenting its head.[e] This species of deer is very fond of fighting, and comes on to butt with its horns. When they have engaged and pushed at each other with their horns, in the course of their moving backwards and forwards, the net which has been fastened on the tame one's horns, gets entangled in those of the wild deer, and prevents its escape. Though the wild deer uses every effort to flee, the tame one does not run off, and is greatly impeded by the stone tied to its leg, which keeps back the other also.[f] In this way they take a number of deer,[3] which they afterwards tame.[g] They likewise take deer by setting nets [h] They breed this tame deer to fight in their houses ; it makes an excellent battle.[i]

Deer.

There is on the skirts of the mountains of Hindustān

[a] circular [b] *cheville* [c] hindleg, [d] when the deer is caught,
[e] When a wild deer is seen the tame one is placed in front of it
[f] *Omit this clause* [g] and tame them for this kind of sport
[h] *Omit this sentence*
[i] They are also very fond of setting these tame deer to fight with each other in their houses, which they do with great ardour

[1] [Or rather, according to P de C, 'the *huneh* the male of the *jīrān*'. Sterndale gives both *kiyik* and *jīrān* as Tūrki names for the Persian gazelle (*G subgutturosa*), but they appear to be different animals and the latter may be the *Saiga tartarica*]

[2] [The common black buck of India (*Antilope cervicapra*)]

[3] This way of catching the antelope is still in constant use in India

another deer which is smaller. It may be equal in size to a sheep [1] of a year old.[a]

Another is the *gau-gīnī* [2]; it is a small species of cow, like the larger *kūchkār* [3] (or ram) of our country. Its flesh is very tender and savoury. Gau-gīnī.

The monkey is another of the animals of the country. The Hindustānis call it *bander*. There are many species of them. One species is the same that is brought to our countries. The jugglers teach them tricks. It is met with in the hill-country of the Dareh (or valley of) Nūr, on the Koh-e-sefīd, in the skirts of the hills [b] in the neighbourhood of Kheiber, and from thence downward throughout all Hindustān. It is not found any higher up than the places I have mentioned. Its hair is yellow, its face white, its tail is not very long.[4] There is another species of monkey, which is not found in Bajour, Sawād, and these districts, and is much larger than the kinds that are brought into our country. Its tail is very long, its hair whitish, its face entirely black. They call this species of monkey *langūr*,[c 5] and it is met with in the hills and woods of Hindustān. There is still another species of monkey, whose hair, face, and all its limbs are quite black; they bring it from several islands of the sea. There is yet another species of monkey brought from some islands. Its colour approaches to a yellowish blue, somewhat like the skin of the fig. Its head is broadish, and it is of a much larger size than other monkeys. It is very fierce and destructive.[d 6] Monkey.

Another is the *nol* [7] (or mungoose). It is a little smaller Mungoose

[a] a year old lamb of the *Arkarghalchah* (*Ovis ammon*?)
[b] on the slopes of the Sufed Koh,
[c] *Omit this clause*
[d] *Omit the passage* they bring it . . . destructive.

[1] [The small Indian gazelle or *chin-kāra* (*Gazella benetti*) may be referred to here.]

[2] [This is the *Gynee* which is described in Yule and Burnell's glossary 'as a very diminutive kind of ox bred in Bengal, not more than three feet high.']

[3] [The *kūchkār* may be the *Ovis poli*.]

[4] *Macacus rhesus*

[5] The baboon [*Semnopithecus entellus*]

[6] Bābur adds it is singular, *quod penis ejus semper sit erecta, et nunquam non ad coitum idonea*

[7] A note on the Tūrki copy calls the *nol*, *rāsū*, which is the weasel

than the *kīsh*. It mounts on trees, many also call it the *mūsh-khūrma*. They reckon it lucky. There is another
Squirrel. of the mouse species, which they call *galahrī* (the squirrel)[1]; it always lives in trees, and runs up and down them with surprising nimbleness.

Its birds. Peacock. Of the birds, one is the peacock.[2] It is a beautifully coloured and splendid animal. It is less remarkable for its bulk than for its colour and beauty. Its size may be about that of a crane, but it is not so tall. On the head of the peacock, and of the peahen, there may be about twenty or thirty feathers, rising two or three fingers' breadth in height. The peahen is neither richly coloured nor beautiful. The head of the male has a lustrous and undulat ng[a] colour. Its neck is of a fine azure Lower down than the neck, its back is painted with the richest yellow, green, azure, and violet; the flowers or stars on its back are but small; below, they increase in size, still preserving the same colour and splendour, down to the very extremity of the tail. The tail of some peacocks is as high as a man.[b] Below these richly-painted feathers of its tail it has another smaller tail like that of other birds, and this ordinary tail, and the feathers of its sides, are red. It is found in Bajour and Sawād, and in the countries below, but not in Kuner or Lamghānāt, or in any place higher up. It flies even worse than the *kar-kāwel* (or pheasant), and cannot take more than one or two flights at a time[3] On account of its flying so ill, it always frequents either a hilly country or a jungle. It is remarkable, that whenever there are many peacocks in a wood there are also a number of jackals in it, and as they have

[a] iridescent [b] fathom [6 feet].

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of Tartary. *Newal* is still the Hindustāni name for the mungoose [The animal referred to by Bābur here cannot be the mungoose (*Herpestes mungūs*), which is not arboreal in its habits It may be the *Sciurus indicus*, though this species of squirrel is not now found north of the Ganges. The *kīsh*, which Steingass describes as 'a fur-bearing animal', may possibly be the *Putorius erminea*]

[1] [*Galahrī* is the native name for the common Indian squirrel (*Sciurus palmarum*)] [2] [*Pavocristatus.*]

[3] The *karkāwel*, which is of the pheasant species, when pursued, will take several flights immediately after each other, though none long, peacocks, it seems, soon get tired, and take to running.

to drag after them a tail the size of a man,[a] it may easily be supposed how much they are molested by the jackals, in their passage from one thicket to another. The Hindustānis call them *mor*. According to the doctrines of Imām Abu Hanīfeh, this bird is lawful food. Its flesh is not unpleasant. It resembles that of the quail,[b] but it is eaten with some degree of loathing, like that of the camel.

Another is the parrot, which also is found in Bajour and the countries below it. In the spring,[c] when the mulberry ripens, it comes up into Nangenhār and Lamghānāt, but is found there at no other season. There are many species of parrot. One is that which they carry into our countries, and teach to talk.[1] There is another species, of smaller size, which is also taught to speak. They call it the wood-parrot. Great numbers of this species are found in Bajour, Sawād, and the neighbouring districts, insomuch, that they go in flights of five and six thousand. These two species differ only in bulk; both have the same colours. There is another species of parrot, which is still smaller than the wood-parrot. Its head is red, as well as its upper feathers. From the tip of its tail to within two fingers' breadth of its feet, it is white.[d] The head of many of this species is lustrous, and they do not speak. They call it the Kashmīr parrot.[2] There is another species of parrot like the wood-parrot, but a little less. Its beak is red[e]; round its neck is a broad black circle like a collar. Its upper feathers are crimson; it learns to speak well. I had imagined that a parrot, or *shārak*, only repeated what it had been taught, and that it could reduce nothing into words from its own reflections. Abul Kāsim Jelair, who is one of my most familiar servants, lately told me a remarkable incident. The cage of a parrot of this last-mentioned species having been covered up, the parrot called out, 'Uncover my face; I cannot breathe.' On another occasion, when the bearers who were employed to

Parrot

[a] a fathom long, [b] francolin [partridge], [c] summer,
[d] The end of its tail to the length of two fingers is white.
[e] black

[1] [*Palaeornis torquatus* (Hindustanī = *tota*) is found all over India]
[2] [*Palaeornis rosea ?*]

carry it had set it down to rest themselves, and a number of people passed by, the parrot called out, 'Everybody is going by, why don't you go on?' Let the credit rest with the relater! Yet till one hears such things with his own ears, he never can believe them. There is another kind of parrot, of a beautiful red colour; it has also other colours. As I do not precisely recollect its appearance, I therefore do not describe it particularly. It is a very elegant bird,[a] and learns to talk. It has one great defect, that its voice is particularly disagreeable, having a sharp and grating sound,[1] as if you rubbed a piece of broken china on a copper plate.

Shārak. Another of the birds of Hindustān is the *shārak*, which abounds in the Lamghānāt, and everywhere lower down, over the whole of Hindustān. The *shārak* is of different species. One is that which is found in great numbers in the Lamghānāt. Its head is black, its wings white [b]; its size rather larger than the *chughur*,[2] and slenderer. It learns to speak. There is another sort, which they call *pindāweli*. They bring it from Bengal. It is all black. It is much larger than the other *shārak*. Its bill and foot are yellow. In its two ears are two yellow leathers, which hang down, and look very ugly. They call it the *meina*.[3] It learns to speak, and speaks well and fluently. There is another kind of *shārak* a little slenderer than this last.[4] It is red round the eye. This kind does not talk. When I threw a bridge over the Ganges, and crossed it, driving the enemy before me, I saw in Lucknow, Oudh, and these countries, a species of *shārak*, which had a white breast, and a piebald head, with a black back.[5] I had never seen it before. This species probably does not learn to speak at all.

[a] *Add* its plumage is splendid, [b] piebald

[1] Perhaps the Lori [*Loriculus vernalis*]

[2] [The Persian has *Jāl*, which is the Bokhara lark, a common cage bird in India (*Melanocorypha torquata*). *Chughur* is a large species of lark. The bird referred to here must be some species of starling (*shārak*), possibly *Sturnus humii*]

[3] [This is obviously the Hill Maina (*Eulabes intermedia*)]

[4] The Persian adds: 'they call it *wan-shārak*' (the wild or wood *shārak*). [Possibly the *Calornis chalybeius*]

[5] [This is probably the pied starling (*Sturnopastor contra*), generally known as *Ablaq maina*.]

Another is the *lūjeh*.[1] This fowl they also call the *būkale-mūn*.[2] From the head to the tail, it has five or six different colours. Its neck has a bright glancing[3] tinge like the pigeon's. In size, it is equal to the *kabk i durri*. It may be regarded as the *kabk i durri*[4] of Hindustān; as the *kabk i durri* inhabits the summits of the mountains, this also inhabits the tops of the mountains. They are met with in the country of Kābul and the hill-country of Nijrau,[a] and from thence downward, wherever there are hills; but they are not found any higher up. A remarkable circumstance is told of them It is said, that in winter they come down to the skirts of the hills, and that if in their flight one of them happens to pass over a vineyard, it can no longer fly, and is taken. God knows the truth! Its flesh is very savoury. Lūjeh.

Another bird is the *dūrraj* (or partridge).[5] It is not peculiar to Hindustān. It is found everywhere in the countries of the *garmsil*. But, as certain species of it are found only in Hindustān, I have included it in this descriptive enumeration. The partridge may be equal to the *kabk i durri*[b 6] in size. The colour of its back is like that of the female of the *murgh-e-dashti* (or jungle fowl).[c] Its neck and breast are black, with bright white spots. On both sides of both its eyes is a line of red. It has a cry like *Shīr dārem, shakrek*.[7] From its cry it gets its name. It pronounces *shīr* short, *dārem shakrek* it pronounces distinctly. The partridges of Asterābād are said to cry *Bāt mīni, tūti lār*.[8] Dūrraj (or black partridge).

[a] In the mountains of Nijrau in the country of Kābul,
[b] partridge [c] pheasant

[1] The Persian has *lūkheh* [This may be the *manāl* pheasant (*Lophophorus impeyanus*), though *būkalamūn* is the Persian word for the turkey.]

[2] Chameleon bird. [3] [i. e. lustrous]

[4] The *kabk i dari*, or *durri*, is much larger than the common *kabk* of Persia, and is peculiar to Khorāsān [*Tetragallus Caspius*]. It is said to be a beautiful bird. The common *kabk* of Persia and Kābul is the hill *chikor* of India [*Caccabis chukūr*].

[5] [The black partridge of northern India (*Francolinus vulgaris*).]

[6] [The bird referred to here seems to be the *kabk* or hill *chikor* (*Caccabis chukūr*).] [7] I have milk and [a little] sugar.

[8] [P. de C. translates this 'They have caught me. Quick!']

The cry of the partridges of Arabia and the neighbouring countries is, *Bil shuker tadūm al niam*.[1] The colour of the hen bird resembles that of the young *karkāwel* (or pheasant). They are found below Nijrau. There is another fowl of the partridge kind, which they call *kanjel*.[2] It is about the size of the partridge. Its cry is very like that of a *kabk*, but shriller. There is little difference in colour between the male and female. It is found in the country of Pershāwer, Hashnaghar, and in the countries lower down, but in no district higher up.

Pūlpeikar. Another bird is the *pūlpeikar*.[3] Its size is equal to that of the *kabk i durri*. Its figure resembles the dung-hill cock, and in colour it is like the hen. From its forehead down to its breast it is of a beautiful scarlet colour. The *pūlpeikar* inhabits the hill-country of Hindustān.

Murgh-e-sahrā (or owl of the wild) The *murgh-e-sahrā*[4] (fowl of the wild) is another. The difference between it and the barn-door fowl is, that the fowl of the wild flies like the *karkāwel* (or pheasant); it is not of every[a] colour like the barn-door fowl. It is found in the hill-country of Bajour, and the hill-country lower down. It is not met with above Bajour.

Chelsi. Another is the *chelsi*, which is like[b] the *pūlpeikar*, but the *pūlpeikar* has finer colours. It inhabits the hill-country of Bajour.

Shām Another is the *shām*.[5] It may be about the size of the common cock, and is of various colours. It also is found in the hill-country of Bajour.

Budīneh, or quail Another is the *budīneh* (or quail), which is not peculiar to Hindustān, but there are four or five species of it peculiar to that country. There is one species that visits our

[a] uniform [b] the same size as

[1] [Blessings endure through thanks.]

[2] [*Kanjek*, according to P. de C. Possibly the grey partridge (*Ortygiornis pondiceriana*).]

[3] [This may be the horned pheasant of the hills (*Trapogon melanocephala*). It is the only pheasant with a scarlet throat and neck.]

[4] [Perhaps the common Red jungle fowl (*Gallus ferrugineus*).]

[5] [The *Chelsi* and *Shām* may be names for the Kalij (*Gallophasis albo-cristatus*) and Koklas (*Pucrasia macrolopha*), which are common pheasants in the lower Himalayas.]

countries.[1] It is larger and more spreading than the common *budīneh*. There is another species, which is less than the *budīnehs* that visit us.[2] Its wings and tail are reddish. This *budīneh* goes in flights like the *chīr*.[3] There is still another species, which is smaller than the *budīnehs* that visit our country. They are generally black on the throat and breast.[4] There is another species which seldom visits Kābul. It is small, somewhat larger than the *kārcheh*; in Kābul they call it *kūrātū*.[5]

Another is the *kharchāl* (or bustard), which may be about the size of the *tughdāk*, and is in reality the *tughdāk*[6] of Hindustān. Its flesh is very savoury. The flesh of the leg of some fowls, and of the breast of others, is excellent; the flesh of every part of the *kharchāl* is delicious. Kharchāl (or bustard).

Another is the *charz*[7] (or floriken). Its size is somewhat less than the *tughderi*.[8] The back of the male is like that of the *tughderi*; its breast is black. The female is all of a single colour. The flesh of the *charz* is very delicate. As the *kharchāl* resembles the *tughdāk*, the *charz* resembles the *tughderi*. Charz (or floriken)

Another is the *bāghrī-kara*[9] (or rock-pigeon) of Hindustān, which is less than the *bāghrī-kara* of the west,[10] and slenderer; its cry, too, is sharper. Bāghrī-kara (or rock-pigeon).

There are other fowls, that frequent the water and the banks of rivers. One of these is the *dīng*[11] (or adjutant), Water-fowl.

[1] That is, the country north of the Oxus. [This migratory species is probably the common grey quail (*Coturnix communis*) The 'common *budīneh*' may be the bush quail (*Perdicula asiatica*), the *lawā* of Hindustān, which is much used for fighting.]

[2] [The rock bush quail (*Perdicula argunda*) may be referred to, as it flies in flocks.]

[3] [*Phasianus Wallichii.*]

[4] [The *Coturnix coromandelica* or rain quail.]

[5] [Possibly the lesser button quail (*Turnix dussumieri*. *Kārcheh* = wagtail.]

[6] The bustard is common in the Dekkan, where it is bigger than a turkey, and is called *tughdār*, probably corrupted from *tughdāk* [This is the great Indian bustard (*Eupodotis Edwardsii*).]

[7] [*Sypheotis aurita*.]

[8] [The lesser bustard (*Houbara Macqueeni*) so well known to falconers.]

[9] [The common sandgrouse (*Pterocles exustus*) which Jerdon calls 'the rock pigeon of sportsmen in India'.]

[10] [The black-breasted or Imperial sandgrouse (*Pterocles arenarius*).]

[11] The Hindustāni name of the adjutant [*Leptoptilus argala*] is *Pīr-e-dīng*

)ing (or djutant).

which is a large bird. Each of its wings is the length of a man ;[a] on its head and neck there is no hair ;[b] something like a bag hangs from its neck ; its back is black, its breast white ; it frequently[c] visits Kābul. One year they caught and brought me a *dīng*, which became very tame. The flesh which they threw it, it never failed to catch in its beak, and swallowed without ceremony. On one occasion, it swallowed a shoe well shod with iron ; on another occasion, it swallowed a good-sized fowl right down, with its wings and feathers.

ïāras.

Another is the *sāras*.[1] The Tūrks who are in Hindustān call it *tīweh-tūrneh*.[2] It is a little less than the *dīng*. The neck of the *dīng* is longer than that of the *sāras*.[d] Its head is red. They keep it about their houses, and it becomes very tame.

)inkisā.

Another is the *minkisā*,[3] which is nearly of the height of the *sāras*, but its size is less. It resembles the stork,[4] but is much larger. Its bill is longer than the stork's, and is black. Its head is polished and shining, its neck white, its wings parti-coloured. The edges and roots of the feathers of its wings are white, and the middle black.

Yak dīng

There is another sort of stork, which has a white neck, while its head and all the rest of its body are black. It migrates to our countries. It is rather less than the common stork. This stork the Hindustānis call *yak dīng*.[5] There is another stork, which resembles in colour and shape the stork that visits our countries. Its beak is generally black and white,[e] and is much smaller than the other. There is yet another fowl which resembles the stork and heron.[6] The

[a] a fathom's length. [b] feathers, [c] occasionally
[d] It is a little less bulky than the *dīng*, but taller.
[e] but its beak is much blacker,

[1] [*Grus antigone*] [2] Camel-crane
[3] [The white-necked stork (*Dissurus episcopus*). P. de C calls it the *Ming*, the native name being *Mānik-jūr*.]
[4] [The common white stork of India is known as *laglag* (*Ciconia alba*). I am unable to identify the other species mentioned by Bābur.]
[5] [Or rather *Yak rang* (one colour), which is P de C's variant. This may be the Painted Stork (*Pseudotantalus leucocephalus*), a common Indian species]
[6] [The common grey heron (*Ardea cinerea*).]

bill of this bird is longer than the heron's and larger. In size it is less than the stork.

Būzek (o curlew).

Another is the large *būzek*[1] (or curlew). Its bulk may be about that of the starling. Its head and two wings[a] are white. It has a loud cry. Another is the white *būzek*.[2] Its head and bill are black. It is considerably larger than the *būzek* of our countries, but less than the *būzek* of Hindustān.[3]

Gheret-p

There is another water-fowl, which they call *gheret-pāi*.[4] It is larger than the *sona burchīn*. The male and female are of the same colour. It is always found in Hashnaghar, and sometimes visits the Lamghānāt. Its flesh is very delicate.

Shāh-murgh.

There is another waterfowl which they call *shāhmurgh*.[5] It may be rather less than the goose. It has a swelling above its nose. Its breast is white, its back black, and its flesh is excellent.

Zumej.

Another is the *zumej*,[6] which is about the size of a *būrkūt* (or falcon). It is of a black colour.

Starling.

Another is the starling.[7] Its tail and back are red.

Ala-kūr-gheh (or magpie).

Another is the *ala-kūrgheh*[8] (or magpie) of Hindustān.

[a] the back of its wings

[1] [The common black ibis (*Inocotis papillosus*)]

[2] [The white ibis (*Ibis melanocephala*)]

[3] Perhaps the spoonbill, called, in India, *Chamach-būzeh* [*Platalea leucorodia*]

[4] *Ghazin-pāi —Tūrki.* There is a kind of water-fowl called *gazpā*, which seems to be a redshank [This may be the spotted-billed duck (*Anas poecilorhyncha*), which is called *garm-pāi* by falconers *Sona* is a name for the mallard (*Anas boschas*)]

[5] The bird called *nukta*, a sort of duck, but nearly as big as a wild-goose, it has a black beak, with a high knob on it [This is evidently the blackbacked goose, or comb duck (*Sarcidiornis melanonotus*), though *shāhmurghābi* is a name properly applied to the sheldrake]

[6] [*Zumaj* is the Arabic name for the Persian *dubāra*, or *dubarādarān* (two brothers), so called because it hunts in couples. It is probably the black hawk-eagle (*Ictinaetus malayensis*) *Būrqūt* is perhaps the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetus*)]

[7] *Sār* [This cannot be the common starling (*Sturnus vulgaris*), the tail and back of which are not red Possibly the rose-coloured starling (*Pastor roseus*) is referred to]

[8] [The *Ala-kūrgha* is really the carrion crow (*Corvus Cornix var sharpii*).]

It is slender and smaller than the *ala-kūrgheh* (or magpie) of my native country. It has some white on its neck.

Crow-pheasant.

There is another bird, which bears some resemblance to the carrion crow.[a] In Lamghānāt they call it the wood-fowl. Its head and breast are black, its wings and tail red, its eyes a very deep red.[1] From its being weak and flying ill, it never comes out of the woods, whence it is that it gets the name of the wood-fowl.

Chamgīdrī (or flying fox)

Another is the great bat; they call it *chamgīdri*.[2] It is about the size of the owl, and its head resembles that of a young whelp. It lays hold of a branch of the tree on which it intends to roost, turns head undermost, and so hangs, presenting a very singular appearance.

Aakeh.

Another is the *aakeh*[3] of Hindustān; they call it *mitā*. It is a little smaller than the common *aakeh*, which is parti-coloured black and white, while the *mitā* is parti-coloured brown and black.

There is another bird whose size may be equal to that of the *sandūlaj-mamūla*.[4] It is of a beautiful red, and on its wings has a little black.

Kārcheh

Another is the *kārcheh*. It resembles the *kārlughāch*,[5] but is much larger than that bird; it is entirely of a black colour.

Koel.

Another is the *koel*,[6] which in length may be equal to the

[a] *Add* especially to the kind called *gukeh* [magpie]

[1] This is the crow-pheasant, or Malabār pheasant, the *Centropus sinensis*

[2] [The flying fox (*Pteropus medius*)]

[3] ['*Aqqah* is the Arabic word for magpie The Indian magpie is the Treepie (*Dendrocitta rufa*), the European magpie (*Pica rustica*) is common trans-Indus]

[4] [*Mamūlā* is the Arabic word for wagtail (*Motacilla*), for which *sandulāj* appears to be the Türki equivalent The bird referred to may be the scarlet minivet (*Pericrocotus speciosus*)]

[5] Also called the *terashterek* [According to P. de C *qārlūghāch* means swallow The larger bird (*kārcha*) may be the common swallow (*Hirundo rustica*), and the smaller (*qārlūghāch*) the Indian swift (*Cypselus affinis*).]

[6] [The common Indian cuckoo (*Eudynamis honorata*). This bird is parasitic like its European cousin, and lays its eggs in the nest of the common crow. The note of the *koel* (*pace* Bābur) is very harsh and unpleasant, increasing in intensity as it proceeds, and

crow, but is much thinner. It has a kind of song, and is the nightingale of Hindustān. It is respected by the natives of Hindustān as much as the nightingale by us. It inhabits gardens where the trees are close planted.

There is another bird resembling the *shikrāk*. It lives close among and about trees,[a] and may be about the size of a *shikrāk*. It is green-coloured like the parrot.[1]

Aquatic animals. Alligator

Of the aquatic animals, one is the alligator.[2] It dwells in standing waters,[3] and resembles the crocodile.[4] They say that it carries off men, and even buffaloes. Another is the *sipsar*[5] (another species of alligator). This, too, is like the crocodile. It inhabits all the rivers of Hindustān. One was caught and brought to me. It may be about four or five gaz in length,[b] and some are even larger. Its snout is upwards of half a gaz long. Both in its upper and lower jaw it has several very small ranges of teeth. It comes out and sleeps[c] on the edge of the water.

Water-ho

Another is the water hog,[6] which is also found in all the rivers of Hindustān. It springs up from the water with a jerk, puts up its head[d] and plunges it down again, leaving no part of its body visible but the tail. The jaw[e] of this animal, too, is like that of the alligator. It is long, and has the same kind of ranges of teeth; in other respects its head and body are like a fish. While it is playing in the water it resembles a water-bag. The water-hogs that are

[a] It clings to trees and remains motionless,
[b] *Add* and as bulky as a sheep,
[c] lies
[d] *Add* which resembles the alligator's snout,
[e] snout

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hence its nickname (the 'brain-fever bird'). The male is greenish black, and the female dusky green spotted with white]

[1] [*Shiqrāq* is the Arabic for the green magpie (*Cissa sinensis*). From P. de C.'s description the Indian bird referred to may be a species of green woodpecker (*Gecinus striolatus*).]

[2] The *sherābi*, or water lion, is the alligator [*Crocodilus palustris*]

[3] [i. e. the lagoons left on the banks of the great rivers after an inundation]

[4] *Gīlās* [= lizard]

[5] [This may be a corruption of the Persian word for crocodile (Siyāhsar = black head) The saurian referred to here is probably the *C. porosus*, which is the largest of the three species of Indian crocodiles]

[6] *Khūk-ābi*. [The Gangetic Dolphin (*Platanista gangetica*)]

in the river Sarū,[1] while sporting, leap right out of the water. This animal, too, resembles a fish in never leaving the water.

Garial Another is the *garial*, which is a large fish. Many of the army saw it in the river Sarū. It carries off men. During the time that we remained on the river Saru, one or two slave boys [a] were seized by it and carried down. Between Ghāzipūr [2] and Benāres it also carried off two, three, or four of our men.[b] In that vicinity I saw the *garial* [3] from a distance, but I could not get a distinct view of it.

Kakeh. The *kakeh* is another fish. On a line with its two ears issue two bones,[c] three fingers-breadth in length. When caught it shakes these two bones, which return a singular sound, whence they have given this fish its name of *kakeh*.

The flesh of the fishes of Hindustān is delicate, and they have few small bones.[d] They are surprisingly active. On one occasion a net was laid in a river, from side to side. The fish entered it.[e] Each side [f] of the net was then raised a gaz [g] above the water; yet many of the fish leaped, one after the other, a full gaz over the net, and escaped. There are, besides, in many rivers of Hindustān small fishes, which, if they hear a harsh sound, or the treading of a foot, instantly leap a gaz, or a gaz and a half, out of the water.

Frogs. The frogs of Hindustān are worthy of notice. Though of

[a] women [b] camp followers. [c] bony protuberances.
[d] *Add* and no unpleasant smell. [e] *Omit this sentence*
[f] The upper extremity [g] half a gaz

[1] The Sirjū, or Gogra

[2] [Ghāzipūr is the head-quarters of the district of the same name in the United Provinces It is situated on the left bank of the Ganges about forty-two miles north-east of Benares The old palace of the Forty Pillars which overlooks the river is its principal attraction. On the plain near the old cantonment is a cenotaph in white marble, with a medallion bust by Flaxman, to the memory of Lord Cornwallis, who died there in 1805 Ghāzipūr used to be the head-quarters of the U P Opium Agency, which has recently been closed]

[3] The *garial* is one of the two kinds of crocodile the other is called *magar* The latter has a long, sharp snout the snout of the former is round [The *gharial*, or Gavial (*Gavialus gangeticus*) is the alligator, the *magar* being the crocodile (*Crocodilus palustris*).]

the same species as our own, yet they will run six or seven gaz on the face of the water.

Of the vegetable productions peculiar to Hindustān, one is the mango (*ambeh*).[1] The natives of Hindustān generally pronounce the *bi* in it, as if no vowel followed; but as this makes the word difficult to articulate, it is sometimes called *naghzak*, as Khwājeh Khosrou[2] says: Fruits. Mango.

> My mango (my fair[3]) is the embellisher of the garden,
> The most lovely fruit of Hindustān

Such mangoes as are good are excellent. Many are eaten, but few are good of their kind. They pluck most of them unripe, and ripen them in the house. While unripe the mango makes excellent tarts,[a] and extremely good marmalade.[b] In short, this is the best fruit of Hindustān. The tree bears a great weight of fruit.[c] Many praise the mango so highly as to give it the preference to every kind of fruit, the musk-melon excepted, but it does not appear to me to justify their praises. It resembles the *kārdi* peach, and ripens in the rains. There are two kinds of it.[d] One kind[e] they squeeze and soften in the hand, and then, making a hole in its side, press it and suck the juice. The other is like the *kārdi* peach[f] They take off its skin, and eat it. Its leaf somewhat resembles that of the peach. Its trunk is ill-looking and ill-shaped. In Bengal and Gujerāt the mangoes are excellent.

Another of their fruits is the plantain.[4] The Arabs call it *mauz*. Its tree is not very tall, and, indeed, is not entitled to the appellation of tree; it is something between a tree Plantain.

[a] an excellent dish,
[b] preserves.
[c] The tree which bears the mango grows to a great size
[d] two ways of eating it
[e] By one way
[f] By the other it is treated like the *kārdi* peach

[1] *Magnifera Indica*

[2] [Amīr Khusru (1253–1325), the celebrated poet of India known as *Tūti Hind*, was the son of a Lachīn Turk, Amīr Saif ud dīn Mahmūd, who came from Balkh to India, and settled in Patiāla, where the poet was born. He was a most prolific author, and among his numerous works may be mentioned the *Dīvān*, *Nuh sipehr*, the *Khamsah*, *Qirān us sa'dain*, and the *Matla' ul anwār*.]

[3] *Naghzak.*

[4] [*Kela* (*Musa sapientum*)]

and a vegetable.[1] Its leaf bears some likeness to that of the *amān-kara*, but the plantain leaf is two gaz in length and nearly one in breadth. A shoot resembling a heart springs up from its centre. The bud of the plantain is on this shoot. This large bud resembles a sheep's heart. From the root of every leaf that opens round this bud, a row of six or seven flowers springs out. These flowers so rising in a row, afterwards become rows of plantains. When the shoot which resembles a heart expands and blows, the leaves of that large bud opening, the rows of the plantain flowers become visible.[a] The plantain has two good qualities: the one is, that it is easily peeled; the other, that it has no stones, and is not stringy. It is rather longer and thinner than the *brinyāl*.[2] It is not very sweet. The plantain of Bengal, however, is extremely sweet, and has a very beautiful tree. It has very broad leaves of bright green and is an elegant plant.

Ambli, or Indian date.

Another is the *ambli*,[3] which name they give to the Indian date.[b] It has small indented leaves, precisely like the *būia*,[4] but the leaves of this tree are smaller. It is a very beautiful tree, and yields a profusion of shade. It grows to a great size, and abounds in a wild state.

Mahweh, or moura.

Another is the *mahweh*,[5] which is also called the *gul-chikān*. This also is a very wide-spreading tree. The houses of the natives of Hindustān are chiefly constructed of the timber of this tree. They extract a spirit from the flowers of the *mahweh*. They dry its flowers, and eat them like raisins. It is from them likewise that they extract the liquor.[6] They[c] bear a great resemblance to the *kishmish*,[7] and have rather

[a] *Add* Each plantain stalk only produces fruit once

[b] date-tree

[c] In this [dried] state they

[1] That is, is herbaceous

[2] [*Solanum melongena.*]

[3] *Tamarindus Indica*, so called from *Tamar hindi*, the Indian date

[4] [P. de C. calls this the nutmeg tree (*Myristica officinalis*).]

[5] [*Bassia latifolia* *Gul-chikān* is the name of its flower.]

[6] In Bombay this liquor is well known by the name of *moura*, or Parsee Brandy. The farm of it is a considerable article of revenue. [Arrack is distilled from the flowers of the mahua tree, which are very rich in sugar.]

[7] A small kind of grape, or currant, brought from the Persian Gulf.

a disagreeable, sickly taste; but the smell of the flower is not agreeable.[a] It may be eaten.[b] This tree likewise grows wild. Its fruit is ill-tasted. The stone is rather large, and its shell thin. They extract an oil from the kernel.

Another is the *kirni*.[1] This, though not a wide-spread tree, at the same time is not a small one. Its fruit is of a yellow colour. It is smaller than the jujube. In taste it bears a perfect resemblance to the grape. It leaves rather a bad flavour behind, but it is a good fruit, and is eaten.[c] The skin of its stone is thin. Kirni

Another is the *jāman*.[2] Its leaf perfectly resembles that of the *tāl*,[3] but is thicker and greener. It is on the whole a fine-looking tree. Its fruit resembles the black grape, but has a more acid taste, and is not very good. Jāman.

Another is the *kermerik*.[4] It is fluted with five sides. In size it may be equal to a *ghīnālū*,[d 5] and in length four or five[e] fingers-breadth. When ripe it is yellow. This fruit, too, has no stone. If plucked unripe, it is very bitter; when well ripened, it has an agreeably sweet acid, and is a pleasant sweet-flavoured fruit. Kermerik.

Another is the *kadhil* (or jack).[6] This has a very bad look and flavour. It looks like a sheep's stomach stuffed and made into a haggis.[7] It has a sweet sickly taste. Within it are stones[8] like a filbert; they bear a considerable Kadhil (or jack)

[a] on the contrary, when they are fresh they are really not bad to eat [b] *Omit this sentence* [c] very eatable
[d] peach [*shaftālū*], [e] *Omit* or five

[1] The *kirni* is a tall tree with a small yellow fruit, with a stone It is very common in Gujerāt —(It is the *Mimusops hexandra* of Roxburgh; fruit oblong, pointed, covered with a soft yellow saccharine pulp.)

[2] *Eugenia jambolana.*

[3] [The willow]

[4] According to Dr Hunter, the *Averrhoa Carambola.*

[5] The Tūrki has *ghatālu*, Mr Metcalfe's copy *ghabālu*, and the Persian *ghīnālu.* [Some kind of plum]

[6] [*Artocarpus integrifolia*, a very evil-smelling fruit. *Kathal* is the correct Hindi name]

[7] The *gīpa* is the sheep's stomach stuffed with rice, minced meat, and spices, and boiled as a pudding. The resemblance of the jack to the haggis as it hangs on the tree is wonderfully complete.

[8] The stones of the jack, when roasted, resemble the chestnut in taste.

resemblance to the date, but the stones are rounder and not so long, and the substance softer than that of the date. They are eaten. This fruit is very adhesive; on account of this adhesive quality, many rub their mouths[a] with oil before eating them. They grow not only from the branches and trunk of the tree, but even from its root. You would say that the tree was all hung round with haggises.

Badhil. Another is the *badhil*,[1] which may be about the size of an apple. It is not bad-smelling, but is very insipid and tasteless.[b]

Ber. Another is the *ber*,[2] which in Persian they call *kunār*. It is of various kinds, and is rather longer than the *alūcheh*[3] (or plum). There is another species of it, of the bulk and appearance of the Hussaini grape; but this last sort is seldom good. I have seen a *ber* in Bandīr[c] which was very excellent. This species casts its leaves under the constellations of Taurus and Gemini;[4] in Cancer and Leo, which is the season of the rains, it regains its leaves, and becomes fresh and flourishing; in Aquarius and Pisces, its fruit ripens.

Karonda Another is the *karonda*,[5] which grows on shrubby bushes

[a] *Add* and hands

[b] *Omit and substitute* The *badhil* is about the size of a quince and is not a bad fruit It is sour and not very tasty when green, but when ripe it is by no means to be despised It then becomes soft and can be entirely peeled by the hand and eaten. Its sweet-acid taste then reminds one very much of the quince when it is peeled

[c] Mandanīr

[1] [The *barhal* is the *Artocarpus lakoocha*, and is, according to Watt, a sweet and acid fruit, yellowish red, and nearly round Under the name *bedhil* it is included in the *Ayīn i Akbarī* under the head of acid fruits, and was sold at the rate of one *dām* each]

[2] *Ber*, the *Zizyphus Jujuba*.—Hunter's *Hind. Dict.* [*Kunār* is the Persian for the lote fruit]

[3] The *alūcheh* is the Bullace plum [*Prunus communis*]. It is small, not more than twice as big as a sloe, and not high-flavoured. It is generally yellow, sometimes red

[4] The Muhammedan months going round the solar year, those concerned in agriculture, or in operations dependent on the seasons, are often obliged to direct themselves by the appearance of the constellations.

[5] The *corinda*, or *Carissa carandas*.—Hunter

like the *jīkeh* of my native country. The *jīkeh* grows in the hill country; this grows in the plain. Its flavour is that of the *marmenjān*, but is sweeter and less juicy.[a]

Another is the *paniāla*,[1] which is larger than the plum, and resembles the red crab apple. It has an acid taste, and is pleasant. Its tree is taller than the pomegranate, and its leaf resembles the almond leaf, but is less. Paniāla

Another is the *gūler*,[2] whose fruit springs from the trunk of the tree It resembles the fig. The *gūler* is a very tasteless thing. Gūler.

Another is the *amleh*,[3] which is likewise fluted with five sides. It is like the unblown cotton pod, and is a wretched harsh-tasted fruit. When made into marmalade[b] it is not bad, and is very wholesome. Its tree is handsome, with very small leaves. Amleh.

Another is the *chirūnji*[4] This tree grows on the hills. Its kernel is very pleasant. It is somewhat between the kernel of the walnut and that of the almond, and is rather smaller than that of the pistachio, and round. It is put into custards and sweetmeats.[5] Chirūnji

Another is the date.[6] which, though not peculiar to Hindustān, yet is described here, as it is not found in our country. The date-tree is found likewise in Lamghān. Its branches all issue from one place, near the top of the tree. Its leaves extend from the one end of the branch to the other, shooting out on each side The trunk of the tree is uneven and ill-coloured. Its fruit is like a bunch of grapes. but much larger They say that the date alone, of all the vegetable kingdom, resembles the animal kingdom in two respects: the one is, that when you cut off the head of an animal it perishes; and if you cut off the top of the date- Date.

[a] *Add* They make from it a kind of very delicious fritters which are like rhubarb fritters

[b] preserves (= fruit preserved in syrup)

[1] The *Flaucortia catafracta*.—Hunter [2] [*Ficus glomerata*.]

[3] [*Amla* is the *Phyllanthus Emblica*, which is used in tanning and dyeing]

[4] [*Buchanania latifolia*.]

[5] *Palūdehs* and *halwārs* The *palūdeh* is a sweet preparation from wheaten flour, like a custard The *halwā* is any kind of sweatmeat or confectionery

[6] [*Phoenix dactylifera*.]

tree, it withers and dies: the other is, that as no animal bears without concourse with the male, in like manner, if you do not bring a branch of the male date-tree, and shake it over [a] the female, it bears no fruit. I cannot vouch for the truth of these remarks. The top of the date-tree which has been mentioned is called its cheese. The cheese of the date is that place where its branches and leaves shoot out, and it has very much the appearance of a white cheese. From this white cheesy substance the branches and leaves shoot out. When these branches and leaves have somewhat expanded, the leaves wax greener. This white substance, which they call the cheese of the date, is rather pleasant tasted. The pith [b] bears some resemblance to the kernel of the walnut. They make an incision in that part of the tree where the cheese lies, and insert a date-leaf in the wound, in such a way, that whatever water flows from the opening, must run down this leaf; this leaf they fix to the mouth of an earthen pot, and tie the pot to the tree; all the liquid that flows from the wound is collected in this pot. If drunk immediately, the liquor is sweetish; if it stand three or four days, they say that it acquires an intoxicating quality. On one occasion, when I had gone out to survey Bārī,[1] while examining the districts on the banks of the river Chambal, in the course of our journey we chanced upon a valley, inhabited by people who employed themselves in drawing this liquor. We drank a great deal of it, and felt no symptoms of intoxication.[2] A great quantity of it must probably be taken, as its intoxicating powers are very small.

Cocoanut-tree

Another is the cocoanut-tree, or *nārgīl*, which the Arabs call *nārjīl*, and the Hindustānis [3] *nālīr* by a vulgar error. The fruit of the cocoanut-tree is the Hindi nut, of which the black spoons are made. Of the larger sort they also make the sounding-cup of the *ghichek* (or guitar). The tree

[a] bring it in contact with [b] For it

[1] [Bārī is a town in the Dholpūr State situated nineteen miles west of Dholpūr and forty-five miles south-west of Agra.]

[2] Bābur must have drunk it fresh and unfermented, as the date wine or *sendi* is very strong

[3] The common Hindustānī name for it is *nāriyal* [*Cocos nucifera*]

resembles the date, but the branch of the cocoa is much fuller of leaves, and the leaves are of a much brighter colour. As the walnut has a green outer skin, so has this; but the outer covering of the cocoanut is in threads,[a] and the cordage of all the ships and boats of the rivers are made of this outer covering of the cocoanut, and the joinings of boats are sewn[b] with threads made of the same stuff. When this skin is stripped off, three holes are seen, forming a triangle on one side of the nut, two of them closed and hard; the other is soft, and with little trouble is made into a hole. Before the kernel is formed within, the whole inside of the cocoanut is filled with water, which they drink by opening this hole; it has an agreeable taste. You would say that it was the cheese of the date melted.

Another is the *tār*, or palm-tree.[1] The branches of this tree also are on its top. They tie a pot on the palm as they do on the date-tree, and so extract and drink its juice. This juice they call *tārī*. It is more intoxicating than the liquid of the date-tree. There is no leaf on the branches of the palm for a gaz or[c] a gaz and a half from its root.[2] After that, thirty or forty leaves sprout out from the same centre at the end of the branch, spreading like the fingers of the hand. These leaves may be about a gaz in length. Hindi letters are often written bookwise on these leaves. The natives of Hindustān, also, at the times when they do not wear ear-rings, put into the large open holes in their ears slips of the palm leaf,[d] which are sold in the bazaar, ready made for the purpose. The trunk of this tree is handsomer than that of the date, and more stately.[e] Tār (or palm).

They have, besides, the *nāranj* (or Seville orange), and the various fruits of the orange species.[3] The orange grows Nāranj (or orange).

[a] consists of a fibrous substance,
[b] planks are caulked
[c] *Omit* a gaz or
[d] The natives of India do not wear ear-rings in their ears and supply their place by ornaments made of palm-leaves,
[e] smoother

[1] [*Borassus flabelliformis.*]
[2] [i. e. from their point of union with the trunk.]
[3] [It is difficult to identify the various kinds of oranges and lemons mentioned by Bābur, owing to his vague and brief descriptions; but

in Lamghānāt, Bajour, and Sawād, where it is both plentiful and good. The orange of Lamghānāt is small, but juicy, and pleasant for quenching thirst. It is sweet-smelling,

some light is thrown on the subject by Dr. E Bonavia in his work on the *Cultivated Oranges and Lemons of India and Ceylon* (London, 1890), which has supplied me with material for the following note

The *Nāranj* mentioned by Bābur cannot be the Seville or bitter orange (*Citrus bigaradia*) as it has a sour pulp and bitter rind, and was introduced later into India from China. The orange here described was probably the *Khatta* (*Citrus aurantium khatta*), which is a delicate fruit easily spoiled, pale yellow in colour, with a thick skin and acid pulp *Kirna* is a synonym for this species of orange, or it may be a local variety

Suntara (a loose-skinned variety—*Citrus aurantium sinense gallesio*) is one of the two main branches into which the sweet, or sub-acid, oranges of India are divided, the other being the Malta or Portugal orange (*Citrus aurantium sinense rumphius*), which is close-skinned

The *Kāmalah* (a corrupt form of *Keonla*), and *Nārangi*, form another class of sweet oranges closely allied to the *Suntara* family Both these are redder, rougher, and smaller than the *Suntara*

The *Turanj* and *Bajaura* (*Citrus medica*) belong to the citron (proper) class The former has a very thick skin, and a dry sour pulp of small dimensions, the white part of the skin being plentiful and sweet The latter has a thinner skin, larger pulp, and abundant acid juice

The *Jhambīri*, though often grouped with limes, may be classed as 'an acid Citrus with rather orange characteristics, and resembles the *Suntara* and *Keonla* in the general character of the fruit and foliage' It has a smooth lemon-yellow exterior, the pulp being white to orange Bābur's lemons and limes may be divided into the following three classes

(*a*) Sweet limes	*Amratphal* (*Sharbati*), *Sadaphal*	*Citrus limetta*
(*b*) Sour lemons	*Kilkil* (= the Panjāb *Galgal*), a very large lemon *Jambīr*	*Citrus limonum*
(*c*) True limes	*Kāghaz i nimbū*, small and very sour, with abundance of juice It is probably the 'lime' referred to by Bābur	*Citrus acida*

The *Amalbed* (*Citrus decumana*) belongs to the Pummelo group. This fruit has a close skin and a sour orange-tinted pulp. It differs slightly from the Pummelo proper (*Chakotra*), which was introduced into India from Java]

delicate, and fresh.[a] It is not, however, to be compared with the oranges about Khorasān. Its delicacy is such, that in carrying from Lamghānāt to Kābul, which is only thirteen or fourteen farsangs, many of them are spoilt by the way. They carry the oranges of Asterābād to Samarkand, which is two hundred and seventy or two hundred and eighty farsangs[1] off, but as they have a thick peel and little juice, they are not apt to be much injured. The size of the oranges of Bajour may be about that of the quince.[2] They are very juicy, and their juice is more acid than that of other oranges. Khwājeh Kalān tells me that he made the oranges of a single tree of this species in Bajour be plucked off, and counted, and they amounted to seven thousand. It always struck me that the word *nāranj* (orange) was accented in the Arab fashion;[b] and I found that it really was so · the men of Bajour and Sawād call *nāranj*, *nārang*

Another is the lime,[3] which is very plentiful Its size is about that of a hen's egg, which it resembles in shape. If one who is poisoned, boils and eats its fibres, the injury done by the poison is averted[4] Lime.

Another fruit resembling the *nāranj* (or orange) is the *turanj* (or citron) The inhabitants of Bajour and Sawād call it *baleng*. On this account, marmalades of citron-peel are called *baleng* marmalade. The Hindustānis call the *turanj*, the *bajouri*. It is of two species. One is insipid and sweet, but of a sickly sweet, and is of no value for eating; but its peel is used for marmalade. The citrons of Lamghānāt are all of this sickly sweet. The other is the citron of Hindustān and Bajour, which is acid, and its *sherbet* is very pleasant and tasteful. The size of the citron may Turanj (or citron)

[a] But they are provided with a navel (*hilum*), very sweet, very delicate, and very juicy

[b] was an Arabised form,

[1] About eleven hundred miles

[2] [*Bihi* (*Cydonia vulgaris*)]

[3] *Līmu*

[4] The same quality is ascribed to the citron by Virgil, in the Praises of Italy

Media fert tristes succos, tardumque saporem
Felicis mali, quo non praesentius ullum,
Pocula si quando saevae infecere novercae,
Miscuerunt herbas et non innoxia verba,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena (*Georg* ii 126)

be about that of the Khosravi musk-melon. Its skin is rough, rising and falling in knobs.[a] Its extremity is thin and knobbed.[b] The citron is of a deeper yellow than the orange. Its tree has not a large trunk. It is small and shrubby, and has larger leaves than the orange.

Santereh (or common orange)

The *santereh* (or orange) is another fruit resembling the *nāranj* (or Seville orange). In colour and appearance it is like the citron, but the skin of this fruit is smooth, and without any unevennesses. It is rather smaller than the small citron. Its tree is large, perhaps about the size of the small[c] apricot-tree. Its leaf resembles the *nāranj* leaf. It has a pleasant acid, and its *sherbet* is extremely agreeable and wholesome. Like the lime it is a powerful stomachic, and it is not a weakening fruit like the citron.[d]

Kilkil (or large lime)

Another fruit of the orange kind, is the larger lime, which, in Hindustān, they call the *kilkil* lime. In shape it is like a goose's egg, but does not, like the egg, taper away at the two extremities. The skin of this species is smooth, like that of the *santerch*. It has a remarkable quantity of juice.

Jambīri

Another fruit resembling the orange is the *jambīri*. In shape it is like the orange, but is of a deeper[e] yellow. It is not, however, an orange,[f] though[g] its smell is like that of the orange. This fruit, too, yields a pleasant acid.

Sadaphal

Another of the orange kind is the *sadaphal*, which is shaped like a pear, and in colour resembles the quince. It has a sweet taste, but not so mawkish as the sweet orange.

Amratphal

The *amratphal* is another of the fruits resembling the orange.[1]

[a] wrinkles [b] with a beak at the end [c] *Omit* small
[d] orange [e] a different shade of [f] *Omit this clause.* [g] and

[1] On this notice of the *amratphal* there is, in the Tūrki copy, the following note of the Emperor Humāiūn It is not found in either of the Persian translations.

'His Majesty, whose abode is in Paradise,* may Heaven exalt his

* *Hazret Ferdous-makān.* Every Emperor of Hindustān has an epithet given him after his death to distinguish him, and prevent the necessity of repeating his name too familiarly. Thus, *Ferdous-makān* is Bābur's, Humāiūn's is *Jannet-ashiāni*—he whose nest is in Heaven, Muhammed Shah's, *Ferdous-arāmgāh*—he whose place of rest is Paradise, &c.

Another of the orange kind is the *kirneh*, which may be about the size of the *kilkil* lime. This too is tart. Kirneh.

Another resembling the orange is the *amil-bīd*. I have seen it first during this present year.[1] They say that if a needle be thrust into the heart of it, it melts away.[2] Perhaps this may proceed from its extreme acidity, or from some other of its properties. Its acidity may be about equal to that of the orange and lime.[3] Amil-bīd

splendour' has not attended sufficiently to the *amratphal*. As he observed that it was sweet and mild-tasted, he compared it to the sweet orange, and was not fond of it, for he had a dislike to the sweet orange, and everybody, on account of the *amratphal's* mild sweet, called it like the orange. At that time, particularly on his first coming to Hindustān, he had been long and much addicted to the use of strong drinks, whence he naturally did not like sweet things. The *amratphal* is, however, an excellent fruit. Its juice, though not extremely sweet, yet is very pleasant. At a later period, in my time, we discovered its nature and excellence. Its acidity, when unripe, resembles that of the orange. While yet very acid, its sourness affects the stomach, but, in the course of time, it ripens and becomes sweet.

'In Bengal there are other two fruits which have an acid flavour, though they are not of equal excellence with the *amratphal*. The one is called *kāmilah*, and grows to the size of an orange (*nārang*), many hold it to be the largest lemon (*nārang*), but it is much pleasanter than the lemon. It has not an elegant appearance or shape. The other is the *santereh*, and is larger than the orange, but is not sour, and is not so tasteless as the *amratphal*, nor is it very sweet either. Indeed, there is no pleasanter fruit than the *santereh*. It is a very fine-shaped, pleasant, and wholesome fruit. No person thinks of any other fruit, or has a longing for any other, where he can find it. Its peel may be taken off by the hand, and however many you eat, you are not surfeited, but desire more. It does not dirty the hand by its juice. Its peel is easily separated from the pulp. It may be eaten after food. This *santereh* is seldom met with. It is found at Bengal at one village called Sonārgām, and, even in Sonārgām, it is found in the greatest perfection only in one place. In general, among this class of fruits, there is no species so pleasant as the *santereh*, nor indeed is there among any other.' Kāmilah. Santereh.

[1] [P. de C. has 'which I have not had an opportunity of seeing for these three years', i. e. since he came to India in 1526. This would show that Bābur wrote this chapter in 1529.]

[2] This story of the needle is believed, by the natives, of all the citron kind, which are hence called in the Dekkan *sūi-gal* (needle-melter).

[3] Abulfazl informs us (*Ayeen e Akberī*, vol. i, p. 74) that Akber gave great encouragement to the cultivation of fruit trees, and that people of skill were invited from Persia and Tartary to attend to their culti-

Jāsūn or gurhal

In Hindustān there is great variety of flowers. One is the *jāsūn*,[1] which some Hindustānis call the *gurhal*. It is not a grass; the shrub on which it grows is tall; its bush is larger than the red-rose bush; its colour is deeper than that of the pomegranate. Its size may be about that of the red rose; but the red rose, after the bud is formed opens all at once, whereas when the *jāsūn* opens from its bud, from the midst of the cup that first expands, a thing like a heart becomes visible, after which the other leaves of the flower spring out; though these two form a single flower, yet the thing like a heart in the midst of it, which springs from these leaves and forms another flower, has a very singular appearance.[a] It looks very rich coloured and beautiful on the tree, but does not last long, as it withers in a single day and disappears. It blows very charmingly for the four months of the rainy season. It continues to flower during the greater part of the year, but has no perfume

Kanīr.

Another is the *kanīr*,[2] which is sometimes white, and sometimes red; and is five-leaved, like the flower of the peach. The red *kanīr* resembles the peach flower, but fourteen or fifteen *kanīr* flowers blow from the same place and from a distance they look like one large flower. The shrub of this flower is larger than the bush of the *jāsūn*.[b] The smell of the red *kanīr*, though weak, is pleasant. This also blossoms incessantly, and in great beauty, during the whole three or four months of the rainy season; and is besides, to be met with during the greater part of the year.

[a] while in the *jāsūn*, as soon as the flower opens, there arises from the calyx in the midst of the petals a slender stem, which stretches out in the form of a stalk to the size of a hand, and the petals of which expand in their turn The whole forms a flower like a heart, and presents a very singular appearance [b] rose bush.

vation He enumerates musk-melons, grapes, water-melons, peaches, almonds, pistachioes, and pomegranates, as being of the number introduced. His account of the annual bringing of the fruits from Kābul, Kandahār, and Kashmīr, is curious. I am informed that the annual importation of fruits from Kābul into Hindustān is still carried on to a great extent, though daily declining. [Kābul grapes are carried all over Northern India by Powindah Afghans at the present day.]

[1] [The shoe flower (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*).]

[2] [The oleander (*Nerium odorum*).]

Another is *keūreh*,[1] which has a very sweet smell. The Arabs call it *kāri*.[a] The fault of musk is, that it is rather drying.[b] This may be called the moist musk. It has a singular appearance. Its flower may be about a span and a half or two spans in length. It has long leaves like the *gherau*.[2] This flower, too, is prickly, like the rose-bud, when unblown; its outer leaves are very green and prickly, while its inner leaves are white and soft. Among its inner leaves is something like a centre or heart.[3] It[c] has a sweet smell. It resembles a new-blown shrub, the trunk of which is not yet grown up, but its leaves are broader and more prickly. Its trunk is very ill proportioned. It springs in stalks from the ground.[d] Keūreh

Another is the white jasmine, which they call *chambeh*.[4] It is larger than our jasmine, and its perfume stronger. Chambeh or white jasmine

In other countries there are four seasons; in Hindustān there are three, four months of summer, four of the rainy season, and four of winter. Its months begin with the new moon. Every three years they add a month to the rainy season; again, at the end of the next three years they add a single month to one of their winters; and in the course of the succeeding three years they add one month to a summer. This is their mode of intercalation. Cheit,[5] Beisākh, Jeth, and Asārh[6] are the summer months, corresponding to Pisces, Aries, Taurus, and Gemini; Sāwan, Bhādun, Seasons

[a] *Omit this sentence*

[b] liable to dry up [c] which

[d] This shrub resembles the shoots of the male reed, which have just shown up from the soil, and the principal stem of which has not yet appeared, but it has very large leaves and a prickly, ill-proportioned trunk, round which the roots can be seen exposed

[1] The *Pandanus odoratissimus* of Roxburgh

[2] [According to Vullers a kind of reed (*Calamus scriptorius*) P de C says it is a species of rose]

[3] The Persian translator here adds, 'Not knowing what this is, I have written it in the same way' The Tūrki, however, has *yumshak*, probably a ball or clue, while the Persian has *miāngi* or *wāsiteh*.

[4] *Jasminum grandiflorum*

[5] [Chait, the first month of the Hindu year, corresponds roughly to the period between March 15 and April 15]

[6] The names of the months, as pronounced and written by the Musulmans, differ considerably from the genuine Hindu names In

Kuwār, and Kātik form the rainy months, corresponding to Cancer, Leo, Virgo, and Libra; Aghen, Pūs, Māgh, and Phāgun are the winter, and include Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Aquarius. The natives of Hindustān, who have divided their seasons into terms of four months each, have confined the appellation of the violence of the season to two months of each term, and call them the period of summer, the period of the rains, the period of winter. The two last months of summer, which are Jeth and Asārh, they separate from the others, calling them the period of the heats. The two first months of the rainy season, Sāwan and Bhādun, they regard as the period of the rains; the two middle months of winter, which are Pūs and Māgh, they consider as the period of winter. By this arrangement they have six seasons.[1]

Days of the week.

They also assign names to the days of the week: Sanīcher is Saturday; Aitwār is Sunday; Somwār, Monday; Mangelwār, Tuesday; Budhwār, Wednesday; Brispatwār, Thursday; and Shukrwār, Friday.

Day and night. Division of time.

As, by the usage of our country, the day and night are divided into twenty-four parts, each called an hour, and each hour into sixty minutes; so that the day and night are composed of one thousand four hundred and forty minutes; and as in the space of a minute, the *fātiheh* (or first chapter of the Korān), with the *bismillah* (or blessing), may be repeated six times, they may be repeated eight thousand six hundred and forty times in the space of a night and day. The natives of Hindustān divide the night and day into sixty parts, each of which they denominate a *ghari*; they likewise divide the night into four parts, and the day into the same number, each of which they call a *pahar* (or watch),

Sanskrit the summer months are called Cheitra, Visakha, Jeshta, Ashadha; the rainy months, Sravana, Bhadrapada, Aswini, Kritika; those of winter, Mrigasira, Pūshia, Magha, and Phalguni. The Hindustānis soften most of these names by omitting consonants

[1] [The six seasons are divided thus: Basant, or the spring (Chait and Baisākh); Grishma, or the summer (Jeth and Asārh); Varsha, or the rainy season (Sawan and Bhadon); Sharat, or the autumn (Kunar and Kātik); Hemanta, or the winter (Aghan and Pūs); Sisīra, or the period between winter and spring (Māgh and Phālgun). —Gladwin's *Āīn i Akbarī*, p. 225.]

which the Persians call a *pās*. In our country I had heard of *pās* and *pāsbān*,[1] though I did not understand the custom.[a] In all the principal cities of Hindustān, there is a sort of people called *ghariālı*, who are appointed and stationed for this express purpose. They cast a broad brass plate about the size of a tray, and two fingers-breadth deep. This brass vessel they call *gharıāl*[2] The *gharıāl* is suspended from a high place. They have another vessel like an hour-cup, which has a hole in its bottom. One of these is filled every hour[3]; and the *ghariālıs*, who watch by turns, attend to the cup that is[b] put into the water. In this way, beginning from daybreak, when they put in the cup, as soon as it is filled for the first time, they strike one stroke on the *gharıāl* with a wooden club which they have, and when it has been filled a second time, they strike two, and so on for the first watch. The signal that the first watch[c] is past, is their striking very fast for a number of times on the *gharıāl* with the wooden club. If it is the first watch of the day, after striking repeatedly and fast, they stop a little, and strike one blow; if it be the second watch, after striking fast for some time, they deliberately strike two; and after the third they strike three, and after the fourth four. With the fourth watch the day closing, the night watch begins; and they go through the night watches in precisely the same way. Formerly the *ghariālis*, whether by day or night, beat the sign of the watch at the end of each watch only; so that when a man waked from sleep, and heard the sound of three or four *gharıs*, he did not know whether it was the second watch or the third. I directed, that after beating the sign of the *gharı*, whether by night or day,[d] they should likewise beat the sign of the watch. For example, that after beating three *gharis* of the first watch,[e] they should stop, and after an interval, beat one other blow as the mark of the

Their clepsydra

Mode of marking time

Alteration introduced by Bābur

[a] But the special signification which these words have here is not assigned to them there [b] which they [c] a watch
[d] by night and whenever the weather was cloudy.
[e] *Add* of the night.

[1] Watch and watchman.
[2] [*Gharıāl* is a gong, and *gharıālī* the gong striker.]
[3] [Or rather, *gharı* = twenty-four minutes.]

watch, so that it might be known that it was three *gharis* of the first watch. After beating four *gharis* of the third watch of the night, if they stopped and beat three, it would indicate that it was four *gharis* of the third watch. This answers particularly well; for when a man wakes by night and hears the *ghariāl*, he knows with certainty how many *gharis* of a particular watch are past. Again, they divide every *ghari* into sixty parts, each called a *pal*, so that every day and night consists of three thousand six hundred *pals* They reckon each *pal* equal to the time in which the eyelids may be shut and opened sixty times, and reckon a day and night equal to two hundred and sixteen thousand times of shutting and opening the eyes. By experiment, I found that one *pal* admitted of the *kulhowullah* and *bismillah*[1] being repeated nearly eight times, so that, in the space of a single night and day, they admit of being repeated twenty-eight thousand six hundred[2] times.

Division of time.

Measures

The inhabitants of Hindustān have a peculiar[a] method of reckoning as to measures; they allow eight *ratis* to one *māsheh*; four *māshehs* to one *tāng*,[b] or thirty-two *ratis* to one *tāng*; five *māshehs* to one *mishkāl*, which is equal to forty *ratis*; twelve *māshehs* make one *tola* or ninety-six *ratis*; fourteen *tolas* make one *ser*; and it is fixed that everywhere forty *sers* make one *man*, and twelve *mans* one *māni*,[c] and one hundred *mānis* one *mināseh*. They reckon jewels[d] and precious stones by the *tāng*.

Mode of reckoning.

The natives of Hindustān have a distinct and clear[e] mode of reckoning. They call a hundred thousand a *lak*, a hundred *laks* a *kror*, a hundred *krors* an *arb*, a hundred *arbs* a *kerb*, a hundred *kerbs* a *nīl*, a hundred *nīls* a *padam*, a hundred

[a] very exact and most ingenious
[b] *tānk*,
[c] forty *sers* make one *batman* or *māni*,
[d] pearls
[e] excellent

[1] [The *bismillah* is the third, and the *qulhuwallah* the fifth prayer of the standing (*qiyām*) posture. Bismillah is the abbreviated form of the ejaculation (*tasmīyeh*) 'in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful' *Qul huwa allah* are the opening words of the 112th chapter of the Qurān (*sūrat ul ikhlās*), which runs 'Say He is God alone. God the Eternal He begetteth not, nor is begotten, and there is none like unto Him.'—Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*]

[2] [Or rather 'eight hundred', according to P. de C.'s figures]

padams a *sang*. The fixing such a high mode of calculation is a proof of the abundance of wealth in Hindustān.

Most of the natives of Hindustān are pagans. They call the pagan inhabitants of Hindustān, Hindus. Most of the Hindus hold the doctrine of transmigration. The officers of revenue, merchants[a] and work-people, are all Hindus. In our native country, the tribes that inhabit the plains and deserts have all names, according to their respective families; but here everybody, whether they live in the country or in villages, have names according to their families.[b] Again, every tradesman[c] has received his trade from his forefathers,[1] who for generations have all practised the same trade. Hindu inhabitants.

Hindustān is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it.[2] The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture[d]; they have no horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons,[3] no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick. Instead of a candle and torch, you have a gang of dirty fellows, whom they call *divatis*,[4] who hold in their left hand a kind of small tripod, to the side of one leg of which, it being wooden, they stick a piece of iron like the Defects of Hindustān

[a] artisans

[b] In our country tribal divisions exist only among the nomads, while here the peasantry and villagers are divided into castes.

[c] artisan

[d] both in their ideas and their works they lack method, order, principles, and rules,

[1] This refers to the institution of castes. [This is the functional type of caste, but there are many other types. See the article on caste in vol I of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*]

[2] Bābur's opinions regarding India are nearly the same as those of most Europeans of the upper class, even at the present day

[3] Grapes and musk-melons, particularly the latter, are now common all over India.

[4] [Lamp-lighters, from *diyā*, a lamp]

top of a candlestick; they fasten a pliant wick, of the size of the middle finger,[a] by an iron pin, to another of the legs. In their right hand they hold a gourd, in which they have made a hole for the purpose of pouring out oil in a small stream, and whenever the wick requires oil, they supply it from this gourd. Their great men kept a hundred or two hundred of these *divatis*. This is the way in which they supply the want of candles and candlesticks. If their emperors or chief nobility, at any time, have occasion for a light by night, these filthy *divatis* bring in their lamp, which they carry up to their master, and there stand holding it close by his side.

Houses and dress

Beside their rivers and standing waters, they have some running water in their ravines and hollows; they have no aqueducts or canals in their gardens or palaces.[b] In their buildings they study neither elegance nor climate,[c] appearance nor regularity. Their peasants and the lower classes all go about naked. They tie on a thing which they call a *langoti*, which is a piece of clout that hangs down two spans from the navel, as a cover to their nakedness. Below this pendent modesty-clout is another slip of cloth, one end of which they fasten before to a string that ties on the *langoti*, and then passing the slip of cloth between the two legs, bring it up and fix it to the string of the *langoti* behind. The women, too, have a *lang*—one end of it they tie about their waist, and the other they throw over their head.

Advantages of Hindustān.

Pleasant climate.

The chief excellency of Hindustān is, that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver. The climate during the rains is very pleasant. On some days it rains ten, fifteen, and even twenty times. During the rainy season inundations come pouring down all at once, and form rivers, even in places where, at other times, there is no water. While the rains continue on the ground,[d] the air is singularly delightful, insomuch that nothing can

[a] thumb,

[b] Except the rivers and the streams which flow in their ravines and hollows, they have no running water of any kind either in their gardens or palaces.

[c] air,

[d] In places where it rains, and where the showers succeed each other without interruption,

surpass its soft and agreeable temperature. Its defect is, that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season you cannot shoot even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless. Nor is it the bow alone that becomes useless; the coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effects of the moisture. Their houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built.[a] There is pleasant enough weather in the winter and summer, as well as in the rainy season; but then the north wind always blows, and there is an excessive quantity of earth and dust flying about. When the rains are at hand, this wind blows five or six times with excessive violence,[b] and such a quantity of dust flies about that you cannot see one another. They call this an *āndhī*.[1] It gets warm during Taurus and Gemini, but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heats of Balkh and Kandahār. It is not above half so warm as in these places.[c]

Another convenience of Hindustān is, that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable and without end. For any work, or any employment, there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages. In the *Zafer-nāmeh* of Mulla Sherīf-ed-dīn Alī Yezdi, it is mentioned as a surprising fact, that when Taimūr Beg was building the Sangīn (or stone) mosque, there were stone-cutters of Azarbaijan, Fārs, Hindustān, and other countries, to the number of two hundred, working every day on the mosque. In Agra alone, and of stone-cutters belonging to that place only, I every day employed on my palaces six hundred and eighty persons; and in Agra, Sīkri, Biāna, Dhūlpūr, Gwāliār, and Koel,[2] there were every day employed

Abundance of work-people

[a] The stability even of the houses is affected

[b] *Add* in the summer, when the sun is in the signs of Taurus and Gemini,

[c] and its duration is only about half as long as in those places.

[1] This is still the Hindustāni term for a storm, or tempest

[2] [Koil is the name generally given to the native city of Aligarh, the head-quarters of a district in the United Province Aligarh is now an important manufacturing centre, but is chiefly celebrated for the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College founded by Sir Seyyid Ahmed Khan]

on my works one thousand four hundred and ninety-one stone-cutters. In the same way, men of every trade and occupation are numberless and without stint in Hindustān.

Revenue. The countries from Behreh to Behār,[1] which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of fifty-two krors,[2] as will appear from the particular and detailed statement [3] Of this amount, pergannas to the value of eight or nine krors [4] are in the possession of some Rais and Rajas, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these pergannas for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience.[a]

[a] as a reward for their good conduct [*Add the following note on the revenues of Hindustān* Almost the whole of Hindustān had actually and in a short space of time submitted to my victorious standards The administration of the countries situated cis-Indus, such as Sutlej, Behrah, Lahore, Siālkot, Debalpūr, and others besides these, yielded 3 kror, 33 laks, 15989 tangas,

	Krors	*Laks.*	*Tangas*
That of Sirhind	1	29	31985
,, Hisār-Firozeh .	1	30	75174
,, the capital town of Delhi and the Miān i doāb	3	69	50254
,, Mewāt, which was not included in the dominions of Sikandar Lodi	1	69	81000

[1] [Behār (from Vihāra - a Buddhist monastery) is now one of the three provinces which make up the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bihār, Chota Nāgpūr, and Orissa, and lies between Bengal and the United Provinces, being divided into two parts by the Ganges Though so close to Bengal it differs from it in almost every respect. The extremes of temperature are far greater, the rainfall lighter and more capricious, and the population denser and more hardy. The language is Hindi, and 82 per cent. of the population are Hindus. It comprises the ancient kingdoms of Magadha, Anga, Vaisāli, and Mithila, and it was here that Buddhism and Jainism were founded Behār came into Bābur's possession after his victory of Ghāgra (Gogra) in 1529]

[2] About a million and a half sterling, or rather £1,300,000

[3] This statement unfortunately has not been preserved. [The detailed statement of the revenues of Bābur's dominions, though omitted from the Persian version of the Memoirs, which Erskine followed, is found in the Tūrki original, and is reproduced by P. de C. in his translation]

[4] About £225,000 sterling.

I have thus described the particulars regarding the country of Hindustān, its situation, its territory, and inhabitants, that have come to my knowledge, and that I have been able to verify. Hereafter, if I observe anything worthy of being described, I shall take notice of it; and if I hear anything worth repeating, I will insert it.

Distribution of the treasure. 1526. May 11.

On Saturday, the 29th of Rajeb,[1] I began to examine and to distribute the treasure. I gave Humāiūn seventy laks from the treasury, and, over and above this treasure, a palace,[a] of which no account or inventory had been taken.

	Krors	*Laks.*	*Tangas.*
That of Biāna .	1	44	14930
,, Agra		29	76919
,, the Central Provinces	2	91	19000
,, Gwālīār	2	29	57450
,, Kālpi, Senahda, and Gauia	4	28	55950
,, Kanauj	1	36	63358
,, Sambal	1	38	44000
,, Lucknow and Lakhsai	1	39	82433
,, Khairābād .		12	85000
,, Oûdh and Bahraich	1	17	1369
,, Jaunpūr	4	0	88333
,, Karrah and Mānikpūr	1	803	27283
,, Behār	4	5	60000
,, Sirohi	1	55	17506½
,, Sārun	1	10	18673
,, Chipāran (Champāran)	1	90	86060
,, Gundega		43	30300
,, Raja Mutana and Raja Rup Bārīn		2 27000	55000 50000
,, Rantāmbhoi		20	0
,, Nagor .	-	—	—
,, Raja Bikramajīt Rantambhoi	- -	—	—
,, Raja Kalanjaii	—	—	—
,, Raja Singh deo	—	—	—
,, Raja Bikamdeo	—	—	—
,, Raja Bikamchand	—	—	—

[a] a private douceur,

[1] Bābur, just before the description of Hindustān, says that he entered Agra on Thursday, the 28th Rajeb. The date in the text is an error, the 29th of Rajeb being a Friday Perhaps he thought that the distribution of treasure on a Friday might have seemed to interfere with his religious duties. If the distribution occurred on Saturday, the date the 12th May 1526; if on Friday, May the 11th.

To some Amīrs I gave ten laks, to others eight laks, seven laks, and six laks. On the Afghans, Hazāras, Arabs, Balūches, and others that were in the army, I bestowed gratuities from the treasury, suited to their rank and circumstances. Every merchant, every man of letters, in a word, every person who had come in the army along with me, carried off presents and gratuities, which marked their great good fortune and superior luck.[a] Many who were not in the army also received ample presents from these treasures; as, for instance, Kamrān received seventeen laks, Muhammed Zemān Mirza fifteen laks, Askerī Mirza[1] and Hindāl, in a word, all my relations and friends, great and small, had presents sent them in silver and gold, in cloth, and jewels, and captive slaves. Many presents were also sent for the Begs in our old territories, and their soldiers. I sent presents for my relations and friends[b] to Samarkand, Khorasān, Kāshghar, and Irāk. Offerings were sent to the Sheikhs (or holy men) in Khorasān and Samarkand, as likewise to Mekka and Medīna. To the country of Kābul, as an incentive to emulation,[c] to every soul, man or woman, slave or free, of age or not, I sent one shahrokhī[2] as a gift.[3]

When I first arrived in Agra, there was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between my people and the men of the place. The peasantry and soldiers of the country avoided and fled from my men. Afterwards, everywhere, except only in Delhi and Agra, the inhabitants fortified different posts,[d] while the governors of towns put their fortifications

The inhabitants disaffected to Bābur.

[a] *Omit this clause*

[b] *Omit* and friends

[c] and the whole district of Versak,

[d] and such as held fortified posts put themselves in a posture of defence,

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[1] Askerī and Hindāl were sons of Bābur, Muhammed Zemān Mirza was a son of Badia-ez-zemān Mirza, the late Sultan of Khorasān

[2] Abul-fazl tells us that eight laks of shahrokhs are equivalent to one kror, 28 laks of dāms (*Ayeen e Akberī*, vol. II, p. 169), which, allowing 40 dāms to the rupee, makes it equal to 2½ shahrokhs. This would give the shahrokhī the value of tenpence or elevenpence

[3] [For this generous distribution of the wealth accumulated by the Lodī kings, of which he kept none for himself, Bābur is said to have been given the title of *kalendar* or mendicant (*E. B.*, p. 440)]

in a posture of defence,[a] and refused to submit or obey. Kāsim Sambalī was in Sambal, Nizām Khan in Biāna, the Raja Hassan Khan Mewāti himself in Mewāt. That infidel was the prime mover and agitator in all these confusions and insurrections. Muhammed Zeitūn was in Dhūlpūr, Tātār Khan Sarang-khani in Gwālhār, Hussain Khan Lohāni in Rāberi, Kutb Khan in Etāwa, and in Kālpi Ali Khan.[b] Kanauj, with the whole country beyond the Ganges, was entirely in the possession of the refractory Afghans, such as Nasīr Khan Lohāni, Maarūf Fermūli, and a number of other Amīrs, who had been in a state of open rebellion for two[c] years before the death of Ibrahīm. At the period when I defeated that prince, they had overrun, and were in possession of Kanauj and the countries in that quarter,[d] and had advanced and encamped two or three marches on this side of Kanauj. They elected Behār Khan, the son of Darya Khan, as their king, and gave him the name of Sultan Muhammed. Marghūb, a slave, was in Mahāban.[1] This confederation, though approaching, yet did not come near for some time.[e] When I came to Agra, it was the hot season. All the inhabitants fled from terror, so that we could not find grain nor provender, either for ourselves or our horses. The villages, out of hostility and hatred to us, had taken to rebellion, thieving, and robbery. The roads became impassable. I had not had time,[f] after the division of the treasure, to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different pergannas and stations. It happened too that the heats were this year uncommonly oppressive. Many men about the same time dropped down, as if they had been affected by [g] the *samūm* wind,[2] and died on the spot.

Their different chiefs

[a] *Omit this clause.*
[b] 'Ālim Khan
[c] two or three
[d] beyond it,
[e] from which he did not move for some time, although he was in my immediate neighbourhood
[f] the opportunity,
[g] under the influence of

[1] [Mahāban, the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Muttra district of the United Provinces, situated near the left bank of the Jamna, is the traditional home of the god Krishna's childhood, and as such is much venerated by the Hindus It was sacked by Mahmūd in 1018.]

[2] [A sultry, pestilential wind.]

Discontents in Bābur's army.

On these accounts, not a few of my Begs and best men began to lose heart, objected to remaining in Hindustān, and even began to make preparations for their return. If the older Begs, who were men of experience, had made these representations, there would have been no harm in it; for, if such men had communicated their sentiments to me, I might have got credit for possessing at least so much sense and judgement as, after hearing what they had to urge, to be qualified to decide on the expediency or inexpediency of their opinions; to distinguish the good from the evil. But what sense or propriety was there in eternally repeating the same tale in different words, to one who himself saw the facts with his own eyes, and had formed a cool and fixed resolution in regard to the business in which he was engaged? What propriety was there in the whole army, down to the very dregs, giving their stupid and unformed opinions? It is singular, that, when I set out from Kābul this last time, I had raised many of low rank to the dignity of Beg, in the expectation, that if I had chosen to go through fire and water, they would have followed me back and forward without hesitation; and that they would have accompanied me cheerfully, march where I would. It never surely entered my imagination that they were to be the persons who were to arraign my measures, nor that, before rising from the council, they should show a determined opposition to every plan and opinion which I proposed and supported in the council and assembly. Though they behaved ill, yet Ahmedi Perwānchi and Wali Khāzin behaved still worse. From the time we left Kābul, till we had defeated Ibrahīm and taken Agra, Khwājeh Kalān had behaved admirably, and had always spoken gallantly, giving such opinions as befitted a brave man; but a few days after the taking of Agra, all his opinions underwent a complete change. Khwājeh Kalān was now, of all others, the most determined on turning back.

Bābur assembles his nobles, and addresses them.

I no sooner heard this murmuring among my troops than I summoned all my Begs to a council. I told them that empire and conquest could not be acquired without the materials and means of war: that royalty and nobility could not exist without subjects and dependent provinces:

that, by the labours of many years, after undergoing great hardships, measuring many a toilsome journey, and raising various armies [a]; after exposing myself and my troops to circumstances of great danger, to battle and bloodshed, by the divine favour, I had routed my formidable enemy, and achieved the conquest of the numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held: 'And now, what force compels, and what hardship obliges us, without any visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat back to Kābul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture [b]? Let not any one who calls himself my friend ever henceforward make such a proposal. But if there is any among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or to give up his purpose of returning back, let him depart.' Having made them this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purposes. Khwājeh Ḳalān not being disposed to remain, it was arranged, that as he had a numerous retinue, he should return back to guard the presents; I had but few troops in Kābul and Ghazni, and he was directed to see that these places were all kept in proper order, and amply supplied with the necessary stores. I bestowed on him Ghazni, Gerdēz, and the Sultan Masaūdi Hazāras; I also gave him the perganna of Kehrām[1] in Hindustān, yielding a revenue of three or four laks.[2] Khwājeh Mīr Mirān was likewise directed to proceed to Kābul. The presents were entrusted to his charge, and put into the immediate custody of Mulla Hassan Sarāf[3] and Nouker Hindū. Khwājeh Kalān, who was heartily tired of Hindustān, at the time of going, wrote

Khwājeh Kalān's verses.

[a] at the head of my troops,

[b] to be exposed afresh to the trials of poverty?

[1] [There is a town named Kuhrām marked on Rennell's map in Patiāla, south-east of Patiāla town and south-west of Ambāla Kuhrām is often mentioned in history. See *Āīn i Akbarī*, vol II (Jarrett), pp 105, 296]

[2] This sum, at forty dāms to the rupee, and taking the rupee at two shillings, would be £800 or £1,000 sterling.

[3] [*Sarrāf* – banker]

the following verses on the walls of some houses[a] in Delhi :

(*Tūrkī*)—If I pass the Sind safe and sound,
May shame take me if I ever again wish for Hind.

When I still continued in Hindustān, there was an evident impropriety in his composing and publishing such vituperative[b] verses If I had previously cause to be offended at his leaving me, this conduct[c] of his doubled the offence. I composed a few extempore lines, which I wrote down and sent him.

Bābur's answer

(*Tūrkī*)—Return a hundred thanks, O Bābur! for the bounty of the merciful God
Has given you Sind, Hind, and numerous kingdoms,
If unable to stand the heat, you long for cold,
You have only to recollect the frost and cold of Ghazni

At this period I sent to Koel, Mulla Apāk, who had formerly been in a very low station, but who, two or three years before, having gathered together his brethren and a considerable body of other followers, had received the command of the Urukzais[1] and of several Afghan tribes on the banks of the Sind. I sent by him firmāns containing assurances of safety and protection, to the bowmen and soldiers about Koel. Sheikh Gūren, availing himself of these assurances, came voluntarily and entered into my service.[d] He brought with him two or three thousand bowmen from the Doāb, who all joined my army.

Bābur joined by some Doāb men.

The sons and clansmen[e] of Ālim Khan Fermūli fell in with Yunis Ali, between Delhi and Agra, at a time when he had mistaken the road and separated from Humāiūn, but, after a short engagement, were defeated, and the sons of Ālim Khan made prisoners, and brought to the camp. At this juncture,[f] I dispatched Mirza Moghul, the son of Doulet Kadem the Turk, accompanied by one of the sons of Ālim Khan, who had been taken prisoner, with firmāns containing assurances of protection and honour, to Ālim Khan, who, during these commotions, had gone to Mewāt. That nobleman returned

And by Ālim Khan Fermūli

[a] his house [b] lightly jesting [c] a jest like this
[d] came to me loyally and rendered me homage [e] relations
[f] Availing myself of this circumstance,

[1] [An Afghan tribe inhabiting Tirah, on the borders of the Kohāt district, N.W.F P.]

back in his company. I received Ālim Khan with distinction and kindness, and bestowed on him[a] one of the most desirable pergannas, worth twenty-five laks.[1]

By Firūz Khan, Sheikh Bayezīd, Mahmūd Khan, and Kazi Jia.

Sultan Ibrahīm had sent Mustafa Fermūli and Firūz Khan Sārangkhāni, with several other Amīrs, against the rebellious lords of the Pūrab (East). Mustafa had some well-fought and desperate actions with the rebels, and had given them several severe defeats. He had died, however, before the defeat of Ibrahīm, and Sheikh Bayezīd, his younger brother, had assumed the command in his room, while Ibrahīm was yet on the throne.[b] Firūz Khan, Sheikh Bayezīd, Mahmūd Khan Lohāni, and Kazi Jia, now entered my service. I bestowed on them honours and rewards beyond their expectations. To Firūz Khan I gave a grant of upwards of a kror out of Jaunpūr; on Sheikh Bayezīd one of a kror from Oudh; on Mahmūd Khan, nine laks and thirty-five thousand dāms out of Ghāzipūr,[c] and on Kazi Jia twenty laks[2] from Jaunpūr.

Bābur distributes rewards to his officers

A few days after the Īd,[3] or festival of Shawāl, we had a great feast in the grand hall, which is adorned with the peristyle of stone pillars, under the dome in the centre of Sultan Ibrahīm's private palace.[4] On that occasion I presented Humāiūn with a *chārkob*,[5] a sword with the belt, and

[a] *Omit this clause and read* I provided for his maintenance by bestowing on him

[b] and that king, finding himself in a difficult situation, made over the command of his elder brother's troops to Sheikh Bayezīd

[c] Firūz Khan received a grant of 1 kror, 46 lakhs and 5,000 tangas from Jaunpūr, Sheikh Bayazīd got 1 kror, 48 lakhs and 50,000 tangas on Oudh, Mahmūd Khan 90 lakhs, 35,000 tangas out of Ghāzipūr,

[1] Probably about £6,250

[2] A kror may be about £25,000, nine laks and 35,000 dāms, about £2,440, twenty laks, nearly £5,000 [These are only round numbers The details are given in P. de C.'s translation]

[3] The Īd of Shawāl, it will be remembered, is celebrated at the conclusion of the Ramzān, on seeing the first new moon of Shawāl In A. H. 932, it must have fallen about July 11, 1526

[4] [The two last Lodi kings resided in Agra Sikander Lodi built the Bāradari Palace near Sikandra, which suburb received its name from him. The 'Lodi's Mound', which is now built over with modern houses, is said to have been the site of another Lodi Palace called Bādalgarh (*Murray's Handbook to the Bengal Presidency*, London, 1882).]

[5] A square shawl, or napkin of cloth of gold, bestowed as a mark of rank and distinction.

a Tipchāk horse with a gold saddle. To Chīn Taimūr Sultan, to Mehdi Khwājeh, and Muhammed Sultan Mirza, I gave a *charkob*, a sword with the belt, and a dagger.[a] To the other Begs and officers I gave, according to their circumstances, a sword with a belt, a dagger, and dresses of honour; so that on the whole there were given one Tipchāk horse with the saddle, two pairs of swords[b] with the belts, twenty-five sets of enamelled[c] daggers, sixteen enamelled[c] *kitārehs*, two daggers[1] (*jamdher*) set with precious stones,[d] four pair[e] of *chārkobs*, and twenty-eight vests of purple.[f] On the day of the feast there was a great deal of rain, it rained thirteen times. Many of those who were seated on the outside were completely drenched.

Expedition against Sambal,

I had at first bestowed the country of Samāneh on Muhammedi Gokultāsh, and sent him on a plundering expedition into Sambal[2] I had bestowed Hissār-Firozeh on Humāiūn by way of gift, and now gave him Sambal likewise. As I had placed Hindū Beg in Humāiūn's service, I, therefore, in the room of Muhammedi, sent Hindū Beg, accompanied by Kitteh Beg, Malik Kāsim, and Bāba Kashkeh, with their brothers and relations,[g3] Mulla Apāk, Sheikh Gūren, and the bowmen from the Doāb, with orders to proceed on duty to Sambal. Intimations[h] had come three or four times from Kāsim Sambali, that the traitor Bīban had laid siege to Sambal, and reduced him to the last extremity, so that it was desirable that they should advance by forced marches. Bīban,[4] with the same force and array with which he had fled from us, had occupied the skirts of the hills, collected the fugitive and discomfited Afghans,[1] and, finding the place ill garrisoned, during these troubles, had gone and laid siege to Sambal. Hindū Beg, Kitch Beg, and the whole detachment that had been dispatched to the relief of the place,

[a] *Add* with its belt [b] jewelled swords [c] jewelled
[d] *Add* a gold scimitar, a nag, and a sword, [e] four
[f] scarlet. [g] with all his brothers, [h] Messengers
[1] *Add* and Indians,

[1] The *khanjer*, *kitāreh*, and *jamdher* are peculiar kinds of daggers.

[2] [Sambhal is a town in the district of Morādābād, U.P., twenty-two miles south-west of Morādābād city.]

[3] That is, their clansmen [4] [Malik Bīban Jilwāni.]

on reaching the Ahār-ford,[1] while busy in passing the river, sent on Malik Kāsim, and Bāba Kashkeh with his brothers, in advance As soon as Malik Kāsim had crossed the river, he pushed on with great expedition, accompanied by a hundred or a hundred and fifty of his brethren,[2] and reached Sambal about the time of noon-day prayers. Bīban, on his side, drew out his men from his camp, and ranged them in order of battle. Malik Kāsim and his party having advanced rapidly, and got the fort in their rear, began to engage him. Bīban, unable to keep his ground, took to flight. They killed a number of his men, whose heads they cut off, and took several elephants and a number of horses.[a] Next morning, the Begs who had been sent to relieve the place arrived. Kāsim Sambali came out and had an interview with them, but made some difficulties as to giving up the fort, always contriving evasions. One day, Sheikh Gūren having concerted measures with Hindū Beg and the rest of the generals,[b] brought Kāsim Sambali before them by stratagem, and introduced my men into the fort of Sambal. The family and dependants of Kāsim Sambali were suffered to leave the place in safety, and were conducted to Biāna.[c]

which is taken

Kalender Piādeh was now sent to Nizām Khan[d] with letters, in which threats were mingled with promises. I wrote extempore, and sent the following fragment :

Nizām Khan holds out Biāna

Contend not with Tūrks, O Mīr of Biāna ![3]
The speed and bravery of Tūrks are surpassing
Now is the time to present yourself, and to lend an ear to counsel
What is the use of telling a man of what is before his eyes ?

The fort of Biāna is one of the most famous in Hindustān ;

[a] *Add* besides other booty

[b] Sheikh Gūren and Hindū Beg having concerted measures with their colleagues, [c] *Omit this clause* [d] *Add* to Biāna

[1] The Ahār-ford is on the Ganges, a little above Anopsheher, or Anūpshīr. [Anūpshahr, the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Bulandshahr district, U P, situated on the right bank of the Ganges, twenty-five miles east of Bulandshahr city, was an important town in its day as commanding this crossing of the Ganges on the road between Delhi and Rohilkhand] [2] Clansmen.

[3] Biāna, which lies south-west from Agra, was formerly one of the most important places in India, from its vicinity to the capital, which it defended on the side of the Rājpūt states.

and the foolish man, confiding too much in its strength, had cherished expectations, and instructed his envoy to make demands, far beyond what he was able to command. I returned him a sharp answer [a] by the man whom he sent to treat, and made every exertion to collect whatever was necessary for the siege.

Muhammed Zeitūn holds out in Dhūlpūr

I sent Baba Kuli Beg to Muhammed Zeitūn [1] with letters, in which menaces were mixed with conciliation. He likewise made excuses to waste the time, and practised a variety of artifices.

Rāna Sankatakes Kandār

Although Rāna Sanka,[2] the Pagan, when I was in Kābul, had sent me an ambassador with professions of attachment, and had arranged with me, that, if I would march from that quarter into the vicinity of Delhi, he would march from the other side upon Agra, yet, when I defeated Ibrahīm, and took Delhi and Agra, the Pagan, during all my operations, did not make a single movement. After some time, he advanced and laid siege to Kandār,[3] the name of a fort which was held by Hassan, the son of Makan. Hassan Makan had several times sent me envoys, though Makan himself had not waited on me with his submissions. The forts around, such as Etāwa, Dhūlpūr, Gwāliār, and Biāna,[4] were not yet in my possession. The Afghans to the eastward were in a state of rebellion and contumacy; they had even advanced two or three marches from Kanauj towards Agra, and had then encamped and fortified their position.[b] I was

[a] a refusal of his demands

[b] their head-quarters were at a point two or three marches from Kanauj in the district of Agra

[1] Muhammed Zeitūn held Dhūlpūr, which lies south from Agra, on the Chambal, and is a very strong place

[2] Rāna Sanka, the Raja of Udaipūr, had made the principal Rājpūt states dependent upon him He had enlarged his dominions by the conquest of several provinces in Mālwa, that had formerly belonged to the King of Māndu; and was, upon the whole, the most formidable opponent whom Bābur had to dread

[3] Kandār is a strong hill-fort, a few miles east of Rantambor [in Rājpūtāna]

[4] These are the chief forts to the south of Agra Etāwa lies on the Jumna, between Agra and Kālpi Gwāhār is a celebrated hill-fort, well known as the prison of the princes of the house of Taimūr, and the chief place in Gohud.

by no means secure of the fidelity of the country immediately about us. It was impossible for me, therefore, to send any detachment to his relief; and Hassan, in the course of two or three months, having been reduced to extremity, entered into a capitulation, and surrendered the fort of Kandār.

Rāberi given to Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng

Hussain Khan, who was in possession of Rāberi,[1] being seized with a panic, abandoned the place, and made his escape. I bestowed it upon Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng.

Etāwa given to Mahdi Khwājeh

I had several times summoned Kutb Khan, who was in Etāwa, to come out and wait upon me;[a] but he neither waited upon me nor surrendered the fort. I now bestowed the fort of Etāwa on Mahdi Khwājeh, and sent along with him Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Sultan Muhammed Duldāi, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Abdal-azīz, the master of horse, with some other Begs, several of my inferior Begs and adherents, and a number of other troops,[b] to occupy the place. I had lately bestowed Kanauj[2] on Sultan Muhammed Duldāi: but, in the meanwhile, I ordered him also to march against Etāwa, accompanied by Firōz Khan, Mahmūd Khan, Sheikh Bayezīd, Kazi Jia, and the Begs of their party, to whom I had shown great favour, and given pergannas on the side of Pūrab.

Dhūlpūr given to Sultan Juneid Birlās

Muhammed Zeitūn continued in Dhūlpūr, and, under various false pretences, would neither leave the place nor make his submission. I bestowed Dhūlpūr[3] on Sultan Juneid Birlās, and appointed Ādil Sultan, Muhammedi Gokultāsh, Shah Mansūr Birlās, Kūtluk Kadem, Wali Jān Beg, Abdallah, Pir Kuli, and Shah Hussain Bārgi, to proceed against that place, giving them instructions to assault and take it by storm, and to deliver it into the custody of Sultan Juneid Birlās; after which they were to march against Biāna.

[a] I had several times sent letters to Kutb Khan, who was in Etāwa, endeavouring to attract him by promises, and intimidate him by threats,

[b] in command of a considerable number of Begs and household troops,

[1] Rāberi was a place of importance on the Jumna, below Chāndwār

[2] Kanauj, or Canouge, a famous city on the Ganges, about the 27th degree of N. Lat. It lies on the right bank of the river.

[3] It will be observed that the greater part of these governments, bestowed by Bābur, were of places still to be conquered.

Bābur holds a council

Having appointed these armies to proceed in execution of their various objects, I sent for the Tūrki nobles and those of Hind, and held a consultation. I stated to them that the rebellious lords in the east, Nāsir Khan Lohāni, Maarūf Fermūli, and their adherents, had passed the Ganges, to the number of forty or fifty thousand men, had occupied Kanauj, and advanced and encamped two or three marches on this side of it; that the Pagan Rāna Sanka had taken Kandār, and was in a state of open disobedience and revolt; that the rainy season was now nearly over; that it seemed expedient and necessary to march against either the rebels or the pagans; that it would be an easy matter to reduce the neighbouring forts after getting rid of these formidable enemies; that then they would cost no trouble; that Rāna Sanka was not, upon the whole, a very formidable enemy.

Resolution to march against the Afghans in the east. The command given to Humāiūn,

All unanimously answered, that Rāna Sanka was not only far off, but that it was not even plain that it was in his power to come near us; that the rebel chiefs had advanced closer up to us; that to repulse them should be our first object; and they therefore begged to be led against that enemy. Humāiūn represented that it was quite unnecessary for the Emperor to accompany the expedition, and asked to be permitted to undertake the service. All having agreed in this plan, and the Tūrki Begs, as well as those of Hind, being pleased with the arrangement, it was settled that Humāiūn should march towards the east, with the armies that had been appointed to proceed against Dhūlpūr [a]; and Kābuli Ahmed Kāsim was in consequence dispatched with all speed, to make these armies change the course of their march, so as to meet Humāiūn in Chāndwār.[b1] Mahdi Khwājeh, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and the armies that had been sent against Etāwa, were likewise ordered to march and form a junction with Humāiūn.

who marches to the eastward. Aug 21

On Thursday, the 13th of Zilkaadeh, Humāiūn marched to the village of Jilīsir,[2] sixteen kos [c] from Agra, where he

[a] *Omit this clause*

[b] to direct the armies that had been dispatched against Dhūlpūr to join Humāiūn at Chāndwār

[c] three kos

[1] Chāndwār lies on the Jumna below Agra, and above Etāwa

[2] [Jalesar on the Jamna below Agra is the head-quarters of a Tahsīl

encamped. Having halted there one day he proceeded march after march towards the enemy. On Thursday, the 20th of the same month, Khwajeh Kalān took leave on setting out for Kābul. Aug. 28.

Bābur makes a garden near Agra, beyond the Jumna,

It always appears to me that one of the chief defects of Hindustān is the want of artificial water-courses I had intended, wherever I might fix my residence, to construct water-wheels, to produce an artificial stream, and to lay out an elegant and regularly planned pleasure-ground.[1] Shortly after coming to Agra, I passed the Jumna with this object in view, and examined the country, to pitch upon a fit spot for a garden. The whole was so ugly and detestable, that I repassed the river quite repulsed and disgusted. In consequence of the want of beauty, and of the disagreeable aspect of the country, I gave up my intention of making a *chārbāgh* ; but as no better situation presented itself near Agra, I was finally compelled to make the best of this same spot. I first of all began to sink the large well which supplies the baths with water ; I next fell to work on that piece of ground on which are the *ambli* (or Indian tamarind) trees, and the octangular tank ; I then proceeded to form the large tank and its enclosure ; and afterwards the tank and *tālār*[2] (or grand hall of audience) that are in front of the stone palace. I next finished the garden of the private apartments, and the apartments themselves, after which I completed the baths. In this way, going on, without neatness and without order, in the Hindu fashion, I, however, produced edifices and gardens which possessed considerable regularity.[a 3] In every corner I planted suitable gardens ;

and a palace.

[a] So it was that in this country of India so devoid of charm, and naturally so lacking in order, I succeeded in making gardens full of beauty and symmetry.

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in the Etah district of the United Provinces, about eight miles from the Jalesar road station, on the Great Eastern Railway]

[1] In Persia and India, a house or palace is always understood to be comprehended under the name of garden.

[2] *Tālār* is an apartment open in front, and supported on pillars It is frequently a hall of audience

[3] [This may be the garden palace which Bābur is said to have built on the east bank of the Jamna, nearly opposite the Tāj, close to which is a Mosque erected by Humāyūn in 1530. There are, however, three

in every garden I sowed roses and narcissuses regularly, and in beds corresponding to each other.[a] We were annoyed with three things in Hindustān: one was its heat, another its strong winds, the third its dust. Baths were the means of removing all three inconveniences. In the bath we could not be affected by the winds.[b] During the hot winds,[c] the cold can there be rendered so intense, that a person often feels as if quite powerless[d] from it. The room of the bath, in which is the tub or cistern, is finished wholly of stone. The water-run is of white stone; all the rest of it, its floor and roof, is of a red stone, which is the stone of Biāna. Khalīfeh, Sheikh Zein, Yunis Ali, and several others, who procured situations on the banks of the river, made regular and elegant gardens and tanks, and constructed wheels after the fashion of Lahore and Debālpūr, by means of which they procured a supply of water. The men of Hind, who had never before seen places formed on such a plan, or laid out with so much elegance, gave the name of Kābul to the side of the Jumna on which these palaces were built.

Bābur excavates a *waīn* in Agra.

There was an empty space within the fort (of Agra), between Ibrahīm's palace[1] and the ramparts. I directed a large *waīn* to be constructed on it, ten gaz by ten[2] In the language of Hindustān they denominate a large well, having

[a] In every corner I made pretty parterres, in which roses and narcissi in all their beauty were arranged with consummate art.

[b] *Add* or the dust [c] In the hottest season, [d] half frozen

other gardens near Agra, which are connected by tradition with Bābur, viz the Achānak Bāgh, one mile due south of the city; the Zahīreh Bāgh, situated between the Rām Bāgh and the Chīnī kā rozah; and another garden of the same name, the largest of all, on the Agra side of the river near the Barracks This garden contains the great well, the wonder of Agra, which has a circumference of 220 feet, and from which fifty-two people can draw water at the same time. It may be the *waīn* referred to by Bābur further on.]

[1] [As far as I know, no trace of this palace exists in the fort. It was doubtless demolished to make room for later buildings of the Moghal period.]

[2] [The usual word in Hindustāni for such a well is *baolī*, which is defined as follows in Fallon's dictionary. 'a deep well, descent to which is by long flights of steps with landing places and covered chambers where travellers may rest and take refreshments during the heat of the day'.]

a staircase down it, *waīn*. This *waīn* was begun before the *chārbāgh* was laid out; they were busy digging it during the rains, but it fell in several times, and smothered the workmen. After my holy war against Rāna Sanka, as is mentioned in the Memoirs,[a] I gave orders for finishing it, and a very excellent *waīn* was completed. In the inside of the *waīn* there was constructed an edifice of three different stories. The lowest story has three open halls, and you descend to it by the well; the descent is by means of a flight of steps, and there is a passage leading to each of the three different halls.[b] Each hall is higher than the other by three steps. In the lowest hall of all, at the season when the waters subside, there is a flight of steps that descends into the well.[c] In the rainy season, when the water is high, the water comes up into the uppermost of these halls. In the middle story there is a hall of carved stone, and close by it a dome, in which the oxen that turn the water-wheel move round. The uppermost story consists of a single hall. From the extremity of the area that is at the top of the well, at the bottom of a flight of five or six steps, a staircase goes off from each side to this hall, and proceeds down to its right side.[d] Straight opposite to the entrance is a stone, containing the date of the building. By the side of this well a shaft or pit has been dug, in such a way that the bottom of it is a little higher than the middle of the well.[e] The cattle, moving in the dome that has been mentioned, turn a water-wheel, by which the water is raised from the one well into the other well or shaft. On this last-mentioned shaft they have erected another wheel, by which the water is raised to a level with the ramparts,[f] and flows into the upper gardens. At the place where the staircase issues from the well they

[a] as is recorded in a chronogram engraved on a stone, in which there is an allusion to its completion after the Holy War,

[b] The lowest consists of three halls, each of which communicates directly with the well by means of steps

[c] When water is drawn from the lowest hall, the level of the water is only one step below it

[d] You go down to it from the platform of the well by a flight of five or six steps on each side, the entrance being on the right

[e] By the side of the first well another has been sunk, the depth of which is not quite half that of the first one.

[f] is carried along the ramparts,

have built a house of stone ; and beyond the enclosure that surrounds the well, a stone mosque has been built ; but it is ill built, and after the style of Hindustān.

The Afghans of the east fall back from Jājmāu

By the time that Humāiūn had made some progress in his march,[a] Nāsir Khan Lohāni, Maarūf Fermūli, and the rebel lords,[b] had assembled and encamped at Jājmāu.[1] Humāiūn, when about fifteen[c] kos off, sent Mūmin Atkeh, in order to gain intelligence, and to push on, to plunder and beat up their quarters. He could not get any accurate information of their motions, but the rebels, having notice of his approach, took to flight, without waiting for his appearance. Humāiūn sent out Kasimnāi with Bāba Chihreh and Bujkeh, after Mūmin Atkeh, in order to get intelligence. They brought news of the panic and flight of the enemy ; whereupon Humāiūn advanced and occupied Jājmāu, from whence he proceeded onward. When he arrived near Dilmāu,[2] Fateh Khan Sarwāni came and made his submission. He sent that nobleman to me, accompanied by Mahdi Khwājeh and Muhammed Sultan Mirza.

Fateh Khan Sarwāni submits

Trans-actions in Khorasān.

This same year, Obeidullah Khan raised an army, and advanced from Bokhāra against Merv. Ten or fifteen peasants, who were in the citadel of Merv,[3] were taken and put to the sword. Having settled the revenue of Merv, he, in the course of forty or fifty days,[d] proceeded against Sarakhs. In Sarakhs he found about thirty or forty Kizilbāshes, who shut the gates, and refused to give up the

[a] started on his expedition, [b] *Omit* and the rebel lords,
[c] ten or fifteen [d] Having occupied Merv for forty or fifty days, he

[1] Jājmāu is in the Doāb, below Cawnpore. [Jājmāu is the old name of the head-quarters Tahsīl of the Cawnpore district, United Provinces]

[2] Dilmāu stands on the left bank of the Ganges, south-east from Bareilly. [Dalmāu is the head-quarters of the Tahsīl of the same name in the Rai Bareilly district, United Provinces It contains many interesting ruins, the most striking being the picturesque old fort overlooking the Ganges]

[3] [Merv, the chief town of the Oasis of the same name, is situated in the Trans-Caspian Province of Russia on the south edge of the Kara Kum desert, 230 miles north of Herāt The new town is situated on both sides of the Murghāb river The ruins of the old Seljūk capital cover an area of fifteen miles.]

fort. The inhabitants being divided in their affections, some of them opened a gate,[a] by which the Uzbeks entered, and put all the Kizilbāshes to the sword. Having taken Sarakhs, he moved upon Tūs and Meshhad.[1] The inhabitants of Meshhad, having no means of defence, submitted. Tūs was blockaded for eight months, and finally surrendered on capitulation, the terms of which were not observed; all the men in the place being put to the sword, and the women reduced to slavery.[2]

Behāder Khan succeeds his father, Sultan Muzaffer, in Gujerāt

This same year Behāder Khan, the son of Sultan Muzaffer of Gujerāt, succeeded his father on the throne of Gujerāt, of which country he is now king. Upon some difference with his father, he had fled to Sultan Ibrahīm, by whom he was treated with great slight; during the time that I was in the vicinity of Pānipat, I received from him letters asking for assistance. I returned him a gracious and encouraging answer, inviting him to join me. He at first intended to wait upon me, but afterwards changed his plan, and, separating from Ibrahīm's army, took the road of Gujerāt. His father, Sultan Muzaffer, having died at this very crisis, his elder brother Sikander Shah, the eldest son of Sultan Muzaffer, succeeded his father on the throne of Gujerāt. In consequence of his bad conduct, one of his slaves, Imād-al-mulk, conspired with some others, and put him to death by strangling him. They then sent for Behāder Khan, who was still on the road, and on his arrival, placed him on his father's throne, under the name of Behāder Shah.[3]

Short reign of Sikander Shah

[a] But the inhabitants, rising in revolt, opened the gates,

[1] [Mashad, the capital of the Khorasān Province of Persia, is situated in a plain watered by the Kashaf-rūd, a tributary of the Hari-rūd. It is celebrated for its sacred shrine of Imām Rezā, the most venerated spot in Persia. The ruins of Tūs are situated in the neighbourhood of the modern Mashad, which was built round the shrine of Imām Rezā, and took the place of the ancient city. Tūs is famous as the site of the poet Firdausi's tomb. Sarakhs is a town situated in the extreme north-east corner of the Province of Khorasān about ninety miles east of Mashad.]

[2] [Merv, Sarakhs, and Mashad fell to Obeidullah Khan in 1525, and Tūs in the following year.—*E. B.*, p. 457.]

[3] [Muzaffar Shah II died in 1526 and was succeeded by his two elder sons, Sikander Shah and Mahmūd II, both of whom met with violent deaths, thus leaving the throne open to Bahādur Shah.]

This prince acted rightly in enforcing the law of retaliation by putting to death Imād-al-mulk, who had behaved so treacherously; but unfortunately, besides this,[a] he put to death a number of his father's Amīrs, and gave proofs of his being a blood-thirsty and ungovernable young man.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 933

Birth of Farūk.

In the month of Muharrem,[1] Beg Weis arrived with news of the birth of Farūk; although a messenger on foot had previously brought me the news, yet Beg Weis came this month for the purpose of communicating the good tidings.

Aug. 2.

He was born on Friday eve, the 23rd of the month of Shawāl, and named Farūk.

Ustād Ali Kuli casts a large cannon.

I had directed Ustād Ali Kuli to cast a large cannon, for the purpose of battering Biāna, and some other place which had not submitted. Having prepared the forges and all the necessary implements, he sent a messenger to give me notice that everything was ready. On Monday, the 25th of Muharrem,[b 2] we went to see Ustād Ali Kuli cast his gun. Around the place[c] where it was to be cast were eight forges,[d] and all the implements in readiness. Below each forge they had formed a channel, which went down to the mould in which the gun was to be cast. On my arrival, they opened the holes of all the different forges. The metal flowed down by each channel in a liquid state, and entered the mould. After waiting some time, the flowing of the melted metal from the various forges ceased, one after another, before the mould was full. There was some oversight either in regard to the forges or the metal. Ustād Ali Kuli was in terrible distress; he was like to throw himself into the melted metal that was in the mould. Having cheered him up, and given him a dress of honour, we contrived to soften his shame. Two days after,[e] when the

[a] but, not content with this,
[b] 15th of Muharram,
[c] mould
[d] furnaces,
[e] A day or two after,

[1] Muharrem, A. H. 933, began on October 8, 1526

[2] Muharrem 25th, November 1, happened on a Thursday There is probably an error in the text, of Doshembeh for Panjshembeh [P. de C. has Monday the 15th of Muharram.]

mould was cool, they opened it. Ustād Ali Kuli, with great delight, sent a person to let me know that the chamber of the gun for the shot was without a flaw, and that it was easy to form the powder chamber. Having raised [a] the bullet-chamber of the gun, he set a party to work to put it to rights, while he betook himself to completing the powder chamber.[1]

Fateh Khan Sarwāni, named Khan Jehān.

Mahdi Khwājeh, who had received the charge of Fateh Khan Sarwāni from Humāiūn, brought him to court. He had parted from Humāiūn at Dilmau. I gave Fateh Khan a favourable reception, and bestowed on him the perganas of his father, Azīm Humāiūn, with some places in addition, to the value of a kror and sixty laks.[2] In Hindustān it is customary to bestow on the Amīrs who are in the highest favour certain titles. One of these is Azīm Humāiūn; another is Khan Jehān, another Khan Khānān.[3] His father's title was Azīm Humāiūn. As I saw no propriety in any one's bearing this title except Humāiūn himself, I abolished it, and bestowed the name of Khan Jehān on Fateh Khan Sarwāni.

On Wednesday, the 20th of Safer,[4] I erected awnings on the banks of the tank, on the side above the tamarind trees, and had a feast, when I invited Fateh Khan Sarwāni to a drinking party, made him drink wine, invested him with a turban, and a complete dress of honour from head to foot,[b 5] and, after distinguishing him by these marks of favour and grace, gave him leave to return to his own country. It was arranged that his son Mahmūd Khan should always remain at court.

[a] extracted

[b] *Add* that I had worn myself,

[1] It would appear, from this account, that cannon were sometimes made of parts bound or clamped together They were frequently formed of iron bars strongly compacted into a circular shape. The description, however, is not very distinct

[2] About £40,000 sterling.

[3] These titles signify the Mighty August, the Lord of the World, and the Lord of Lords

[4] November 26 was a Monday. [P. de C has 8th of Safar]

[5] The *siropā* was a complete dress of honour, consisting of a robe, and some other articles

Humāiūn's army re called Oct. 31.

On Wednesday, the 24th of Muharrem, Muhammed Ali Haider Rikābdār was dispatched with all speed to Humāiūn to desire him, as the army of the rebels of the Pūrab (east) had been put to flight and dispersed, that, immediately on Muhammed Ali's arrival, he should proceed to Jaunpūr, leave in the place[a] some Amīrs adequate to the trust, and then immediately set out with his army in order to rejoin me; that the Pagan Rāna Sanka had taken advantage of the absence of the army, to approach very close upon me,[b] and was now the first object to be attended to.

Ālim Khan's expedition against Biāna.

After the army had marched to the eastward, I had ordered Terdi Beg, Kūch Beg, with his younger brother, Sher-afgan, and Muhammed Khalīl Akhtehbegi, with his brothers and *akhtajiān*,[1] Rustam Turkomān with his brothers, as well as other chiefs of Hindustān, and Rao Wadi Sarwāni,[c] to proceed to plunder and lay waste the country about Biāna: if they could prevail on the garrison in the fort by any assurances of safety and indemnity to join me, they were to do it; if this failed, they were to waste and plunder the country, and to reduce the enemy to as great distress as possible.

Ālim Khan, who was in the fort of Tehenger,[2] was an elder brother of Nizām Khan of Biāna. Repeated messengers had come from him, bringing professions of submission and allegiance. This Ālim Khan undertook, if I would give him charge of a body of troops, to bring all the archers of Biāna to listen to terms of capitulation, and to deliver Biāna[d] into my hands. I gave instructions to the troops who had been sent on the plundering expedition along with Terdi Beg, that as Ālim Khan, who was a Zemindār of consequence,[e] had undertaken this duty and service, they should be guided by his advice and opinion in whatever

[a] *For* he should . . . place *read* he should leave in Jaunpūr
[b] the Pagan Rāna Sanka had approached quite close to us.
[c] *For* as well as . . . Sarwāni *read* Ravi Sarvāni, the Hindu,
[d] *Add* and its dependent villages [e] of the country,

[1] D'Herbelot explains *akhtaji* to mean a vassal who holds lands of a superior lord. [P. de C. translates this 'equerries.']

[2] [Tahangarh is a celebrated fort in the Karauli State of Rājpūtāna, which was built by Tahan Pāla, a Jadūn Rājpūt, in 1058. It was captured by Muhammed Ghori in 1196.]

regarded the reduction of Biāna. Though many of the men of Hindustān are brave swordsmen, yet they are extremely ignorant and inexperienced in the art of war, and in the disposition and conduct of their force as commanders. This Ālim, who was accompanied by the whole of our detachment, paid no attention to a single word that fell from anybody, and with a total indifference as to what was expedient and what was not, carried it close up to Biāna. The detachment consisted of two hundred and fifty, or nearly three hundred Tūrks, and somewhat above two thousand Hindustānis, and men from different quarters.[a] Nizām Khan, with his Afghans, and the troops of Biāna, amounted to above four thousand horse, with upwards of ten thousand infantry. Observing the advance of our troops, and perceiving the error which Ālim had committed,[b] they made a sudden sally with their whole force; and being much superior in numbers, charged the detachment at full speed, and put them to flight in a moment. Ālim Khan Tehengeri, who was Nizām Khan's elder brother, was taken prisoner, with five or six others.[c] In spite of this, I still consented to overlook Nizām Khan's past offences, and again sent him letters, offering him terms and assurances of indemnity. As soon as he had certain information of the near approach of Rāna Sanka the Pagan, seeing no remedy, he sent for Syed Rafaa, and, by his mediation, delivered up the fort to my troops; after which he accompanied the Syed to the presence, and was graciously received and taken into my service.[d] I bestowed on him a perganna of twenty laks[1] in the Doāb. Dost Ishek-Agha had been sent to take the temporary command of Biāna till a governor was appointed. A few days after, I appointed Mahdi Khwājeh[2] to the charge with an allowance and appointment of seventy laks,[3] and sent him to his government.

He is surprised and taken.

Biāna surrenders

[a] different adjacent districts [b] and discovering its strength,
[c] *Add* a certain amount of baggage was also left in the enemy's hands [d] and was granted the honour of waiting on me

[1] Nearly £5,000
[2] This is probably the Mahdi Khwājeh who married a daughter [or rather sister] of Bābur's, and who afterwards aspired to the throne.
[3] About £17,500

Gwāliār taken by stratagem.

Tātār Khan Sārangkhāni, who held Gwāliār, had repeatedly sent messengers with professions of submission and attachment. After the Pagan had taken Kandār, and when he was approaching Biāna, one of the Rajas of Gwāliār, Dermenket, and one Khan Jehān, a pagan, came into the vicinity of Gwāliār, and began to attempt, by raising an insurrection and gaining a party, to produce a defection and seize the fortress. Tātār Khan finding himself in considerable difficulty, was willing to deliver up the fort to me. My Begs and confidential servants, as well as the greater part of my best men, had all been sent off with the armies, or in various scattered detachments. I, however, dispatched Rahīmdād with a party of Behreh men and Lahoris, and made Imshiji Tunketār with his brothers accompany them, having previously assigned pergannas in Gwāliār to the whole party. I likewise sent along with them Mulla Apāk and Sheikh Gūren, who were directed to return after establishing Rahīmdād in Gwāliār. When they got near Gwāliār, Tātār Khan had changed his mind, and would not suffer them to enter the fort At this period Sheikh Muhammed Ghaus, well known as a Derwīsh, and celebrated for his piety, and whose followers and disciples are very numerous, sent a man from the fort to Rahīmdād, to advise him to procure admission any way that he could; that Tātār Khan's intentions were changed, and that now he was resolved to hold out.[a] Rahīmdād, on receiving this information, sent in notice that he was afraid to remain without, from dread of the pagans: and proposed that he should be allowed to enter the fort with a few of his men, while the rest stayed without the walls. After much entreaty, Tātār Khan assented to this arrangement. Rahīmdād had no sooner secured his own admission, and that of a few of his men, than he requested that some of his people might be permitted to attend at the gate,[b] which was granted; and accordingly some of his people were stationed at the Hāthipol, or Elephant-gate. That very night he introduced the whole of his men by that gate. In the morning Tātār Khan, seeing that

[a] he entertained traitorous designs

[b] he expressed a wish that the rest of his party might be posted at a gate, which he named,

there was no help for it, surrendered the fort very unwillingly,[a] and came and waited upon me at Agra. I assigned for his support the perganna of Biāwān, with twenty laks.[1]

Dhūlpūr also surrenders.

Muhammed Zeitūn likewise, seeing that nothing could be done, surrendered Dhūlpūr, and came and waited on me. I bestowed on him also a perganna of several laks, and made Dhūlpūr an imperial domain, bestowing the *shikdārī* (or military collectorship) of it on Abul Fateh Turkomān, whom I sent to Dhūlpūr.

The Pani Afghans infest Hissār-Firozeh.

In the neighbourhood of Hissār-Firozeh, Hamīd Khan Sārangkhānī, and a party of the Pani Afghans, having collected a number of Afghans and others from the countries around, to the number of three or four thousand men, were in a state of open and active revolt.

Nov 21.

On Wednesday the 15th [b] of Safer, I ordered Chīn Taimūr to take with him Sultan Ahmedī Perwānchi, Abul Fateh Turkomān, Malikdād Karrāni, and Mujāhid Khan Multāni, and to proceed with a light-armed force against these Afghans. They accordingly set out, and advancing [c] by a circuitous road, fell upon the Afghans, whom they completely routed, and killed a number of men, whose heads they cut off, and sent to me.

Defeated

Embassy from Persia

In the end of the month of Safer, Khwājehgi Asad, who had been sent into Irāk, on a mission to the Prince Tahmāsp,[2] returned accompanied by a Turkomān, named Suleimān, bringing several curiosities of the country, as presents. Among these were two Circassian [3] female slaves.

Dec. 21. Attempt to poison Bābur.

On Friday the 16th [d] of the first Rabīa, a strange occurrence happened. As the particulars are circumstantially detailed in a letter which I wrote to Kābul, the letter itself is inserted here, without adding or taking away. It was as follows :

Bābur's letter.

'A very important incident happened on Friday the 16th [d] day of the first Rabīa, in the year 933. The circum-

[a] willy-nilly, [b] 25th [c] charging suddenly
[d] 17th

[1] About £5,000. [Biānwān is in the Agra district.]
[2] [Shah Tahmāsp, when a boy of ten, had succeeded his father Shah Ismāīl as King of Persia in 1524.]
[3] Cherkes or Circassians.

stances are these · The mother of Ibrahīm, an ill-fated lady, had heard that I had eaten some things from the hands of natives of Hindustān. It happened in this way. Three or four months ago, never having seen any of the dishes of Hindustān, I desired Ibrahīm's cooks to be called, and out of fifty or sixty cooks, four were chosen and retained. The lady, having heard the circumstance, sent a person to Etāwa to call Ahmed, the taster, whom the Hindustānis call *bekāwel*,[a] and delivered into the hands of a female slave a *tola*[1] of poison, wrapped up in a folded paper, desiring it to be given to the taster Ahmed.[b] Ahmed gave it to a Hindustāni cook[c] who was in my kitchen, seducing him with the promise of four pergannas, and desiring him,[d] by some means or other, to throw it into my food. She sent another female slave after the one whom she had desired to carry the poison to Ahmed, in order to observe if the first slave delivered the poison or not. It was fortunate that the poison was not thrown into the pot, it was thrown into the tray. He did not throw it into the pot, because I had strictly enjoined the tasters to watch the Hindustānis, and they had tasted the food in the pot while it was cooking. When they were dishing the meat, my graceless tasters[2] were inattentive, and he threw it upon a plate of thin slices of bread; he did not throw above one-half of the poison that was in the paper upon the bread, and put

[a] Ahmed *chāshnīgīr* (taster), which is the equivalent in India for our term *bakāwal*,

[b] *Add* (A *tola*, as has been stated above, is a little more than two *miskāls*) [c] cooks [d] if he found an opportunity,

[1] The *tola* is about the weight of a silver rupee [About three drams]

[2] The account of the management of the imperial kitchen as contained in the *Ayeen e Akberī* is curious 'Ordinary people are not permitted to enter the kitchen.'—'During the time of dressing and taking up the victuals, an awning is spread over the top of the kitchen, and care taken that nothing falls therefrom The cooks tuck up the sleeves and the skirts of their garments, and hold their hands before their mouths and nostrils Before the victuals are taken up, a cook and one of the inferior *bekāwels* taste them, after which they are tasted by the Mīr Bekāwel, and then put into dishes.'

'The Mīr Bekāwel puts his seal upon every dish,' &c —*Ayeen e Akberī*, vol. i, p. 62, where the whole arrangement may be seen.

some meat fried in butter upon the slices of bread. If he had thrown it above the fried meat, or into the cooking pot, it would have been still worse; but in his confusion, he spilt the better half of it on the fire-place.

'On Friday, when afternoon prayers were past, they dished the dinner. I was very fond of hare,[a] and ate some,[b] as well as a good deal of fried carrot.[c] I was not, however, sensible of any disagreeable taste; I likewise ate a morsel or two of smoke-dried meat, when I felt nausea. The day before, while eating some smoke-dried flesh, I had felt an unpleasant taste in a particular part of it. I ascribed my nausea to that incident. The nausea again returned, and I was seized with so violent a retching, two or three times while the tray was before me,[d] that I had nearly vomited.[e] At last, perceiving that I could not check it, I went to the water-closet. While on the way to it my heart rose, and I had again nearly vomited. When I had got in front of[f] the water-closet I vomited a great deal.

'I had never before vomited after my food, and not even after drinking wine. Some suspicions crossed my mind. I ordered the cooks to be taken into custody, and desired the meat to be given to a dog, which I directed to be shut up. Next morning about the first watch, the dog became sick, his belly swelled, and he seemed distressed. Although they threw stones at him, and shoved him, they could not make him rise. He remained in this condition till noon, after which he rose and recovered. Two young men had also eaten of this food. Next morning they too vomited much, one of them was extremely ill, but both in the end escaped.

(*Persian*)—A calamity fell upon me, but I escaped in safety
Almighty God bestowed a new life upon me,—
I came from the other world,—
I was again born from my mother's womb.

(*Turkī*)—I was broken [g] and dead, but am again raised to life,
Now, in the salvation of my life, I recognize the hand of God [h]

'I ordered Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi to guard and

[a] *Omit this clause.* [b] I ate heartily of hare fricassee,
[c] *Add* I swallowed only a mouthful or two of the poisoned Hindustānī dish
[d] *Omit* while . . before me, [e] *Add* on the cloth.
[f] to [g] sick [h] I appreciate the value of life.

examine the cooks, and at last all the particulars came to light, as they have been detailed.

'On Monday, being a court day, I directed all the grandees and chief men, the Begs and Wazīrs, to attend the Diwān. I brought in the two men and the two women, who, being questioned, detailed the whole circumstances of the affair in all its particulars. The taster was ordered to be cut to pieces. I commanded the cook to be flayed alive. One of the women was ordered to be trampled to death by an elephant; the other I commanded to be shot with a matchlock. The lady I directed to be thrown into custody. She too, pursued by her guilt, will one day meet with due retribution. On Saturday I ate a bowl of milk. I also drank some of the *makhtūm* flower, brayed and mixed in spirits. On Monday I drank the *makhtūm* flower,[1] and *teriāk e fārūk*,[2] mixed in milk. The milk scoured my inside extremely. On Saturday, as on the first day,[a] a quantity of extremely black substance, like parched bile, was voided. Thanks be to God, there are now no remains of illness! I did not fully comprehend before that life was so sweet a thing. The poet says,

(*Tūrki*)—Whoever comes to the gates of death, knows the value of life

'Whenever these awful occurrences pass before my memory, I feel myself involuntarily turn faint. The mercy of God has bestowed a new life on me, and how can my tongue express my gratitude? Having resolved with myself to overcome my repugnance,[b] I have written fully and circumstantially everything that happened. Although the occurrences were awful, and not to be expressed by the tongue or lips, yet by the favour of Almighty God, other days awaited[c] me, and have passed in happiness and

[a] On Wednesday the first of Safar,

[b] To silence the rumours that may have rendered you anxious,

[c] await

[1] [P. de C. translates this an infusion of *terre sigillée*, which is a sort of ochreous earth obtained in the Archipelago. Erskine has confused *gil* (= earth) with *gul* (= flower)]

[2] These Teriāks are antidotes used to avert the effects of poison [*tiriāqi fārūk* = the finest kind of antidote.]

health.[a] That no alarm or uneasiness might find its way among you, I have written this on[b] the 20th of the first Rabīa, while in the Chārbāgh' A. D. 1526. Dec 25.

When I had recovered from this danger, I wrote and sent this letter to Kābul. As the ill-fated princess had been guilty of so enormous a crime, I gave her up to Yunis Ali, and Khwājeh Asad, to be put under contribution. After seizing her ready money and effects, her male and female slaves, she was given to Abdal-Rahīm's[c] charge, to be kept in custody. Her grandson, the son of Ibrahīm, had previously been guarded with the greatest respect and delicacy. When an attempt of so heinous a nature was discovered to have been made by the family, I did not think it prudent to have a son of Ibrahīm's[1] in this country.[d] On Thursday, the 29th of the first Rabīa, I sent him to Kāmrān[2] along with Mulla Sarsān, who had come from that prince on some business. Ibrahīm's mother confined. Ibrahīm's son sent to Kābul. A. D. 1527. Jan. 3.

Humāiūn, who had proceeded against the rebels of the East, having taken Jaunpūr, marched expeditiously to Ghāzipūr, for the purpose of attacking Nasīr Khan.[e] The Afghans in that quarter, on getting notice of his approach, passed the river Sarū.[3] The light detachment of the army, that had advanced, marched back again, after plundering the country. Humāiūn then arranged everything as I had directed. He left Sultan Juneid and a body of his best troops to support Shah Mīr Hussain in Jaunpūr. He also ordered Kazi Jīa to remain behind, and left Sheikh Bayezīd in Oudh. Having left these posts well fortified, and with every means Humāiūn leaves Sultan Juneid in Jaunpūr,

[a] All has happened for the best [b] *Add* Tuesday
[c] *Add shaghāwal* = introducer of ambassadors, or chamberlain
[d] this prince about my person
[e] *Add* He (Nasīr Khan) warned of the danger that menaced him, crossed the Ganges, whereupon Humāyūn marched against Khairābād from Ghāzipūr

[1] It is worthy of notice, that Bābur refrains from mentioning his name

[2] [Kāmrān, though only a child, had been left in nominal charge of Kābul and Kandahār.]

[3] The Sarū or Sirjoo is a branch of the Goger or Gogra, which joins it a little above Oudh Bābur, however, applies that name to the joint stream, till it falls into the Ganges.

of defence,[a] he crossed the Ganges at Karreh-Mānikpūr,[1] and marched by way of Kālpi to join me. Ālim Khan, son of Jalāl Khan Jighet, who was in Kālpi,[2] had sent letters of submission, but had not himself come to court. Humāiūn, on arriving opposite to Kālpi, sent a person who removed all distrust from his mind, and he accompanied Humāiūn and was introduced to me. On Sunday, the 3rd of the last Rabīa, Humāiūn waited on me in the garden of the Hasht-Behisht.[3] That very same day Khwājeh Dost Khāwend arrived from Kābul.

and rejoins Bābur at Agra Jan 6

Approach of Rāna Sanka towards Biāna

At this time messengers began to come close upon each other from Mahdi Khwājeh, to announce that the Rāna Sanka was undoubtedly on his march, and had been joined by Hassan Khan Mewāti; that it was become indispensably necessary to attend to their proceedings, in preference to every other object. That it would be beneficial to my affairs if a detachment could be sent on, before the Grand Army, to the assistance of Biāna. In order, therefore, to harass the Rāna's army,[b] I pushed on before me towards Biāna, a light force, under the command of Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Yunis Ali, Shah Mansūr Birlās, Kitteh Beg, Kāsimi, and Bujkeh. Nāhir Khan, a son of Hassan Khan Mewāti, had fallen into my hands in the battle with Ibrahīm I had kept him as a hostage, and his father, Hassan Khan, had ostentatiously maintained a correspondence, and constantly asked back his son. Many imagined, that if I gratified Hassan Khan by sending his son to him, he would be extremely sensible of the obligation, and exert himself actively in my service.[c] I therefore invested his son, Nāhir Khan, with a dress of honour, and on his entering into an

Detachment sent to the succour of Biāna.

He is joined by Hassan Khan of Alwar

[a] Having conclusively arranged all these matters,

[b] *Omit this clause*

[c] would be entirely won over to my side

[1] Karreh-Mānikpūr, so called to distinguish it from another Karra, is about twenty miles above Allahābād on the Ganges, Karra being on the right bank, and Mānikpūr higher up on the left. [P de C. translates 'close to Karra and Mānikpūr which are two separate towns, separated by the Ganges and commonly bracketed together'.]

[2] Kālpi stands on the right bank of the Jamna, between Agra and Allahābād, and has always been a place of consequence

[3] [The eight heavens]

engagement,[a] sent him back to his father[b], but that wretch, as soon as he had ascertained that his son was released, and before the young man had reached him, totally forgetful of the obligation conferred on him,[c] marched out of Alwar,[1] and went to join Rāna Sanka.[d] I was certainly guilty of a piece of imprudence in dismissing his son at such a crisis.

A great deal of rain fell about this time, and we had several parties at which Humāiūn too was present; although he did not like wine, yet during these few days he drank it.

Kitīn Kara Sultan takes Balkh, Sārābagh, &c

One of the most remarkable incidents of this period occurred at Balkh. When Humāiūn was on his way from the fort of Zafer[2] to Hindustān, Mulla Bāba Peshāghen and his younger brother Bāba Sheikh deserted from him by the road, and went and joined Kitīn Kara Sultan. The troops in Balkh being hard pressed, that place fell into Kitīn Kara Sultan's hands. The traitor now taking on himself and his brother the management of an expedition against my dominions,[e] entered the territory of Aibek, Khuram, and Sārabāgh.[3] Shah Sikander, being confounded by the fall of Balkh,[f] surrendered the fort of Ghūri to the Uzbeks, and Mulla Bāba and Bāba Sheikh, with some Uzbeks, took possession of it. As Mīr Hameh's fort was close at hand, he saw nothing left for it but to declare for the Uzbeks. A few days afterwards, the Mīr and his party were ordered to Balkh, as a place of safety, while Bāba Sheikh, with a body of Uzbeks, proceeded to occupy his castle.[g] Mīr Hameh introduced Bāba Sheikh himself into the castle, and

[a] *Omit this clause*

[b] *Add* to whom he was to take fair promises on my behalf;

[c] *Add* who had at first vainly tried to make me release his son,

[d] *Add* at Tuda

[e] interference in the affairs of those countries,

[f] having no longer a footing anywhere after the fall of Balkh,

[g] A few days later Bāba Sheikh with a party of Uzbegs arrived at the fort with the intention of removing Mīr Hameh and his troops from it and taking them towards Balkh.

[1] [Alwar, the ancient capital of Mewāt, is now the chief town of the Alwar State in Rājpūtāna, situated ninety-eight miles south-west of Delhi.]

[2] The fort of Zafer was in Badakhshān

[3] Aibek, Khuram, and Sārabāgh all stand on the Khulm river between Khulm and Kahmerd

Success of Mīr Hameh.

appointed the rest of his party their quarters in diff parts, at some distance from each other. Mīr Hameh h wounded Bāba Sheikh, and made him and some of the o prisoners, dispatched messengers full speed to Tengri B at Kunduz, to give him notice of what had happened. T Berdi immediately sent Yār Alı, Abdallatīf, and a p of his best men, to his assistance. Before their ar Mulla Bāba had reached the castle with a party of Uz intending to have attacked it; he was, however, unab effect anything, and the garrison having succeede joining the detachment sent by Tengri Berdi, rea Kunduz in safety. As Bāba Sheikh's wound was severe, they cut off his head, which Mīr Hameh bro along with him. I distinguished him by particular m of honour and regard, and ranked him in the numb my most intimate and favourite servants.[a] When Shaghāwel marched against these two old traitors, I promised him a reward of a *ser* of gold for each of heads. In addition to all the other marks of favour w I showed Mīr Hameh, I gave him a *ser*[1] of gold accor to that promise.

Hassan Khan Mewāti joins Rāna Sanka.

Kāsimi, who had proceeded at this time with a light d towards Biāna, had cut off and brought away several he Kāsimi and Bujkeh, while riding out with a few marau to procure intelligence, defeated two parties of the ene skirmishers, and took seventy or eighty men; from w Kāsimi having gained authentic information, that Ha Khan Mewāti had arrived and formed a junction with Rāna, he immediately returned back with the intelligen

Ustād Alı Khan's gun.

On Sunday, the 8th of the month,[2] I went to see Ustād Kuli fire that same great gun, of which the ball-chan had been uninjured at the time of casting, and the pow chamber of which he had afterward cast and finished as been mentioned. We went to see how far it would thr

[a] and raised him above all the officers of his own rank

[b] *Omit this sentence*

[1] If the *ser* here mentioned be of 14 *tolas*, the value is about 1f of 24 *tolas*, about £45

[2] Of the first Jumāda, which is February 10, 1527.

It was discharged about afternoon prayers, and carried one thousand six hundred paces. I bestowed on Ustād a dagger,[a] a complete dress, and a Tipchāk horse, as an honorary reward.

Bābur marches against Rāna Sanka, Feb. 11.

On Monday, the 9th of the first Jumāda, I began my march to the holy war against the heathen. Having passed the suburbs, I encamped on the plain, where I halted three or four days, to collect the army and communicate the necessary instructions. As I did not place great reliance on the men of Hindustān, I employed their Amīrs in making desultory excursions in different directions. Ālim Khan was directed to proceed with a light force to Gwālīār, to carry assistance to Rahīmdād, while I appointed Makan, Kāsim Sambali, Hamīd with his brothers, and Muhammed Zeitūn, to proceed with a light-armed party towards Sambal.

Defeat of the detachment

At this station we received information that Rāna Sanka had pushed on with all his army nearly as far as Biāna. The party that had been sent out in advance were not able to reach the fort, nor even to communicate with it. The garrison of Biāna had advanced too far from the fort, and with too little caution, and the enemy having unexpectedly fallen upon them in great force, completely routed them. Sanger Khan Janjūheh fell on this occasion. When the affair began, Kitteh Beg came galloping up without his armour, and joined in the action. He had dismounted a pagan, and was in the act of laying hold of him, when the Hindu, snatching a sword from a servant of Kitteh Beg, struck the Beg on the shoulder, and wounded him so severely that he was not able to come into the field during the rest of the war against Rāna Sanka. He, however, recovered long after, but never was completely well. Kāsimi, Shah Mansūr Birlās, and every man that came from Biāna, I know not whether from fear, or for the purpose of striking a panic into the people, bestowed unbounded praise on the courage and hardihood of the pagan army.

Marching hence,[b] I sent forward Kāsim, the master of horse, with the pioneers, to open a number of wells in the perganna of Madhakūr, which was the place where the army was to encamp.

[a] *Add* with its belt,

[b] Before leaving my first camp,

Feb 16. On Saturday, the 14th of the first Jumāda, I marched from the vicinity of Agra, and encamped in the ground where the wells had been dug.

Feb. 17 Next morning I marched from that ground. It occurred to me that, situated as I was, of all the places in this neighbourhood, Sīkrī,[1] being that in which water was most abundant, was, upon the whole, the most desirable station for a camp; but that it was possible that the pagans might anticipate us, take[a] possession of the water and encamp there. I therefore drew up my army in order of battle, with right and left wing and main body, and advanced forward in battle array. I sent on Derwīsh Muhammed Sārbān with Kismnai,[2] who had gone to Biāna and returned back, and who had seen and knew every part of the country; ordering him to proceed to the banks of the tank of Sīkrī and to look out for a good ground for encamping. On reaching my station, I sent a messenger to Mahdī Khwājeh, to direct him to come and join me without delay, with the force that was in Biāna. At the same time I sent a servant of Humāiūn's, one Beg Mīrak Moghul, with a body of troops, to get notice of the motions of the pagans. They accordingly set out by night, and next morning returned with information, that the enemy were encamped a kos on this side of Basāwer.[3] The same day Mahdī Khwājeh, with Muhammed

Bābur marches for Sīkrī.

[a] had already anticipated us and taken

[1] Sīkrī was a favourite place of Bābur's, he built a palace and laid out a garden there When his grandson Akber made his pilgrimage on foot, from Agra to Ajmīr, to the tomb of Khwājeh Mundī, and back, to procure the saint's intercession for his having male children, he visited a Dervīsh named Selīm at Sīkrī, and learned from him that God had heard his prayers, and that he would have three sons —'This prophecy', says Thevenot, 'was so pleasing to Akber, especially when it began to be accomplished, that he called his eldest son Selīm after the Dervish, and gave the town, which formerly had been called Sīkrī, the name of Fatehpūr, which signifies place of joy and pleasure, and built there a very beautiful palace, with the intention of making it his capital'—Thevenot's *Travels*, vol v, p 148 [The city was called Fathpūr ('Victory town') after the conquest of Gujerāt in 1573] [2] Or Kāsimī.

[3] Basāwer is a small town ten or twelve miles north-west from Biāna. [Bhasāwar is a town in the Wer Tahsīl of the Bharatpūr State in Rājpūtāna, situated thirty miles WSW. of Bharatpūr city]

Sultan Mirza, and the light troops that had been sent to Biāna, returned and joined us.

Discomfiture of Abdal-azīz's detachment.

I had directed that the different Begs should have charge of the advance and [a] scouts in turn. When it was Abdal-azīz's day, without taking any precautions, he advanced as far as Kānwā, which is five kos from Sīkrī. The pagans were on their march forward when they got notice of his imprudent and disorderly advance, which they no sooner learned, than a body of four or five thousand of them at once pushed on and fell upon him. Abdal-azīz and Mulla Apāk had with them about a thousand or fifteen hundred men. Without taking into consideration the numbers or position of the enemy they immediately engaged. On the very first charge, a number of their men were taken prisoners and carried off the field.[b]

The moment this intelligence arrived, I dispatched Muhibb Ali Khalīfeh, with his followers, to reinforce them. Mulla Hussain and some others were sent close after to their support, being directed to push on, each according to the speed of his horse.[1] I then detached Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng to cover their retreat.[c] Before the arrival of the first reinforcement, consisting of Muhibb Ali Khalīfeh and his party, they had reduced Abdal-azīz and his detachment to great straits,[d] had taken his horse-tail standard, and taken and put to death Mulla Niamet, Mulla Daūd, and Mulla Apāk's younger brother, besides a number of others. No sooner did the first reinforcement come up, than Tāhir Tibri, the maternal uncle of Muhibb Ali, made a push forward, but was unable to effect a junction with his friends, and got into the midst of the enemy.[e] Muhibb Ali himself was thrown down in the action, but Baltū making a charge from behind

[a] *Omit* advance and

[b] Weakened by the large number of prisoners that had been taken by the enemy, it was not long before they were shaken.

[c] and then in succession, Mulla Husain, some others whom I need not name, and, finally, Muhammed Ali Jeng Jeng

[d] had forced to retreat,

[e] to render assistance to the routed troops, and fell himself into the hands of the enemy.

[1] *Abrūk-sabrūk.*

succeeded in bringing him off. They pursued our troops a full kos, but halted the moment they descried Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng's troops from a distance.

Messengers now arrived in rapid succession, to inform me that the enemy had advanced close upon us. We lost no time in buckling on our armour; we arrayed our horses in their mail, and were no sooner accoutred than we mounted and rode out; I likewise ordered the guns[a1] to advance. After marching a kos we found that the enemy had retreated.

Bābur fortifies his position.

There being a large tank on our left,[b] I encamped there to have the benefit of the water. We fortified[c] the guns in front, and connected them by chains. Between every two guns we left a space of seven or eight gaz, which was defended by a chain. Mustafa Rūmi had disposed the guns according to the Rūmi[2] fashion. He was extremely active, intelligent, and skilful in the management of artillery. As Ustād Ali Kuli was jealous of him, I had stationed Mustafa on the right with[d] Humāiūn. In the places where there were no guns, I caused the Hindustāni and Khorasāni pioneers and spademen to run a ditch. In consequence of the bold and unexpected advance of the pagans, joined to the result of the engagement that had taken place at Biāna, aided by the praises and encomiums passed on them by Shah Mansūr, Kāsimi, and those who had come from Biāna, there was an evident alarm diffused among the troops; the defeat of Abdal-azīz completed this panic. In order to reassure my troops, and to add to the apparent strength of my position, wherever there were not guns, I directed things like tripods to be made of wood, and the spaces between each of them, being seven or eight gaz, to be connected and strengthened by bull's hides twisted into ropes. Twenty or twenty-five days elapsed before these machines and furniture were finished. During this interval, Kāsim Hussain Sultan, who was the grandson of Sultan Hussain Mirza by one of his daughters, Ahmed Yūsef, Syed

[a] wagons [b] near, [c] posted [d] in front of

[1] [P. de C takes the word *arabah* throughout to mean wagons, not guns.]

[2] Turkish or Ottoman

Yūsef, with some who belonged to the royal camp,[a] and a number of other men who had gathered by ones and twos from different quarters, amounting in all to five hundred persons, arrived from Kābul. Muhammed Sherīf the astrologer, a rascally fellow, came along with them. Bāba Dost Sūchi,[1] who had been sent to Kābul for wine, came back with some choice wine of Ghaznī, laden on three strings of camels,[2] and arrived in their company. While the army was yet in the state of alarm and panic that has been mentioned, in consequence of past events and of ill-timed[b] and idle observations that had been spread abroad, that evil-minded wretch Muhammed Sherīf, instead of giving me any assistance, loudly proclaimed to every person whom he met in the camp, that at this time Mars was in the west, and that whoever should engage coming from the opposite quarter would be defeated. The courage of such as consulted this villainous soothsayer was consequently still further depressed. Without listening to his foolish predictions, I proceeded in taking the steps which the emergency seemed to demand, and used every exertion to put my troops in a fit state to engage the enemy.

Muhammed Sherīf the astrologer.

On Sunday the 21st[3] I sent Sheikh Jamāli to collect as many bowmen of the Doāb and Delhi as he could, to proceed with them to plunder the country of Mewāt, and to leave nothing undone to annoy and distress these districts. Mulla Tūrk Alı, who had come from Kābul, was instructed to accompany Sheikh Jamāli, and to see that everything possible was done to plunder and ruin Mewāt. Similar orders were given to Maghfūr Dīwān, who was instructed to proceed to ravage and desolate some of the bordering and remoter districts, ruming the country, and carrying off the inhabitants into captivity. They did not, however, appear to have suffered much from these proceedings.

Sheikh Jamāli sent to lay waste Mewāt.

[a] Kawām Ūrdū Shāh [a place-name], [b] *Add* misunderstandings

[1] *Sūchi* probably means *Abdār* (waterman), butler

[2] The *kitār* or string of camels, contained five, according to Abulfazl, *Ayeen e Akberī*, vol. i, p. 145, who assigns the same number to that of the mule, p 157.

[3] This probably should be Sunday, the 22nd of the first Jumāda (February 24). [This is the date as given by P. de C.]

Bābur's penitence. Feb 25.

On Monday, the 23rd of the first Jumāda, I had mounted to survey my posts, and, in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved, one time or another, to make an effectual repentance, and that some traces of a hankering after the renunciation of forbidden works had ever remained in my heart.[a] I said to myself, O, my soul!

(*Persian verse*)—How long wilt thou continue to take pleasure in sin?
Repentance is not unpalatable—Taste it

(*Turki verse*)—How great has been thy defilement from sin!—
How much pleasure thou didst take in despair[b]!—
How long hast thou been the slave of thy passions!—
How much of thy life hast thou thrown away!—
Since thou hast set out on a Holy War,
Thou hast seen death before thine eyes for thy salvation
He who resolves to sacrifice his life to save himself
Shall attain that exalted state which thou knowest[c]
Keep thyself[d] far away from all forbidden enjoyments,
Cleanse thyself from all thy[e] sins
Having withdrawn myself from such temptation,
I vowed never more to drink wine.

He destroys the drinking vessels, and renounces the use of wine.

Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind.[g] The fragments of the goblets, and other utensils of gold and silver, I directed to be divided among Derwīshes and the poor. The first person who followed me in my repentance was Asas, who also accompanied me in my resolution of ceasing to cut the beard, and of allowing it to grow.[1] That night and the following, numbers of Amīrs and courtiers, soldiers and persons not in the service, to the

[a] and that these continual breaches of the religious law have clouded the mirror of my soul like dust
[b] prevarication!
[c] You know how he comports himself
[d] He keeps himself
[e] He cleanses himself from all his
[f] Having abandoned my former mode of life,
[g] and so recovered my peace of mind. [*This sentence forms part of the poem*]

[1] This vow was sometimes made by persons who set out on a war against the Infidels. They did not trim the beard till they returned victorious. Some vows of a similar nature may be found in Scripture

number of nearly three hundred men, made vows of reformation. The wine which we had with us we poured on the ground. I ordered that the wine brought by Bāba Dost should have salt thrown into it, that it might be made into vinegar. On the spot where the wine had been poured out, I directed a *waīn* to be sunk and built of stone, and close by the *waīn* an alms-house to be erected. In the month of Muharrem, in the year 935, when I went to visit Gwāliār, in my way from Dhūlpūr to Sīkrī, I found this *waīn* completed. I had previously made a vow, that if I gained the victory over Rāna Sanka the Pagan, I would remit the *tamgha* (or stamp-tax)[1] levied from Musulmans. At the time when I made my vow of penitence, Derwīsh Muhammed Sārbān and Sheikh Zein[2] put me in mind of my promise. I said, 'You did right to remind me of this. I renounce the *tamgha* in all my dominions, so far as concerns Musulmans;' and I sent for my secretaries, and desired them to write and send to all my dominions firmāns, conveying intelligence of the two important incidents that had occurred. The following is a copy of the firmān written by Sheikh Zeineddīn, and sent round my dominions.[3]

A. D. 1528.

Renounces the stamp-duty, so far as regards Musulmans.

The Firmān of Zehīreddīn Muhammed Bābur.[4]

Bābur's Firmān

Let us[5] *return praise to the Forgiver, for that he holds as his friends the repentant, and such as have cleansed themselves from their sins; and let us return thanksgiving to Him who shows the right road to sinners, and bestows favours on such as ask his blessing;* [a] *and let us give praises to the best of created Beings, Muhammed, and to his family who are pure, and*

[a] and let us render thanksgiving to the Bounteous One, who absolves those who seek absolution,

[1] [*Tamgha* is a toll on imports.]

[2] [This was Shaikh Zain ud dīn Khwāfi, who died in 1533. He was the author of a Persian translation of a portion of the *Bāburnāmeh*, which was published posthumously in 1590 (Rieu's *Catalogue of Persian MSS*, vol. iii, p. 926).]

[3] There is a lacuna in the Turki copy from this place till the beginning of the year 935. Till then I therefore follow only Mr Metcalfe's and my own Persian copies.

[4] Mr Metcalfe's copy reads, *Pādshāh Ghāzi*, the 'Emperor victorious over the Infidels', but erroneously, as Bābur did not assume the title of Ghāzi till after the battle with Rāna Sanka.

[5] The passages in italics are Arabic in the original.

his friends [a] *who are pure*; and blessed be the mirror-like minds of men of understanding, which are the place in which the affairs of the world are seen in their true light, and which are the treasury of the pearls that adorn the forms of truth and right, and will be the receivers of the figures of the brilliant jewels of this truth [b]—that the human constitution, from the mode of its creation, is prone to desire the gratification of earthly passions, though the renunciation of such desires is inseparably connected with the favour of God and celestial aid. Human passions are not far removed from evil desires; *and I feel that my mind is not pure, since it certainly draws me towards evil.* And this abstinence from wickedness is a boon not to be gained, but by the mercy of the most merciful King.[1]—*Yet such is the graciousness of God, that he gives it to every one that asks it; And God is the author of mighty kindness.*[2] The purpose of writing these lines, and of enouncing these truths is, that from the frailty of human nature, in compliance with the usage of kings, the seductions of royalty, and the custom of men of rank, both kings and soldiers, during the times of early youth, many forbidden acts and unlawful deeds have been obstinately committed; and after a few days, repentance and sorrow having ensued, these forbidden acts have in succession been renounced, and the door of relapse shut on such criminal transgressions by unfeigned repentance. But the renunciation of wine, which is the most indispensable of all renunciations, and the most important of all these resolutions of amendment, remained hid behind a veil, *since every act has its due season*,[c] and did

[a] companions

[b] the minds of sensible men of the Community of the Faithful, among whom the revelation of the mysteries of creation, and the ornaments of the pearls of truth and rectitude, shine with an unique lustre, are like mirrors in which are brilliantly reflected this truth—

[c] behind the veil of these words. 'for everything its season,'

[1] [This whole passage is a quotation from the Qurān (xii. 53) and runs as follows in Palmer's version 'Yet I do not clear myself, for the soul is very urgent to evil, save what my Lord has had mercy on; verily my Lord is forgiving and merciful.']

[2] [Palmer's translation of this verse of the Qurān (lvii. 21) runs thus: 'And God's grace, He gives it to whom he pleases, for God is Lord of mighty grace'!]

, show itself until, in this blessed and auspicious hour, en, exerting all our energies, and [a] binding on the badge a holy war,[1] we sat down, along with the armies whose n is the Faith, over against the pagans in warfare [b]; having ard from secret inspiration, and from the warnings of voice that cannot err, the blessed tidings of A. L. M.[2] of,[c] *O ye that have received the faith, and whose hearts bend on at the mention of God*,[3] for the purpose of plucking up [d] *roots* of sin, we knocked with all our might at the door of nitence; and the pointer of the way assisting,[e] in conmity to the saying, *He who knocks at the door, and persists knocking, shall be admitted*, opened the door of his mercy: d we have directed this holy warfare to commence with e Grand Warfare, the War against our Evil Passions. short after saying with the tongue of truth and sincerity, *my Creator! we have subjected our passions; fix us on r side*, for [f] I have written on the tablets of my heart, that *v, for the first time, I have indeed become a Musulman*,[4] ave blazoned abroad the desire to renounce wine, which s formerly hid in the treasury of my heart. And the vants, victory-adorned, in obedience to the commands ich terminate in blessing, have, for the glory of religion,

[a] *Omit* exerting all our energies, and
[b] we proceeded to station ourselves confronting the Infidels at e head of our troops, who carry afar the glory of Islam,
For the blessed tidings of A L M or of, *read* these words,
[d] and having determined to pluck up
[e] and Divine guidance assisting us,
[f] we will subdue our passions, and as for me

[1] *Ihrām* is properly the napkin which pilgrims tie round their ddle, when on the pilgrimage of Mekka It is here used as the mbol of what may be called a Muhammedan crusade
[2] For the meaning of the three letters, Alif, Lām, Mīm, prefixed several chapters of the Koran, see Sale's very learned Preliminary scourse to that work, section 3 [These mysterious letters, which e omitted in the French version, are prefixed to six chapters of e Qurān]
[3] [This passage occurs in chap lvii, verse 15, of the Qurān, and runs follows in Palmer's translation 'Is the time come to those who lieve, for their hearts to be humbled at the remembrance of God ''']
[4] [Qurān vii. 140, which Palmer translates as follows 'I turn pentant unto Thee, and I am the first of those who are resigned ']

dashed upon the ground of contempt and ruin, and broken in pieces, the goblets, and cups, and all the utensils and vessels of silver and of gold, which, resembling in their number and splendour the stars of the lofty sky, were the ornaments of the Assembly of Wickedness,[a] and were like unto those idols which, God willing, we shall quickly be aided in breaking to pieces[b]; and every fragment was thrown to a needy or helpless one. And by the blessing of this repentance which draws near unto remission of sins, many of those near the presence, as the custom is[c] *that courtiers follow the usage and fashion*[d] *of the prince*, in that same meeting were exalted by the glory of repentance, and entirely renounced the use of strong drinks; and still, crowds of those who are subjected to us, hourly find their blessing and exaltation in this self-denial. And hopes are entertained, according to the saying, *He who shows the road to goodness is as the doer of good*,[e] that the blessing of these acts will terminate in the good fortune and greatness of the Nawāb whose undertakings are successful, the emperor[f]: And that from the happy influence of these good deeds victory and success may day by day increase[g], and after the conclusion of this enterprise, and the fulfilment of this wish, that the firmān which the world obeys may receive such perfect execution, that, in the regions protected by our sway, *God keeping watch to protect them from all evil and all enmity*,[h] there may not be a creature who shall indulge in the use of intoxicating liquor, or employ himself in procuring, or in making spirits, or in selling them; or who shall purchase them, or keep them, or carry them out or bring them in. *Abstain from intoxication: perhaps you may be justified*[1]; *and there is a blessing on this self-conquest.*[i]

[a] our brilliant entertainments,

[b] they broke them in a thousand pieces, as, by God's grace, the idols soon will be,

[c] acting on the maxim [d] *For* usage and fashion *read* religion

[e] has the same merit as he who does it,

[f] terminate in my ever-increasing prosperity

[g] attend my arms, [h] danger, [i] *Omit this clause.*

[1] [This is a quotation from the Qurān (ii 185) which runs: 'and haply, ye may prosper yet' The rest of the passage in italics is not taken from the Qurān.]

And as an offering made on occasion of this sincere repentance,[a] the sea of royal bounty has risen, and displayed the waves of liberality, which is the source of the populousness[b] of the world, and of the glory of the sons of men. And a firmān has issued, renouncing, as far as concerns the Musulmans, the *tamgha* of all our dominions, the amount of which exceeds all limits and calculation; for although, in the time of former sultans, the usage was to levy it, yet the practice was opposite to the constitutions of the laws delivered by the holy prophets[c]; and orders have been given, that in no city, or town, or road, or street, or passage, or port, should the *tamgha* be received or levied; and that there shall be no delay or[d] deviation in the execution of these commands. *And if any one alters these commands after having heard them, then, of a truth, the crime of such act shall fall on that person who shall change these commands;*[1] the duty of the soldiers[e] who are shielded under the royal favour, whether Tūrks or Tājiks, or Arabs or Ajems,[2] or Hindus or Persians, of subjects civil or military, and of all the followers of every religion,[f] and of all the tribes of the sons of men, is, that being strengthened and filled with hope by this sustaining generosity, they may employ themselves in the praises of the mightiness of Him who exists for ever; and may never deviate from the injunctions of the mandate whose termination is in good[g]; but adhering to their duty, according to the firmān that has been published, fulfil its intention.[h] And as soon as it reaches the seal, that the great, the exalted, the lofty, obey it. *Written by the High Command. May the great God exalt this Firmān, and the Almighty always protect its inviolability.*[i] Dated the 24th of the first Jumāda, in the year 933. Feb. 26, 1527.

[a] In gratitude to God for this conquest of the passions, [*add*] and thanksgiving for His grace in accepting our repentance,
[b] prosperity [c] the Prince of prophets, [d] *Omit* delay or
[e] all [f] nation, [g] *Add* or turn aside therefrom in any particular;
[h] all ought to obey this my order and secure its execution
[i] When it reaches them, adorned with my noble and illustrious seal, they should regard it as authentic Written in the name of him, whose rank is supreme (may God prolong for ever his noble existence!)

[1] [This passage is taken from the Qurān (II 177) and refers to legacies.]
[2] Arabs, or non-Arabs.

Alarm in Bābur's army.

At this time, as I have already observed, in consequence of preceding events, a general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a courageous opinion. The Wazīrs, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the Amīrs, who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firmness.[a] During the whole course of this expedition Khalīfeh conducted himself admirably, and was unremitting and indefatigable in his endeavours to put everything in the best order. At length, observing the universal discouragement of my troops, and their total want of spirit, I formed my plan. I called an assembly of all the Amīrs and officers, and addressed them,

His speech to his officers.

—'Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives, unchangeable. Whoever comes to the feast of life must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of mortality must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow—the world. How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy!

> With fame, even if I die, I am contented;
> Let fame be mine, since my body is Death's[1]

The Most High God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis,[b] that if we fall in the field, we die the death of martyrs; if we survive, we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God.[c] Let us, then, with one accord, swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert

[a] The ministers, whose duty it was to represent matters in their true light, and the nobles, on whom lay the obligation of strengthening the administration, preserved a cowardly silence, not being able to propose any measure, and remaining paralysed by despondency and inability to make any suggestions

[b] The Most High God has predestined us for this good fortune and put within our reach this glorious destiny,

[c] if we conquer, we will secure the triumph of the cause of God

[1] These beautiful lines are from the Shahnāmeh of Ferdausi.

from the battle and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body.'

Its powerful effects

Master and servant, small and great, all with emulation, seizing the blessed Korān in their hands, swore in the form that I had given. My plan succeeded to admiration, and its effects were instantly visible, far and near, on friend and foe.

Bābur's danger.

The danger and confusion on all sides were particularly alarming at this very moment. Hussain Khan Lohānī had advanced and taken Rāberī.[1] Kutb Khan's people had taken Chāndwār.[2] A man [a] of the name of Rustam Khan having assembled a body of Doāb bowmen, had come and taken Koel,[3] and made Kīchek Alī prisoner. Zāhid had been compelled to evacuate Sambal and had rejoined me. Sultan Muhammed Duldāi had retired from Kanauj, and joined my army. The pagans of the surrounding country came and blockaded Gwāliār. Ālim Khan, who had been sent to the succour of Gwāliār, instead of proceeding to that place, had marched off to his own country. Every day some unpleasant news reached us from one place or another. Many Hindustānis began to desert from the army. Haibet Khan Gurg-andāz [b] [4] fled to Sambal. Hassan Khan Bāriwāl fled and joined the pagans. Without minding the fugitives, we continued to regard only our own force.

He loses many districts.

March 12. He advances against the enemy.

On Tuesday, the 9th of the latter Jumāda, on the day of the Nouroz, I advanced my guns, and tripods that moved on wheels, with all the apparatus and machines which I had prepared, and marched forward with my army, regularly drawn up and divided into right and left wing and centre in battle order. I sent forward in front the guns and tripods placed on wheel-carriages. Behind them was stationed Ustād Alī Kuli, with a body of his matchlock-men, to prevent the communication between the artillery and infantry, who were behind, from being cut off, and to enable them to

[a] wretch

[b] *Karg-andāz*

[1] Rāberī, a fort in the Doāb, below Chāndwār.

[2] Chāndwār lies on the Jumna below Agra

[3] Koel is in the Doāb, between Agra and Anopshīr. [Duāb is the district lying between the Ganges and Jamna]

[4] If *Gurg-andāz*, the epithet is the wolf-hunter; if *Karg-andāz* the rhinoceros-hunter

advance and form into line. After the ranks were formed, and every man stationed in his place, I galloped along the line, animating the Begs and troops of the centre, right and left, giving each division special instructions how they were to act, and to every man orders how to conduct himself, and in what manner he was to engage [a]; and, having made these arrangements, I ordered the army to move on in order of battle for about a kos, when we halted to encamp

Encamps

The pagans on getting notice of our motions, were on the alert, and several parties drew out to face us, and advanced close up to our guns and ditch.[b] After our army had encamped, and when we had strengthened and fortified our position in front,[c] as I did not intend fighting that day, I pushed on a few of our troops to skirmish with a party of the enemy, by way of taking an omen. They took a number of pagans and cut off their heads, which they brought away. Malik Kāsim also cut off and brought in some heads. He behaved extremely well. This incident raised the spirits of our army excessively, and had a wonderful effect in giving them confidence in themselves.

March 13

Next morning, I marched from that station, with the intention of offering battle; when Khalīfeh and some of my advisers represented to me, that as the ground on which we had fixed for halting was near at hand, it would be proper, in the first place, to throw up a ditch and to fortify it, after which we might march forward and occupy the position. Khalīfeh accordingly mounted to give directions about the ditch, and rejoined us, after having set pioneers to work on the different parts of it,[d] and appointed proper persons to superintend their progress.

March 16. Again advances.

On Saturday, the 13th of the latter Jumāda, having dragged forward our guns, and advanced our right, left, and centre in battle array, for nearly a kos, we reached the ground that had been prepared for us. Many tents were

[a] giving each division instructions as to the position it was to occupy, and the order of march it was to observe,

[b] *Omit this clause*

[c] As soon as our camp had been laid out with its line of trenches and wagons, and after we had strengthened our position and its approaches as much as possible,

[d] after having pointed out its position to the pioneers,

ly pitched, and they were engaged in pitching others, news was brought that the enemy's army was in I immediately mounted, and gave orders that every should, without delay, repair to his post, and that the and lines should be properly strengthened.[a] As the announcing my subsequent victory contains a clear ed account of the circumstances of the Army of the , the number of the pagan bands, the order of battle rrangements of both the Musulman and pagan armies,[b] ll therefore subjoin the official dispatch [1] announcing ictory, as composed by Sheikh Zein, without adding ing away.

And engages the enemy.

he Firmān of Zehīreddīn Muhammed Bābur Ghāzi (victorious over the Heathen).

Bābur's Firmān.

manner of praise[2] *be to God, for that His promises are nd that He assists His servants, and exalts His armies, catters in rout the bands*[c] *of those who give associates Him.*[3] *He is one, and except Him there is nothing. ou who hast exalted the standards of Islām, by means friends of the faith,*[d] *who walk in the right way; and ast dashed down the standards*[e] *of idols, by dispersing*

d that their lines should be strengthened by means of the drawn up in front
e position taken up by both armies and the battle that took etween them,
stile bands
lars of Islām, by aiding his faithful followers, [e] pedestals

thing can form a more striking contrast to the simple, manly, telligent style of Bābur himself, than the pompous laboured of his secretary. Yet I have never read this firmān to any of India, who did not bestow unlimited admiration on the bombast of Zeineddin, while I have met with none but who paid due praise to the calm simplicity of Bābur. The it firmāns are translated, like the Memoirs themselves, with ious fidelity, perhaps in some instances with too much 's *Fragments* includes a shorter and less pretentious account battle, said to have been written by Bābur himself, which found in Appendix D.
e italic character denotes the Arabic, many of the sentences h are texts of the Korān, which, in some cases, gives the sense n and imperfect appearance.
at is, the Christians and Polytheists.

in flight the enemies of the Musulmans, who are rejected; for verily he cuts down [a] *and destroys the race which practises oppression; all praise belongs unto God, who is the creator of the world; and may the blessing of God light on the best of his created beings Muhammed, the greatest of holy warriors, and of such as ever waged war on the heathen; and blessing be on his family and friends* [b] *who are the pointers of the true road, even till the day of judgement.* The constant succession of God's mercies is the cause of the number of praises bestowed on the Most High; and the number of the praises and glorifyings of God is again, in its turn, the cause of the constant succession of God's mercies. For every mercy a thanksgiving is due, and every thanksgiving is followed by a mercy. To pay the due praise and thanksgiving to the Almighty, far exceeds human ability, and even the best are altogether unable to discharge the mighty debt. But, above all, thanksgiving is due for a grace, than which no more mighty favour is, or for evermore can be, in this world,[c]—for victory over the heathen, and the defeat of powerful sinners [d]; *for these are those heathen and sinners* [1] concerning whom revelation has been made [e]; and verily, in the sight of men of understanding, there can be no blessing more excellent; *all good and all blessing proceed from God.*[f] And that grand favour, that mighty gift (which, *from the cradle till the present moment,* was the most ardent wish and most fixed desire of this heart that longs for the good of mankind, and is eager in pursuit of truth), at this fortunate and auspicious moment, showed itself from the hidden store of the mercies of the sublime majesty of the Wisest of the Wise [g]; and the Accomplisher who never reproaches, and He who is bountiful without cause, with the keys of victory

[a] who cuts down [b] companions

[c] than which there is no more mighty favour in this world, and which surpasses all the bliss of the world to come,

[d] over the most powerful unbelievers, and the richest sinners;

[e] of whom it has been said 'These are the wicked unbelievers';

[f] may thanksgiving be rendered to God for it!

[g] has been granted by the beneficence of the King from whom nothing is hidden;

[1] [This passage, which runs 'and these are the wicked unbelievers', is taken from the Qurān, lxxx. 42.]

has opened the doors of bounty before the face of the wishes of us the Nawāb, success-adorned [a], and the illustrious names of our ever-successful armies have been inserted in the book of the illustrious warriors of the faith, while the standards of Islām, with the aid of our victorious hosts, have attained the highest heights of exaltation and glory. The particulars of this happy transaction, and the details of this glorious event, are as follows: When the glancing of the swords of our soldiers, who are the stay of the faith, illuminated the regions of Hindustān with the splendours of conquest and victory; and the hands of divine assistance exalted our victorious banners in the kingdoms of Delhi, and Agra, and Jonpur, and Kharīd, and Behār, and elsewhere, as has been made known in former accounts of our victories [b]; many tribes of men, both of the heathen and of such as professed the faith, submitted to and became subjects of us the fortunate Nawāb. When, according to what is written, *he* [c] *hath waxed rebellious and presumptuous, and is become one of the heathen*,[1] some having raised up their heads [d] in revolt like Satan, and having become the leaders of the army of the accursed, and the generals of the soldiers of the rejected, were the cause of the gathering of these bands, composed of some who bore on their necks the *zunnār*,[2] (that yoke of perdition), and of others who fixed thorns from the pangs of apostacy [e] in the hem of their garments; now the sway of the accursed Pagan, *May the Almighty consign him to perdition* [f] *at the day of judgement*, was so

[a] He who dispenses the treasures of His bounty without seeking an account of it from any one, and whose generosity is boundless, has opened the gate of glory with the key of his munificence to us, his faithful, and everywhere triumphant, vicegerents;

[b] *This clause follows the word* victory *three lines above.*

[c] When Rāna Sanka, the infidel, who made at first a parade of submission to my fortunate lieutenants, showed by his acts that he

[d] he raised up his head [*The whole passage refers only to Rāna Sanka*]

[e] wore the grievous badge of apostacy

[f] who is condemned to isolation (friendlessness)[3]

[1] [Qurān II. 32, '(The angels) adored him save only Iblīs, who refused, and was too proud, and became one of the misbelievers']

[2] The *zunnār* is the Brahminical cord.

[3] [Qurān lxix. 35. 'He has not here to-day any warm friend'

extensive in the country of Hind, that before the rising of the sun of the imperial dominion, and before our attaining the Khalīfat and empire,[a] (although mighty Rajas and Rais, who, in this contest, have obeyed his mandates, and Hākims and rulers, glorying in apostacy, who were under his control in this warfare, having regard to their own dignity, did not obey nor assist him in any former war or battle, and had never accompanied the Pagan in any of his former enterprises, but had only deceitfully flattered and fed his vanity[b]), yet the standards of the heathen streamed in two hundred cities inhabited by people of the faith; whereby the destruction of mosques and holy places had ensued, and the women and children of the Musulmans of these towns and cities have been made captives, and his strength had reached such a pitch, that, calculating according to the custom in Hind, by which a country yielding a lak[1] furnishes one hundred horse, and one yielding a kror (or ten millions) ten thousand horse, the countries subject to that Pagan had attained the amount of ten krors (or one hundred millions), which afforded one hundred thousand cavalry. And at this time, many heathen of eminence, who never before in any war had any one of them assisted him, actuated by hatred to the armies of the faith, increased his villainous array, so that ten independent princes, each of whom raised on high like smoke the boast of revolt, and who in different quarters were the leaders of the pagan hosts, and were like the chains[2] and fetters on the limbs of these wretched pagans[c]; each of those ten infidels, who, unlike the ten blessed,[3] unfolded the misery-freighted

[a] the viceregency of the King of kings,

[b] *Omit this clause here and add* still there was not one of the kings of the first rank in this wide realm, such as that of Delhi, Gujerāt, Mālwa, and others, who was able to oppose him, much less to form a coalition with others against him, and who did not have recourse before him to all the resources of dissimulation and cajolery,

[c] this wicked Pagan;

[1] A *lak* is one hundred thousand *dāms*.

[2] This alludes to the Asiatic custom of wearing chains and rings of silver and gold on the feet and legs, the sense is, 'these leaders, though regarded as the ornaments of the pagan host, were really only, by the blessing of God, as the fetters on their feet.'

[3] [The *Asharah mubashsharah*, or 'the ten who received good

banners, *which mark them out for future torment and wailing* [a],[1] possessed many dependants and armies, and wide-extended pergannas. As, for instance, Sīlāhed-dīn [2] possessed [b] thirty thousand horse; Rāwal Ūdaī Sing Nāgari,[3] ten [c] thousand horse; Medīnī Rai, ten [d] thousand; Hassan Khan Mewāti, twelve thousand horse; Bārmal Īdarī, four thousand horse; Narpaṭ Hāda,[e] seven thousand, Sattervī Kachī, six thousand; Dharm Deo, four thousand, Narsing Deo,[f] four thousand horse; Mahmūd Khan, the son of Sultan Sikander, though he possessed no country nor perganna, yet had gathered about him ten thousand horse, who adhered to him in the hopes that he might succeed in establishing his pretensions; insomuch, that the total number of all these wretches, who were separated from the fields of salvation and bliss, if an estimate be formed from the capacity of their dominions and pergannas, was two hundred and one thousand. These haughty-minded, yet blind pagans,[g] having latterly united their hearts [h] with those of the other black, hard-hearted, ill-fated pagans, *like one darkness coming upon another*, advanced in hostile array, to war with the people of Islām, and to destroy the foundation of the religion of the Chief of Men, *on whom be praise and blessing*. The holy warriors of the imperial army, coming like the divine mandates on the head of the one-eyed Dajāl,[4] showed to

[a] the banners on which were inscribed the words 'to them give the tidings of grievous woe',
[b] had a government which was assessed at
[c] twelve [d] twelve [e] Hāra, [f] Bīrsingh Deo,
[g] This Pagan, [h] having concerted

tidings' were ten of the most distinguished of Muhammed's followers, whose certain entrance into Paradise he is said to have foretold (Hughes's *Dict of Islam*) *Apropos* of this P. de C refers to the supposed efficacy of the number ten in the East, e g ten fingers and toes, ten senses, the ten divisions of the Qurān, the Ten Commandments, the ten disciples of Muhammed, &c.]

[1] [This is a quotation from the Qurān, iii 20, which runs 'to them give the tidings of grievous woe']

[2] [Or Silhadi, who was governor of Bhīlsa, Raisen, and Sārangpūr, and was killed in 1531 on the occasion of the capture of Raisen by Bahādur Shah of Gujerāt] [3] [The chief of Dungerpūr]

[4] Dājāl, or al Masīh al Dajjāl, the false or lying Messiah, is the Muhammedan Antichrist. He is to be one-eyed, and marked on the

men of understanding the truth of the saying, *whenever fate arrives the eye becomes blind;* and having placed before their sight the text of the blessed Korān, where it is written, *Whoever engages in a holy war, of a truth fights for his own soul,*[1] exhibited their obedience to the commandment ever to be obeyed, *engage in war with the heathen and the impious.*[1][2]

March 16. A D 1527 On Saturday, the 13th of the latter Jumāda, in the year 933, of the good fortune of which day the sacred words, *since God has given a blessing on your Saturday*, are a proof, the encampment of the victorious army of Islām was established in the neighbourhood of Kānwā, one of the districts of Biāna, hard by a hill which resembled the grave of[b] the enemies of the faith. When the accounts of the glorious array and parade[c] of the army of Islām reached the ears of the accursed pagans, the enemies of the faith of Muhammed (who, like the warriors of the elephant, were eager to destroy the *kaabeh* of the people of the faith, and who made the mountain-formed, demon-looking elephants their confidence), all with one heart and mind drew out their armies, which marched under ill-starred standards.

> In these elephants the wretched Hindus
> Were confident, like the warriors of the elephant[3]
> Like the evening of Death, the detested and execrable bands,
> Darker than night, and more numerous than the stars,

[a] hypocrites [b] which was only two kos distant from
[c] When the din

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forehead with the letters K F R, signifying Kafer, or Infidel He is to appear in the latter days riding on an ass, and will be followed by 70,000 Jews of Ispahān, and will continue on earth forty days, of which one will be equal to a year, another to a month, another to a week, and the rest will be common days He is to lay waste all places, but will not enter Mecca nor Medina, which are to be guarded by angels He is to be finally slain at the gate of Lud by Jesus, for whom the Musulmans profess great veneration, calling him the breath or spirit of God —See Sale's *Introductory Discourse to the Koran*

[1] [This verse of the Qurān (xxix 5) is translated thus by Palmer 'and he who fights strenuously, fights strenuously only for his own soul']

[2] [This quotation may refer to the command (Qurān, viii 40) 'Fight then against the infidel, till strife be at an end, and religion be all of it God's'.]

[3] This alludes to the defeat of Abraha, a prince of Yemen, who marched his army and some elephants to destroy the *kaaba* of

All ascending like fire, nay, rather like smoke,
Raised their heads in hostility to the azure sky ·
Like ants they issue from right and left,
Horse and foot, thousands of thousands

Eager for combat and battle, they approached the camp of the true believers.[a] The holy warriors of the faith, who are the trees of the garden of valour, advanced in ranks straight as the rows of fir-trees, and exalted aloft their fir-like helmets and basinets, that gleamed in the sun, even as the hearts of *those that strive in the way of the Lord.* Their array, like the barrier of Sikander,[1] was of iron hue; and, like the road of the Muhammedan faith, straight and firm, and bearing indications of its strength. *And the foundation of the array was like those foundations which are strong,*[2] and supporting [b] success and victory; and what is written,[c] *They are on the right road on the side of their Creator,*

[a] adorned with victory
[b] and they were destined to win
[c] by virtue of these words,

Mecca 'The Meccans,' says Sale, 'at the approach of so considerable a host, retired to the neighbouring mountains, being unable to defend their city or temple. But God himself undertook the defence of both. For when Abraha drew near to Mecca, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, which was a very large one, and named Mahmūd, refused to advance any nigher to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would rise and march briskly enough if they turned him towards any other quarter; and while matters were in this posture, on a sudden a large flock of birds, like swallows, came flying from the sea-coast, every one of which carried three stones, one in each foot, and one in its bill; and these stones they threw down upon the heads of Abraha's men, certainly killing every one they struck.' The rest were swept away by a flood, or perished by a plague, Abraha alone reaching Senaa, where he also died.—Sale's *Koran*, vol. ii, p. 510, note. [Abra-hat ul Ashram, an Abyssinian Christian, who was viceroy of the King of San'ā in Yamen, marched against Mecca in the year of Muhammed's birth, A. D. 571.]

[1] The barrier or iron wall supposed to have been erected by Alexander the Great at the Derbend, on the west of the Caspian, to repress the invasions of Yājūj and Mājūj (Gog and Magog).

[2] [This quotation and the one preceding appear to be taken from the Qurān (lxi 4), which runs as follows. 'Verily God loves those who fight in His cause in ranks as though they were a compact building.']

and they are successful,[1] belonged to the men in that army.[a]

(*Masnevi*)—In that array there was no rent occasioned by timid souls,
It was firm as the wish of the Emperor and the faith
Their standards all swept the sky,
And the *banner-staffs were all—of a truth we have given success* [2]

The far-seeing guardians having concerted measures for the security of the matchlock-men and thunder-darters,[3] who were in front of the army, made a line of carriages,[b] connected with each other by chains, according to the practice of the holy warriors of Rūm; and the troops of Islām finally displayed such array and firmness, that old Intelligence,[4] and our Heaven,[5] poured down praises on their orderer and arranger; and in making this array and arrangement, and firm front and immovable order, a personage honoured in the imperial presence, the pillar of the royal state, Nizāmeddīn Alī Khalīfeh, gave all his aid and assistance; and all his ideas were conformable to fate, and all his acts and doings were agreeable to the illuminated mind (of the Emperor). The station of the imperial grandeur was established in the centre; and on his right the cherished brother, the high-in-rank,[c] the respectable [d] and favoured of fate, the selected-by-the-kindnesses of the assistance-giving king,[e] Chīn Taimūr Sultan; and the son

[a] *Omit* belonged to the men in that army

[b] In order to neglect nothing of the dictates of prudence and provide against every accident, the musketeers and cannoneers were posted in front of the army along the line of wagons,

[c] upright, [d] illustrious

[e] the object of the favours of the King whose aid is invoked by all,

[1] [Qurān II. 4, which runs, 'These are in guidance from their Lord, and these are the prosperous']

[2] [This line, according to P. de C, should run (and bear this device), 'Verily we have given Thee an obvious victory' The quotation is from the Qurān, xlviii 1]

[3] *Barkandāz*, or lightning-darter, is the usual word in India for a matchlock-man. [P. de C. translates this 'gunners'.]

[4] [*Khirad i nakhustīn*], or the First Intelligence, was supposed to be the guardian of the empyreal heaven.

[5] The different spheres are each supposed to have a guardian angel to watch over them, and keep them steadily in their ordained courses.

high-in-rank, who is distinguished by the gifts of the exalted majesty,[a] Sulaimān Shah; and he who is exalted by pointing the true road, the piety-adorned Khwājeh Dost Khāwend[b]; and the trusty in[c] the mighty empire, faithful to the exalted royalty,[d] the confidential counsellor, the chosen among persons of trust, Yunis Alī; the prop of the grandees, the perfect in friendship, Shah Mansūr Birlās; the prop of the nobility,[e] the chosen among the attached,[f] Derwīsh Muhammed Sārbān; the prop of the nobles, the pure in attachment,[g] Abdallah Kitābdār and Dost Ishik-Agha, were stationed in their posts. And in the left of the centre, the sovereignty-adorned, the Khilāfat-descended[h] Sultan, Alāeddīn Ālim Khan, the son of Sultan Bahlol Lodi, a prince who has near access to the royal majesty[i]; and the *Dastūr*, the most exalted among *Sadders*[1] of the human race,[j] the protector of mankind, the supporter of Islām, Sheikh Zein Khawāfi; and the prop of nobles, the perfect-in-friendship, Muhibb Alī, the son of him who has near access to the royal majesty above mentioned[2]; and the chosen among nobles, Terdi Beg, the brother of Kūch Beg, who has been received into mercy and purified; Shīr-afgen,[3] the son of the said Kūch Beg, who has received the divine

[a] most upright, whom God regards with tender care,

[b] the follower of the true road, the adept of saintliness, Khwāja Kamāl ud dīn Dost i Khāwind, [c] the faithful friend of

[d] the loyal dweller near the sublime threshold,

[e] favourites, [f] the choicest of friends,

[g] *Add* Shahābuddīn, [h] allied

[i] the object of special favour at the hands of the King whose aid all men invoke,

[j] the Dastūr, the confidential counsellor of his Majesty, celebrated among all, who occupies the most exalted rank amongst men,

[1] *Dastūr* and *Sadder*, the former of which seems originally to have meant, one who retains within rule, and the latter, one who holds an eminent seat, were both first applied to religious directors, but afterwards to political ministers. *Dastūr*, at the present day, is constantly used for a *Wazīr*, except among the Parsis, who give the name of *Dastūr* to their priests; and it is here used as a high priest. The *Sadder* is a chief judge.

[2] Nizāmeddīn Alī Khalīfeh

[3] [According to P de C *Sher afgan* (lion-slayer), the well-known title of Nūrjahān's first husband, is not a separate name, but a title of Khwājeh Hosain]

forgiveness; and the chosen among grandees and nobles, the mighty Khan, Arāish Khan; and the Wazīr, the greatest of Wazīrs among men, Khwājeh Hussain, and a band of grand officers, were stationed, each in his place. And in the right wing, the exalted son, the fortunate, the honourable, befriended-of-fate, the happy, the well-regarded in the sight of the mercies of Creating Majesty, the star of the sign of monarchy and success, the sun of the sphere of Khilāfat and royalty, the praised by slave and free, the exalter of the emperor and empire, Muhammed Humāiūn Bahāder, was stationed. On the right of that lofty prince, who is nearly allied to good fortune, was he whose rank approximates to royalty, who is distinguished by the favour of the king, the giver of all gifts, Kāsim Hussain Sultan; the column of the nobility, Ahmed Yūsef Aghlākchi [a]; the trusted-of-royalty, the perfect-in-fidelity, Hindu Beg Kūchīn; and the in-trusted-of-royalty, Khosrou Gokultāsh; and the intrusted-of-royalty,[b] Kewām Beg Urdu-Shah; and the pillar of the royal retainers, the perfect-in-attachment, Walī Kāsim [c] Karagūzi; and the chosen among attached adherents, Pīr Kuli Sīstāni; and the pillar of Wazīrs amongst mankind, Khwājeh Pehlewān Badakhshi; and the prop of the royal bands, Abdal Shakūr; and the prop of the nobility, Sulcimān Agha, the ambassador of Irāk, and Hussain, the ambassador of Sīstān, were stationed. On the victory-clothed left of the fortunate son who has been mentioned, of lofty extraction and Syed race, of the family of Murtiza,[1] Mīr Hāmeh; and the prop of the household troops,[d] Muhammedi Gokultāsh, and Khwājehgi Asad Jāndār,[e] were stationed. And in the right wing, of the Amīrs of Hind, the Umdet-al Mulk (prop of the state), Khan Khanān (Khan of Khans), Dilāwer Khan[2]; and the prop of the nobility, Malikdād Karrāni; and the prop of the nobility, the Sheikh of Sheikhs, Sheikh Gūren, were stationed, each in his fixed place. And in the left wing of the Islām-exalted armies, the lord of high rank, the

[a] Nizām ud dīn Ahmed Yūsuf Oghlākchi, [b] *Add* the loyal,
[c] Khāzin [treasurer] [d] *Add* the most loyal, Shamsuddīn
[e] Khāndār,

[1] Murtiza [the chosen] is a name of Ali.
[2] [The son of Daulat Khan.]

protection of the magistracy, the abode of greatness, the ornament of the family of *Taha* and *Yasīn*,[a 1] Syed Mahdī[2]; and the exalted, the fortunate brother, he who is well regarded in the sight of the Creating King, Muhammed Sultan Mirza; and the personage near to royalty, the descended of monarchs, Ādil Sultan, son of Mahdī Sultan[3]; and the intrusted-in-the-state, the perfect-in-attachment, Abdal-azīz Mīr Akhūr; and the intrusted-in-the-state, the pure-in-friendship, Muhammed Alī Jeng-Jeng; and the prop of the nobility, Kūtluk Kadem Kerāwal; and Shah Hussain Yāregī, Moghul Ghānchi, and Jān Beg Atkeh,[b] extended their ranks. And in this station, of the Amīrs of Hind, of royal race, Jalāl Khan, and Kamāl Khan, the sons of the Sultan Alāeddīn who has been named; and the selected among nobles, Alī Khan Sheikhzādeh Fermūlī; and the prop of nobles, Nizām Khan of Biāna, were placed. And as a *tulughmeh* (or flanking party), two persons of chief trust among the household retainers, Terdīkeh and Malik Kāsim, the brother of Bāba Kashkeh, with a party of the Moghul tribes, were stationed on the right wing; and two persons of trust from among the nobility, Mūmin Atkeh and Rustam Turkomān Bāshlīgh, with a party of the Emperor's own immediate dependants, were stationed on the left wing; and the prop of the household troops, the perfect-in-friendship, the choice of confidential advisers, Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi, having arranged the nobles and grandees of the warriors of the faith in their suitable stations and places, himself repaired to await my commands; and he sent the *tewāchis*[4] to execute their orders, and dispatched directions

[a] *Add* the model for the offspring of the Prince of Messengers,

[b] Jalāl ud dīn Shah Hosain Bāragī, Moghul Ghānchī, and Nizām ud dīn Jān Beg,

[1] [*Taha* is the title of the twentieth chapter of the Qurān, which begins with these Arabic letters, the meaning of which is obscure. *Yasīn* is the name of the thirty-sixth chapter of the Qurān, which similarly begins with these two letters *Yasīn* is a title of Muhammed]

[2] [Sayyid Mahdī Khwāja, Bābur's brother-in-law.]

[3] [This may be the Mahdī Sultan who was executed by Bābur in 1511 after the defeat of the Uzbegs]

[4] A sort of adjutant and aide-de-camp.

worthy to be obeyed,[a] regarding the array and disposition of the army and troops, to the Sultans high in rank, and to the great Amîrs, and to all the illustrious soldiers of the Faith. And when the pillars of the army were made firm, and every person had repaired to his post,[b] the firmân, worthy to be obeyed, and necessary to be attended to, was published, commanding that no person should move from his station without orders, nor lift his hand to engage without instructions. And of the aforesaid day about one watch and two garis[c] were past,[1] when the two opposing armies having approached each other, the combat and battle began. While the centres of the two armies, like light and darkness, stood opposed to each other, so desperate an engagement ensued on the right and left wings, that the ground was shaken with an earthquake, while a tumultuous clangour filled the uppermost heaven. The left wing of the ill-doomed heathen approached the right wing of the faith-clothed armies of Islâm, and made a desperate attack on Khosrou Gokultâsh, Malik Kâsim, and [d] Bâba Kashkeh. Our brave and elevated brother,[e] Chîn Taimûr Sultan, according to orders, carried a gallant reinforcement, joined in the combat, and having driven back the heathen, pushed on nearly to their centre. And a noble gift has been given to that our exalted brother.[f] And the wonder of our times, Mustafa Rûmi, from the centre directed by[g] my exalted, upright, and fortunate son, who is regarded with favour in the sight of the Creating Majesty, and *distinguished with the particular grace of the mighty King who commands to do and not to do*, Muhammed Humâiûn Behâder, having brought forward the cannon, broke the ranks of the pagan army with matchlocks and guns like their hearts.[2] And during the battle, Kâsim Sultan Hussain

[a] and dispatched in all directions adjutants and aides-de-camp, who were entrusted with the duty of conveying instructions,

[b] And when the pillars of the army [generals] had repaired each to his post,

[c] *Omit* and two garis

[d] brother of

[e] Our highly honoured, and most righteous brother,

[f] A special guerdon was deserved by him for his bravery in this action.

[g] where was

[1] About half-past nine in the morning

[2] That is, black and covered with smoke.

of royal race,[a] and the pillars of the nobles, Ahmed Yūsef and Kewām Beg, having received orders, hastened to his support: and as, from time to time, armies of the heathen and troops of the rebels came from behind repeatedly to the succour of their men, we also dispatched to the assistance of our warriors, the intrusted-in-the-state, Hindu Beg Kūchīn, and after him, the props of the nobility, Muhammed Gokultāsh and Khwājehgi Asad, and afterwards the intrusted in the high monarchy, the trustworthy in the resplendent court, the most confided-in of nobles, the chosen among my confidential adherents, Yunis Ali, and the prop of the nobles, the perfect-in-attachment, Shah Mansūr Birlās, and the prop of the grandees, the pure-in-fidelity, Abdallah Kitābdār, and behind him, the prop of the nobles, Dost Ishek-Agha, Muhammed Khalīl Aktehbegi.[1] The heathen[b] made repeated and desperate attacks on the left wing of the army of Islām, and fell furiously upon the holy warriors, the children of salvation; and each time the high and mighty holy warriors struck some with wounds from their arrows which lead to victory, *and sent them to the house of destruction, the worst of abodes*,[2] and part of them they drove back. And the trusty among the nobles, Mūmin Atkeh and Rustam Turkomān, advancing in the rear of the dark and benighted bands of the heathen, who reposed on evil fortune; and the trusty among nobles, Mulla Mahmūd and Ali Atkeh Bāshligh, the servants of the counsellor of the imperial majesty, the trusty in the royal state, Nizām-ed-dīn Ali Khalīfeh,[3] were sent to support them. And our brother of high rank, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and the allied-to-royalty,[c] Ādil Sultan, and the trusty in the state, Abdal-azīz Mīr Akhur, and Kūtluk Kadem Kerāwel, and Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, and Shah Hussain Yāregi,[d] and Moghul

[a] our highly honoured and most upright brother,
[b] right wing [c] representative of the royal dignity,
[d] the pillar of nobility, Shah Hosain Bāragi,

[1] [Grand equerry, or Master of the Horse]
[2] [This is apparently intended to be a quotation from the Qurān (xiv. 34), which runs thus 'and have made their people alight at the abode of perdition—in hell they shall broil, and an ill resting-place shall it be']
[3] [Bābur's Prime Minister.]

Ghānchi, having engaged in action, maintained a firm position; and we sent the Wazīr, the highest of Wazīrs among men, Khwājeh [a] Hussain, with a body of our household, to their support; and all the men devoted to holy warfare, exerting every nerve, and straining all their means,[b] entered into fight with desperate delight, and reflecting on the text of the Korān, *Say, Verily they regard me, and place before their eyes one of two blessings*,[1] and incited by the desire of lavishing their lives, displayed their life-destroying banners; and as the combat and battle were drawn out to length and extended in time, the mandate worthy of obedience was issued, when straightway [c] the bold warriors of the imperial household troops, and the rending warriors, united in mind,[d] who were standing behind the cannon, like lions in chains, issuing from the right and left of the centre, and leaving in the middle the station of the outer matchlock-men, engaged on both sides, and darted forth [e] from behind the carriages, like the rising of the van of the true dawn from below the horizon; and spilling the ruddy crepuscle-coloured blood of the infidel [f] pagans in combat, on the field wide as the rolling firmament, caused many of the heads of the rebels to fly like falling stars from the sky of their bodies; and the miracle of the time, Ustād Alī Kulī, who was stationed with his men in front of the centre, having exhibited great proofs of valour, discharged [g] huge bullets,[2] of such a size, that if one of them were placed in the basin of the scale of duty, its master,[h] *then that man whose scale is heavy gains a name among the blessed*[3]; and if thrown against a rooted

[a] *Add* Kamāluddīn
[b] desirous of manifesting their ardour and their zeal in the combat,
[c] that [d] and the lions of the forest of valour,
[e] should engage and accordingly they darted forth [f] accursed
[g] *Add* against the iron mailed bastions of the hostile ranks
[h] its owner would gain the reward of these words,

[1] [Qurān IX. 52, which runs, 'Say, do ye expect for us aught but one of the two best things?' (I. e. victory or martyrdom)]

[2] *Sang* means either a bullet or weight, whence the play of words in the text

[3] [Qurān CI. 5, which may be translated 'and as for him whose balance is heavy, he shall be in a well-pleasing life', a reference to

hill, or a lofty mountain, it would drive them from their foundation like teazed wool.[1] Such were the bullets he darted on the iron-clad lines of the heathen bands, and from the discharge of balls and guns and matchlocks, many of the suns [a] of the bodies of the heathen were annihilated. The imperial matchlock-men,[b] according to orders, having issued from behind the artillery in the heat of the fight,[c] each of them made many pagans drink the draught of death; and the infantry having advanced into the place of high and fearful conflict,[d] made their names conspicuous among the lions of the forest of bravery, and the champions of the field of valour. And at the moment while these events were passing, the firmān, worthy to be obeyed, was given to drag forward the guns in the centre. And the pure soul ' of the Emperor, on whose right is the victory of the state,[f] and on whose left are pre-eminence and glory, began to move forward on the Pagan's troops; which being understood on all sides by the victory-graced armies, the whole raging sea of the victorious army rose in mighty storm, and the valour of all the crocodiles of that ocean was manifested. The blackness of the dust spreading over the sky, like dark clouds, raced back and forward over all the plain [g]; while the flashing of the gleaming of the sword within exceeded the glancing of lightning [h]; so that the face of the sun, like the back of a mirror, was void of light. The striker and the struck, the victor and vanquished, mingled in the fray [i]; the marks of discrimination were concealed from view, and such a night ensued that the firmament was not visible,

[a] frames
[b] The musketeers of the centre, where the Emperor was posted,
[c] into the midst of the fight,
[d] danger,
[e] sacred person
[f] are victory and triumph,
[g] The black dust extended like a dark veil on every side,
[h] while the thick cloud, which had overspread the battlefield, was furrowed with the flashing of swords, which much surpassed in brilliance that of lightning,
[i] were so mingled in the fray that

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the Balance wherein all good and evil actions will be weighed on the Day of Judgement]

[1] [Qurān ci. 4, 'and the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool.']

and the only stars that could be distinguished were the prints of the horses' feet.[a]

(*Verse*)—On the day of combat, the dew of blood descended to the fish,[1] and the dust rose above the moon,
From the hoofs of the coursers in that spacious plain, so that the earths became six,[b] and the heavens eight.[2]

The warriors of the Faith, who were in the temper of self-devotion, and prepared to submit to martyrdom,[c] heard from a secret voice the glad tidings *And be not dejected nor sorry, for ye are exalted*;[3] and from the infallible informer heard the joyful words, *Assistance is from God, and victory is at hand; spread the glad tidings among the Faithful.*[4] They fought with such delight, that praises were showered down on them from the pure above,[d] and the angels who are near to God, hovered like butterflies around their heads. And between the first and second prayers, the fire of battle blazed so, that its flames raised the standards above the firmament. And the right and left of the army of the Faithful, having driven the right, left, and centre, of the infidels into one place,[e] the indications of the superiority of the illustrious holy warriors, and the exaltation of the

[a] The Magician of the time had so charmed every eye that the only planets they saw were arrows, and the only fixed stars that appeared were those under the hoofs of the steady squadrons

[b] Under the pressure of the horses' hoofs in that vast plain the regions of the earth became six

[c] at the very moment when they flung themselves full tilt into danger, and risked their lives,

[d] Saints of the Sublime Assembly,

[e] drove back on their centre the right and left wings of the accursed infidels When the indications

[1] [This is an allusion to the myth of the fish, which is supposed to support the earth, the meaning being 'to the lowest depths of the earth']

[2] [i. e. the seven regions of the earth became six under the pressure of the horses' hoofs.] There are supposed to be seven earths, and as many heavens, in Muhammedan philosophy. The poet supposes that one earth, being converted into dust and rising aloft, became an eighth heaven, leaving only six earths

[3] [Qurān, iii. 133; the passage runs thus. 'Do not give way nor grieve, for ye shall have the upper hand if ye but be believers.']

[4] [Qurān, lxi. 13.]

standards of Islām, began to be evident; and in the course of one hour, those damnable heathen and those atheistical wretches, being desperate and astonished at their condition, finally resigning their lives to despair,[a] made an attack on the right and left of our centre, and having advanced their greatest force on the left, had nearly reached it; but the holy warriors distinguished by valour, exhibiting the fruits of excellence,[b] planted the tree of their arrows on the ground of the breast of every one, and cast them all out[c] like their black fortune. In this situation of things, the breezes of success and victory blew on the garden of the Good Fortune of us the fortunate Nawāb, and the glad tidings came, *Of a truth we have displayed on thy account a splendid victory*[1] The mistress Victory, whose world-adorning countenance decked with waving ringlets, and with *God will aid you with mighty aid*,[2] had been hid behind a veil, as the ornamented Bride of Futurity, now gave her aid and came to greet the Present[d]; the vain Hindus discovering their dangerous state, *were scattered abroad like teazed wool, and broken like bubbles on wine*.[3] Many were slain, and fell in the battle, and some giving up their lives for lost, turned to the desert of ruin, and became the food of crows and kites; and hillocks were formed of the slain, and towers raised of their heads. Hassan Khan Mewāti was enrolled in the band of the dead by a matchlock shot, and in like manner many of these bewildered and misled rebels, the

[a] continued for an hour in a state of bewilderment, and finally resolving to sell their lives dearly,

[b] having before their eyes the fruits of a divine reward,

[c] made them turn tail

[d] The Princess Victory, whose world-adorning beauty was enhanced by the ornament of this phrase 'God will aid you with a mighty aid', having manifested to our eyes the happiness of the future, which had been concealed behind a veil, made it a present reality,

[1] [Qurān, xlviii. 1, 'Verily we have given thee an obvious victory'.]

[2] [Qurān, xlviii. 3]

[3] [Qurān, ci 4 and 3 The latter verse is translated by Sale and Palmer 'and scattered like moths'. The passage runs as follows 'The day when men shall be like scattered moths, and the mountains like flocks of carded wool.']

leaders of that army, were struck by arrows or musket-shot, and closed their lives; of the number, Rāwal Udai Sing, before named,[a] who was Prince (Wali) of the country of Udaipūr, and had twelve thousand horse; and Rai Chanderbhān Chuhān, who had four thousand horse,[b] and Mānikchand Chuhān, and Dilpat Rai, who were masters of four thousand horse, and Gangū, and Karm Sing, and Rao Bikersi,[1] who had three thousand horse, and a number of others, who each were leaders of great clans, men of high rank and pride, measured the road to Hell, and, from this house of clay, were transferred to the Pit of Perdition. The road from the field of battle was filled like hell, with the wounded who died by the way; and the lowest hell was rendered populous, in consequence of the numbers of infidels who had delivered up their lives to the angels [c] of hell. On whatever side of the armies of Islām a person went, on every hand he found men of distinction lying slain; and the illustrious camp, wherever it has moved after the fugitives, could nowhere find a spot in which to plant a foot, in consequence of the number of distinguished men lying mangled.[d]

All the Hindus were scattered and confounded,[e]
With stones,[2] like the warriors of the elephant.
Many hills of their bodies were seen,
And from each hill flowed a rivulet of running blood
From the dread of the arrows of the ranks full of grandeur,
They were flying and running [3] to every field and hill.

Arabic —*They go backwards in flight. And the event happened as it had been ordained of Fate. And now the praise be to God, who is All-hearing and All-wise; and*

[a] Nagori,

[b] *Add* Bhūpat Rao, son of Salāh ud dīn, of whom I have spoken above, who was governor of the territory of Chanderi, and had 6,000 horse, [c] Prince

[d] where a distinguished victim did not lie prostrate.

[e] All the Hindus were stretched on the earth, abject and struck down,

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[1] Nagersi —Mr. Metcalfe's copy.

[2] This is again a play on the word *sang*, which means either a bullet or a stone In the war of the elephant, the enemy's army was destroyed by pebbles, miraculously dropped on their heads by birds.

[3] Or by a double meaning, 'hogs flying to every field and hill'.

except from whom there is no help, for he is great and powerful.[a 1] Written in the month of the latter Jumāda, in the year 933.[2] March 1527.

After this victory I used the epithet *Ghāzi*,[3] in the imperial titles. On the *Fatehnāmeh* (or official account of the victory), below the imperial titles (inscribed on the back of the despatches), I wrote the following verses : Bābur assumes the title of Ghāzi.

(*Tūrki*)—For love of the Faith I became a wanderer in the desert,
I became the antagonist of Pagans and Hindus,
I strove [b] to make myself a martyr,—
Thanks be to the Almighty who has made me a Ghāzi
(victorious over the enemies of the Faith)

Sheikh Zein discovered the date of this victory in the words *Fateh-i-bādshāh-i-Islām*[4] (the victory of the Emperor of the Faith). Mīr Gīsū also, one of the men who had come from Kābul, discovered the date in the very same words, and sent them with four verses inscribed below.[c] There was a perfect coincidence between Sheikh Zein and Mīr Gīsū, in their best emblems.[d] The very same words were contained in their quatrains.[e] On another occasion, on my conquest of Debālpūr, Sheikh Zein discovered the date in *Wasat-i-shahr-i-Rabīa ul awwal*[5] (the middle of the month of the first Rabīa); and Mīr Gīsū hit upon the very same words.

Having defeated the enemy, we pursued them with great slaughter. Their camp might be two kos distant from ours. On reaching it, I sent on Muhammedi, Abdal-azīz, Ali Khan, and some other officers, with orders to follow them in close pursuit, slaying and cutting them off, so that they should not have time to re-assemble.[f] In this instance Improves his victor

[a] the Almighty and All-wise.
[b] resolved
[c] *Omit* inscribed below
[d] By a lucky chance there was a perfect coincidence between Sheikh Zain's and Mīr Ghīsū's quatrains.
[e] *Omit this sentence*
[f] *Omit this clause*

[1] [This passage is a melange of tags from various chapters of the Qurān (xvii 49; xxxiii. 38, iii 122, xxvi 220)]
[2] [In P. de C.'s version the date of the month (25th) is added]
[3] *Ghāzi* signifies victorious in a holy war
[4] The letters make 933 [1526-27]
[5] The letters make 930 [1523-24].

I was guilty of neglect; I should myself have gone on and urged the pursuit, and ought not to have entrusted that business to another. I had got about a kos beyond the enemy's camp when I turned back, the day being spent, and reached my own about bed-time prayers. Muhammed Sherīf, the astrologer, whose perverse and seditious practices I have mentioned,[a] came to congratulate me on my victory. I poured forth a torrent of abuse upon him; and when I had relieved my heart by it, although he was heathenishly inclined, perverse, extremely self-conceited, and an insufferable evil-speaker,[b] yet, as he had been my old servant, I gave him a lak [1] as a present, and dismissed him, commanding him not to remain within my dominions.

Banishes Muhammed Sherīf, the astrologer

Next day we continued on the same ground. I despatched Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Sheikh Gūren, and Abdal Malūk Korchi, with a large force against Ilıās Khan, who had made an insurrection in the Doāb, surprised Koel, and taken Kīchek Alı prisoner. On the arrival of my detachment, the enemy, finding that they could not cope with them, fled in all directions, in confusion and dismay. Some days after my return to Agra, Ilıās Khan was taken and brought in. I ordered him to be flayed alive.

Insurrection in the Doāb quelled March 17

The battle was fought within view of a small hill near our camp. On this hillock, I directed a tower of the skulls of the infidels to be constructed.

Bābur constructs a tower of skulls.

From this encampment, the third march brought us to Biāna. Immense numbers of the dead bodies of the pagans and apostates had fallen in their flight,[c] all the way to Biāna, and even as far as Alwar [2] and Mewāt. I went and surveyed Biāna, and then returned to the camp; and, having sent for the Tūrki and Hindi Amīrs, consulted about proceeding against the country of these pagans. That plan was,

Reaches Biāna

[a] who had entertained most evil sentiments about me,
[b] always prone to rebellion,
[c] *Add* and lay strewn

[1] About £250

[2] Alwar lies west from Muttra, and is the capital of the Rajah of Mocherı It is at about an equal distance from Delhi and Agra [Macharı, now a village, was the old capital of the Alwar state. It is situated about thirty miles south-east of Alwar.]

however, abandoned, in consequence of the want of water on the road, and of the excessive heat of the season.

Reduces Mewāt.

The country of Mewāt lies not far from Delhi, and yields a revenue of three or four krors.[1] Hassan Khan Mewāti had received the government of that country from his ancestors, who had governed it, in uninterrupted succession, for nearly two hundred [a] years. They had yielded an imperfect kind of submission to the Sultans of Delhi. The Sultans of Hind, whether from the extent of their territories, from want of opportunity, or from obstacles opposed by the mountainous nature of the country, had never subdued Mewāt.[b] They had never been able to reduce it to order, and were content to receive such a degree of obedience as was tendered to them. After my conquest of Hind, following the example of former Sultans, I also had shown Hassan Khan distinguished marks of favour. Yet this ungrateful man, whose affections lay all on the side of the pagans, this infidel,[c] regardless of my favours, and without any sense of the kindness and distinction with which he had been treated, was the grand promoter and leader of all the commotions and rebellions that ensued, as has been related. The plan for marching into the country of the pagans having been abandoned, I resolved on the reduction of Mewāt. I advanced four marches, and, after the fifth, encamped six kos from the fort of Alwar, which was the seat of government, on the banks of the river Mānasni.[2] Hassan Khan's ancestors had made their capital at Tijārah. In the year in which I invaded Hindustān, defeated Pahār Khan,[3] and took Lahore and Debālpūr,[4] being even then apprehensive of the progress of my arms, he had set about building this fort. A person named Karmchand, one of Hassan Khan's head men, who had come to visit Hassan Khan's son while he was a prisoner in Agra, now arrived from the son,

[a] a hundred to two hundred

[b] had never turned in the direction of Mewāt

[c] this thankless heretic, who behaved like an infidel,

[1] This may be from £75,000 to £100,000.

[2] [This is the river marked on the map as flowing eastwards to the south of Alwar.]

[3] [Bahār Khānbadi may be meant.]

[4] [1524.]

commissioned to ask a pardon. I sent him back accompanied by Abdal Rahīm Shaghāwel, with letters to quiet his apprehensions, and promising him personal safety [a]; and they returned along with Nāhir Khan, Hassan Khan's son. I again received him into favour, and bestowed on him a perganna of several laks for his support. I had bestowed on Khosrou [1] an allowance and establishment of fifty laks,[2] and nominated him to the government of Alwar, from a supposition that, during the battle, he had performed a certain very important piece of service. As his ill luck would have it, he put on airs and refused the boon. I afterwards discovered that the service had not been performed by him, but by Chīn Taimūr Sultan. I bestowed on Sultan [b] the city of Tijārah,[3] which was the capital of Mewāt, granting him at the same time a settled provision of fifty laks [4] To Tardīkeh, who, in the battle with Rāna Sanka, commanded the *tulughmeh* (or flanking division) on the right, and had distinguished himself more than any other, I gave an appointment of fifteen laks,[5] with the charge of the fort of Alwar. I bestowed the treasures of Alwar, with everything [c] in the fort, on Humāiūn.

Sends back Humāiūn and the Badakhshān men, April 3.

I marched from this station on Wednesday the first of Rajeb, and, having come within two kos of Alwar, went and examined the fort, where I stayed all night, and returned back to the camp in the morning. Before engaging Rāna Sanka in the Holy War, as has been mentioned, when all, small and great, took the oath, I had told them, that after conquering this enemy, I had no objection to any one's returning home, and would give leave to as many as asked it. Most of Humāiūn's servants were from Badakhshān and the neighbouring countries, and had never served in an army on any expedition that lasted more

[a] with conciliatory letters,
[b] *Add* by way of reward
[c] all stores

[1] Perhaps Khosrou Gokultāsh
[2] About £12,500
[3] [Tijāra, the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Alwar state, Rājpūtāna, is situated thirty miles north-east of Alwar city. It was for a long time the capital of the Khanzādahs of Mewāt, and contains what is said to be the tomb of Hasan Khan, Bābur's opponent, who fell on the field of Kānwā]
[4] About £12,500
[5] About £3,750. [P de C gives the amount as 50 lakhs]

than a month, or two months at a time. Before the battle, they had been seized with a longing for home.[a] I had made with them the agreement which has been mentioned. Besides, Kābul was very imperfectly defended. On these accounts, I finally resolved to send off Humāiūn to Kābul. Having come to this resolution, I marched from Alwar on Thursday the ninth of Rajeb, and having moved four or five kos, encamped on the banks of the Mānasni. Mahdi Khwājeh appearing also to be very uncomfortable, I gave him liberty to return to Kābul The *shikdāri* of Biāna I conferred on Dost Ishek-Agha. As Mahdi Khwājeh held the nominal government of Etāwa, I[b] now bestowed it on Jaafer Khwājeh, the son of Kutb Khan, who had fled from Etāwa and joined me.[1] I halted three or four days in this ground, previous to taking leave of Humāiūn.[c] From this station, I despatched Mūmin Ali Tewāchi to Kābul, with letters giving an account of the victory. April 11.

I had heard much of the fountain of Firozpūr,[2] and of the great tank of Kotilah.[3] On Sunday, I mounted and rode out from the camp, for the double purpose of seeing the country,[d] and of conducting Humāiūn for some distance on his way. That day I went to visit Firozpūr and its Visits the fountain of Firozpur and the tank of Kotilah. April 14

[a] they had completely reached the end of their patience

[b] I had previously granted the government of Etāwa to Mahdi Khwāja, and accordingly I

[c] in order to attend to the matter of Humāyūn's departure

[d] these two marvels,

[1] [There is some confusion here, as Ja'far Khwāja was the son of Mahdi Khwāja, and, further on, Bābur states that when Etāwa was abandoned by Kutb Khan, Ja'far Khwāja was sent to take charge of it in his father's room]

[2] [This is Firūzpūr, the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Gurgaon district, Panjāb, on the route from Delhi to Alwar, situated seventy-four miles south of the former It is said to have been founded by Firoz Shah Tughlak to control the Mewātis. The springs alluded to are known according to the Gazetteer of Gurgaon as 'the Jhīr of Firūzpūr']

[3] Kotilah lies south of Alwar about thirty miles. ['The Kotlah lake lies under the Firūzpūr hills on the borders of the Firūzpūr and Nuh Tahsīls It is the largest lake in the (Gurgaon) district, being three miles long by two and a half broad'—*Gazetteer of Gurgaon.* Drainage operations must doubtless have curtailed its size since Bābur's time]

fountain, and took a maajūn. In the valley from which the water of the fountain flows, the *kanīr*[1] flowers were all in full bloom. It is very beautiful, though it will not support the high praises lavished upon it. Within this valley, where the stream widens, I directed a reservoir to be made of hewn stone, ten by ten. We halted that night in the valley,

April 15. and next morning rode to visit the tank of Kotilah. One of its banks is formed by the side of a hill,[a] and the river Mānasni flows into it.[2] It is a very large tank, but does not look well from either of its sides.[b] In the midst of the tank is a rising ground, around it are a number of small boats. The inhabitants of the towns on the banks of the tank, when any alarm or confusion occurs, embark in their boats, and make their escape. When I arrived there, a number of people got into their boats, and rowed into the middle of the lake. After riding to the tank, I returned to Humāiūn's camp, where I rested and dined, after which I invested the Mirza and his Begs with dresses of honour, and

Humāiūn takes leave. April 16. towards bed-time prayers, took leave of Humāiūn, mounted, and slept at a place on the road. I afterwards mounted again, and, towards dawn, passed the perganna of Kuhri,[3] where I took a little more rest, after which I continued my journey and reached the camp, which I found at Tudeh.[4]

Bâbur visits the fountain near Bu-sâwer. Having marched from Tudeh, when we alighted at Somgīr, Hassan Khan's son, Nâhir Khan, who had been delivered into the custody of Abdal-rahīm, made his escape. Leaving this place, the second march brought us

[a] It is surrounded on all sides by the hills that hem it in,

[b] It is so large that the eye cannot clearly distinguish objects on one side from the other

[1] [Oleander.]

[2] [The Mānasni, or Mānasle (*man taker*), now known as the Ruparel, enters the district (of Gurgaon) from Alwar, and passes up the Firūzpūr valley along the Landdha channel. After Bâbur's time, instead of falling into the Kotla lake, it appears to have been artificially diverted, or naturally found its way into Bharatpūr (*Gazetteer of Gurgaon*).]

[3] [Kohri is marked on Rennell's map as a village in the Alwar state about fifteen miles south-east of Alwar city.]

[4] [Tuda Bhīm is the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Jaipūr state in Rājpūtāna, situated sixty-two miles east of Jaipūr city.]

to the fountain which is on the face [a] of the hill, between Busāwer and Jhūseh, where we halted. I here erected an awning, and had a maajūn When the camp passed this way, Terdi Beg Khāksār had praised this fountain. We now went and visited it on horseback.[b] It is a very beautiful fountain. In Hindustān there are scarcely any artificial water-courses, so that fountains for confining and conducting the water [c] are not to be looked for. What few fountains there are ooze out, as if distilling from the ground ; but do not burst forth like the springs in our countries The water of this fountain might be about half large enough to drive a mill, and it issues bursting from the skirt of the hill. The ground all about it is meadow pasture, and is very pleasant. I gave orders that an octagonal reservoir of cut-stone should be built, where this spring issues out. While we were sitting by the fountain, under the influence of our maajūn, Terdi Beg repeatedly proposed, with some appearance of vanity, that, as we were pleased with the place,[d] we ought to give it a name. Abdallah proposed that it should be called the Royal Fountain, Terdi Beg's delight.[e] This proposal furnished us with great subject for merriment. Dost Ishek-Agha, who came from Biāna, waited on me at this fountain.

Proceeds to Biāna

Setting out from this place, I again visited and surveyed Biāna, and went on to Sīkri, where I halted two days, close by the garden which I had formerly directed to be laid out. After giving directions about the garden,[f] on the morning of Thursday, the 23rd of Rajeb, I pursued my way and reached Agra.

April 25. Arrives in Agra.

I have mentioned that, during the late disturbances, the enemy had made themselves masters of Chāndwār and Rāberi.[1] I now sent Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Terdi

Bābur gets possession of Chāndwār,

[a] on a spur

[b] This is what made me go and see it, but I viewed it from horseback without stopping.

[c] *Omit* for confining and conducting the water

[d] as he was the cause of the beautifying of this place,

[e] adorned by Tardi Beg

[f] During this time I busied myself in beautifying the garden, and

[1] These places lie in the Doāb below Agra, but above Etāwa

Beg, Kūch Beg, Abdal Malūk Korchi, Hussain Khan, with his Daryā-khānis,[1] against Chāndwār and Rāberi. They no sooner reached Chāndwār, than the garrison in the place, who were Kutb Khan's people, on getting notice of their arrival, deserted and joined them. After taking possession of Chāndwār, they proceeded against Rāberi. Hussain Khān Lohāni's people advanced beyond the suburb-fence,[2] intending to skirmish a little [a]; but our men had no sooner come close upon them and begun the attack, than the enemy, unable to stand their ground, took to flight. Hussain Khan mounted on an elephant, reached the river in company with some others, but was drowned in crossing the Jumna. On receiving intelligence of this, Kutb Khan surrendered and Etāwa, and joined me.[b] As Etāwa had at first been given to Mahdi Khwājeh, his son Jaafer Khwājeh was now sent to take charge of it, in his father's room.

and Etāwa.

Bābur's generals repel Bīban

During the war with the Pagan Sanka, a number of Hindustānis and Afghans had deserted, as has been mentioned; in consequence of which all their pergannas and governments had been seized.[c] Sultan Muhammed Duldāi, who had abandoned Kanauj and rejoined me, was now unwilling, whether from fear or from shame, to return thither, and, in exchange for the government of Kanauj, which was thirty laks, took that of Sirhind, which was only fifteen. Kanauj was bestowed on Muhammed Sultan Mirza,[3] with the allowance of thirty laks.[4] Budāun[5] was given to Kāsim Hussain Sultan, who was ordered to accompany Muhammed Sultan Mirza. Several others of the Tūrki Begs,

[a] Hosain Khan Lohāni's people came out to meet them with the idea of skirmishing awhile behind the barricades,

[b] managed to escape with a few followers

[c] and had taken possession of all their districts and governments

[1] [i. e. the Khans, or chiefs, of the river banks.]

[2] [i. e. barricades.]

[3] A son of Sultan Weis Mirza.

[4] Nearly £7,500.

[5] Budāun is in Rohilkund, below Sambal. [Budaon is the headquarters of a district in the United Provinces situated near the river Son It was captured by Kutb ud dīn Aibek in 1196, and afterwards became an important frontier post on the northern boundary of the Delhi Empire. It is famous as the birthplace of Abdul Qādir, the historian, and author of the *Muntakhab ut tawārīkh* (1596)]

Malik Kāsim, Bāba Kashkeh, with his brothers and Moghuls, Abul Muhammed Nezehbāz, Muayyid, with his father's followers, Sultan Muhammed Duldāi,[a] and Hussain Khan, with his Daryā-khānis; as well as several Amīrs of Hind, Ali Khan Fermūli, Malikdād Karrāni, Sheikh Muhammed, Sheikh Behkehāri,[b] Tātār Khan, and Khan Jehān, were ordered to accompany Muhammed Sultan Mirza against Bīban,[1] who, during the confusion occasioned by the war against Sanka the Pagan, had besieged and taken Lakhnau.[2] When this army passed the river Ganges,[3] Bīban, having information of its approach, packed up[c] his baggage and fled. The army pursued him as far as Khairābād,[4] halted there many[d] days, and afterwards returned. A D 1527

Bābur disperses his army for the rainy season

The treasures had been divided, but I had not hitherto found leisure to make any arrangement as to the pergannas and provinces, the holy war against the pagans having intervened to prevent me. Being now relieved from the war with the infidels, I made a division of the different provinces and districts; and the rainy season being near at hand, I directed every person to repair to his own perganna, to prepare his accoutrements and arms, and be in readiness to join me again when the rains were over.

Humāiūn seizes some treasure at Delhi.

At this time I received information that Humāiūn had repaired to Delhi, and had there opened several of the houses which contained the treasure, and taken possession by force of the contents. I certainly never expected such conduct from him, and, being extremely hurt, I wrote and sent him some letters containing the severest reprehension.

[a] Muayyid with his father, and Hosain Khan with his Daryā-khānis and the retainers of Sultan Muhammed Duldāi,

[b] Nikāri, [c] abandoned [d] some

[1] Malik Bīban Jilwāni was an Afghan chief of great power

[2] [Lucknow, the former capital of Oudh, is a large cantonment situated on the Gumti. It was captured by Bābur in 1528, and a few years later Humāyūn defeated Mahmūd Lodi there. It is possible, however, that Lakhnūr is meant, which was a town 'a little to the east of Sambhal on the banks of the Ramganga' —E and D's *History of India*, vol iv, p. 384 *n*]

[3] [This should be the Jamna.]

[4] [This may be Khairābād, a town in the district of Sītapūr, United Provinces, situated due north of Lucknow. It was a place of some importance under the Mohammedan régime.]

Bābur sends an ambassador to Persia May 16.

Khwājehgi Asad had formerly been sent by me as ambassador to Irāk, and had returned accompanied by Suleimān Turkomān. On Thursday, the 15th of Shābān, I sent him back a second time, accompanied by Suleimān Turkomān, on an embassy to the Prince Tahmāsp, with some suitable rarities and curiosities as a present.

Sends Terdi Beg to Kābul.

Terdi Beg Khāksār, whom I had formerly withdrawn from the life of a Derwīsh, and induced to betake himself to arms, had remained several years in my service, but now felt a strong desire for returning to the state of a Derwīsh, and asked his discharge, which I gave him. I sent him on a sort of mission to Kāmrān, to whom I made him carry three laks[1] of treasure. Last year I had written some Tūrki verses, with a view to those persons who had returned home.[a] I now addressed them to Mulla Ali Khan, and sent them to him by Terdi Beg. They are as follows:

Bābur's verses.

(*Tūrki*)—O ye that have left this country of Hind,
From experience of its hardships and sufferings!
Filled with the remembrance of Kābul and its delicious climate,
You deserted the sultry Hind,
You went and now have seen and enjoyed your country,
In pleasure and delight, in enjoyment and jollity,[b]
Yet praise be to God, *we* have not perished,
Though exposed to many hardships and grief inexpressible,
You have escaped from pain of mind, and from bodily suffering,[c]
Yet *I too* have passed this Ramzān in the garden of Hasht Behisht,[2]
And have purified myself, reciting all the stated prayers (of Ramzān)[d 3]

From the eleventh year of my age till now, I had never

[a] on those who had deserted us

[b] You have departed hence full of zeal and ardour, and there you have enjoyed all the delights of society, and a life of ease,

[c] *Add* and we too are beyond the reach of their attacks,

[d] *These two lines do not form part of the poem, and are translated thus*. This year we spent the Ramazān in the garden of the Eight Heavens, and fulfilled the obligation of night prayers, and purificatory ablutions.

[1] About £750; yet it may be laks of rupees, which would be £30,000

[2] Hasht Behisht signifies the Eight Heavens.

[3] [A reference to the *tarāwīh*, or prayers of twenty *rak'ahs*, recited at night during the month of Ramazān.]

spent two festivals[1] of the Ramzān in the same place. Last year's festival I had spent in Agra. In order to keep up the usage, on Sunday night the thirtieth, I proceeded to Sīkrī to keep the feast there. A stone platform was erected on the north-east of the Garden-of-Victory, on which a set of large tents was pitched, and in them I passed the festival. The night on which we left Agra, Mīr Alī Korchī was sent to Tatta, to Shah Hassan[2] He was extremely fond of cards,[3] and had asked for some, which I sent him. June 30

On Sunday, the 5th of Zīlkaadeh, I was taken very ill[a]. My illness continued seventeen days On Friday, the 24th of the same month, I set out to proceed to Dhūlpūr. That night I slept at a place about half-way on the road. Next morning I rode as far as[b] Sultan Sikander's mound,[4] where I alighted. Below the mound, where the hill terminates, there is a huge mass of red stone. I sent for Ustād[5] Shah Muhammed, the stone-cutter, and gave him directions, if he could make a house out of the solid stone, to do it. If the stone was too small[c] for a house, to level it and make a reservoir in the solid rock. From Dhūlpūr I went and visited Bārī.[6] Next morning I mounted and left Bāri, and passing a hill that lies between Bārī and the Chambal,[d] rode as far as the river Chambal, and returned. In this hill, between the Chambal and Bāri, I saw the ebony tree. Its fruit is called *tindū*.[7] A white species of ebony tree is also often met with; in this hill the ebony trees were chiefly

He falls sick. Aug 4 His tour to Dhūlpūr, Bārī, Sīkrī, &c. Aug 24 Aug 25 Aug 26

[a] with a sore throat
[b] I reached at dawn
[c] low
[d] Chambal [the town],

[1] This gives a lively idea of the unsettled life of Bābur [The festival referred to is the 'Īd ul fitr, which is held to celebrate the breaking of the Ramazān Fast on the first of Shawwāl.]

[2] [Shah Hosain Arghūn was King of Sind He succeeded his father Shah Beg in 1524, and died in 1555.]

[3] This is the earliest mention of playing cards that I recollect, in any eastern author.

[4] [i. e. dam.]

[5] The head people of the engineers, artificers, &c., get the name of Ustād, which also means schoolmaster

[6] Bārī lies between Biāna and Dhūlpūr [Nineteen miles from the latter place.]

[7] [Two varieties of the ebony tree are found in North India (*Diospyrus melanoxylon* and *D tomentosa*), which, according to Brandis, are hardly distinguishable from each other.]

Aug. 28. white. Leaving Bārī, I visited Sīkri, and on Wednesday, the 29th of the same month, reached Agra.

About this time I heard disagreeable accounts of Sheikh Bayezīd's [1] proceedings. I sent Sultan Alī Tūrk to arrange a truce of twenty days with him.

Aug 30. On Friday, the 2nd of Zilhijeh, I began to read the texts, which were to be repeated forty-one times.[2] At this same period I composed the verses,

(*Turkī*)—Let me celebrate thine eyes, thine eyebrows, thy converse, thy love,
Let me celebrate thy cheeks, thy hair, and thy kindness to me—[a]

in five hundred and four measures, and collected them in a book.[b] At this time I again fell sick,[c] and was ill for
Sept. 26 nine days. On Thursday, the 29th of Zilhijeh, I set out on horseback to visit Koel and Sambal [3]

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 934

Bābur's tour to Koel and Sambal. A D 1527 Sept. 28.

On Saturday, the first of Muharrem, we encamped at Koel.[4] Derwīsh and Alī Yūsef, who had been left by Humāiūn in Sambal,[5] had defeated[d] Kutb Sirwāni, and several Rajas, who had crossed a river [e] and attacked them ;
A D 1527 had killed a number of the enemy, and sent me some of their heads and an elephant, which reached me while I was at Koel, where I spent two days in visiting the place. On the invitation of Sheikh Gūren I alighted at his house. After dinner [f] he presented me with a *peshkesh*.

[a] Tell me !
Are these her eyes, her eyebrows, her speech, and her language ?
Are these her gait, her cheeks, her hair and her waist ?
[b] and composed a treatise on the subject
[c] *Add* with a sore throat, [d] *Add* totally
[e] each of the two rivers [Ganges and Jamna]
[f] After a sumptuous entertainment

[1] [This was Mustafa Fermuli's younger brother]

[2] These texts were to operate as a charm, to produce his entire recovery [This exercise consists in the recital of certain selected verses (*wird*) of the Qurān.]

[3] Koel is in the Doāb, Sambal to the east of the Ganges, in Rohilkand. [4] In the Doāb.

[5] Sambal is higher up, on the left of the Ganges.

Setting out thence, I halted at Atrūlī[1] On Wednesday, Oct. 2.
I crossed the Ganges, and encamped in the country[a] of
Sambal. On Thursday, I halted at Sambal, and having Oct 3
spent two days in surveying the neighbourhood, I left it on
the morning of Saturday On Sunday, I halted in Sikandera,[2] Oct 5
at Rao Sirwāni's house, where he entertained and waited Oct 6.
on me. Leaving that place before day-rise, I rode forward, Oct 7
and, separating from my people by a finesse, I galloped on,
and arrived alone within a kos of Agra, when some of my
followers overtook and went on along with me.[b] I dis-
mounted at Agra about noon-day prayers.

On Sunday, the 16th of Muharrem, I was seized with He is at-
a fever and ague. The fever continued on me, at intervals, tacked with
for twenty-five or twenty-six days. I took medicine, and a fever
Oct 13
finally recovered. I suffered much from want of sleep and
from thirst. During this illness, I composed three or four
quatrains. One is the following:

(*Turkī*)—Every day a severe fever hangs on my body,
And at night slumber flies from my eyelids,
These two are like my grief and my patience,
Till my last hour, the former goes on increasing, as the
other diminishes

On Saturday, the 28th of Safer, Fakher Jehān Begum, Nov 23
and Khadījeh Sultan Begum, my paternal aunts, arrived.
I went in a boat, and waited on them above Sikanderābād.[3]

On Sunday, Ustād Ali Kuli fired a large ball from a cannon; Nov 24
though the ball went far, the cannon burst in pieces, and
every piece knocked down several men, of whom eight died.

On Monday, the 7th of the first Rabi, I mounted and rode Dec 2
to Sīkri. The octagonal platform, which I had ordered
to be built in the midst of the tank, being finished, we went
over in a boat, raised an awning, and had a party,[c] when
we indulged in a maajūn.

[a] villages [b] where my escort overtook me [c] *Omit this clause*

[1] [Atrauli is the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Aligarh district, United Provinces, situated between the Kālinadi and the Ganges.]

[2] [Erskine identifies this with the town of Sikandra Rao in the district of Aligarh, United Provinces, founded by Sikander Lodi, and situated twenty-three miles south-east by east of Aligarh city.]

[3] [Sikanderābād is in the Bulandshahr District, U.P., ten miles north-west of Bulandshahr town.]

Sets out against Chanderi

Having returned from my visit to Sīkri on Monday, the 14th of the first Rabi, I set out, in pursuance of a vow, on [a] a holy war against Chanderi,[1] and, marching three kos, halted at Jalīsir, where, having stayed two days, in order to accoutre and review [b] my troops, on Thursday I marched forward, and halted at Anwār.[2] Leaving Anwār in a boat, I passed Chāndwār, and landed. From thence we proceeded, march after march, and on Monday, the 28th of the month, halted at the ford of Kanār.[3] On Thursday, the 2nd of the latter Rabi, I crossed the river. I remained four or five days, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, to get my army conveyed across. During that time, I regularly went aboard of a boat, and indulged in a maajūn. The junction of the Ganges and Chambal is a kos or two above the ford of Kanār. On Friday, I embarked in the river Chambal in a boat, and passing over at the point of junction, went on to the camp.

Dec 9
Dec 12
Dec 23.
Dec 26
Dec 27

Sends Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng against the Afghans in the east

Though I had no decisive proofs of Sheikh Bayezīd's hostility, I was well assured, from his way of proceeding and general conduct, that he was hostilely inclined. On this account I detached Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng from the army, and sent him to bring together at Kanauj, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and the Sultans and Amīrs in that quarter, such as Kāsim Hussain Sultan, Taimūr Sultan, Malik Kāsim Koki, Abul Muhammed Nezehbāz, Manūcheher Khan, with his brothers and the Daryā-khānis, and to march with them, under his command, against the hostile Afghans. He was directed to summon Sheikh Bayezīd to attend

[a] to carry out my intention of engaging in
[b] supply

[1] Chanderi is a town and district in Mālwa, to the west of Bundelkand It lies on the Betwa river

[2] [This is probably Anwara (or Unwara as it is spelt in the Indian Atlas, Sheet 50), which lies on the left bank of the Jamna, and consequently on the opposite side to Agra. It is in the Agra district, and twelve miles distant from Agra city as the crow flies. The Jalīsir referred to in this passage cannot be the Jalesar in the Etah district. It was probably an unimportant village near Agra, but I have been unable to identify it]

[3] [Kanār is mentioned in the *Ayīn i Akbarī* as a *Mahāl* of Kālpī in the *Sūbah* of Agra.]

him If he came frankly, they were to take him along with them on the expedition ; if he did not join them, they were then, first of all, to settle his business. Muhammed Ali asked me for a few elephants ; I gave him ten. After Muhammed Ali had been sent off, I directed Bāba Chihrch also to join them

I advanced one march from Kanār in a boat. On Wednesday, the 8th of the last Rabi, we halted within a kos of Kālpi.[1] Bāba Sultan, the younger brother of the full blood of Sultan Saīd Khan,[2] the son of Sultan Khalīl Sultan, came and waited on me at this station Last year he had fled from his elder brother, and come to my territories,[a] but soon after, changing his mind,[b] had gone off from the country of Anderāb When he got near Kāshgar, however, Khan Haider Mirza was sent to meet him, and to desire him to return back.[c] Proceeds towards Chanderi Jan 1528.

Next morning I halted at Kālpi, at Ālim Khan's house. He entertained me with a dinner, in which the meats were dressed after the Hindi fashion, and presented me with a *peshkesh*. Jan 2.

On Monday the 13th, I marched from Kālpi, and on Friday we encamped in Iraj.[3] On Saturday we reached Bandīr.[4] Jan. 6. Jan 10

On Sunday the 19th, I sent forward in advance Chin Taimūr Sultan, with six or seven thousand men, against Jan. 11 Jan 12

[a] as far as Anderāb, [b] feeling remorseful, [c] and brought him back

[1] [Kālpī is the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Jalaun district, U P, situated on the right bank of the Jamna It was captured by Kutb ud dīn Aibek in 1196, and became an important Muhammedan stronghold It fell to Hoshang Shah of Malwa in 1435, and in 1477 Hosain Shah of Jaunpūr was defeated there Humāyūn took Kālpī in 1527, and held it till his overthrow by Sher Shah in 1540]

[2] Of Kāshgar

[3] [Iraj is a town in Bundelkhand in the district of Jalaun, U P, situated on the right bank of the river Betwa, sixty-five miles south-east of Gwālhār.]

[4] [Bhander is situated in the Bhind district of the Gwālhār State, C I., north-east of Jhānsi and twenty miles east of Dattia The *Imperial Gazetteer* describes it as being picturesquely placed between the Pahuj river and a lake formed by damming up one of its tributaries The site is an old one, the ancient city having been destroyed by an earthquake. Bhander lies on the left bank of the Pahuj river, which, flowing in a north-east direction, finally joins the Jamna.]

Chanderi. The Begs who went on this expedition were Bāki Mirg-Begi,[1] Terdi Beg, Kūch Beg, Āshik Bekāwel, Mulla Apāk, Muhsin Duldāi; and of the Amīrs of Hindustān, Sheikh Gūren.

Jan. 17. On Friday the 24th, we encamped near Kachweh I sent to assure the inhabitants of Kachweh that they had nothing to apprehend, and bestowed the place on Budreddīn's son. Kachweh is rather a pretty place. It is surrounded by small hills. On a hill to the north-east of Kachweh,[a] they have constructed a mound [2] for collecting the water, and formed a large tank, which may be five or six kos in circumference. This tank encloses Kachweh on three of its sides To the north-west there is a small neck of dry land, on which side is the gate of the town. In this tank they have very small boats, which may hold three or four persons. Whenever they are obliged to flee, they betake themselves to their boats, and push out into the middle of the tank. Before coming to Kachweh, in two other places, we had met with similar mounds thrown up between hills, and tanks formed, but they were less than that at Kachweh.

Reaches Kachweh

A. D. 1528

Arrives before Chanderi. Jan 18 Having halted one day at Kachweh, I sent on a number of overseers and pioneers, to level the inequalities of the road, and to cut down the jungle, to admit of the guns and carriages passing without difficulty. Between Kachweh and Chanderi the country is jungly. Leaving Kachweh, the second day's march brought us within three kos of Chanderi, where we encamped, having previously crossed the river of Burhānpūr.[3]

Jan. 19 and 20

The citadel of Chanderi[4] is situated on a hill. The outer fort and town lie in the middle of the slope of the hill. The straight road, by which cannon can be conveyed, passes right below the fort.[b] After marching from Burhānpūr, we passed a kos lower down than Chanderi, on account of our guns, and, at the end of the march,[c] on Tuesday

[a] Among the hills to the south-east of it, [b] outer fort.
[c] second march,

[1] [Leader of a thousand] [2] [i. e a dam.]
[3] [A tributary of the Betwa]
[4] [Chanderi is a town, now much decayed, 105 miles south of Gwāliār]

the 28th, encamped on the banks of Bahjet Khan's tank, on the top of the mound.[a] Jan 21.

Next morning I rode out and distributed the different posts around the fort, to the different divisions of my army, to the centre, and to the right and left wings. In placing his battery, Ustād Alī Kulī chose a piece of ground that had no slope. Overseers and pioneers were appointed to construct works on which the guns were to be planted. All the men of the army were directed to prepare *tūras* and scaling-ladders, and to serve the *tūras*[1] which are used in attacking forts. Chanderī had formerly belonged to the Sultans of Māndū. After the death of Sultan Nāsir-ed-dīn,[2] one of his sons, Sultan Mahmūd, who is now in Māndū, got possession of Māndū and the neighbouring countries, another of his sons, Muhammed Shah, seized on Chanderī, and applied to Sultan Sikander for protection. Sultan Sikander sent several large armies, and supported him in his dominions. After Sultan Sikander's demise,[3] in Sultan Ibrahīm's reign, Muhammed Shah died, leaving a young son of the name of Ahmed Shah. Sultan Ibrahīm carried off [b] Ahmed Shah, and established one of his own people in his stead. When Sanka advanced with an army against Ibrahīm as far as Dhūlpūr, that prince's Amīrs rose against him, and on that occasion Chanderī fell into Sanka's hands. He bestowed it on one Medini Rao,[4] a pagan of great consequence, who was now in the place with four or five thousand pagans. As Arāish Khan had long been on terms of friendship with him, I sent Arāish Khan to him, along with Sheikh Gūren, to assure him of my favour and clemency, and offering him Shamsābād[5] in exchange for Chanderī. Two or three [c] Prepares for the siege. Jan 22

[a] dam [b] drove out [c] One or two

[1] These *tūras*, so often mentioned, appear to have been a sort of *testudo*, under cover of which the assailants advanced, and sometimes breached the wall. The word *burkereh*, or *buzkezeh*, I do not understand. Mr. Metcalfe's MS. seems to read, *noukerī tūra*, which would signify, *and to serve the tūras*, which I have adopted in the text. [P. de C. translates this 'as well as all the necessary apparatus for *tūras*'.]

[2] [In 1510.]

[3] [In 1517.]

[4] [The former Prime Minister of Mahmūd Shah II, the son of Nāsir ud dīn.]

[5] [A town in the Qāimganj Tahsīl of the Farrukhābād district,

considerable people about him were averse to conciliation.[a] I know not whether he did not place perfect reliance in my promises, or whether it was from confidence in the strength of his fort, but the treaty broke off without success. On the
Jan. 28. morning of Tuesday, the 6th of the first Jumāda, I marched from Bahjet Khan's tank, for the purpose of attempting Chanderi by force, and encamped on the banks of the middle tank, which is near the fort.

Bābur's army in Pūrab defeated

The same morning, just as we reached our ground, Khalīfeh brought me a letter or two. The tenor of them was, that the army which had been sent to the eastward (to Pūrab), while marching in disorder, had been attacked and defeated; that it had abandoned Lakhnau, and fallen back to Kanauj I saw that Khalīfeh was in great perturbation and alarm, in consequence of this news. I told him, that alarm or discomposure was of no use; that nothing could happen but by the decrees of God; that as the enterprise in which we were engaged was still unfinished, we had better not speak a word of his intelligence, but attack the fort vigorously next morning, and see what ensued. The enemy had garrisoned every part of the citadel strongly,[b] but had placed only a few men, by ones and twos, in the outer fort, to defend it.[c] This very night my troops entered[d] the outer fort on every side. There being but few people in the place, the resistance was not obstinate They fled, and took shelter in the citadel.

Chanderi taken by storm. Jan 29.

Next morning, being Wednesday, the 7th of the first Jumāda, I commanded the troops to arm themselves, to repair to their posts, and to prepare for an assault, directing that, as soon as I raised my standard and beat my kettle-drum, every man should push on to the assault. I did not intend to display my standard, nor beat the kettle-drum, till we were ready to storm, but went to see[e] Ustād Alī Kulī's battering-cannon play. He discharged three or four shot;

[a] this proposal [b] had garrisoned the citadel only,
[c] to guard against accidents [d] attacked
[e] Not wishing to give the signal before the fight had waxed warm, I whiled away the time by watching

U. P., eighteen miles north-west of Farrukhābād It is said to have been founded by Sultan Shamsuddīn Altamsh in 1228]

but his ground having no slope, and the works being very strong, and entirely of rock, the effect produced was trifling. It has been mentioned, that the citadel of Chanderi is situated on a hill; on one side of it they have made a covered way that runs down to the water[1] The walls of this covered way reach down below[a] the hill, and this is one of the places in which the fort is assailable, with most hopes of success. This spot had been assigned to the right and left of the centre, and to my own household troops, as the object of their attack. The citadel was attacked on all sides, but here with particular vigour. Though the pagans exerted themselves to the utmost, hurling down stones from above, and throwing over flaming substances on their heads, the troops nevertheless persevered, and at length Shāhem Nūr Beg[b] mounted, where the wall of the outer fort joined the wall of the projecting bastion[c] The troops likewise, about the same time, scaled the walls in two or three other places The pagans who were stationed in the covered way took to flight, and that part of the works was taken. They did not defend the upper fort with so much obstinacy, and were quickly put to flight, the assailants climbed up, and entered the upper fort by storm. In a short time the pagans, in a state of complete nudity, rushed out to attack us, put numbers of my people to flight, and leaped over[d] the ramparts Some of our troops were attacked furiously and put to the sword. The reason of this desperate sally from their works was, that, on giving up the place for lost, they had put to death the whole of their wives and women, and, having resolved to perish, had stripped themselves naked, in which condition they had rushed out to the fight, and, engaging with ungovernable desperation, drove our people along the ramparts.[e2] Two or three hundred pagans had entered Medini Rao's house, where numbers of them slew each other, in the following manner: One person took his stand with a sword in his hand, while the others, one

Desperation of the garrison

Massacre of the women

[a] to the foot of
[b] *For* Nūr Beg *read* the centurion
[c] covered way
[d] forced them to leap over
[e] in the end, my troops having pressed them on all sides, drove them over the ramparts

[1] [This lake is now called the Kīrat-sāgar.]
[2] [This is known as the *Jauhar* rite.]

by one, crowded in and stretched out their necks, eager to die. In this way many went to hell, and, by the favour of God, in the space of two or three gharis,[1] I gained this celebrated fort, without raising my standards, or beating
A D 1528. my kettle-drum, and without using the whole strength of my arms.[2] On the top of a hill, to the north-west of Chanderi, I erected a tower of the heads of the pagans. The words *Fateh dār-ul-harb*[3] (the conquest of the city hostile to the faith) were found to contain the date of its conquest. I composed the following verses :[4]

Long was the fort of Chanderi
Full of pagans, and styled the town of hostility and strife,
I stormed and conquered its castle,
And the date is the *Conquest of the castle hostile to the faith*[5]

Description of Chanderi

Chanderi is an excellent country, abounding on every side with running water. Its citadel stands on a hill. In the midst of it they have excavated a large tank out of the rock. Another large tank was in the covered way, that has been mentioned, as the point by which the place was attacked and taken by storm. The houses of all the inhabitants are of stone, and are beautiful and capacious.[a] The houses of the men of consequence are of hewn stone, wrought with great skill and labour. The houses of the lower ranks are wholly of stone, generally not hewn. Instead of tiles, the houses are covered with flag-stones. In front of the fort there are three large tanks. Former governors have thrown up mounds on different sides of it, and formed these tanks. In an elevated situation in this district,

[a] *Omit this clause*

[1] About one hour

[2] [Khāfi Khan, the historian, gives rather a different account of this affair. He affirms that the outer fort was surrendered on condition that the lives of the inhabitants and garrison were to be spared, but that, as the Rājpūts, on leaving the place, had been guilty of some acts of hostility, Bābur's troops cut three or four thousand of them in pieces —*E B.*, p. 483, note.]

[3] [*Dār-ul-harb* (or the Land of Warfare) is a country in which peace has not been proclaimed between Muslims and Unbelievers, and in which the edicts of Islam have not been promulgated —Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*.]

[4] ['And these I inserted in the following quatrain' is P. de C.'s version, which gives a better sense.]

[5] The letters in Fath-i-dār-ul-harb make 934

called Betwi, there is a lake. It is three kos from Chanderi In Hindustān the water of Betwi is famous for its excellence and its agreeable taste. It is a small pretty lake. Little spots of rising ground are scattered about it, affording beautiful sites for houses.[a] Chanderi lies south from Agra ninety kos by the road. It is situated in the 25th degree of north latitude [b]

Next morning, being Thursday, I marched round the fort,[c] and encamped by the tank of Mallū Khan. When I came, it was my design, after the capture of Chanderi, to fall upon Rai Sing,[1] and Bhīlsan,[2] and Sārangpūr, which is a country of the pagans, that belonged to Silāh-ed-dīn the Pagan ; and I intended, after conquering them, to advance to Chitūr[3] against Sanka. On the arrival of the unfavourable news that has been alluded to, I convened the Begs, and held a council, in which it was decided that it was necessary, first of all, to proceed to check the rebellion of the insurgents. I gave Chanderi to Ahmed Shah, who has been mentioned, the grandson of Sultan Nāsir-ed-dīn, and fixed a revenue [4] of fifty laks [5] to be paid from it to the imperial treasury I made Mulla Apāk *shikdar* (or military collector) of the territory, leaving him with two or three thousand Tūrks and Hindustānis to support Ahmed Shah. Jan 30 Bābur resolves to march to the eastward

Having made these arrangements, on Sunday, the 11th of the first Jumāda, I set out from Mallū Khan's[6] tank on my expedition,[d] and halted on the banks of the river of Feb. 2.

[a] Isolated rocks suitable for building purposes lie about it

[b] The altitude of Capricorn at Chanderi is 25 degrees

[c] I withdrew from the precincts of the town, [d] return,

[1] [Raisen is the head-quarters of the eastern district of the Bhopāl State, C I. It played an important part in the history of Mālwa in early days, especially in the Muhammedan period, but is now only a petty town The fort is situated on a spur of the Vindhyas with the town at its foot]

[2] Bhīlsan, or Bhīlsa, is a town and district north-east of Bhopāl, in Mālwa. Sārangpūr lies to the westward of Bhīlsa, north-east from Ujein

[3] Chitūr, or Cheitore, is the capital of the Rāna, or head of the Rājpūt governments It lies in Mewār, south from Ajmīr.

[4] [P de C. translates this ' fine ' in the feudal sense]

[5] About £12,500

[6] [Mallū Khan, an officer of the Khiljī Government, ruled in Mālwa under the title of Qādir Shah (1537–1542 A D)]

Burhānpūr. I dispatched from Bandīr, Yakeh Khwājeh and Jaafer Khwājeh, to bring vessels from Kālpi to the passage at Kanār.[1]

Feb 15 Crosses the Jumna

On Saturday the 24th, having halted at the passage of Kanār, I ordered the troops to lose no time in crossing with all possible speed. At this time I received intelligence, that the detachment which I had sent forward, after abandoning Kanauj, had fallen back to Rāberi, and that a strong force[2] had advanced and stormed the fort of Shamsābād, which had been garrisoned[a] by the troops of Abul Muhammed Nezehbāz.[3] We were detained three or four days on the two banks of the river, while the army was passing Having transported the whole army across, I proceeded, march after march, for Kanauj, and sent on a party of light troops before us, in order to gain intelligence of the enemy. We were still two or three marches from Kanauj, when they returned with information, that, instantly on discovering from a distance the troops who had advanced to reconnoitre, the son of Maarūf had fled from Kanauj and abandoned it, and that Bīban and Bayezīd, as well as Maarūf,[4] on hearing of my motions, had recrossed the Ganges, and occupied the east side of the river opposite to Kanauj, hoping that they would be able to prevent my passage.

Feb. 27 Encamps on the Ganges.

On Thursday, the 6th of the latter Jumāda, I passed Kanauj, and encamped on the western bank of the Ganges. My troops went out and seized a number of the enemies' boats, which they brought in. From above and from below they collected about thirty or forty boats in all, of different sizes I sent Mīr Muhammed Jālehbān to throw a bridge over the river.[b] He accordingly went and marked out a situation, about a kos below our encampment. I appointed

Resolves to force a passage.

[a] fortified

[b] to select a position for a bridge across the river, and to collect all the necessary materials for it

[1] The passage of Kanār, it will be recollected, is a kos or two below the junction of the Jumna and the Chambal.

[2] [i. e. of the enemy] [3] [Lancer]

[4] [Ma'ruf Fermūlī and Nāsir Khan Lohānī were the leaders of the Afghan confederates who supported Sultan Muhammed of Behār]

commissaries to provide everything requisite for the bridge.[a] Near the place pitched on, Ustād Alı Kulı brought a gun for the purpose of cannonading, and having pitched upon a proper spot,[b] began his fire. Bāba Sultan and Derwīsh Sultan, with ten or fifteen men, about evening prayers, crossed over in a boat without any object,[c] and returned back again without fighting, and having done nothing. I reprimanded them severely for having crossed. Malık Kāsım Moghul and a few men passed over once or twice in a boat, and had very creditable affairs with small bodies of the enemy. Having planted a swivel on an island,[d] at a place below where the bridge was constructing, a fire was commenced from it. Higher up than the bridge, a breastwork was raised, over which the matchlockmen fired with great execution.[e] At length Malık Kāsım, with a few men, having defeated a party of the enemy, led away by excess of confidence, pursued them with slaughter up to their camp. The enemy sallied out in great force with an elephant, attacked him, and threw his troops into confusion, driving them back into their boat, and before they could put off, the elephant came up and swamped the boat. Malik Kāsım perished in this affair. For several days, while the bridge was constructing, Ustād Alı Kulı played his gun remarkably well The first day, he discharged it eight times; the second day, sixteen times; and for three or four days he continued firing in the same way. The gun which he fired was that called *Dīg Ghazi*[1] (or the victorious gun). It was the same which had been used in the war with Sanka the Pagan, whence it got this name. Another gun, larger than this, had been planted,

[a] 1 forthwith appointed active and careful overseers, to supervise the operation

[b] in the direction which he considered most suitable,

[c] carried away by misplaced ardour,

[d] Mustafa Rūmi having transported to an island in the river some culverins mounted on gun-carriages,

[e] *The order of the passages from* Bāba Sultan *to* execution *is reversed.*

[1] *Dīg* is now always applied to a mortar They seem, like ourselves, to have taken their name for it from the kitchen The Tūrkı *kāsan* signifies, like *dīg*, a kettle

A D 1528 but it burst at the first fire. The matchlock-men continued actively employed in shooting, and they struck down a number both of men and horses with their shot. Among others, they killed two of the royal slaves, and a number of their horses.[a]

Bābur crosses the Ganges. March 11 March 12

As soon as the bridge was nearly completed, on Wednesday the 19th of the last Jumāda, I moved and took post at the end of it.[b] The Afghans, amazed at our attempt to throw a bridge over the Ganges, treated it with contempt.[c] On Thursday, the bridge being completed, a few of the infantry and Lahōris crossed, and had a slight action with

March 13 the enemy. On Friday, part of my household troops, the right of the centre, the left of the centre, my best troops,[d] and foot musketeers, crossed over. All the Afghans having armed themselves for battle, mounted, and, advancing with their elephants, attacked them. At one time they made an impression on the troops of the left, and drove them back, but the troops of the centre and of the right stood their ground, and finally drove from the field the enemy opposed to them. Two persons, hurried on by their impetuosity, advanced to some distance from the main body of the troops to which they belonged. One of them was dismounted and taken on the spot. Both the other and his horse were wounded in several places. His horse, in a feeble and tottering condition, escaped,[e] and dropped down when it had reached the middle of the party to which it belonged. That day, seven or eight heads were brought in. Many of the enemy were wounded by arrows or matchlocks. The fight continued sharply till afternoon prayers. The whole night was employed in bringing back, across the bridge, such as had passed to the other side. If that same Saturday eve[1] I had carried over the rest of my army, it is probable that most of the enemy would have fallen into our

[a] both some workmen among the slaves, who had run away, and a few travellers with their horses

[b] I prepared to move the camp

[c] The enemy, who believed that our undertaking was still far from completion, laughed at our efforts

[d] *Omit* my best troops,

[e] turned round,

[1] [Or rather Friday evening.]

hands. But it came into my head, that last year I had set out on my march from Sīkrī, to attack Sanka, on New-Year's Day, which fell on a Tuesday, and had overthrown my enemy on a Saturday: this year, we had commenced our march against these enemies on New-Year's Day, which fell upon a Wednesday, and that if we beat them on a Sunday, it would be a remarkable coincidence. On that account I did not march my troops. On Saturday the enemy did not come out to action, but stood afar off, drawn up in order of battle. That day we conveyed over our artillery, and next morning the troops had orders to cross. About the beat of the morning drum, information reached us from the advanced guard, that the enemy had gone off and fled. I commanded Chīn Taimūr Sultan to push on before the army, in pursuit of the enemy, and I appointed Muhammed Alī Jeng-Jeng, Husām-ud-dīn Alī Khalīfeh, Muhibb Alī Khalīfeh, Koki Bāba Kashkeh, Dost Muhammed Bāba Kashkeh,[1] Bāki Tāshkendī, and Walī Kizil, to accompany Sultan, for the purpose of pressing upon and cutting off the enemy; and enjoined them to pay the most implicit obedience to his orders. I also crossed over, about the time of early morning prayers.[2] I directed the camels to be led over by a ford lower down, which had been surveyed.[3] That day, being Sunday, I encamped within a kos of Bangermou[4] on the banks of a pool. The detachment which had been sent on to harass the enemy, had little success.[a] They had halted at Bangermou, and the same day,[5] about noon-day prayers, set out again from that place.[b] Next morning, I encamped by a tank that is in front of Bangermou, and, the same day, Tukhteh Būgha Sultan, a younger son of

March 11.

March 15.

The enemy retire

March 16

[a] had been remiss in their movements

[b] They were still at Bangermādu, whence they did not march till a little after noon-day prayers on that very day

[1] [The second portion of these double names probably denotes the parentage.]

[2] *Sunnet* are the prayers repeated after the first sleep.

[3] [i. e. discovered.]

[4] Bangermou stands on the river of Belgrām, south-east from Kanauj. [Bilgrām is on the river Garrah, a tributary of the Rām-ganga, north-east of Kanauj.]

[5] [He means 'that very day' (Sunday).]

my maternal uncle, the younger Khan, waited upon me.

March 21 On Saturday, the 29th of the latter Jumāda, I reached Lakhnau; and, having surveyed it, passed the river Gūmtī, and encamped. The same day I bathed in the river Gūmtī. I know not whether any water got into my ear, or whether it was the effect of the air,[1] but I became deaf in the right ear, though it was not long very painful.

Bābur passes the Gogra

We were still a march or two from Oudh,[2] when a messenger arrived from Chīn Taimūr Sultan, with intelligence that the enemy were encamped on the other side of the Saru, and that he would require to be reinforced. I dispatched to his assistance a thousand of the best men from the centre,

March 28. under the command of Kazāk. On Saturday, the 7th of Rajeb, I encamped two or three kos above Oudh, at the junction of the Gogra and Saru. Till that day, Sheikh Bayezīd had kept his station, not far from [a] Oudh, on the other side of the Saru. He had sent a letter to Sultan,[3] for the purpose of overreaching him.[b] Sultan having discovered his insincerity, about noon-day prayers sent a person to call Karācheh[4] to his assistance, and began to make preparations for passing the river. When Karācheh had joined Sultan, they passed the river without delay. There were about fifty horse, with three or four elephants, on the other side, who, being unable to stand their ground, took to flight. Our people brought down some of them, and cut off their heads, which they sent me. Bikhūb Sultan, Terdi Beg, Kūch Beg, Bāba Chihreh, and Bāki Shaghāwel, passed the river after Sultan. Those who had passed over first continued till evening prayers in pursuit of Sheikh Bayezīd, who threw himself into a jungle, and escaped. Chīn Taimūr Sultan having halted at night by a pool, mounted again about

[a] opposite [b] opening negotiations with him

[1] [Or 'a chill', according to P. de C.]

[2] [The city of Oudh, or Ayodhya, is situated on the right bank of the Gogra, a few miles below its junction with the Sirju. It is a place of immeasurable antiquity as its extensive ruins bear witness. It is the legendary site of Rāma's birthplace, and as such may be regarded as the Mecca of the Hindus. Ayodhya was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Koshala. It is five miles from the modern city of Faizābād.]

[3] [i. e. Chīn Taimūr Sultan.]

[4] [This is evidently another name for Kazāk mentioned above.]

midnight, and renewed his pursuit of the enemy. After marching forty kos, he came to a place where their families and baggage [a] had been, but they were already in full flight. The light force now divided itself into different bodies; Bāki Shaghāwel with one division, following close upon the enemy, overtook their baggage and families, and brought in a few of the Afghans as prisoners March 29

I halted some days in this station, for the purpose of settling the affairs of Oudh and the neighbouring country, and for making the necessary arrangements. Seven or eight kos above Oudh, on the banks of the river Saru, is the well-known tract called the Hunting-ground.[b] I sent Mīr Muhammed Jālehbān to examine the fords of the rivers Gogra and Saru, which he did. On Thursday, the 12th, I mounted, to set off on a hunting party. April 2.

[The remaining transactions of this year are not to be found in any of the copies which I have met with: nor do the historians of Hindustān throw any light on them.—Editor.[1]]

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 935[2]

On Friday, the 3rd of Muharrem, Askeri,[3] whom, before marching against Chanderi, I had sent for to advise with on the affairs of Multān,[4] having arrived, I received him in my private apartments. A. D. 1528 Sept. 18.

[a] attendants

[b] I had often heard it said that the banks of the Saru, seven or eight kos above Oude, were full of game

[1] [Lane Poole (in his *Bāber*) states that 'after the defeat of the Afghan army, Bāber returned to Agra for the rainy season' Elphinstone (*History of India*) observes that 'Bāber seems to have compelled the Afghan rebels to take refuge in the territories of the King of Bengal, and it was probably during this period that he reduced Southern Behār, but for some months after this Bāber seems to have been in bad health, and to have indulged in a longer course of relaxation than often fell to his lot']

[2] Mr Elphinstone's Tūrki copy here commences again, after a long interval [The Hijri year 935 begins on September 15, A. D. 1528.]

[3] [Askari, Bābur's third son, was governor of the province of Multān and about twelve years old]

[4] [Multān is the head-quarters of a division and district in the Panjāb, situated four miles from the present left bank of the Chenāb As late as Timur's day (1398) the Ravi flowed past the town and

Sept. 19 Next morning Khwānd-Amīr,[1] the historian, Moulāna Shahāb the Enigmatist, and Mīr Ibrahīm, the performer on the *kānūn*,[2] who were intimate friends of[a] Yunis Ali, and had come from Heri a long time before, from a desire to be introduced to me, came, and were introduced.

Sept 20 Bābur visits Gwāliār. About afternoon prayers, on Sunday, the 5th of the month, intending to visit Gwāliār, which in books they write Gāliār, I passed the Jumna, and entered the fort of Agra; and, after having taken leave of Fakher-Jehān Begum and Khadījeh-Sultan Begum, who were both to set out for Kābul in the course of two or three[b] days, I pursued my journey. Muhammed Zemān Mirza, having asked leave, stayed behind in Agra. I travelled four or five kos the same evening, and then I halted, and slept on the banks of the

Sept 21 large tank. We said our prayers next morning earlier than the stated time, and set out; and, having passed the noon of the day on the banks of the river Gambīr,[3] we left that place after noon-day prayers, and at Talkān I drank a medicine which Mulla Rafaa had made for sustaining the spirits, and which I had carried along with me.[c] It was very

[a] who was a kinsman of [b] three or four

[c] On the road, having become fatigued by constant battling against a raging wind, I swallowed, in order to revive my spirits, a medicine in the form of a powder prepared for me by Mulla Raf'a

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joined the Chenāb ten miles lower down It is a town of immense antiquity, and was formerly famous for its Temple of the Sun (*Mulasthān*), the site of which is now occupied by Aurangzeb's mosque It was a place of great importance from the earliest times owing to its strategic position, and legend erroneously connects it with being the capital of the Malloi stormed by Alexander the Great It is now a flourishing trade centre]

[1] [Ghyās ud dīn Muhammed Khondamīr was the celebrated author of the *Khulāsat al akhbār* (1498), and the *Habīb us siyar* (1521), besides many other works He was born in Herat about the year 1475, and left it in 1527 for India, accompanied by Shahāb ud dīn, the punster, and Mirza Ibrahīm, the musician After Bābur's death Khondamīr attached himself to Humāyūn, and died on that emperor's expedition against Bahādur Shah of Gujerāt in 1535. He is buried near the tomb of Nizām ud dīn Aulia, outside Delhi. Shahāb ud dīn, the punster (*Mu'ammai*), was a good poet, and wrote a book of enigmas. He died in the same year as his friend Khondamīr (1535).]

[2] *Kānūni*—the *kānūn* is a large, stringed musical instrument.

[3] [The Gambhīr river flows through the State of Jaipūr and running

nauseous and unpalatable. Afternoon prayers were passed, when I alighted at a garden and palace[a] which I had directed to be laid out, within a kos of Dhūlpūr, to the west. This place, on which I had given orders for building a palace, and laying out a garden, lies on the extremity of the brow[b] of a hill. The steep where the hill terminates, is composed of a solid red stone, fit for hewing. I directed the hill to be cut down as low as the ground, and if a block of solid stone was found of sufficient size to admit of being cut into a house, that it should accordingly be excavated, and hewn into a house; if the stone had not sufficient depth for that purpose, that then they should hew down the rock into a level flat form, and excavate it into a tank. The stone of the hill was found not to be high enough, to admit of a house being excavated, out of a single block. I therefore directed Ustād Shah Muhammed, my stone-cutter, to make an octagonal covered tank on the top of the solid rock, which had been hewn into a platform[c] The stone-cutters were ordered to work incessantly. To the north of the place in[d] which I desired this tank to be hollowed out of the solid rock, there are a number of mango, *jāman*, and of other kinds of trees. In the middle of these trees I had ordered a well to be dug, ten gaz by ten, and it was nearly completed The water of this well flows into the tank that has been mentioned. On the west[d] of this well, Sultan Sikander had raised a mound, on which he had built houses. Above the mound, the waters of the rainy season are collected, and a large tank has been formed.[1] The tank is surrounded by a hill.[e] To the east of the tank[f] I directed that they should hew, out of the solid rock, a platform and seats for resting. I directed a mosque to be built to the west of it.

Reaches Dhūlpūr

Works carrying on

[a] pavilion
[b] spur
[c] by forming a cistern cut out of one piece
[d] north-west
[e] to the east of which there is a garden
[f] in this same direction

along the north boundary of Dhūlpūr joins the Jamna on the right bank below Agra]

[1] [This may be the Machkand tank, which is about two miles from Dhūlpūr]

Sept. 22 and 23

Sept. 24 Crosses the Chambal

I stayed all Tuesday and Wednesday to examine and give directions concerning these works. On Thursday I again set out, and crossed the river Chambal; I spent the time of noon-day prayers on the banks of the river, and, between noon-day and afternoon prayers, again mounted and left the banks of the Chambal; and having passed the river Kawāri between evening and bed-time prayers, I halted. The river was much swelled by the rain; we made them swim our horses across, and we ourselves passed in a wherry.

Sept. 25

Next morning, being Friday, the 10th of Muharrem, the Id-e-Aashūreh,[1] I set out again, and passed the noon at a village on the road.

Reaches Gwāliār, and surveys the place Sept. 26

About bed-time prayers I alighted at a Chārbāgh, a kos from Gwāliār, to the north, which I had last year ordered to be laid out. Next morning, before[a] noon-day prayers, I mounted, and rode out to visit the rising grounds[2] to the north of Gwāliār, and having seen them and the chapels and religious places,[b] I entered Gwāliār by the Hātipūl gate,[3] which is close by Rajah Mānsing's palace, and proceeded to Raja Bikermajīt's palace, where Rahīmdād had resided, and alighted there just as afternoon prayers were over. The same night, on account of the pain in my ear, and as it was moonshine,[4]

Sept. 27

I took some opium. Next morning, the sickness that followed the effects of the opium was very oppressive, and I vomited a good deal. In spite of my sickness, I went over all the palaces of Mānsing and Bikermajīt. They are singularly beautiful palaces, though built in different

The palaces of Mānsing and Bikermajīt

[a] after

[b] the oratory,

[1] *The Feast of the Tenth* [The 'Āshūra was a fast day (not a feast) observed on the 10th of the month of Muharram. It is the only day of the Muharram observed by Sunni Muslims and commemorates the creation of Adam and Eve, Heaven and Hell, and Life and Death.]

[2] [In Thornton's *Gazetteer of India* this rising ground is referred to as 'a conical hill to the north, which is surmounted by a remarkable building of stone', doubtless a Hindu temple.]

[3] [The Hāthiya Pauri, one of the six gates of the north-east entrance, was built by Mān Singh (1486–1516), and was part of his palace.]

[4] The inhabitants of India, and the Persians, believe moonshine to be cold. [Indians are very much afraid of moonstroke, and opium is supposed to counteract its evil effects.]

patches,[a] and without regular plan. They are wholly of hewn stone. The palace of Mānsing[1] is more lofty and splendid than that of any of the other Rajas. One part of the wall of Mānsing's palace fronts the east, and this portion of it is more highly adorned than the rest. It may be about forty or fifty gaz in height, and is entirely of hewn stone. Its front is overlaid with white stucco. The buildings are in many parts four stories in height The two lower floors are very dark, but, after sitting awhile in them, you can see distinctly enough. I went through them, taking a light with me. In one division of this palace, there is a building with five domes, and round about them a number of smaller domes; the small domes are one on each side of the greater, according to the custom of Hindustān.[b] The five large domes are covered with plates of copper gilt The outside of the walls they have inlaid with green painted tiles All around they have inlaid the walls with figures of plantain trees, made of painted tiles. In the tower of the eastern division is the Hātipūl[c] They call an elephant *hāti*, and a gate *pūl*. On the outside of this gate is the figure of an elephant, having two elephant-drivers on it. It is the perfect resemblance of an elephant, and hence the gate is called Hātipūl The lowest story of the house,[2] which is[d] four stories high, has a window that looks towards this figure of an elephant, which is close by it.[e] On its upper story are the same sort of small domes[f] that have been described. In the second story are the sitting apartments. You descend into these apartments,[3] as well as to those last

[a] consisting of scattered groups of buildings,

[b] At each side of this palace there are five domes, between which there are a number of smaller ones, which are four-faced in the fashion of Hindustān

[c] It is under the tower of the eastern façade that the Hātipūl, or Elephant gate, is situated

[d] where it is [e] and from which a near view can be had of it

[f] are the domes

[1] [Mān Singh's palace is also called Chit Mandir, or the Painted Palace, as it was once adorned with painted tiles Bābur describes the palace only twenty years after its completion]

[2] [i. e. Mān Singh's Palace.

[3] The palace seems to have been built on a declivity [According to P. de C. these apartments were underground]

mentioned [a] Though they have had all the ingenuity of Hindustān bestowed on them, yet they are but uncomfortable [b] places. The palace of Bikermajīt,[1] the son of Mānsing, is in the north side of the fort, in the middle of an open piece of ground. The palace of the son does not equal that of the father. There is one large dome, which, however, is very dark; though, after being a while in it, you can contrive to see a little. Below this large dome there is a small house, which receives no direct light from any quarter. On the top of the large dome, Rahīmdād erected a small awning,[c] when he took up his residence in Bikermajīt's palace From Bikermajīt's palace to that of his father is a secret passage, which is not at all visible from without: and even within the palace no entrance to it is seen, the light is admitted in several places. It is a very singular road.

Rahīmdād's college and garden.

Having visited these palaces, I mounted my horse again, and went to the college founded by Rahīmdād. I also walked through the garden which he had formed, on the banks of the large tank, to the south of the fort, and arrived late at the Chārbāgh, where our people were encamped. There were many flowers in this garden, and particularly very fine red *kanīrs* [2] in great numbers. The *kanīrs* of this country resemble the peach flower. The *kanīr* of Gwāliār is red, and of a beautiful colour I took some red *kanīrs* from Gwāliār, and planted them in the gardens at Agra. On the southern hill [d] is a large tank,[3] in which the water that falls in the rainy season is collected. To the west of the tank is a lofty idol temple [4] Sultan Shamseddīn

Idol temple.

[a] which are also situated underground.
[b] airless
[c] pavilion,
[d] On the south of the garden

[1] [The palace of Vikramadītya (1516–26) is between the Mān Singh (1486–1516) and Karan (1454–79) palaces and connected with them by narrow galleries The roof is flat, and has an open pavilion on it which was built in 1516]

[2] [The oleander (*Nerium odorum*)]

[3] [Possibly the Sun tank, which is the largest in the fort and adjoins the Sasbahu temple]

[4] [This may be the Teli Mandir (80 feet), the highest temple in the fort.]

Altamsh built a grand mosque close upon it [1] The idol temple is very high; indeed, it is the highest building in the fort. From the hill of Dhūlpūr, the fort of Gwāliār and this idol temple are distinctly seen. They say that all the stones of the temple were dug out of the great tank. In this little garden an excellent *tālār* (or grand open hall, supported on pillars) has been constructed. Low and inelegant porticos have been erected at the garden-gate, according to the Hindustānī fashion.

Next morning, about noon-day prayers, I mounted, Sept 28
for the purpose of seeing such places about Gwāliār as I had not previously visited, and went to the palace called Bādal-ger,[2] on the outside of Mānsing's fort, after seeing which we entered by the Hātipūl gate, and went to visit a place named Adwa [3] This Adwa is a valley that lies west of the Valley of Adwa
fort. Though it lies on the outside of the wall which is carried round the top of the hill, yet the mouth of the valley is closed up by two lofty ramparts, the one within the other. The height of these works is nearly thirty or forty gaz. The inner rampart is the longest and highest, and is connected at both its extremities with the walls of the fort From the middle of this wall, but lower than it, another rampart has been begun, but is not a perfect defence. It was made as a covered way to a water-run [a] In the middle of it they have made a *waīn*,[4] for the supply of water; a staircase of ten or fifteen steps conducts down to the water. The road passes, from the greater rampart, along the one that has the *waīn* within it. Above its gate is the name of Sultan Shamseddīn Altamsh, sculptured in

[a] In the space comprised between these two ramparts but lower than them, another unfinished wall had been built which was intended to serve as a water channel

[1] [The Jyantī-thora Temple, of which no trace survives, was destroyed by Sultan Shams ud dīn Altamsh in 1232, and this mosque may have been built of its ruins]

[2] [This is probably the palace now known as Gujarnī, which was built by Mān Singh for his favourite wife. It is situated at the foot of the fort in the western half of the outwork called Badalgarh. There are three other palaces in the fort beside those described by Bābur.]

[3] [This is the Urwah Valley, or outwork]

[4] A large well, with apartments round its sides.

A D 1232-3 the stone.[a] Its date is the year 630 Below the outer rampart, on the outside of the fort, is a large tank. It frequently dries up, and is not a perfect tank. The water is led off from it by conduits.[b] In the middle of this Adwa are two other large tanks, which the people of the fort extol above all other waters. On three sides, the hill is a perpendicular rock.[c] The colour of the stone is like that of Biāna, though not so red, being of a paler colour. They have hewn the solid rock of this Adwa,[d] and sculptured out of it idols of larger and smaller size [2] On the south part of it is a large idol, which may be about twenty gaz[3] in height These figures are perfectly naked, without even a rag to cover the parts of generation Around the two large tanks which are within the Adwa, they have dug twenty or twenty-five wells,[4] from which water is drawn for the purposes of irrigation, and they have planted numbers of trees and flowers, that are supplied from hence. Adwa is far from being a mean place . on the contrary, it is extremely pleasant. Its greatest fault consists in the idol figures all about it. I directed these idols to be destroyed. On returning back from Adwa into the fort, I went to the

[a] Above the gate, which leads from the larger rampart to the wall that encloses the *watīn*, is sculptured in stone the name of Sultan Shams ud dīn Altamsh

[b] It frequently gets low and dries up Its contents fall into the (covered) water channel

[c] the valley (Urwah) consists of perpendicular rocks

[d] They have hewn the rocks, which rise up at the sides of the Adwa, out of the solid,

[1] [This is probably the Urwah Gate leading into the fort from the Urwah outwork Bābur refers to it later as the Sultan pol Shams ud dīn Altamsh (1211-36) must have built this gate three years before his death (1233)]

[2] [The Rock Sculptures of Gwāliār, according to Sir A Cunningham, are unique in northern India, as well for their number as for their gigantic size They are divided by that archaeologist into five groups, one of the most important of which is the Urwāhi series, situated on the south side of the Urwah (Adwa) Valley. These sculptures, according to the same authority, are of Jain origin, and date from about 1467, or sixty years before their mutilation by Bābur's orders]

[3] [Fifty-seven feet]

[4] [The wells in the Urwah quarter still supply the only good drinking water in the fort]

Sultan-pūl, the gate of which had been shut up from the time of the pagans; and, about evening prayers, arrived in a garden which Rahīmdād had laid out, where I alighted and spent the night

Next day, being Tuesday the 14th, messengers arrived from Bikermajīt, the second son of Rāna Sanka, who, with his mother Padmāwatī, was in Rantambhor. Before setting out to visit Gwāhār, a person[a] had come from a Hindu named Asūk, who was high in Bikermajīt's confidence, with offers of submission and allegiance, expressing a hope that he would be allowed seventy laks[1] as an annuity. The bargain was concluded, and it was settled that, on delivering up the fort of Rantambhor, he should have pergannas assigned him equal to what he had asked. After making this arrangement, I sent back his messengers. When I went to survey Gwāhār, I made an appointment to meet his men in Gwāliār. They were several days later than the appointed time. Asūk, the Hindu, had himself been with Padmāwatī,[b] Bikermajīt's mother, and had explained to the mother and son everything that had passed. They approved of Asūk's proceedings, and agreed to make the proper submissions, and to rank themselves among my subjects. When Rāna Sanka defeated Sultan Mahmūd and made him prisoner,[2] the Sultan had on a splendid crown-cap[3] and golden girdle, which fell into the hands of the pagan, who, when he set Sultan Mahmūd at liberty, retained them. They were now with Bikermajīt. His elder brother Rattansen, who had succeeded his father as Rāna, and who was now in possession of Chitūr, had sent to desire his younger brother to deliver them up to him, which he refused to do. By the persons who came from him to wait on me, he now sent[c] me this crown and golden girdle, and asked Biāna in exchange for Rantambhor. I diverted them from their demand of Biāna, and Shamsābād was fixed on as the equivalent for Rantambhor. The same day I bestowed

Bikermajīt agrees to surrender Rantambhor Sept 29.

[a] emissaries
[b] who was a near relation of Padmāvatī,
[c] promised

[1] About £17,500
[2] [1519.]
[3] [Jewelled fillet, or headband.]

dresses of honour on his people, and dismissed them, after making an appointment for a meeting at Biāna in nine days.

Pagan sculpture at Gwāliār

I went from the garden to visit the idol temples of Gwāliār. Many of them are two and three stories high. The different stories are very low, in the ancient fashion. In the screen and lower parts of the building are the figures of idols sculptured out of the stone. There are a number of idol chapels around, like the cells of a college. In front is a large and lofty dome. Its apartments[a] resemble those of a college. Above each apartment are very narrow domes cut out of the rock.[b] In the lower apartments, they have hewn images out of the stone.[1] After viewing the edifices, I went out by the west gate of Gwāliār, and proceeding to the south of the fort, after examining the ground, reached the Chārbāgh which Rahīmdād had laid out before the Hātipūl gate, and there dismounted. Rahīmdād had prepared an entertainment for me at the Chārbāgh. He gave me an excellent dinner, and afterwards presented me with a large *peshkesh*, to the amount of four laks in money and goods. From this Chārbāgh, I arrived late at the Chārbāgh where I had my quarters

Waterfall. Sept 30

On Wednesday the 15th, I set out to visit a waterfall, which lies about six kos to the south-east of Gwāliār I had left my ground early in the morning, and reached the waterfall after noon-day prayers.[c] The torrent, which is large enough to turn a mill, rushes right over a perpendicular

[a] cells

[b] Some of these idol temples are arranged like a college The hall, which encloses the idols, is surmounted by a large and lofty dome, and just as in a college, each of the cells that are attached to it has a cupola of carved stone

[c] As I had started rather late I did not reach my destination till well after noon

[1] [Sir A. Cunningham wrote a very interesting account of the antiquities of Gwāliār, to which I am indebted for the preceding notes There are ten temples now extant in the fort, the most important of which are the larger Sasbabu (1093), the finest of all, and the Teli Mandir, the highest, the smaller Sasbabu, and the Chaturbhuj (876). These are all of Hindu style except one (built about 1108), which is Jain.]

rock of the height of a horse-tether.[1] Lower down than this waterfall is a large tank Farther up than the cascade, the water comes rushing down over a solid rock The stream runs on a bottom of solid rock ; in various places tanks have been formed, which are supplied from hence [a] Along the banks of the stream, scattered about, there are fragments of solid rock proper for seats , the water, however, does not always flow. We sat down above the waterfall and took a maajūn ; after which we ascended the rivulet to its source, and came back again , we then mounted a rising ground, where we remained some time, while the musicians played and the singers sang. Such as had never seen the ebony-tree, which the inhabitants of the country call *tindū*, had now an opportunity of seeing it Leaving that spot, we descended the hill, and mounting our horses between the time of evening and bed-time prayers, about midnight reached a place where we slept. Nearly a watch of the day was past [2] before I reached the Chārbāgh and had alighted Oct 1

On Friday the 17th, I visited Sukhjāneh the birthplace of Sīlāheddīn [3] Above the village, between the hill and valley,[b] is the lime and *sītāphal* [4] (or custard-apple) garden, which I walked through, and returned to the camp in the course of the first watch Sukhjāneh Oct 2

On Sunday the 19th, before dawn, I set out from the Chārbāgh, and having passed the Kawārī,[5] and halted during the noontide, about noon-day prayers [c] we again mounted, and having crossed the Chambal at sunset, reached the Fort of Dhūlpūr between evening and bed-time prayers ; I visited, by the light of a lantern, the bath built by Abul Fateh, and then rode to the place in which I had Oct 4 Bābur leaves Gwālīār. Revisits Dhūlpūr

[a] The water flows in a single channel, which runs along a bed formed out of the solid rock, and forms pools wherever it falls

[b] Situated in a high valley among the mountains

[c] had lunch, and after midday prayers

[1] That is seven or eight gaz

[2] [About 6 a m]

[3] [Silhaddi, the Raja of Raisen and son-in-law of Rāna Sanka, was a member of the Hindu Confederacy that fought Bābur at Kānwā]

[4] [*Anona squamosa*]

[The river Kohārī is a tributary of the Chambal, into which it flows just above its junction with the Jamna.]

directed a new Chārbāgh to be laid out, above the water
Oct 5. mound,[a] where I halted. Next morning I visited the works
Revisits his improvements which I had given orders for carrying on. Even the levels of the edges of the covered tank, which I had directed to be hollowed out of the rock, had not been completely taken.[b] I ordered a number of stone-cutters to be employed to cut down the tank to a certain depth, that, by filling it with water, they might be able to level its edges. When afternoon prayers were over, a small part of the tank had already been hollowed.[c] I directed it to be filled with water, and, taking that as their level, to smooth the edges. On this occasion I directed a water-house[1] to be hewn out of the rock, and a small tank to be hewn within it, also out of the solid rock. This Monday I had a maajūn party. On Tuesday
Oct. 6 I remained in the same place. On the eve of Wednesday I broke my fast, and ate a little. Having mounted to go to
Oct 7 Sīkri, about noon[d] I alighted and lay down. I felt evident symptoms of having caught cold in my ear. That night it
Oct 8 was very painful, and I was unable to sleep.[e] Early next morning I again set out, and having, in the course of one
Visits Sīkri. watch, reached the garden which I had formed at Sīkri, I alighted. The walls of the garden, and the buildings in the well, not having been completed to my satisfaction, I menaced and punished the overseers of the work. Mounting between afternoon and evening prayers, I left Sīkri; and, after passing Madhākūr, alighted and took some rest: after
Reaches Agra Oct 9. which, setting out again, I reached Agra after[f] the first watch, and went to the fort, where I waited on Khadījeh Sultan Begum, who, when Fakher-Jehān Begum[2] went away, had stayed behind on account of various affairs and business; I then crossed the Jumna, and alighted at the garden of Hasht-Behisht.

[a] near the dam, [b] excavation had not been completed
[c] It was not till late in the afternoon that the bottom (of the tank) was completely finished [d] midnight
[e] I do not know if I caught cold in my ear, but I can only attribute to this the pain that I suffered all night, which prevented me from sleeping. [f] in the course of

[1] *Khāneh-āb*

[2] [These ladies were both daughters of Abū Sa'īd Mirza and paternal aunts of Bābur.]

On Saturday, the 3rd of the month of Safer, three of my paternal aunts, Begums of high rank, Gauhar-Shād Begum, Badī ul jamāl Begum, and Ak Begum,[1] and of the Begums of inferior rank, Khan-zādeh Begum, the daughter of Sultan Masaūd Mirza, another, who was the daughter of Sultan Bakht Begum, and another, by name Zeinab Sultan Begum, the grand-daughter of Bikeh[2] Chīcham, having passed Tūteh, on their way to my court, had halted on the extremity of the suburbs, close by the banks of the river. I went and waited on them between afternoon and evening prayers, and returned back in a boat Oct. 17.

On Monday, the 5th of Safer, I sent the first envoy of Bikermajīt, and the one whom he had sent last, accompanied by Hawesi,[a] the son of Diureh, a Hindu of Behreh, who had long been in my service, to receive the surrender of Rantambhor, to accept his promise of allegiance, and to complete the treaty according to all their own forms and usages. This person was directed to go and make whatever observations he could, after which he was to return to me, with such information as he acquired[b] If the young prince stood to his terms, I agreed with him, that, by the blessing of God, I would make him Rāna in his father's place, and establish him in Chitūr. Oct. 19 Sends to occupy Rantambhor.

At this crisis, the treasures of Delhi and Agra that had been collected by Iskander and Ibrahīm being expended, and it being necessary to furnish equipments for the army, gunpowder for the service of the guns, and pay for the artillery and matchlock-men, on Thursday, the 8th of Safer, I gave orders, that in all departments, every man having an office,[c] should bring a hundred and thirty instead of a hundred,[3] to the Diwān, to be applied to the procuring and fitting out the proper arms and supplies. Increases the taxes Oct. 22. A. D. 1528

[a] Mūsa,

[b] having made himself sure of everything [c] annuity,

[1] [These ladies, as well as Bakht Begum, were also daughters of Abū Sa'īd Mirza.]

[2] [P. de C. reads *Yanga* (uncle's wife). There is an interesting note in Mrs Beveridge's edition of the *Humāyūn nāmeh*, p. 107, on the subject of this puzzling word Chīcham = my maternal aunt.]

[3] This appears to be an addition of 30 per cent. to the old taxes [Dīvān was the public treasury.]

Oct 21 Intends marching to Khorasān

On Saturday the 10th, one Shah Kāsim, a runner of Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi, whom, on a former occasion, I had sent with letters, offering protection and security to the natives of Khorasān, was again dispatched with letters[a] to the following effect that, by the favour of God, I had completely triumphed over the rebels on the east and west of Hindustān, as well as over the pagans That next spring, God willing, I would make an effort, and return in person to Kābul[b] I likewise sent a letter to Ahmed Afshār, and, on the margin, made a noting with my own hand, in which I sent for Ferīdūn Kabūzi.[1] That same day about noon-day prayers, I began to take quick-silver[2]

Affairs of Kābul and Khorasān August 26

On Wednesday, the 21st, a Hindustāni runner brought letters from Kāmrān and Khwājeh Dost Khāwend. Khwājeh Dost Khāwend had reached Kābul on the 10th of Zilhijeh, and had set out to meet Humāiūn[3] At that time, a man sent by Kāmrān reached the Khwājeh,[c] desiring him to remain,[d] that he might deliver to Kāmrān personally whatever orders he had brought, and to say, that after communicating such information as he possessed, he would be allowed to proceed on his journey On the

Sept 2 17th of Zilhijeh, Kāmrān arrived in Kābul, and, after

Sept. 13. having conferred with him, the Khwājeh on the 28th took his leave, and proceeded for the fort of Zafer. These letters contained the pleasing intelligence, that prince Tahmāsp[4] having marched to oppose the Uzbeks, had taken Rīnish[5] the Uzbek in Damghān, and put him, with all his men, to the sword, that Obeidullah Khan,[6] on hearing of the motions of the Kizilbāshes, had raised

[a] *Add* to Herat [b] push forward [c] *Add* at Hūpiān,
[d] come to him,

[1] The *Kabūz* is a sort of guitar, on which Ferīdūn was a celebrated performer

[2] Quick-silver, in its liquid state, has been long used in India, for removing obstructions in the bowels

[3] At this time Humāiūn was at the fort of Zafer, in Badakhshān, and Kāmrān in Ghazni. [4] The King of Persia

[5] [Rīnish Bahādur Khān was the Governor of Asterābād for Obeidullah Khan]

[6] [Obeidullah Khan was nephew of Shaibānī Khan]

the siege of Herī, and retreated to Merv, from whence he had sent to invite the Sultans of Samarkand and the neighbouring countries to join him, and that the whole Sultans of Māweralnaher were, in consequence, repairing to that city to his assistance The same runner brought the farther news, that Humāiūn had got a son, by the daughter of Yādgār Taghāī [1]; and that Kāmrān had married in Kābul, having taken to wife the daughter of his maternal cousin,[a] Sultan Alī Mirza.

The same day I bestowed on Syed Dakni Shirāzī, the water finder,[2] a dress of honour, made him a present, and appointed him to the charge of my jets d'eau and artificial water-works,[b] at the same time giving him instructions to complete certain of them in his most perfect style.[c]

On Friday the 23rd, I was seized with so violent an illness,[d] that I was scarcely able to complete my Friday's prayers in the mosque. About noon-day prayers, having gone into my library, I found myself so ill, that it was with difficulty[e] that I could finish my prayers Two days after, on Sunday, I had a fever and shivering On the night of Tuesday, the 27th of Zafer, I turned over in my mind the plan of translating into verse the tract in honour of the parents of the reverend Khwājeh Obeid [3] Placing my confidence in the soul [f] of the venerable Khwājeh,[4] I indulged a hope, that perhaps his reverence might be induced to receive my poem favourably, and to remove my disease,[g] as he had done[h] with the writer of the *kasīdeh*, who, when he presented his *kasīdeh*, had his offering

Bābur attacked with a fever. Nov 6.

Nov. 8

Nov 10.

[a] uncle,

[b] *Omit this clause*

[c] and directed him to use all his skill in bringing to a successful conclusion the work of making a well hewn out of the solid rock

[d] inflammation in the bowels,

[e] *Add* and after the lapse of some time

[f] intercession

[g] that if he deigned to accept the homage of this poem, my recovery would be a visible sign of his satisfaction,

[h] as was the case

[1] [Bega Begum The son's name is given further on as Al Amān.]

[2] *Ab-jū*—perhaps the term only means hydraulic engineer [This term is omitted in P. de C.'s version.]

[3] [This is the *Risālah-i-wālidiyah* of Khwāja 'Ubeidullah Ahrār, who had died in 1491.]

[4] Here, unfortunately, Mr Elphinstone's Tūrkī copy finally ends

accepted with favour, and was delivered from his palsy.[a 1] In pursuance of this vow, I began a poem in the six feet *majnūn* metre; the measure, *zarb gāh, abter gāh, makhbūn mahzūf*,[2] being the same in which the *Sabhat*[3] of Moulavi Abdal-rahmān Jāmi is composed, and the same evening I wrote thirteen couplets. I tasked myself to compose a certain number of couplets, never less than ten daily. I only omitted writing for a single day. Last year, and, indeed, every time that I have been attacked by the disease, it has lasted a month, or forty days, or upwards. By the mercy of God, through the influence of the venerable

Nov. 12 Khwājeh, on Thursday, the 29th, the violence of the distemper was abated, and I was again delivered from

Nov 21 the disease. On Saturday, the 8th of the first Rabi, I completed my poetical version of the tract. I had composed every day, on an average, fifty-two couplets.[b]

Nov 11 Summons his troops to assemble

On Wednesday, the 28th of Safer, I dispatched notice to my troops on every side, that in a short time, God willing, I would take the field with the army. That they were immediately to get their arms and accoutrements in readiness, and to meet me with all speed.

Nov 22, 1528 Oct 1527

On Sunday, the 9th of the first Rabi, Beg Muhammed Tālikchi waited on me. Last year, in the end of Muharrem, he had been sent to carry a dress of honour and a horse to Humāiūn.

Affairs of Khorasān Nov 23, 1528.

On Monday the 10th, Beg Kīneh, Weis Lāgheri,[c] and Bīān Sheikh, one of Humāiūn's servants, arrived from that prince. Beg Kīneh had come for the purpose of announcing the happy news of the birth of Humāiūn's

[a] paralysis [b] In a single day I had composed fifty-two couplets
[c] Begīneh Wais Lāgheri [= Begīneh son of Wais Lāgheri]

[1] [The reference is to the Mantle-poem (*Burdah*) of Sharaf ud dīn al Busīrī (1213–96), but that was composed in praise of the Prophet Muhammed, who cured him of paralysis.]

[2] [The translation here is meaningless. In P de C.'s version the sentence runs as follows 'in the six foot (*musaddas*) Ramal metre, in which the last foot of the first hemistich is *makhbūn*, and that of the second hemistich *makhbūn ı mahzūf*' (i.e. —∪— — | —∪— — | ∪∪— |)]

[3] [The *Sabhat ul abrār* was part of the *Haft aurang* of the poet Jāmī (1414–92)]

son. They had given him the name of Al amān. Sheikh Abul Wajd discovered the date of his birth, in the words *Shah Saādetmand* (the fortunate king).[1] Biān Sheikh had set out long after Beg Kīneh. He had left Humāiūn below Kishem,[2] at a place called Dūshambeh, on Friday the 9th Oct 23
of Safer; and on Monday, the 10th of the first Rabi, he Nov 23
reached Agra, having made a very quick journey. The same Biān Sheikh, on another occasion, had gone from the fort of Zafer to Kandahār in eleven days. Biān Sheikh brought intelligence of the advance of the prince, and of the defeat of the Uzbeks. The particulars were these: Prince Tahmāsp[3] had advanced out of Irāk with forty thousand men, disciplined after the Turkish fashion, with an artillery and body of musketeers, had marched on with great expedition, had arrived at Bostām and Damghān, had [a] taken Rīnish the Uzbek, and put [b] the whole of his people to death; after which he rapidly pursued his march. Kamber Ali Bī, the son of Kīpek Bī, was also routed by the Kizilbāshes, and, accompanied by a few of his men, had taken refuge with Obeid Khan, who, not seeing any prospect of being able, by his own strength, to keep his ground near Heri, dispatched persons in great haste to call the Khans and Sultans of Balkh, Hissār, A. D. 1528
Samarkand, and Tāshkend, to come to his assistance, while he himself retired to Merv. These princes collected their forces with great expedition. From Tāshkend, Sūnjek Khan, the second [c] son of Bārak Sultan; from Samarkand and Miān-kāl,[4] Kūchim Khan,[5] Abūsaīd Sultan,

[a] where he had [b] *Add* him and [c] younger

[1] [This chronogram gives the date 934 (1527-8)]

[2] [Kishm is a town in Badakhshān, situated south-west of Faizābād on a small affluent of the Kokcha river]

[3] Shah Ismāel had died in 1524, and was succeeded by his son Prince Tahmāsp, then only ten years of age At the time when this great battle was fought, he was only fifteen Though he was the reigning King of Persia, Bābur continues still to call him the *Shah-zādeh*, or Prince, from the force of habit, or from his having mounted the throne at so early an age.

[4] Miān-kāl is the country nearly in the middle between Samarkand and Bokhāra, on the Kohik

[5] [Kūchim Khan, son of Abul Khair, had been elected supreme

and Pulād Sultan, accompanied by the sons of Jān Beg Khan [a 1]; from Hissār, the sons of Hamzeh Sultan and Mahdi Sultan, from Balkh, Kitīn Kara Sultan, all advanced without loss of time, and joined Obeid Khan in Merv, forming an army of a hundred and five thousand men. Their scouts brought them information, that Prince Tahmāsp, having understood that Obeid Khan was encamped with a few troops in the vicinity of Heri, had at first pushed on with forty thousand men to fall upon them; but that, on learning the particulars of the armament and assembling of their troops, he had entrenched himself in the Auleng Zādegan,[2] where he now lay. On receiving this information, the Uzbeks, despising their enemy, came to a resolution that the whole of their Khans and Sultans should encamp at Meshhed, except a few Sultans, with twenty thousand men, who should be pushed on close to the Kizilbāshes' camp, and should not permit them to show their heads out of their trenches. That they should then direct their enchanters [3] to use their enchantments [b]; and that thus the enemy being shut up, and [c] reduced to the greatest difficulties, must fall into their hands. In pursuance of this resolution they marched from Merv. The prince, on his part, leaving Meshhed, encountered them near Jām [4] and Khirgird, when the Uzbeks were defeated. Many Sultans were taken prisoners and put to death In one of the letters it was mentioned, that there was no certain intelligence of the escape of any Sultan except Kūchim Khan, as no person

[a] accompanied by Jāni Beg Sultan and his sons

[b] *Add* when the sun had entered the sign of Scorpio

[c] *Omit* being shut up, and

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khan of the Uzbegs in 1510 Suyūnjak, Pulād, and Abū Sa'īd were his sons.—*E B*, p 309, and *Humāyūn nāmeh*, p 264]

[1] [Jānī Beg, Shaibānī Khan's cousin, was chief of Andejān.]

[2] [This is probably meant for Radegān, which is a place marked on Sykes's map of Persia as fifty miles north-west of Mashad in Khorasān]

[3] [Or, rather, according to P. de C, 'to work enchantments with the *Yadah*, or rain-producing stone']

[4] [Jām (the modern Turbat i Sheikh i Jām) is a town situated in Khorasān on the Jām river between Mashad and Herat.]

who had been in the army was yet arrived. The Sultans who were in Hissār abandoned the place and retired, leaving in it Chalmeh, whose original name was Ismāel, the son of Ibrahīm Jāni. I wrote letters to Humāiūn and Kāmrān, to be dispatched [a] by the hands of the same Biān Sheikh, who has been mentioned.

On Friday the 14th, having got ready all the letters and dispatches, they were delivered to Biān Sheikh, who took leave. Nov. 27.

On Saturday the 15th, I [1] set out from Agra. Nov 28.

Copy of the Letter sent to Humāiūn

To Humāiūn, whom I remember with much longing to see him again, health, on Saturday,[2] the first of the former Rabi, Biān Sheikh arrived in company with Beg Kīneh, and the letters which he brought made me acquainted with all the transactions in your quarter.[b] Thanks be to God, who has given you a child; he has given to you a child, and to me a comfort and an object of love. May the Almighty always continue to grant to you and to me the enjoyment of such objects of our heart's desire! Amen, O Lord of the Two Worlds! You have called him Al amān, may the Almighty prosper what you have done. You who are seated on a throne ought to know,[c] that people in general pronounce it, some Al amān (the protected), some Ilāman (protected by men[3]). And besides, that there are few names which are preceded by Al (the). May the Great Creator grant, that both in his name and in his constitution, he may be happy and fortunate; and may He bestow on me and on thee many years and many

Bābur's letter to Humāiūn Nov 13

[a] *Add* post haste

[b] on this side and on that [i e on both sides of the Hindu Kūsh]

[c] But what you have not considered, though you have written it with your own hand, is

[1] [Or rather, according to P de C, 'he' (i e Bayān Sheikh)]

[2] Above, it is said Monday the 10th of former Rabi (November 23), which is correct.

[3] [P. de C explains that *al amān*, an Arabic word, means protection and that *alāman* and *ilāman* are two Turki words signifying respectively *plunderer* and *I do not feel*]

kerns,[1] rendered happy by the fortune and fame of Al amān.[a] Indeed, the Almighty, from his grace and bounty, hath accomplished our desires in a manner not to be paralleled in the revolution of time.

Nov 24 On Tuesday, the 11th of the month, having received some information that the men of Balkh had invited Kurbān, and introduced him into the city, I sent orders to my son Kāmrān and the Begs at Kābul to march and form a junction with you,[2] when you might proceed to Hissār, Samarkand, or Merv,[3] as might be deemed most advisable; hoping, that through the mercy of God, you might be enabled to disperse the enemy, occupy their countries, and make your friends rejoice in the complete discomfiture of your foes. With God's favour, this is the season for you to expose yourself to danger and hardship, and to exert your prowess in arms. Fail not to exert yourself strenuously to meet every situation as it occurs, for indolence and ease suit but ill with royalty

(*Persian verse*)—Ambition admits not of inaction,
The world is his who exerts himself,
In wisdom's eye, every condition
May find repose, but royalty alone[b]

—If, through the divine favour, you subdue and secure Balkh and Hissār, your men must have the charge of Hissār, while Kāmrān's remain in Balkh. If the grace of the Most High bestow Samarkand also upon us, you must take the reins of government in Samarkand; God willing, I shall make that country[4] an imperial government.[c] If Kāmrān thinks Balkh too small a government, let me know, and I will, by the divine grace, remove his objection, by adding something from the neighbouring

[a] Be that as it may! May God bless the name, and him who bears it! May He grant to me and you long life, and crown Al amān with every kind of welfare for many generations!

[b] In every thing the vigilance of the master may sometimes be relaxed save when he is a king

[c] I shall make Hissār a crown domain

[1] A *kern* is a Tūrki period of thirty-one years [= a generation]

[2] Humāiūn was at this time in Badakhshān

[3] [P. de C. has Herāt]

[4] [Hissār, according to P. de C.]

territories. You know that you always receive six parts, and Kāmrān five; you must always attend to this rule, and unfailingly observe it. Remember too always to act handsomely by him.[a] The great should exercise self-command[b]; and I do hope that you will always maintain a good understanding with him. Your brother, on his side, is a correct[c] and worthy young man, and he must be careful to maintain the proper respect and fidelity due to you.

I have some quarrels to settle with you.[d] For two or three years past, none of your people has waited on me from you, and the messenger whom I sent to you did not come back to me for a twelvemonth. This, remember, is undeniable.[e]

In many of your letters you complain of separation from your friends. It is wrong for a prince to indulge in such a complaint,[f] for there is a saying:

(*Persian verse*)—If you are fettered by your situation, submit to circumstances.
If you are independent, follow your own fancy [1]

There is no greater bondage than that in which a king is placed, and it ill becomes him to complain of inevitable separation.[g] A.D. 1528

In compliance with my wishes, you have indeed written me letters, but you certainly never read them over; for had you attempted to read them, you must have found it absolutely impossible, and would then undoubtedly have put them by.[h] I contrived indeed to decipher and comprehend the meaning of your last letter, but with much

[a] remain on the best of terms with him
[b] should exercise magnanimity, [c] sensible
[d] I have one remark to make to you [e] Is this so or not?
[f] You express a wish to be alone, but it is wrong for a king to express such a wish,
[g] and the independence that results from retirement is incompatible with royalty
[h] and, recognizing your own inability, would have tried to improve them

[1] [This is a quotation from the *Bostān* of Sa'dī, chapter i, line 44]

difficulty. It is excessively confused and crabbed.[a] Who ever saw a *muamma* (a riddle or a charade) in prose? Your spelling is not bad, yet not quite correct. You have written *iltafāt* with a *toe* (instead of a *te*), and *kulang* with a *be* (instead of a *kāf*). Your letter may indeed be read[b]; but in consequence of the far-fetched words you have employed, the meaning is by no means very intelligible. You certainly do not excel in letter-writing, and fail chiefly because you have too great a desire to show your acquirements.[c] For the future, you should write unaffectedly, with clearness, using plain words, which would cost less trouble both to the writer and reader.

You are now going to set out on an expedition[1] of great importance; you should therefore consult with the most prudent and experienced of the noblemen about you, and guide yourself by their advice.

If you are desirous of gaining my approbation, you must not waste your time in private parties, but rather indulge in liberal conversation and frank intercourse with all about you.[d] Twice every day, you must call your brothers[e] and Begs to your presence, not leaving their attendance to their own discretion; and after consulting with them about any business that occurs, you must finally act as may be decided to be most advisable.[f]

I have formerly told you that you should live on the most confidential footing with Khwājeh Kalān[g]; you may act in regard to him with the same unrestrained confidence that you have seen me do. By the mercy of God, the business of the country around you may by and by become

[a] Apart from the fact that your writing can only be deciphered with difficulty, your style is quite obscure

[b] *Add* if it is gone over several times,

[c] Your remissness in writing is certainly due to your inexperience, and the absence of clarity in your style is the result of your affectation.

[d] If you wish to please me you should relinquish your taste for retirement, and the unsociableness that induces you to avoid society

[e] brother

[f] in accordance with the advice of those sincere friends

[g] Khwāja Kalān has always lived with me on a footing of complete intimacy,

[1] To drive the Uzbeks out of Balkh, Hissār, &c.

less oppressive,[a] and you may not require Kāmrān. In that case, your brother may leave some of his trusty men in Balkh, and himself repair to me.

During the time that I resided in Kābul, I transacted much momentous business, and gained many important victories; on which account, considering the place as lucky, I have chosen it for an imperial domain.[b] Neither of you must in any respect aim at the possession of it.

You must attempt, by the utmost courtesy of manners, to gain the heart of Sultan Weis, and to have him about you, and to direct yourself by his judgement, as he is a prudent and experienced man.

You must pay every attention to the discipline and efficient state of the army [c]

Biān Sheikh is acquainted with everything, and will be able to give you what verbal information you may require [d]

I once more repeat my earnest wishes for your health.[e]

Written on Thursday, the 13th of the first Rabi.[1] Nov 26

I likewise sent Kāmrān and Khwājeh Kalān letters to the same effect, written with my own hand.

On Wednesday the 19th, I convened the Mirzas, and Sultans, and Tūrki and Hindi Begs, and having consulted with them, finally settled that this year I should march somewhere or other at the head of my army [f]; that before I set out, Askeri [2] should advance towards Pūrab (or the East Provinces); that, after the Amīrs and Sultans beyond the Ganges had brought their troops and joined Askeri, I might then march on any expedition that seemed to me

Dec. 2 Bābur sends Askeri to the eastern provinces

[a] demand less attention,

[b] The many victories and triumphs that were won while I was at Kābul have decided me to reserve it as a crown domain

[c] Never neglect to keep your troops collected round you

[d] Biān Sheikh, to whom I have communicated many things by word of mouth, will inform you of them orally

[e] Farewell and au-revoir

[f] the army should move in some direction;

[1] In the Persian translation of the Memoirs, this letter is given in the original Tūrki, without translation

[2] Askeri was one of Bābur's sons. [Four of Bābur's sons survived him, viz Humāyūn, Kāmrān, Askarī, and Hindāl. Askarī at this time was only twelve years old.]

to be best.[a] Having written to communicate these plans,
Dec. 5. on Saturday the 22nd, I dispatched Ghīaseddīn Korchi to Sultan Juneid Birlās, and the Amīrs of the Pūrab,[b] requiring them to meet me in twenty-two[c] days; I instructed him verbally to inform them, that I would send on to Askeri the artillery, guns, and matchlocks, and all kinds of warlike arms and ammunition, to be ready before the troops could take the field[d]; and orders were given to all Amīrs and Sultans on the farther side of the Ganges to join Askeri, and march wherever, under the favour of God, it might seem expedient. That they should consult my partisans in that quarter, whether there were any affairs there that required my presence; that if there were, immediately on the return of the officer who had gone to summon the chiefs to the appointed meeting, I would, God willing, mount without delay, and join the army. But if the Bengalis were peaceable and quiet, and if there was no matter, in that quarter, of such importance as to demand my presence, that they should inform me by letter,[e] as, in that case, I would halt, and turn my force in some other direction.[f] That my adherents and friends must also consult with Askeri,[g] and, with the divine blessing, decide on the general course expedient to be followed in that quarter.

Dec. 12. On Saturday the 29th of the first Rabīa, I presented Askeri with a dagger enriched with precious stones, a belt, and a complete royal dress of honour; gave him the standard, the horsetail, the kettle-drum, and a stud of Tipchāk horses, ten elephants, a string of camels, a string of mules, and a royal equipage and camp-furniture, commanding him withal to take his seat at the head of a hall of state. I gave Mulla Dudu Atkeh a pair of buskins

[a] they should march in whatever direction seemed best.

[b] *Add* of whom he was the chief,

[c] sixteen

[d] that Askari had been sent on in advance, while the guns, wagons, matchlocks, and all the military equipage were being got ready,

[e] plainly,

[f] rather than remain an idle spectator of events I would march my force elsewhere

[g] That having consulted my well-wishers, they should welcome Askari,

ornamented with rich buttons,[a] and presented his other servants with thrice nine vests.[1]

On Sunday, the last day of the month, I went to Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi's house. The streets were spread with rich stuffs, and he brought and offered me a *sāchāk*, or formal present [b]; the *peshkesh*, or tributary offering, which he presented, in money and effects, exceeded two laks.[2] After dining and receiving this *peshkesh*, we retired into another apartment, where we sat down and indulged in a maajūn. About the third watch I rose, crossed the river, and went to my private apartments. Nov. 13 Visits Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi

On Thursday, the 4th of the latter Rabīa, I directed Chikmāk Beg, by a writing under the royal hand and seal,[c] to measure the distance from Agra to Kābul; that at every nine kos he should raise a *minār*, or turret, twelve gaz in height, on the top of which he was to construct a pavilion [3]; that, every ten kos,[4] he should erect a *yam*, or post-house, which they call a *dāk-chokī*, for six horses; that he should fix a certain allowance as a provision for the post-house keepers, couriers, and grooms, and for feeding the horses; and orders were given, that wherever a post-house for horses was built near a *khālseh* or imperial demesne, they should be furnished from thence with the stated allowances; that if it was situated in a perganna, the nobleman in charge should attend to the supply. The same day, Chikmāk Pādshāhi [d] left Agra. The kos was fixed in conformity with the *mīl*, according to these verses: Dec. 17. Orders post-houses to be built from Agra to Kābul. A. D. 1528 Length of the kos, &c

(*Turkī*)—Four thousand paces are one *mīl*,
Know that the men of Hindustan call it a *kuroh* (kos).
This pace is a cubit and a half,
Every cubit [5] is six hand-breadths [6];
Each hand-breadth is six inches;[e] and, again, each inch
Is the breadth of six barley-corns Know all this.[f]

[a] I bestowed on his priest, and his two tutors cloaks,
[b] He had spread out before me a carpet on which were arranged the presents which he offered me,
[c] accompanied by Shāhī, the Controller's secretary,
[d] and Shāhī [e] four (*aṣābi'*), [f] Here is what is certain

[1] The presents of the Moghuls and Tūrks were made of thrice nine articles, the number being deemed fortunate.
[2] £500 [3] *Chār-dareh* [4] [P. de C has eighteen kos]
[5] *Kārī* [6] *Tūtām*, a fist or hand-breadth.

The measuring *tanāb* was to consist of forty gaz or paces, each measuring one and a half of the gaz or cubit that has been mentioned,[1] and so equal to nine hand-breadths; and a hundred of these *tanābs* were to go to one kos.

Grand feast Dec 19

On Saturday the 6th, I had a feast in the garden.[a] I sat in the northern part of it, in an octagonal pavilion that was recently erected, and covered with *khas* grass[2] for coolness. On my right, at the distance of five or six gaz, sat Būgha Sultan, Askeri, and the venerable Khwājeh's family, Khwājeh Abdal Shahīd, Khwājeh Kalān, Khwājeh Husseini Khalīfeh, and other comers from Samarkand, the dependants of the Khwājeh, readers of the Korān, and Mullas. On my left, at an interval of five or six gaz,[3] were seated Muhammed Zemān Mirza, Autenk[b] Itmīsh Sultan, Syed Rafī, Syed Rūmi, Sheikh Abul Fateh, Sheikh Jamāli, Sheikh Shahābeddīn Arab, and Syed Dakni. The Kizilbāsh, Uzbek, and Hindu ambassadors were present at this feast. An awning was erected at the distance of seventy or eighty gaz[3] to the right, in which the Kizilbāsh[4] ambassadors were placed, and Yunis Ali was selected from the Amīrs to sit beside them. At the same distance on the left, in like manner, the Uzbek ambassadors were stationed, and Abdallah was selected from the Amīrs to sit beside them. Before the dinner was served, all the Khans, Sultans, grandees, and Amīrs offered congratulatory presents[5] of red, and white, and black money,[6] with cloth and other articles. I ordered woollen

[a] *Omit* in the garden *and insert after* feast *the passage below from* The Kizilbāsh *to* beside them [b] Tang

[1] The larger gaz, or pace, was nine hand-breadths; the smaller, or cubit, six hand-breadths

[2] During the heats, particularly while the hot winds are blowing, it is customary in India to cover the open side-doors and windows of apartments with a sweet-smelling species of grass, which is kept moist with water The air, passing through this, is much softened, and an agreeable coolness produced [These door-screens are made of the scented roots of a grass called *khaskhas* (*Andropogon muricata*)]

[3] [or *kārī* (cubits), according to P de C]

[4] i. e the Persian [5] *Sāchāk.*

[6] [i. e. gold, silver, and copper money.]

cloths [a] to be spread out before me, into which they threw the gold and silver money; offerings of coloured cloth and of white cloth, as well as purses [1] of money, were piled up beside the gold and silver. Before dining, while the presents were coming in, there were fights of furious camels and elephants, in an island [2] in front. There were also some ram-fights, and afterwards matches of wrestlers. When the dinner was placed, Khwājeh Abdal Shahīd and Khwājeh Kalān were invested with muslin robes of very fine cotton,[b] with suitable dresses of honour. Mulla Farrukh, Hāfiz, and those who were with them, received gowns of cloth. On the ambassador of Kūchim Khan,[3] and the younger brother of Hassan Chalebi,[4] were bestowed *sirka-mash* robes of muslin, with rich buttons,[c] and dresses of honour suited to their rank. To the ambassadors of Abusaīd Sultan, and Miherbān Khānum and her son Pūlād Sultan, and to the ambassadors of Shah Hassan, were given vests with buttons, and robes of rich cloth. A stone [5] of gold was weighed with the silver weights, and a stone of silver with the gold weights, and given to Dosta Khwājeh and the two great ambassadors, who were the servants of Kūchim Khan, and to the younger brother of Hassan Khan Chalebi.[d] The gold stone contains five hundred *mishkāls*, which is one *sīr* Kābul measure. The silver measure is two hundred and fifty *mishkāls*, which is half

[a] a small woollen carpet

[b] Uzbeg robes of substantial texture,

[c] cloaks ornamented with buttons and a cloth hood,

[d] to the two Khwājas, and the two great ambassadors, of whom one was the servant of Kūchim Khan, and the other the younger brother of Hasan Chalebi

[1] *Badreh* is a purse, containing about £60

[2] I am not quite sure of the meaning of *arāl* In some instances it certainly means *island*. In others it seems to mean *plot* or *bank* The royal garden was probably close by the Jumna, in an island in which the fights were exhibited

[3] Kūchim Khan has already been mentioned along with Abusaīd Sultan and Pūlād Sultan, as Uzbek chiefs of Samarkand. [Kūchūm was chief of the Uzbegs and Abu Saīd and Pūlād Khan were his sons.]

[4] [He was ambassador of Tahmāsp, King of Persia.]

[5] [*Tāsh.*]

a Kābul *sīr*. Khwājeh Mīr Sultāni, his sons, and Hāfiz Tāshkendi, Mulla Farrukh and his followers,[a] the servants of the Khwājeh, and the other ambassadors, had each of them presents of silver and gold.[b] Yādgār Nāsir had a hanger and belt. Mīr Muhammed Jālehbān had deserved great rewards,[c] for the skill with which he had constructed the bridge over the Ganges. He and the other[d] musketeers, Pahlwān[1] Hāji Muhammed, and Pahlwān Bahlūl, and Wali Pārschi,[2] were presented each with a dagger.[e] Syed Daūd Garmsīri had a present in silver and gold. The servants of my daughter Maasūmeh, and of my son Hindāl, received vests ornamented with buttons, and dresses of honour made of rich cloth. To the men who had come from Andejān, who, without a country, without a home, had roamed with me in my wanderings in Sūkh and Hushiār,[3] and many lands, to all my veterans and tried men,[f] I gave vests and rich dresses of honour, with gold and silver clothes,[g] and other articles of value. To the servants of Kurbān and Sheikhi, and the natives of Kahmerd, presents were, in like manner, given. When the dinner was placed, the Hindustāni jugglers were brought in and performed their tricks, and the tumblers and rope-dancers exhibited their feats. The Hindustāni sleight-of-hand men do several feats which I never saw performed by those of our countries. One of these is the following: They take seven rings, one of which they suspend over their forehead, and two on their thighs[h]; the other four they place, two on two of their fingers, and the other two on two of their toes, and then whirl them all round with

Jugglers and tumblers.

[a] who was at the head of [b] *Add* and a robe
[c] had already been suitably rewarded, [d] *Omit* other
[e] *Add* and the same distinction was accorded to the two sons of Ustād Alı Kulı
[f] *Omit* and many lands, to all my veterans and tried men,
[g] *Omit* clothes, [h] knees;

[1] [Wrestler or champion.]
[2] [The keeper of a cheetah or hunting leopard.]
[3] Bābur's residence in Sūkh and Hushiār was the most trying period of his life. It immediately preceded his finally abandoning Ferghāna, when he set out for Khorasān. These, therefore, were his most faithful followers

a quick uninterrupted motion. Another is this: they place one of their hands on the ground, and then raise up their other hand and their two feet, which they spread out so as to represent the port of a peacock, all the while turning round, with a continued rapid motion, three rings placed on their hand and two feet. The tumblers of our country fix two wooden poles [1] to their feet, and walk on these wooden supports; the Hindustāni tumblers, clinging to a single wooden support, walk on it, and that without fastening it to their feet. In our countries, two tumblers lay hold of each other, and go on tumbling when thus linked together; whereas the Hindustāni tumblers lay hold of each other to the number of three and four, and go on tumbling intertwined in a circle. One of the most remarkable feats which they exhibit is when a tumbler, placing the lower part of a pole, of six or seven gaz in length, on his middle, holds it erect, while another tumbler mounts the pole, and plays his feats on the top of it. In other cases, a young [a] tumbler climbs up, and stands on the head of an elder [b] one; the lower one walks fast about from side to side playing his feats, with the younger one all the while standing erect and firm on his head, and also exhibiting his tricks. Many *pateras*, or dancing-girls, were also introduced, and danced. Towards evening prayers, a great quantity of gold, silver, and copper money was scattered; there was a precious hubbub and uproar.[c] Between evening and bed-time prayers, I made five or six of the most distinguished of my guests [d] sit down near me, and I continued with them till the end of the first watch. Next morning, in the forenoon,[e] I went to the Hasht-Behisht in a boat. A.D 1528.

On Monday, Askeri, who had begun his march, and left the town, took leave of me in my bath, and proceeded to the eastward. Dec. 21.

On Tuesday I set out to visit the tanks, garden, and palace,[f] Dec. 22.

[a] small [b] big [c] thronging of people
[d] my most intimate companions
[e] in the course of the second watch,
[f] the works connected with the tank and well,

[1] [i. e stilts]

Revisits Dhūlpūr. which I had ordered to be made at Dhūlpūr. I mounted at my garden-house at one gari of the second watch,[1] and five garis of the first watch[2] of the night were past, when I reached the garden of Dhūlpūr.

Dec 24 On Thursday the 11th, the stone well, the cypresses,[a] the twenty-six stones[b] and stone columns, and the water-channels, which were all hewed on the hill from the solid rock, were finished. About the third watch[3] of that same day, they began to draw water from the well. Presents were given to the stone-cutters, carpenters, and all the labourers, according to the usage of the artisans and labourers of Agra. By way of precaution, in order to remove any disagreeable taste that might be in the water, they were directed to turn the water-wheel of the well day and night incessantly for fifty[c] days, and let the water run off.

Dec 25. On Friday, while there was still one gari of the first watch[4] remaining, I set off from Dhūlpūr, and the sun was not set when I had alighted, and passed the river.[d]

Dec. 29 Battle of Jām in Khorasān. On Tuesday the 16th, a man who had been in the battle between the Kizilbāshes and Uzbeks, a servant of Dev Sultan, came and gave an account of the engagement. He informed me, that the battle between the Uzbeks and Turkomāns was fought on the Roz-i-Ashūr, in the neighbourhood of Jām and Khirgird, and lasted from the first twilight[5] till noon-day prayers. The Uzbeks were three hundred thousand in number; the Turkomāns, according to their own account, amounted to only forty or fifty thousand, but, from their array, had the appearance of amounting to a hundred thousand; while the Uzbeks made their own army amount to only one hundred and five thousand. The Kizilbāshes engaged, after having placed their guns, artillery,[6] and musketeers in order, and fortified their position, according to the tactics of Rūm[7]; they had two thousand artillery-men[e] and six thousand matchlock-men.

10th Muharrem Sept. 26.

[a] *Omit* the cypresses, [b] gutters [c] fifteen
[d] when I had crossed the river [e] wagons

[1] About half-past nine a.m. About eight p.m.
[3] Between noon and three o'clock p m
[4] Nearly half an hour before nine a.m.
[5] [i. e. dawn.] [6] *Zarb-zīn*, perhaps swivels. [7] Turkey.

The Prince and Chūkeh [a] Sultan were stationed behind the guns,[b] with twenty thousand chosen men. The other Amīrs were placed beyond the guns, on the right and left wings. The Uzbeks, on the first charge, having broken and defeated the outposts and flankers,[c] whom they drove in, and made a number of prisoners, advanced into the rear of the Kizilbāsh army, where they took the camels and plundered the baggage. The troops who had been stationed behind the artillery, now unloosing the chains of the guns, issued forth, when a desperate action ensued. The Uzbeks, who were commanded by Kūchim Khan,[d] were thrice broken, and thrice returned to the charge; but at length, by the divine favour, were totally routed, and nine Sultans, including [1] Obeidullah Khan and Abūsaīd Sultan, left on the field,[e] of which number Abūsaīd [2] Sultan was the only one taken alive, the other eight being slain. The head of Obeidullah Khan could not be found, but his body was discovered. Fifty thousand Uzbeks and twenty thousand Turkomāns fell in the action.

Defeat of the Uzbeks

The same day, Ghīaseddīn Korchi, who had gone to Jaunpūr, and engaged to return by a stated day, came back, having been absent sixteen days.[f] Sultan Juneid and the officers who were with him had levied an army, and advanced to Kharid;[3] so that Ghīaseddīn, being obliged to follow him thither, had been unable to return back at the time appointed. Sultan Juneid had answered verbally, that,

Sultan Juneid's favourable report of Pūrab.

[a] Khwāja

[b] *Here, as elsewhere, the word* wagons *is substituted for guns*

[c] those who were posted on the two wings, [d] *Omit this clause*

[e] remained in the hands of their enemies,

[f] who had gone to Jaunpūr with orders to return in sixteen days, presented himself before me

[1] [In P de C's version Kūchum Khan is added to the list, but Bābur's informant was mistaken, for both Kūchum Khan and Obaidullah Khan survived the battle, the former dying in 1530, and the latter in 1539 (Lane Poole's *Muhammedan Dynasties*)]

[2] [Abū Sa'īd succeeded his father Kūchum Khan as Grand Khan of the Uzbegs in 1530, and reigned three years (*T. R.*, p 206).]

[3] Kharid seems to have lain below Oudh, towards the mouth of the Gogra or Dewah. [It is a subdivision of the Ballia District, U.P, on the right bank of the Gogra.]

thanks to the goodness of God, affairs in that quarter exhibited no symptoms that appeared to call for the presence of the Emperor. 'Let a Mirza [a] come, and let orders be issued to the Sultans, Khans, and Amīrs of the neighbouring provinces, to attend the Mirza, and I have no doubt that everything will go on in a satisfactory manner, and successfully.[b]' Though I had received this answer from Sultan Juneid, yet as Mulla Muhammed Mazhab, who, after the holy war against Sanka the Pagan, had been sent on an embassy to Bengal, was daily expected back, I waited till I could hear his account also of the state of things.

A D 1529 Jan 1. Mulla Muhammed's report of Bengal.

On Friday the 19th, I had taken a maajūn, and was sitting with a few of my particular intimates in my private apartments, when Mulla Muhammed Mazhab arrived; and, on the evening of the same day, being Saturday eve, he came and waited upon me. I inquired minutely and in detail into all the affairs of that quarter, one after another; and learned that Bengal was in a state of perfect obedience and tranquillity.

an. 2 Bābur resolves to march to the west.

On Saturday,[c] I called the Tūrkī nobles and those of Hind into my private apartments, and held a consultation with them. It was observed, that the Bengalis had sent an ambassador, and were submissive and quiet; that it was, therefore, quite unnecessary for me to proceed to Bengal; that if I did not go to Bengal, there was no other place in that direction which was rich enough to satisfy the troops; that, towards the west, there were several places, which were both near at hand, and rich in wealth:

(*Tūrkī verse*)—The country is rich, the inhabitants pagans, the road short;
If that to the east is remote, this is close at hand.

Dispatches Ghīaseddīn to the eastward.

At length, it was resolved that I should march to the west, as being the nearest. I delayed [d] some days, in order to be perfectly at ease respecting the affairs to the eastward before I moved. I therefore once more dispatched Ghīaseddīn Korchi, directing him to return to me in twenty days, and wrote and sent by him firmāns to the Amīrs of Pūrab

[a] the Mirza (Prince Askarī)
[b] everything will be easily arranged
[c] Sunday,
[d] and delay

(or the East), desiring all the Sultans, Khans, and Amīrs on that side of [a] the river Ganges, to join Askerī, and to march with him against the enemy. I gave him special directions that, after delivering the firmāns, he should collect all the news that he could relating to these parts, and return to me with speed by the appointed time. A. D. 1529

Incursion of the Balūches.

News reached me at this same period, by dispatches from Muhammed Gokultāsh, that the Balūches [1] had again made an incursion, and committed great devastation in several places. In order to punish this insult, I directed Chīn Taimūr Sultan to proceed to assemble the Amīrs of Sirhind and Samāneh, and that neighbourhood,[b] such as Ādil Sultan, Sultan Muhammed Duldāī, Khosrou Gokultāsh, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Dilāwer Khan, Ahmed Yūsef, Shah Mansūr Birlās, Muhammedī Gokultāsh,[c] Abdal-azīz Mīr Akhūr (or master of horse), Syed Ali, Wali Kīzilbāsh,[d] Kirācheh Halāhil, Āshik Bekāwel, Sheikh Ali Kitteh, Kajūr[e] Khan, and Hassan Ali Siwādi; and orders were issued that these noblemen should join Chīn Taimūr, with arms and provisions for six months' service, and proceed against the Balūches; that they should all assemble on his summons, march under his orders, and act in every respect in perfect conformity to his commands.[f] I appointed Abdal-Ghafūr as *tewāchi* [2] (or special messenger), to convey these firmāns. It was arranged that he should, in the first place, carry the firmāns for Chīn Taimūr Sultan, and afterwards proceed to deliver the firmāns to the other noblemen who have been mentioned, enjoining them all to repair, attended by their forces, to

[a] beyond [b] from beyond Sirhind and Samāna,
[c] *Omit* Dilāwer Khan, Ahmed Yūsef, Shah Mansūr Birlās, Muhammedī Gokultāsh,
[d] Kizil, [e] Gujar [f] each according to his rank and dignity

[1] [This tribe inhabited the country from Bhakkar to Multān and Samāna. Chīn Timur was at this time governor of Mewāt.—*E. B.*, p. 495]

[2] The *tewāchi* is an officer who corresponds very nearly to the Turkish *chaous*, or special messenger; but he was also often employed to act as a commissary for providing men or stores, as a commissioner in superintending important affairs, as an aide-de-camp in carrying orders, &c.

such place as should be pointed out by Chīn Taimūr Sultan for their assembling; that Abdal-Ghafūr should himself remain with the army, and report to me by letter if any of the officers betrayed indolence or want of zeal, in which case I would deprive the offender of his rank and station, and remove him from his government and perganna. Having written, and delivered these letters to Abdal-Ghafūr, I dispatched him, giving him at the same time additional verbal instructions.

Bābur visits Dhūlpūr.

On Sunday eve,[1] the 28th, at three watches and six garis, I passed the Jumna on my way to the Bāgh e Nīlūfar (or Lotus Garden), which is in Dhūlpūr; it was near the end of the third watch of Sunday[2] when we reached it. Situations and pieces of ground were pitched upon, in the neighbourhood of the garden, on which it was arranged that several of the Amīrs and courtiers were to build themselves palaces,

Jan 14

and lay out gardens. On Thursday, the 3rd of the first Jumāda, I pitched upon a place for a bath, on the south-east of the garden, and it was accordingly cleared for that purpose. I directed that, on the spot so cleared, they should build a bath on the best construction on an elevated platform,[a] and, in one of its apartments, finish a reservoir ten by ten.[3]

Hears of the loss of Behār.

The same day I received letters from Kazi Jīā and Ner-Sing Deoreh,[b] which had been forwarded by Khalīfeh from Agra, and which contained intelligence that Mahmūd, the son of

Resolves to take the field.

Iskander, had taken Behār. The moment I received this information I resolved to join the army.[c] Next morning,

Jan. 15

being Friday, I mounted at six garis[4] from the Nīlūfar garden and reached Agra at evening prayers. I met by the way Muhammed Zemān Mirza, who was on his way for Dhūlpūr. Chīn Taimūr Sultan too arrived the same day in Agra.

Jan 16

Next morning, being Saturday, I called the Amīrs to

[a] they should lay the foundations of the bath after which they were to erect the buildings thereon,

[b] Deo, [c] to set the army in motion

[1] Sunday morning, January 10, about half-past five

[2] Near three p.m. [3] About twenty feet square.

[4] About twenty-four minutes past eight o'clock a m.

a council, when it was resolved, that we should set out for the Pūrab on Thursday the 10th. That same Saturday, letters and intelligence came from Kābul, by which I learned that Humāiūn had collected the army of those provinces, and, accompanied by Sultan Weis, had set out with forty or fifty thousand men on an expedition against Samarkand; that Shah Kuli, the younger brother of Sultan Weis, had advanced and entered Hissār; that Tarsūn Muhammed Sultan had proceeded from Termez [1] and taken Kabādiān,[2] and had afterwards sent to ask support; that Humāiūn had sent Tūlik Gokultāsh and Mir Khurd, with a number of troops and a body of Moghuls, to the assistance of Tarsūn Muhammed Sultan, and himself followed after them.

Jan 21

Humāiūn sets out against Samarkand

Gains Hissār and Kabādiān

On Thursday, the 10th of the first Jumāda, after three garis,[3] I set out for the Pūrab, and passing the Jumna in a boat a little above Jalesir, came to the Bagh-e-Zarefshān.[4] I gave orders that the horse-tail standards,[5] the kettle-drums, the stud, and the whole army, should halt, opposite to the garden on the other side of the river, and that such as came to perform their *kornish* [6] to the Emperor should cross in a boat.

Bābur crosses the Jumna.

On Saturday, Ismāil Mīta, who was the ambassador of Bengal, brought his *peshkesh*, and paid his respects according to the usage of Hindustān. For the purpose of making his obeisance, he took his stand a full arrow-shot off, and retired after he had offered his submissions.[a] He was then arrayed in the usual dress of honour, which they call *sir nāwineh*[b 7] (or hair-twist), and introduced. In conformity with our custom, he next made his three genuflexions, and then advanced and delivered Nasret Shah's[8] letter; and, finally, retired, after presenting the offerings which he had brought.

Introduction of the Bengal ambassador Jan 23.

[a] salutation

[b] *Sir mūneh*

[1] [Tirmiz is a town on the right bank of the Oxus, north-east of Balkh.]

[2] [Kabādiān lies on the Kāfir Nāhan affluent of the Oxus, north-east of Tirmiz.]

[3] About a quarter past seven a.m.

[4] The gold-shedding garden

[5] *Tūgh.*

[6] [i. e. obeisance.]

[7] [*Muyīnah*, according to Steingass, means 'a fur coat.']

[8] Nasret Shah was at this period King of Bengal.

Jan. 25. On Monday, Khwājeh Abdal Hak having arrived, I crossed the river in a boat, went to his tent, and waited on him.[1]

Jan. 26. On Tuesday, Hassan Chalebi waited on me.

Bābur sets out on his expedit on Jan 28. I had halted several days at the Chār-bāgh, for the purpose of collecting[a] the army. On Thursday, the 17th, after three garis in the morning,[2] we commenced our march. I embarked in a boat, and went to the village Anwār, which is seven kos from Agra,[3] and there landed.

Gives the Uzbek ambassadors their audience of leave. Jan. 31 On Sunday, I gave the Uzbek ambassadors their audience of leave. To Amīn Mirza, the envoy of Kūchim Khan, I gave a dagger and belt, with an elegant knife, a *mīlek* of brocade, and seventy thousand *tangs*[4] as a present; to Mulla Taghāi, the servant of Abūsaīd Sultan, and to the servants of Meherbān Khānum, and of her son Pūlād Sultan,

A D. 1529. I gave vests richly ornamented with buttons, and dresses of honour of rich cloth, besides a present in money and goods,[b] suited to the situation of each.

Feb. 1. Next morning, Khwājeh Abdal Hak took leave, to go and live in Agra; and Khwājeh Kalān, the grandson of Khwājeh Yahya, who had come with the envoys from the Khan and Sultans of the Uzbeks, had his audience of leave, previous to setting out on his return to Samarkand.

Sends presents to his sons. As a demonstration of joy on the birth of Humāiūn's son, and on Kāmrān's marriage, I sent Mirza Tabrīzi and Mirza Beg Taghāi to these princes, with each ten thousand marriage-presents.[c] They also carried a robe and a girdle, both of which I had myself worn. By the hands of Mulla Behishti, I sent to Hindāl an enamelled dagger and belt; an inkstand, set with jewels; a stool, inlaid with mother of pearl; a short gown, from my own wardrobe, with clasps[d]; and an alphabet of the Bāburi characters. I also sent some

[a] equipping [b] *Omit* and goods,
[c] ten thousand *shahrukhis* each as marriage presents
[d] and a girdle,

[1] The Khwājeh was a holy man, which accounts for Bābur's visit.
[2] A quarter past seven a.m. [3] Down the river
[4] The *tang* [or *tankah*] is a small silver coin of the value of about a penny

fragments, written in the Bāburi characters. To Humāiūn, I sent a copy both of the translations and original poems that I had written, since coming to Hindustān. I likewise sent to Hindāl and Khwājeh Kalān my translations and poems [1] To Kāmrān, by the hands of Mirza Beg Taghāi, I sent such translations and original poems as I had composed after coming to Hind, and letters written in the Bāburi characters. On Tuesday, after having delivered the letters which I had written to the persons who were going to Kābul, and given them leave, I had a conversation with Mulla Kāsim, Ustād Shah Muhammed the stone-cutter, Mīrek Mīr Ghiās, Mīr the stone-cutter, Shah Bāba Beldār,[2] and explained all my wishes regarding the buildings to be completed at Agra and Dhūlpūr; and having entrusted the work to their care I gave them leave. It was near the end of the first watch,[3] when I mounted to leave Anwār, and noon-day prayers were over, when I halted within one kos of Chāndwār, at a village named Abāpūr.

Feb. 2

Reaches Abāpūr

On Thursday eve I dismissed Abdal Malūk Korchi, who was to accompany Hassan Chalebi as ambassador to the King (of Persia), and Chapūk, who went along with the Uzbek ambassadors, on a mission to the Khans and Sultans. Four garis [4] of the night were still left, when we marched from Abāpūr. I passed Chāndwār about dawn, and embarked in a boat About bed-time prayers I landed from the boat before Rāberi, and joined the camp, which lay at Fatehpūr At Fatehpūr we halted one day. On Saturday, with the first gleam of light, I performed my ablutions, and having mounted, we said our morning prayers near Rāberi, in the Friday Mosque.[a] Moulāna Mahmūd Fārābi was the Imām. At sunrise we embarked below the lofty eminence [b] at Rāberi. For the purpose of getting my translations written in a peculiar mixed character

Feb 4

Sends envoys to Persia and the Uzbeks.

Reaches Rāberi

Feb 5.

Feb. 6.

[a] in public

[b] big bend

[1] [The translation referred to is the *Risālah e wālidiyah* Bābur's original poems were his *Diwān*, and a collection of *masnawis* known as *Mubīn*]

[2] A *beldar* is a pioneer, but in civil works, he is the well or tank digger.

[3] Near 9 a.m

[4] About an hour and a half [About 4 30 a.m]

I this day made a set of parallel lines suited to the *tarkīb* measure for eleven verses.[a 1] This day, the words of the men of God produced some compunction in my heart. Having drawn the boats to the shore opposite to Jhāken,[2] one of[b] the pergannas of Rāberi, I passed that night in the vessel.

The vessels having been ordered to proceed[c] thence before day-light, I was in the boat, and had finished morning prayers, when Sultān Muhammed Bakhshi arrived, bringing with him one Shamseddīn Muhammed, a servant of Khwājeh Kalān, who had come with letters. From the letters, and by the information collected from the messenger himself, we learned everything that had passed at Kābul. Mahdi Khwājeh[3] also joined us in the boat. About noon-day prayers, I landed at an eminence[d] in a garden on the other side of the river, over against Etāwa, bathed in the Jumna,

Arrives at Etāwa

and said my noon-day prayers. Having passed over from the place where I had prayed I came to the Etāwa side,[e] and, under the shade of the trees of the same garden, and sitting on the top of the eminence which overhangs the river, we set some men to wrestle before us for amusement. The dinner which Mahdi Khwājeh had ordered was served

[a] The same day I prepared a *mistar* of eleven lines for use in copying the translations I might wish to write in characters ornamented with arabesques

[b] the chief town of

[c] we resumed our journey

[d] *Omit* a tan eminence

[e] I moved towards Etāwa,

[1] [By 'set of parallel lines' is meant the *mistar*, a card on which threads are strung parallel to each other, and this, pressed against the sheet of paper to be written on, is the Oriental substitute for our ruled lines. The *tarkīb khatti*, which Erskine translates by 'mixed characters', is given the meaning of 'characters ornamented with arabesques' in P de C 's version]

[2] [The *Gazetteer of Etāwa* gives Jhākan as a village in the headquarters Tahsīl of the Etāwa district, lying amongst the ravines on the left bank of the Jamna]

[3] Mahdi Khwājeh had held the government of Etāwa He was Bābur's son-in-law. [According to Mrs. Beveridge (*Humāyūn-nāmeh*, p. 18) he was married to Bābur's sister Khānzādah Begum. Khwāja Khalifeh, according to some authorities, had intended to place this nobleman on the throne to the exclusion of all Bābur's sons, but his arrogance and presumption disgusted even his most ardent partisans, and influenced the Khalīfeh to transfer his allegiance to Humāyūn. —*E. B.*, p. 514.]

up here About evening prayers we crossed the river, and reached the camp about bed-time prayers. I halted two or three days on this ground, both to collect our troops, and for the purpose of writing letters to be sent to Kābul [a] by Shamseddīn Muhammed.

On Wednesday, the 30th of the first Jumāda, I marched from Etāwa, and after proceeding eight kos, halted at Mūri and Adūseh.[1] Several letters for Kābul, which I had not had time to write, I finished at this station. I wrote to Humāiūn, that if the incursions which had broken the tranquillity of the country were not yet completely checked, he should himself move to punish the robbers and freebooters, who had been guilty of the depredations, and take every means to prevent the peace of the country from being disturbed I added, that I had made Kābul a Royal Government,[2] that therefore none of my children should presume to levy any money in it.[b] I likewise sent [c] instructions to Hindāl to repair to the Court. To Kāmrān I wrote, recommending him to cultivate politeness, and the duties suited to his rank as a prince [d]; told him, that I had bestowed on him the country of Multān, and informed him that Kābul was to belong to the imperial domain. I likewise informed him that I had sent for my wife and family. As several circumstances relating to my affairs may be learnt from the letter which I wrote on this occasion to Khwājeh Kalān, I subjoin a copy of it, precisely as it was sent ·

Feb 10.

Writes to Humāiūn, Hindāl, and Kāmrān.

'To Khwājeh Kalān, health.

'Shamseddīn Muhammed reached me at Etāwa, and communicated his intelligence.[e] My solicitude to visit

Bābur's letter to Khwājeh Kalān.

[a] to my people at Kābu
[b] to make any claims to it
[c] repeated my
[d] strive to maintain good relations with the royal Prince (King of Persia),
[e] *Add* about affairs in those parts (Kābul)

[1] [Mūri may be the Muhūri, which is marked on the *Gazetteer* map of the Etāwa district, U. P.—This place adjoins the village of Bābarpūr in the Auraya Tahsīl of the Etāwa district, so called according to the *Gazetteer*, because it was used by Bābur as a halting-place. It has two sites, which combined are known as Serai Bābarpūr, and may mark the position of Mūri-Adūsa.]

[2] Crown domain

my western dominions is boundless, and great beyond expression. The affairs of Hindustān have at length, however, been reduced into a certain degree of order; and I trust in Almighty God that the time is near at hand, when, through the grace of the Most High, everything will be completely settled in this country. As soon as matters are brought into that state, I shall, God willing, set out for your quarter, without losing a moment's time. How is it possible that the delights of those lands should ever be erased from the heart? Above all, how is it possible for one like me, who have made a vow of abstinence from wine, and of purity of life, to forget the delicious melons and grapes of that pleasant region [a]? They very recently brought me a single musk-melon. While cutting it up I felt myself affected with a strong feeling of loneliness, and a sense of my exile from my native country; and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it.

'You take notice of the unsettled state of Kābul, I have considered the matter very attentively, and with the best of my judgement; and have made up my mind that in a country in which there are seven or eight chiefs, nothing regular or settled is to be looked for. I have therefore sent for my sisters and the females of my family [b] into Hindustān,[1] and having resolved on making Kābul, and all the neighbouring countries and districts, part of the imperial domain, I have written fully on the subjects to Humāiūn and Kāmrān. Let some man of judgement deliver to them the letters now sent. I have formerly written on the same subject to the Mirzas, as perhaps you may know. There is therefore now no obstacle nor impediment to the settling of the country [c]; and if the defences of the castle are not strong, if the inhabitants of the kingdom are distressed, if there be no provisions in the granaries, or if the treasury be empty, the fault must, in future, be laid on the governor of the country.

[a] which produce so much licit enjoyment?

[b] my wives

[c] *Add* and the development of its resources,

[1] They seem to have had different districts assigned them for their support.

'There are several matters necessary to be attended to, a list of which I shall subjoin. Regarding some of them I had previously written you, so that you will be, in some degree, prepared for them.[a] They are as follows[b]: The castle must be put in a state of complete repair; the granaries must be stored, and provender laid up; the going and coming of ambassadors must be attended to[c]; the Grand Mosque must be repaired, and the expense provided for out of the tax levied on gardens and orchards.[d] Again, the caravanserais, and baths, and the large portico of brick, built by Ustād Hassan Alī in the citadel, and the unfinished palace,[e] must be properly repaired and completed, after consulting with Ustād Sultan Muhammed. If Ustād Hassan Alī has already drawn a plan, let him complete it according to that plan. If he has not, you must consult together, and fix upon some beautiful design, taking care that the court be on a level with the floor of the Hall of Audience. Again, the buildings as you go to Little Kābul, near Bādash-Khāk,[1] must be attended to,[f] and the water-mound of Ghaznī must likewise be thoroughly repaired. As for the garden of Hanāwān,[g] it has but a scanty supply of water; a stream, large enough to turn a mill, must be purchased,[h] and led through the grounds. Again, to the south-west of Khwājeh (Basteh), I formerly led the river of Tūtūn-dareh[2] by the foot of a rising ground, where I formed a plantation

[a] Such are, the treasury must be kept well supplied,

[b] *Omit this clause*

[c] provision must be made for the expenses incidental to the visits of ambassadors,

[d] a tax on property. *Add* This impost should be legalized, and its receipts devoted to the object stated.

[e] *For* the large portico of brick . . palace *read* and the unfinished palace of baked bricks, in course of construction, which was begun by Ustād Hasan Alī in the citadel,

[f] Again, it is urgently necessary for you to attend to the reservoir of Little Kābul, which is connected with the stream of Butkhāk, at the point where the pass opens out in the direction of Little Kābul,

[g] promenade garden, [h] obtained,

[1] Būtkhāk.

[2] Tūtūn-dareh is a valley about eight kos north-west of Hūpiān

of trees [a]; and as the prospect from it was very fine,[b] I called it Nazergāh (The Prospect). You must there also plant some beautiful trees, form regular orchards, and all around the orchards sow beautiful and sweet-smelling flowers and shrubs, according to some good plan.[c]

'Syed Kāsim has been appointed to accompany the artillery-men [d]

'You must remember too, to pay particular attention to Ustād Muhammed Hassan, the armourer.[e]

'Immediately on receiving this letter, you will, without loss of time, attend my sisters, and the ladies of my family,[f] as far as Nilāb; so that, whatever impediments there may be to their [g] leaving Kābul, they must, at all events, set out from it within a week after this arrives; for as a detachment has left Hindustān, and is waiting for them, any delay will expose it to difficulties,[h] and the country too will suffer.

'In a letter which I wrote to Abdallah, I mentioned that I had much difficulty in reconciling myself to the desert of penitence; but that I had resolution enough to persevere,[i]

(*Türki verse*)—I am distressed since I renounced wine,
I am confounded and unfit for business,—
Regret leads me to penitence,
Penitence leads me to regret [j]

'I remember an anecdote of Banāi. He was one day sitting by Mīr Ali Sher, and had said something witty. Mīr Ali Sher, who had on a vest with rich buttons, said, "The witticism is excellent; I would give you my vest

[a] On the top of a hillock, to the south-west of Khwāja Bastah, I built a tank, to which I had led the waters of the Tūtum Daiah, and round which I had planted trees

[b] *Add* and as it was opposite a frequented ford,

[c] I am anxious that you should plant more beautiful trees there, and that you should lay out symmetrical grass plots bordered with pretty sweet-smelling flowers

[d] appointed to the auxiliary corps

[e] *Add* and the matchlock men

[f] my wives,

[g] however averse they may be to

[h] hardships in a difficult position,

[i] Here is a quatrain which expresses exactly the difficulties of my position,

[j] Others repent and remain penitent, while I have repented, and regret having done so

were it not for the buttons.'[a] Banāi answered, "Why should the buttons hinder it? I fear the button-holes[1] are the impediment." The truth of the anecdote must rest with him that told it me. Excuse me for deviating into these fooleries. For God's sake, do not think amiss of me for them. I wrote last year the tetrastich which I have quoted; and, indeed, last year,[b] my desire and longing for wine and social parties were beyond measure excessive; it even came to such a length, that I have found myself shedding tears from vexation and disappointment. In the present year, praise be to God, these troubles are over, and I ascribe them chiefly to the occupation afforded to my mind by[c] a poetical translation,[2] on which I have employed myself. Let me advise you too, to adopt a life of abstinence. Social parties and wine are pleasant, in company with our[d] jolly friends and old boon companions. But with whom can you enjoy the social cup? With whom can you indulge in the pleasures of wine? If you have only Sher Ahmed, and Haider Kuli, for the companions of your gay hours and jovial goblet, you can surely find no great difficulty in consenting to the sacrifice. I conclude with every good wish[e] Written on Thursday, the 1st of the latter Jumāda.'[3] Feb. 11.

I was much affected while writing these letters,[f] which I delivered to Shamseddīn Muhammed, and having given him such further verbal instructions as seemed necessary, dispatched him on Friday eve.

On Friday we advanced eight kos, and halted at Jumandna. One of Kitīn Kara Sultan's[4] servants, who had Feb 12. Complain from Balkh.

[a] *Add* which hinder me
[b] for the last two years.
[c] to the blessings which were vouchsafed to me by virtue of
[d] derive all their charm from the company of
[e] I bid you adieu with a wish for our speedy reunion
[f] this letter, *Add* mixed with good counsel, which friendship prompted me to give,

[1] The Tūrki word signifies not only *button-holes*, but *meanness* and *impotency*

[2] [A reference to the translation of the *Risālahe Vālidiyah.*]

[3] It is singular that none of Bābur's Tūrki letters are translated in the Persian. They give an amiable view of his character

[4] Kitīn Kara Sultan was the Uzbek Chief of Balkh.

been sent to Kamāl-ed-din Kanāk, another of the Sultan's servants, then on an embassy at my court, had brought him letters, containing strong complaints of the conduct and proceedings of the Amīrs on the frontier, and remonstrating against the robberies and pillage that were committed. Kanāk sent me the man who had come to him.[a] I gave Kanāk leave to return home, and issued orders to the Amīrs on the frontier, that they should use every exertion to punish all such robbers or pillagers, and should conduct themselves towards the neighbouring powers with perfect good faith and amity. These firmāns I delivered to the man who had come from Kitīn Kara Sultan, and sent him back from that very stage.

A. D. 1529 One Shah Kuli had been sent by Hassan Chalebi, to give me the particulars of the battle.[1] I now sent him with letters to the king, in which I apologized for detaining[b] Hassan Chalebi. On Friday the 2nd, he took leave.

Feb. 13. On Saturday too, we advanced eight kos, and halted at Gakūra[c] and Hemāwali, pergannas of Kālpi.

Feb. 14. On Sunday the 4th, we marched nine kos, and halted at Darehpūr,[2] a perganna of Kālpi. I here had my head shaved: for two months before I had never shaved my head. I bathed in the river Sanker.[3]

Feb. 15. On Monday I marched fourteen kos, and halted at Chīrgurh, which is also a perganna of Kālpi.

Feb. 16 Next morning, being Tuesday the 6th, a Hindustāni servant of Karācheh arrived, bringing firmāns from Māham,[4] directed to Karācheh. He had also received *perwānehs*[5] written in my style, and in the manner I

[a] *Omit this sentence*

[b] in which I informed him that I accepted his excuse for delaying the departure of

[c] Kakūra

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[1] Between the Persians and Uzbeks, near Jām

[2] [There is a town named Darahpūr marked on Rennell's map on the Sengar river in the Cawnpore district, U P]

[3] [The Sengar is a river that flows through the Etāwa and Cawnpore districts, and joins the Jamna below Kālpi]

[4] [Māhim was Bābur's favourite wife, the mother of Humāyūn.]

[5] *Perwānchs* are royal letters.

wrote *perwānehs* with my own hand, directing the people of Behreh and Lahore to escort him in his road.[a] This firmān had been written at Kābul, on the 7th of the month of the first Jumāda. Jan. 18.

On Wednesday we marched seven kos, and encamped in the perganna of Adampūr. That day I had mounted before dawn, and, setting out unaccompanied, a little after mid-day,[b] reached the banks of the Jumna. I went down the river keeping close along its banks, and on arriving over against Adampūr, I caused an awning to be erected on an island near the camp, and took a maajūn. I there made Sādik wrestle with Kalāl. Kalāl came on a challenge.[c] At Agra he had excused himself from wrestling, pleading that he was fatigued from having just come off a journey, and asking a delay of twenty days. Forty or fifty days had now passed since the expiry of the time required. To-day he wrestled, being now quite without excuse. Sādik wrestled admirably, and threw him with the greatest ease. I gave Sādik ten thousand tangas and a saddled horse, a complete dress, and a vest wrought with buttons, as a present. Although Kalāl had been thrown, yet that he might not be quite disconsolate, I ordered for him also a complete dress, with three thousand tangas, as a gratuity. I issued orders that the guns and cannon[d] should be landed from the boats, and that in the meanwhile a road should be made, and the ground levelled to admit of their moving forward.[1] In this station we halted three or four days. Feb. 17. Wrestling match

On Monday the 12th, we marched twelve kos, and halted at Korah.[2] This day I moved in a *takht-i-ravān* (or litter). Bābur arrives at Korah. Feb. 22.

[a] By this order which resembled the *parwānahs* emanating from my camp and which I wrote with my own hand, she demanded an escort from the authorities at Lahore, Bhīra, and adjacent parts

[b] after lunching alone,

[c] The latter at first threw difficulties in the way

[d] carts

[1] Here Bābur begins to cross over from the Jumna to the Ganges.

[2] [There were two towns of this name, both in the district of Fatehpūr, U. P. · Korah, on the left bank of the Jamna, nineteen miles south-west of the town of Fatehpūr, and Korah Khās The latter, which appears to be the place referred to by Bābur, is situated in the Khajuhā Tahsīl, and lies on a small affluent of the Jamna,

After advancing twelve kos from Korah, we halted at Kurieh,[1] one of the pergannas of Karrah.[2] Advancing eight kos from Kurieh, we reached Fatehpūr Aswah; and after marching forward eight kos from Fatehpūr, we encamped at Serai Mīdā. As I was halting here, about bed-time prayers, Sultan Jalāleddīn[3] waited on me to offer me his duty. He brought along with him his two young sons.

Feb. 27. Next morning, being Saturday the 17th, we marched eight kos, and halted at Dakdakı, a perganna of Karrah, on the banks of the Ganges.

Joins his eastern army. Feb. 28. On Sunday, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and Kāsim Hussain Sultan, Bikhūb Sultan, and Tardīkeh, waited on me at this station; and, on Monday, at the same station Askerı also came and offered me his duty. All of them had come from the eastward of the Ganges. I ordered

March 1 that Askeri should march down the opposite bank of the river, with the troops that had arrived on that side; and that, whenever my army halted, he should encamp opposite to it on the other bank.

Sultan Mahmūd's success While in this neighbourhood, intelligence reached us in rapid succession, that Sultan Mahmūd had gathered round him a hundred thousand Afghans; that he had detached Sheikh Bayezīd and Bīban, with a large army, towards Sarwār,[4] while he himself and Fateh Khan Sirwānı occupied the banks of the Ganges, and were moving upon

thirty miles west-north-west of Fatehpūr.—Thornton's *Gazetteer o Indva.*]

[1] [Kurriah, or Kunda Kanak, is a village in the Ghāzipur Tahsīl of the Fatehpūr district, on the left bank of the Jamna, about eighteen miles south-west of Fatehpūr. Aswah, or Haswah, is a village in the head-quarters Tahsīl of the same district, seven miles south-east of Fatehpūr. It is an old town—now decayed—and capital of the perganna. Serai Mīda may be Serai-Munda, a village in the same Tahsīl of the same district, about twelve miles south-east of Fatehpūr —*Gazetteer of Fatehpūr*]

[2] [Karra is a town of historic interest in the Allahābād district, U P It is situated on the south bank of the Ganges opposite Mānikpūr.]

[3] [This was Jalāl ud dīn Sharki, the son of Hosain Shah and the representative of the older kings who ruled Jaunpūr before its conquest by Sikander Lodi. He must not be confounded with Jalāl ud dīn Lohānı (ex-king of Behār), another competitor for the Eastern Kingdom.]

[4] [Gorakhpūr]

Chunār;[1] that Sher Khān Sūr,[2] on whom I had bestowed marks of favour, to whom I had given several pergannas, and whom I had left in a command in that quarter, had now joined these Afghans; that with some other Amīrs he had passed the river,[a] and that Sultan Jalāleddīn's people, being unable to defend Benāres,[3] had abandoned it and retreated. They excused themselves by saying, that they had left a sufficient force in the castle of Benāres, and had advanced in order to meet the enemy on the banks of the Ganges.

[a] that Sultan Mahmūd had made Sher Khan and some other Amīrs cross the river,

[1] Chunār is a very strong hill-fort on the Ganges, about eighteen miles west of Benāres [Chunār is the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Mirzapūr district, U P, situated on the right bank of the Ganges The Fort, which is of high antiquity and formerly of great strategic importance, as the key of Bengal and Behār, s built on an outlier of the Vindhyas, a sandstone rock) utting out in the Ganges It fell into the possession of Sher Khan through marriage with its chief's daughter. In 1537 it was captured by Humāyūn and retaken by Sher Khan in the following year]

[2] [Sher Khan Sūrī was an Afghan noble, the son of Hasan, a Jagīrdār of Sāserām in Behār At an early age he quarrelled with his father and entered the service of the Governor of Jaunpūr We next find him in the service of Sultan Sikander, King of Delhi, and after the defeat of Sultan Ibrahīm by Bābur (1526) he joined the standard of Muhammed Shah Lohāni, the pretender to the throne of Jaunpūr and Behār In 1527 he joined Bābur's governor of Jaunpūr He waited on Bābur in 1528, accompanied him to Chanderi, and was entrusted by him with a command in Behār When Mahmūd Lodi seized Behār in 1529, Sher Khan joined him, but, later, shortly before the battle of Ghāgra, he made his submission to Bābur After Bābur's death (1530) Sher Khan made himself master of Behār, and having defeated Humāyūn at the battle of Chausa (1539), and Kanauj (1540), drove him into exile, and mounted the imperial throne under the title of Sher Shah. His dominions included Bengal, Behār, North Western India, and Malwa He was killed by an explosion while besieging Kalinjar (1545)]

[3] [Benāres, known to the Hindus as Kāshi, is a town of immeasurable antiquity, and is mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*. Buddha began his preaching in its neighbourhood (at Sarnāth) It was sacked by Mahmūd of Ghazni in the eleventh century and captured by Muhammed Ghori in the twelfth It sank in importance during the Mohammedan period, but is now the Hindus' Mecca. It is the head-quarters of a district in the United Provinces, situated on the left bank of the Ganges]

March 2. March 3 and 4 Bābur is entertained n Karrah by Sultan Jalāleddīn

Marching from Dakdaki, we advanced six kos, and encamped at Kusār within three or four kos of Karrah. I went and stayed on board of a vessel.[a] We halted two or three days at this station on account of a grand entertainment, which Sultan Jalāleddīn gave me. On Friday I went to the palace of Sultan Jalāleddīn, within the Fort of Karrah, where he entertained me as his guest, he himself placing some of the dishes before me. After dinner I invested him and his sons with a *yakta*[1] of cloth of gold, a *jāmeh*,[b] and a *nīmcheh*, and, at his desire, gave his eldest son the title of Sultan Mahmūd.

March 5.

After leaving Karrah, I rode on about a kos, and halted on the banks of the river Ganges. Shahrek had met me with letters from Māham, at the first station after I reached the Ganges. I now sent him back with my answers. Khwājeh Kalān, Khwājeh Yahya's grandson, had asked for a copy of the Memoirs which I had written. I had formerly ordered a copy to be made, and now sent it by Shahrek.

March 6.

Next day we marched, and after advancing four kos, halted.[2] I embarked in a boat as usual,[c] and, as the camp did not move far, we arrived early. Soon after I took a maajūn, still remaining on board.[d] Khwājeh Abdal Shahīd was in Nūrbeg's house; we sent for him; we also sent and brought Mulla Mahmūd from Mulla Alī Khan's house. After sitting some time we passed over to the other side, and set some wrestlers to wrestle. We directed Dost Yāsīn Khair to try his skill with the other wrestlers, without engaging Sādik the great[3] wrestler. These directions were contrary to usage, as the custom is to

[a] I made the journey by boat
[b] *Omit jāmeh*,
[c] *Omit* as usual,
[d] Soon after my arrival I again embarked and took a ma'jūn

[1] The *yakta* is a vest without a lining; the *jāmeh* is a long gown; the *nīmcheh*, a vest that reaches only down to the middle.

[2] [P. de C has 'the next day being Saturday, we marched, and after advancing four kos halted at Koh', a village situated in the Sirathu Tahsīl of the Allahābād district, twenty-four miles north-west of Allahābād.—*Gazetteer of the Allahābād district.*]

[3] [i. e. the champion.]

wrestle with the strongest first. He wrestled extremely well with eight different persons.

A. D. 1529 Sultan Mahmūd's army dispersed.

About afternoon prayers, Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi came in a boat from the other side of the river. He brought accounts of the ruin of the affairs of Mahmūd Khan, the son of Sultan Iskander,[1] whom the rebels had dignified with the title of Sultan Mahmūd. A scout who had gone out from our army had already, about noon-day prayers, brought us news of the breaking up of the rebels. Between noon and afternoon prayers a letter had arrived from Tājkhān Sārangkhāni, which corresponded with the information of the spy. Sultan Muhammed, on his arrival, now detailed the whole particulars. It appeared, that the rebels had come and laid siege to Chunār, and had even made a slight attack; but that, on getting the certain news of my approach, they were filled with consternation, broke up in confusion, and raised the siege; that the Afghans, who had passed over to Benāres, had also retired in great confusion; that two of their boats sank in the passage, and that several of their men were drowned in the river.

Enchantments. March 7.

Next morning also, I[a] embarked in a boat. When half-way down, I saw Aisān Taimūr Sultan, and Tukhteh Būgha Sultan, who had dismounted for the purpose of performing the *kornish*, and were still standing.[b] I sent for the Sultans into the boat; Tukhteh Būgha Sultan performed some of his enchantments. A high wind having risen,[c] it began to rain. The violence of the wind induced me to eat a maajūn. Although I had eaten

[a] Next morning I set out and after a march of six kos, the army arrived at Serauli, one of the districts of Piāg I then

[b] *Omit this clause*

[c] This produced a most refreshing temperature, and

[1] [Mahmūd Lodi was the younger son of Sikander Lodi, King of Delhi The western Afghans had proclaimed him King of Delhi after the death of his brother Ibrahīm (1526), and Rāna Sanka acknowledged his claims to the throne He supported the Rāna with a considerable force at the battle of Kānwā (1527), after which he fled to Chitor, where he remained some time He was invited to Pannā in Bundelkhand by the Lodi chiefs assembled there, and was proclaimed King of Behār and Jaunpūr in 1528 —*E B*, p 497]

a maajūn the day before, I ate one also this day on reaching the camp.

March 8. Next day we halted in our camp.

March 9. On Tuesday we marched. Over against Averd[1] there was a large verdant island. Having crossed in a boat, I rode round it on horseback,[a] and, coming back in one[b] watch, again embarked in the boat. While riding on the bank of the river, I came, without knowing it, on a steep precipice which had been hollowed out below by the current. The moment I reached the bank it gave way, and began to tumble in. I instantly threw myself by a leap on the part of it that was firm. My horse tumbled in.[c] Had I remained on the horse, I must inevitably have fallen in along with it. The same day I swam across the river Ganges for amusement. I counted my strokes, and found that I crossed over with thirty-three strokes. I then took breath,[d] and swam back to the other side. I had crossed by swimming every river that I had met with, the river Ganges alone excepted. On reaching the place where the Ganges and Jumna unite,[e] I rowed over in the boat[f] to the Piāg[2] side, and at one watch and four garis,[3] we reached the camp.

Bābur's danger.

March 10 On Wednesday at noon, the army began to cross the Jumna. We had four hundred and twenty boats.

[a] I explored it, [b] the first

[c] While I was riding along the banks of the river I passed over a quagmire (quicksand), the existence of which I had not even suspected. My horse had no sooner placed his feet on this quicksand, which exhibited no fissure on its exterior surface, than he sank. I instantly gave a jump, and threw myself on the bank, while my horse too regained his footing

[d] without resting,

[e] *Add* at the hour of evening prayers, [f] I had the boat drawn

[1] [This should be *ūrdū*, or camp, according to P. de C.]

[2] The two rivers unite at Piāg, properly Priāg, a famous place of pilgrimage with the Hindus. The fort of Allahābād is built at the conflux of the two rivers [Pryāg, which is the Hindu name for Allahābād, and signifies 'the place of sacrifice', has been regarded as a holy spot for countless centuries. The fort contains Asoka's pillar dated third century B. C., on which are also recorded the victories of Samudra Gupta in the fourth century A. D.]

[3] About half-past ten p.m.

On Friday, the 1st of Rajeb, I crossed the river. March 12.

Bābur crosses the Jumna.

On Monday the 4th, I marched from the banks of the Jumna against Behār. Having advanced five kos, we halted at Lawāin. I sailed down the river as I had been accustomed.[a] The troops had continued passing till this day. I now directed the guns and artillery[b] which had been landed at Adampūr to be again embarked at Piāg, and sent forward by water carriage. Having reached our ground, we set the wrestlers a-wrestling. Dost Yāsīn had an excellent wrestling match with Pahlevān Lahōri[1] the boatman. Dost succeeded in throwing him, but by great exertions, and with much difficulty. I bestowed complete dresses on both of them. Somewhat farther on is the Tūs,[2] a very swampy and muddy river. We halted two days at this station, for the purpose of discovering a ford, and of constructing a road Towards night, we found a ford[c] by which the horses and camels could pass, but the loaded wagons could not cross on account of its broken stony bottom. Orders were, however, given that exertion should be used, to transport the baggage carts across by that ford.

March 15. Advances against Behār.

March 16 and 17.

On Thursday, having marched thence, I went in a boat as far as the point where the river Tūs empties itself into the main river.[3] At the point of junction I landed, rode up the Tūs, and returned about afternoon prayers to the camp, which, in the meantime, had crossed that river and taken its ground. This day the army marched six kos.

March 18.

Next morning we halted on the same ground.

March 19.

[a] I went by boat

[b] gun-carriages

[c] *Add* up the river from our camp

[1] [i. e. the Lahore champion.]

[2] [There are two rivers called Tous, viz the southern (the Tūs referred to above) and the eastern The former rises in the Kaimur range, Malhar State, C I., flows through Rewah and the Allahābād district, and falls into the Ganges nineteen miles below its junction with the Jamna close to Punasa, where Bābur probably crossed it. The latter (Bābur's Tousin) rises west of Fyzābād and runs a course nearly parallel with the Gogra. It flows in a south-east direction past Azimgarh, receives the Lesser Sarju near Mau, and falls into the Ganges two miles west of Ballia]

[3] [i e the Ganges.]

March 20 On Saturday we marched twelve kos, and reache
March 21. Nilabā-Gang [a]; whence next morning we marched, an
March 22. having advanced six kos, halted above Deh.[1] Fro
thence we went on seven kos, and reached Nānupūr. A
this station Bāki Khan [b] arrived with his sons from Chunā
and paid his obeisance

At this time a letter from Muhammed Bakhshi gave m
certain information, that my wives and household had s
out from Kābul.

Visits Chunār March 24. On Wednesday I marched from that station, and visite
the fort of Chunār; the camp halted after having advance
about one kos beyond it. In the course of my marc
from Piāg, some painful boils broke out on my body
At this stage a Rūmi administered to me a medicin
which had lately been found out in Rūm. They boile
the dust of pepper in an earthen pot, and exposed th
sores to the warm steam, and after the steam diminishe
washed them with the warm water. I did this for tw
astronomical hours. At this station, a man said tha
March 25. in an island close on the edge of the camp, he had see
a lion and rhinoceros.[2] Next morning we drew a ring roun
the ground; we also brought elephants to be in readines
but no lion or rhinoceros was roused. On the edge of th
circle one wild buffalo was started. This day the win
rose very high, and the wind and dust occasioned a grea
deal of annoyance. Having embarked in a boat, I returne
Arrives at Benāres. by water to the camp, which had halted two kos highe
up than Benāres. In the jungle around Chunār, ther
are many elephants.[3] We were just setting out from thi
station, with the intention of having the sport of elephan
Mahmūd Khan occupies the banks of the Son. hunting, when Bāki Khan [c] brought information, tha
Mahmūd Khan was on the banks of the river Son.[4]

[a] we again reached the banks of the Ganges at Nilāb;
[b] Tāj Khan [c] Tāj Khan

[1] [This should be simply 'a village', according to P. de C.]

[2] Neither lions nor rhinoceroses are ever heard of now at Benāres The former might have been a tiger

[3] No wild elephants are ever found now in that quarter, or neare than the hills.

[4] [The Son, rising at Amarkantak, and flowing through the Bilāspū

immediately convened the Amīrs, and consulted them about attempting to fall upon the enemy by surprise; when it was finally settled, that we should advance by very long marches without a moment's loss of time. Leaving that place, we marched nine kos, and halted at the Balweh[1] passage. From this station, on the eve of Monday, the 18th of the month, I sent off Tāher to Agra. He carried with him drafts for payment of the money which I had ordered to be given as presents to the guests who had come from Kābul. The same day I went on board of a boat.[a] I embarked before dawn, and having reached the place where the river Gūmti,[2] which is the river of Jaunpūr, forms a junction with the Ganges, I went a short way up it in the boat, and then returned back. Though it is a narrow little river, yet it has no ford, so that troops are forced to pass it in boats, by rafts, and on horseback, or sometimes by swimming.[b] I visited and rode over the last year's encampment, from which our troops had advanced to Jaunpūr.[c] A favourable wind having sprung up, and blowing down the river, they hoisted the sail of a Bengali boat, and made her tow the large vessel, which went very quick. The army, after leaving Benāres, had encamped, about a kos higher up.[d 3] Nearly two garis of the day were still left when we reached the camp, having met with nothing to delay us[e]; the boats that followed us with most expedition, came up about bed-time prayers.

A. D. 1529.

March 28.

March 29 Bābur marches against him

[a] *Omit this sentence*

[b] *Omit* and on horseback *and read* or by swimming their horses

[c] *Add* at a distance of a kos below the junction of the Gūmti (with the Ganges)

[d] My camp was pitched a kos above Benāres

[e] *Omit this clause*

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district, Rewah state, and the Mirzapūr and Shahābād districts, joins the Ganges ten miles above Dinapūr It almost equals the Nerbudda in sanctity]

[1] [This is probably the Ballooa of Rennell's map, a town in the Benāres district, U P., situated on the left bank of the Ganges]

[2] [The Gūmti rises twenty miles east of Pilibhīt in the United Provinces, flows past Shah-jehānpūr, Lucknow, and Jaunpūr, and joins the Ganges at Saidpūr in the Ghāzipūr district.]

[3] Higher probably than the junction of the Ganges and Gūmti.

At Chunār I had given orders, that whenever I travelled by land, Moghul Beg should measure the straight road with a measuring line, and that, as often as I embarked on a boat, Lutfi Beg should measure along the bank of the river. The straight road was eleven kos, that along the river eighteen.

March 30. Next day we remained at the same station.

March 31. On Wednesday, too, I embarked on the river, and halted a kos below Ghāzipūr.

April 1. Several Afghan chiefs tender their submission

On Thursday, while at the last-mentioned station, Mahmūd Khan Lohāni came and waited on me. The same day, letters came from Jalāl Khan Behār Khan Behāri,[1] from Farīd Khan, Nasīr Khan, and Sher Khan Sūr, as well as from Alāul Khan Sūr, and from a number of the Afghan Amīrs.[2] This day, too, I received a letter

March 2. from Abdal-azīz Mīr Akhūr, dated at Lahore, the 20th of the latter Jumāda. The day on which this letter was written, Karācheh's Hindustāni servant, whom I had sent from the neighbourhood of Kālpi, had arrived. Abdal-azīz's letter mentioned, that he and others had advanced, as they had been ordered, and on the 9th of the latter

Feb 19. Jumāda had joined my household at Nilāb. Abdal-azīz, after attending them as far as the Chenāb, had there separated from the rest, and gained Lahore before them, from whence he had written the letter which I received.

April 2. On Friday the army resumed its march, while I embarked on the river as usual, and having landed opposite to Chūsch,[3] at the encampment of the former year, where

[1] [According to Erskine, Jalāl Khan Behāi Khan Behārī was the grandson of Daryā Khan, and the son of Behār Khan Lohānī, who had assumed the title of Sultān Muhammed in 1523 Sher Khan Sūr was at this time his chief supporter Nāsir Khan was the Afghan Jagīrdār of Ghāzīpūr (*E. B*, p 499).]

[2] [As Erskine observes in his *History of Bābur*, p. 500, 'this amounted to a breaking up of the Lohāni confederacy in Behār, leaving only Mahmūd Lodi and his adherents to be dealt with. In fact the feuds between the Lohāni and Lodi factions in the eastern provinces were fatal to the national history of the Afghans']

[3] [Chausa is a village in the Buxar subdivision of the Shahābād district, U.P., situated close to the point where the Karamnasa joins the Ganges four miles west of Buxar town It was the scene of Humāyūn's crushing defeat by Sher Shah in 1539.]

the sun had been eclipsed,[1] and a fast observed, I rode out and surveyed the place, and then went aboard again. Muhammed Zemān Mirza followed me into the boat,[a] and at his instigation I took a maajūn. The army encamped on the banks of the Karmnāsa.[2] The Hindūs rigorously avoid this river. The pious Hindūs did not pass it, but embarked [b] in a boat and crossed by the Ganges so as to avoid it. They hold, that if the water of this river touches any person, his religion is lost [c]; and they assign an origin to its name corresponding to this opinion. I embarked, and sailed a little way up the river, and then returning again, crossed over to the north side of the Ganges, and brought the boats close to the bank. Some of the troops amused us with different sports, and some of them wrestled. Sāki Muhsin challenged four or five people to wrestle with him. One man he laid hold of and immediately threw; Shādmān being the second, threw Muhsin who was miserably ashamed and affronted. The professed wrestlers also came and wrestled.

Next morning, being Saturday, I marched nearly at the first watch, for the purpose of sending on people to examine the ford over the Karmnāsa. I mounted, and rode for about a kos up the river towards the ford, but, as the distance was considerable, I again embarked as usual, and reached the camp in a boat. The army encamped about a kos beyond Chūseh. This day I again used the pepper remedy. It was a little too warm, so that my limbs were covered with blood,[d] and I suffered much pain. A

April 3. Passes the Karmnāsa

[a] having followed me by boat rejoined me,
[b] went past its mouth
[c] all the merits of a man's pious works are lost,
[d] with the result that I felt its influence all over my body,

[1] This must have been the eclipse of May 10, 1528. A fast is enjoined on the day of an eclipse

[2] [The Karamnāsa (destroyer of religious merit) rises in the Kaimur Hills, eighteen miles west of Rohtāsgarh in Bengal, flows through the Mirzapūr district, separates Shahābād from Benāres, and joins the Ganges near Chausa Various stories are current to account for its bad repute, but the real cause of its ill fame is probably the fact that it was the boundary of the eastern kingdom of Magadha, which is treated with contempt in Sanskrit literature because its inhabitants were non-Aryans.]

April 4. little farther on was a swampy rivulet. We stayed next morning on the same ground, for the purpose of mending the road across it.

On the eve of Monday, the Hindustāni runner, who had brought Abdal-azīz's letters, was sent back with the answers.

April 5. On Monday morning I embarked in a boat, but the wind being unfavourable, it was necessary to track[1] it. Last year the army had halted a long time at a station opposite to Baksereh.[2] On arriving near it I crossed the river, and went over the ground. Steps had been formed on the bank of the river for the purpose of landing; they might be more than forty and fewer than fifty. The two upper steps alone were left; all the others had been swept away by the river. I embarked again and took a maajūn, and having anchored the boat higher up than the camp, at an island, we made the wrestlers try their skill At bed-time prayers we returned to the camp. Last year I passed the river Ganges by swimming,[3] to view the very ground on which the army now encamped; many went over it on horses and a number on camels. That day I ate opium.

April 6. Next morning, being Tuesday, Karīm Berdi, Muhammed Ali Haider Kitābdār,[4] and Bāba Sheikh, were sent out with a force of about a hundred [a] chosen men, to procure intelligence of the enemy. While at this station, I directed the Bengal ambassador to write [b] about three definitive propositions which I offered him.

April 7. On Wednesday, Yunis Ali, whom I had sent to Muhammed Zemān Mirza [5] to sound his dispositions regarding Behār,

[a] two hundred [b] to his master

[1] [i. e. tow it with a rope.]

[2] [Buxar, a town in the Shahābād district, Bengal, is situated on the right bank of the Ganges, about sixty-two miles north-east of Benāres. Sir Hector Munro gained a decisive victory here in 1764 over the allied forces of Mīr Kāsim and the Wazīr of Oude.]

[3] Bābur mentions above, that he had passed the Ganges by swimming for the first time Perhaps he means the Ganges alone, as distinguished from the joint stream of the Jumna and Ganges.

[4] [i. e. librarian. P. de C has equerry (*rikābdār*).]

[5] It will be recollected that Muhammed Zemān Mirza was the son

returned, bringing back a shuffling answer. A man belonging to the Sheikh-zādehs of Behār arrived with a letter, which contained information that the enemy had retreated and abandoned Behār. A. D 1528

On Thursday, having written letters of protection, I sent them to the people of Behār by Terdi Muhammed son of Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, whom I ordered to set out, accompanied by some Tūrki and Hindu Amīrs, and by the bowmen, to the number of two thousand men. Having made Khwājeh Murshid Irāki, Dīwān [1] of the *Sarkār* of Behār, I sent him along with Terdi Muhammed. Next morning. Muhammed Zemān Mirza having consented to go, petitioned for several things through Sheikh Zein and Yunis Ali, and particularly requested a few troops to reinforce him. Some troops were appointed to serve under him, and he took others into his service. April 8.

On Saturday, the 1st of Shābān, we marched from this station, where we had remained encamped for three or four days; and the same day I rode out, and, after surveying Bhujpūr [2] and Bahia,[3] rejoined the camp. Muhammed Ali and the officers who had been sent out in search of intelligence, defeated a body of pagans by the road, and reached a place where Sultan Mahmūd had been. April 10.

of Badīa-ez-zemān Mirza, King of Khorasān. Bābur at this time wished to bestow on him the government of Behār, which he does not appear to have been eager to receive [He was Bābur's son-in-law, having married his daughter Ma'sūmeh Begum —*E. B.*, p 525.]

[1] [i e. civil governor Under Bābur's grandson Akbar, the Moghal Empire was divided into fifteen *Sūbahs*, each under a *Sūbahdār* or Viceroy, often a royal prince, who had supreme civil and military control Under him were the *Dīvāns*, who were superintendents of finance, and the *Faujdārs*, or military commanders of districts Each *Sūbah* was divided into a certain number of *Sarkārs*, and each *Sarkār* into *Pergannahs* (or *Mahāls*), cf our subdivisions into provinces, divisions, and districts These *Sūbahs* varied much in size. For instance the Multān *Sūbah* contained only five *Sarkārs*, and fifty-three *Mahāls*, whereas the Allahābād *Sūbah* comp sed ten *Sarkārs* and 177 *Mahāls* |

[2] [Bhujpūr lies on the right bank of the Ganges in the Shahābād district, Bengal. It is twenty-five miles west of Bihiya and five miles due east of Buxar.]

[3] [Bihiya is a village in the head-quarters Tahsīl of the Shahābād district, Bengal]

Sultan Mahmūd retreats

Sultan Mahmūd was attended by about two thousand[a] men, but, on hearing of the approach of our advanced guard, was seized with consternation, killed two of his elephants, and went off with precipitation. One of his officers, whom he had sent out in advance, was met and attacked by about twenty of our troops, and being unable to maintain his ground, his people fled; several of them were dismounted and taken prisoners; one of them had his head cut off and one or two of their best men were taken and brought in alive.

April 11 Muhammed Zemān Mirza gets Behār

Next morning we marched, and I went on board of a boat.[b] At this stage[c] I bestowed on Muhammed Zemān Mirza a full dress of honour from my own wardrobe,[1] a dagger and belt, a charger, and the umbrella.[2] He bent the knee, and did me homage for Behār; and having fixed the revenue payable into the private treasury[3] from the *Sarkār* of Behār at one *kror* and twenty-five *laks*[4] I gave the charge of it to Murshid Irāki, as Dīwān.

April 15

On Thursday, we marched from that station, and I embarked in a boat. I made all the boats be ranged in regular order. On my arrival, I directed the boats to set sail, and to form in order close to each other. More than half the breadth of the river was left unoccupied.[d] Although all the ships were not collected, as some places were shallow and others deep, as in some places the current was rapid, while in others the water was still, we were unable to make the greater part of them keep their proper distances.

[a] two hundred

[b] *Add here* It was at this station that Muhammed Zaman Mirza crossed the river. I was obliged to halt there for two or three days until he had accomplished the passage of the river, and started on his journey.

[c] On Tuesday, the fourth of the month,

[d] All the boats that had been lying up had orders on my arrival to set sail, after being bound to each other by means of ropes so as to form a continuous line. It turned out that they occupied more than the width of the river.

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[1] *Sarupā khāseh*

[2] The umbrella was a symbol only given to viceroys and persons of the highest rank.

[3] *Khālseh.*

[4] About £32,000.

A crocodile [1] was discovered within the ring of the boats; a fish the size of a man's thigh,[a] leapt so high out of the water for fear of the crocodile, that it fell into a boat, where it was taken and brought to me. On reaching our station, I gave names to the different ships The old great Bāburi, which had been finished before the war with Rāna Sanka, I called Asāish [2] This same year, before I joined the army, Arāish Khan had built a vessel, and presented it to me as a *peshkesh*. On going on board of her, I had directed a scaffolding [3] to be raised in her, and bestowed on the vessel the name of Arāish.[4] In the ship which Sultan Jalāleddīn had given me as *peshkesh*, I had caused a large scaffolding to be raised, and I now directed another scaffolding to be erected on the top of that. I called her the Gunjāish [5] Another small bark, used as a vessel of communication,[b] which was sent on every business and occasion, got the name of Farmāish.[6]

Next morning, being Friday, I did not march. All the preparations and arrangements for Muhammed Zemān Mirza's departure being completed, he separated from us, and encamped a kos or two off, for the purpose of proceeding on his expedition to Behār. The same day, he came and had his audience of leave. Two spies, who came from the Bengal army, informed me that the Bengalis, under the command of Makhdūm Ālim, were separated into twenty-four divisions on the banks of the river Gandak,[7] and were raising works of defence. A body of Afghans, under Sultan Mahmūd, who had wished to send away their families and baggage,[c] had not been suffered to do it, and

April 16. Bābur prepares for battle.

[a] *Omit* the size of a man's thigh,
[b] a vessel with a rounded stern,
[c] to convey their wives and families across the river,

[1] [This is the *ghariāl* or *Gavialis gangeticus*.]
[2] The Repose [3] [i. e. platform or raised poop.]
[4] [The Ornament.] [5] The Capacious.
[6] [The Commission.]
[7] [This is the Gandak proper, which, rising in the mountains of Nepal, flows through the districts of Champāran and Sāran, and joins the Ganges opposite Patna. It must not be confounded with the Lesser Gandak, which is a tributary of the Ghāgra.]

had been compelled to accompany the army. Instantly on receiving this intelligence, as there was some probability of a general action, I dispatched orders to Muhammed Zemān Mirza, forbidding him to march, and sent forward Shah Iskander, with only three or four hundred men, to Behār.

April 17. Demands a categorical answer from Bengal.

On Saturday, a messenger from Dūdū,[1] and her son Jalāl Khan Behār Khan, arrived in my camp. It appeared that the Bengalis had watched them with a jealous eye. After having given me notice of their intentions, that I might expect their arrival, they had come to blows with the Bengalis, had effected their escape, crossed the river, and reached the territory of Behār, whence they were now on their way to tender me their allegiance. The same day, I sent word to the ambassador of Bengal, Ismāel Mītah, that there was great delay on the part of his court, in answering the three articles which had formerly been given to him in writing, and which he had forwarded. That he must, therefore, dispatch a letter, requiring an immediate and categorical answer; that if his master had really peaceable and friendly intentions, he could find no difficulty in declaring so, and that without loss of time.

Recovers Behār, April 14.

On Sunday eve a messenger arrived from Terdi Muhammed Jeng-Jeng, by whom I learned, that on the morning of Wednesday, the 5th of Shābān, his advanced guard had arrived on one side of Behār,[2] whereupon the Shikdār (or Collector) had instantly fled by the opposite gate, and made his escape.

April 18 Sends an ambassador with three articles to Bengal.

On Sunday I marched from that station, and halted in the perganna of Ari.[3] Here we received information, that the army of Kharīd[4] was encamped at the junction of the

[1] [Dudu was the widow of Sultan Muhammed Shah Lohāni, the Afghan King of Behār (who died in 1528), and regent for her minor son, Jalāl ud dīn Lohāni, or, as he is generally styled, Jalāl Khan Behār Khan.—*E. B.*, p. 497]

[2] [The town of Behār, now much decayed, lies thirty-seven miles from Patna city in the Patna district of Behār]

[3] [Arrah is the head-quarters of the Shahābād district of Bengal It is famous for its defence by Wake and Boyle during the Mutiny.]

[4] Kharīd appears to have included the country on both sides of the Gogra, near Sikanderpūr, and thence on its left bank down to the

Ganges and Sarū,[1] on the farther side of the river Sarū, A. D. 1521
where they had collected a hundred or a hundred and fifty vessels. As I was at peace with Bengal, and had always been the first to enter into any understanding that had a tendency to confirm a friendly state of things, though they had not treated me well in placing themselves right in my route, yet, from a consideration of the terms on which I had long been with them,[a] I resolved to send Mulla Muhammed Mazhab along with Ismāel Mīta the ambassador of Bengal; and it was settled that the Mulla should have leave to return back to me, after making the same three proposals that I had formerly offered.[2]

On Monday the ambassador of Bengal came to wait on April 19
me, when I sent him notice that he had leave to return. It

[a] faithful to the rule I had always observed,

Ganges [Kharīd is a village which gives its name to the *pergannah*, and is situated in the Bansdih Tahsīl of the Balliа District, U.P., four miles east of Sikanderpūr.]

[1] [Much confusion has been caused by the various names given to this river The principal branch rises in Kumaon, where it is named the Kāli. At Katai Ghāt it unites with the western Sarju, after which it goes by various names Sarju, Sarū, Sarda or Ghāgra. Further down it is joined by the eastern Sarju and adds Deoha to its numerous names.]

[2] [Erskine in his *History of Bābur* (pp. 501–2) explains the transactions between Bābur and Nasrat Shah, the King of Bengal. When Sikander Lodi overran the Kingdom of Jaunpūr, the reigning king, Hosain, took refuge with the King of Bengal Sikander, having subdued Behār, entered Bengal, and his advance was stayed only by a convention under which he was allowed to retain Behār, Tirhūt and Sāran, and neither Prince was to support the enemies of the other. The confusion occasioned by Bābur's approach against Ibrahīm Lodi presented a favourable opportunity to the King of Bengal, for recovering the ceded provinces. Nasrat Shah, accordingly, occupied Tirhūt, and captured Monghyr After the defeat and death of Ibrahīm Lodi, many Afghans fled to Bengal, and Nasrat Shah even gave asylum to Sultan Mahmūd, the brother of his father-in-law, Ibrahīm Lodi Bābur found the army of Kharīd, as the Bengal army was called, lying in the territory of Sāran, and encamped near the junction of the Ganges and Ghāgra Though at peace with Bengal, the shelter afforded to his fugitive enemy, the position of the Kharīd army, and the equivocal conduct of its leaders, made a categorical explanation of the intentions of the Bengal Government indispensable.]

was at the same time intimated to him, that I would be guided entirely by my own pleasure in moving backwards or forwards, as seemed best, for the purpose of quelling the rebels wherever they were to be found, but that his master's dominions should sustain no injury or harm, either by land or water, that as one of the three articles was, that he should order the army of Kharīd to leave the tract in which I was marching, and return to Kharīd, I was willing to send some Tūrks to accompany them on their march, that I would give the Kharīd troops a safe-conduct, and assurances of indemnity, and suffer them to go to their own homes.[a] If he refused to leave the passage open, and neglected to listen to the remonstrances which I made,[b] that then, whatever evil fell on his head, he must regard as proceeding from his own act; and he would have himself only to blame for any unpleasant circumstance that occurred.

April 21. On Wednesday I bestowed the usual dress of honour on Ismāel Mīta, the Bengal ambassador, and gave him presents and his audience of leave.

April 22. On Thursday I sent Sheikh Jamāli to Dūdū, and her son Jalāl Khan, with letters of protection, and a gracious message. The same day a servant of Māham arrived, who had parted with my family at Dīpali,[c] on the other side of Bāgh-e-Safā. He brought letters from them.

April 24 On Saturday, the ambassador of Irāk, Murād Korchi Kajār,[1] had an audience.

April 25 On Sunday, having delivered suitable presents to the care of Mulla Muhammed Mazhab, he took leave.

April 26 On Monday, I sent Khalīfeh and some other Amīrs, to examine in what place the river could be passed.

April 28. Visits Ari and Munīr. On Wednesday, I again sent Khalīfeh to examine the ground between the two rivers.[2] I rode out to the south, nearly to Ari, for the purpose of examining the beds of

[a] who would escort them there and deliver on my behalf reassuring letters to the people of Kharīd

[b] and did not desist from this absurd claim to bar our passage,

[c] *Omit* at Dīpali,

[1] The Kajārs are the Tūrki tribe, to which the present Persian royal family belong

[2] [i. e. the Ghāgra and the Ganges.]

water-lilies. While I was riding about among them, Sheikh Gūren brought me some fresh seeds of the water-lily. They bear a perfect resemblance to fresh pistachios, and have a very pleasant taste. The flower, which is the *nīlūfar*,[1] the Hindustānis call *kawel-kakeri*; its seeds they call *dūdah*. As they informed me that the Son was near at hand, we rode to see it. In the course taken by the river Son below this, there are a number of trees, which they say lie in Munīr.[2] The tomb of Sheikh Yahyā, the father of Sheikh Sharaf Munīr,[3] is there. As we had come so far, and come so near, I passed the Son, and going two or three kos down the river, surveyed Munīr. Having walked through its gardens, I perambulated the Mausoleum, and coming to the banks of the Son, bathed in that river. Having said my noon-day prayers earlier than the stated time, I returned back to join the army.[a] Some of our horses were knocked up in consequence of their high condition; so that we were forced to procure others, and [b] left some persons behind, with instructions to bring together the horses that were worn out, to take care of them, allow them time to rest,[c] and bring them back at leisure.[d] Had we not given these orders, we would have lost many horses. I had given orders, on leaving Munīr, to count the paces of a horse from the banks of the river Son to the camp. They amounted to twenty-three thousand one hundred, which is equal to forty-six thousand two hundred paces, amounting to eleven kos[4] and

[a] camp
[b] while others were exhausted, so I
[c] *Add* and water them,
[d] without pressure

[1] The Lotus [(*Nelumbium speciosum*) The ordinary Hindustān word for the flower is *kanwal*, and for the seed *kanwalgatta*.]

[2] The Munīr, best known, lies on a river that joins the Karmnāsa, in the upper part of its course. The Munīr here spoken of, was probably some village dependent on the other. [Munīr is a town on the Son in the district of Ghāzipūr, U.P.]

[3] [Sheikh Sharaf ud dīn Ahiyā Munīrī was a celebrated Sūfī saint of Behār, the contemporary of Nizām ud dīn Aulia. He was the author of *Madan ul ma'ānī* and *Mukātubāt i Ahiyā Munīrī*. He died in 1380, and his tomb, which stands near the junction of the Son with the Ganges, is held in great veneration by Muhammedans.—Beale's *Biographical Dictionary*.]

[4] The kos being 4,000 paces. If we take the pace of two feet and a half, this would make Bābur's kos nearly a mile seven furlongs and thirty-three yards.

a half. From Munīr to the river Son is about half a kos, so that the whole distance we travelled in returning was twelve kos. As in moving from place to place, in order to see the country, we must have gone fifteen or sixteen kos, we could not in all have ridden much less than thirty kos this day. About six garis of the first watch of the night[1] were past, when we returned to the camp.

April 29. Is joined by the troops from Jaunpūr.

On the morning of the same Thursday, Sultan Juneid Birlās arrived with the troops from Jaunpūr. I showed him marks of my great dissatisfaction, upbraided him with his delay, and did not salute him. I, however, sent for Kazi Jīa, whom I embraced.

Resolves to force a passage across the Sarū, or Gogra.

That same day I called the Amīrs, both Tūrkı and Hindu, to a council, and took their opinion about passing the river. It was finally settled that Ustād Alı should plant his cannon, his *feringi* pieces[2] and swivels,[3] on a rising ground between the Ganges and Sarū, and also keep up a hot fire with a number of matchlock-men from that post; that a little lower down than the junction of the two rivers, opposite to an island, where there were a number of vessels[a] collected, Mustafa, on the Behār side of the Ganges, should get all his artillery and ammunition in readiness, and commence a cannonade, a number of matchlock-men were also placed under his command; that Muhammed Zemān Mirza and others, who were appointed for the service, should take their ground behind Mustafa to support him; and that overseers and inspectors should be appointed to attend Ustād Ali Kuli and Mustafa, for the purpose of overlooking the pioneers and labourers employed in raising batteries, placing the guns, and planting the artillery,[b] as well as for superintending the men who were occupied in transporting the ammunition and warlike stores, and in other necessary works[c]; that Askeri, and the Sultans and

[a] *Add* and an elephant belonging to the Bengalis

[b] (emplacements) for the reception of guns and culverins,

[c] and should also provide above all for a plentiful supply of ammunition for the guns;

[1] Nearly half-past eight p.m.

[2] [P. de C. has *pierrier* (culverins).]

[3] *Zarbzīn.*

Khans named for the duty, should set out expeditiously, and pass the Sarū, at the Ghāt [1] of Haldı,[2] in order that, when the batteries were completed, they might be in readiness to fall upon the enemy, who might thus be attacked in different quarters at the same time.[a] Sultan Juneīd, and Kazi Jīa, having informed me that there was a ford eight kos higher up, I appointed Zard-rū to take one or two boatmen, and accompanied by Sultan Juneīd's men, and Mahmūd Khan, and Kazi Jīa's people [b] to proceed in search of the ford, and to cross over if it was found passable. Our people had a report that the Bengalis intended to place a party at the ford of Haldi, for the purpose of guarding it. We received letters from the Shikdār of Iskanderpūr [3] and Mahmūd Khan,[c] that they had collected about fifty vessels at the passage of Haldı, and had hired boatmen, but that A D 1529 the sailors had been struck with a panic upon hearing a report that the Bengalis were coming. As there was still a chance [d] of effecting a passage over the river Sarū, without waiting for the people who had gone to look for the ford, on Saturday I called the Amīrs to a council, and told them that from Iskanderpūr Chatermūk, as far as Oudh and

[a] *For* at the same time *read* on that side
[b] and those of Mahmūd Khan and Kazi Jīa
[c] Mahmūd Khan's Shikdār at Iskanderpūr,
[d] Seeing the urgency

[1] The Ghāt of Haldı seems to have been a passage over the Gogra The *ghāt* on a river is the landing place on the bank

[2] [This ferry is shown on the map of Gorakhpūr as situated in the south-east corner of the district, connecting Ballia with Gorakhpūr. Haldi is a village in the Rasva Tahsīl of the Ballia district, on the right bank of the Ghāgra, nine miles north-west of Sikandarpūr. —*Gazetteers of the Ballia and Gorakhpūr districts.*]

[3] Iskanderpūr, the Secunderpour of Rennell, stands on the right bank of the Gogra, about twenty miles above its junction with the Ganges. [Sikandarpūr is situated in the Bansdih Tahsīl of the Ballia district, U P., three miles south of the right bank of the Ghāgra, and twenty-four miles north of Ballia town. It is a very old town, with ruins that extend as far as Kharīd, four miles to the east, and is said to get its name from Sultan Sikandar Lodi.]

Bahrāj,[1] the whole river Sarū was full of fords; that my plan was as follows: to divide my army into six bodies [a]; to make the chief force of it cross in boats at the Haldi passage, and advance upon the enemy, so as to draw them out of their entrenchments, and keep them occupied until Ustād Alı Kulı and Mustafa [2] could cross the river and take post with the guns, matchlocks, *feringis*, and artillery [b]; that I myself would pass the Ganges with Ustād Alı Kulı,[c] and remain on the alert, and in perfect readiness for action; that as soon as the great division of the army had effected their passage, and got near the enemy, I should commence an attack on my side, and cross over with my division [3]; that Muhammed Zemān Mirza, and those who were appointed to act with him on the Behār bank of the Ganges, were at the same time to enter into action, and to support Mustafa.[d] Having made these arrangements, and divided the army to the north of the Ganges into four divisions, and placed it under the command of Askerı, I ordered it to advance to the ford of Haldi. One of the divisions was under the immediate command of Askerı, and was composed of his servants; another was commanded by Sultan Jalāleddīn Sharkı; the third was composed of the Sultans of the Uzbeks, Kāsim Hussain Sultan, Bikhūb Sultan, Tang Itmish Sultan, Muhammed [e] Khan Lohānı Ghāzipūri,

[a] *Omit this clause*

[b] that while the rest of the army remained immobile, I should cause to be conveyed across the river in boats at the Haldi ferry, a large force which would advance straight against the enemy, that, while this movement was in course of execution, Ustād Alı Kulı and Mustafa should assist it by the fire of their cannon, matchlocks, culverins and swivel guns, and come into action

[c] that for my part I would cross the Ganges after posting troops to support Ustād Alı Kulı,

[d] near Mustafa

[e] Mahmūd

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[1] [Barhaj is a town in the Deoria Tahsīl of the Gorakhpūr district, U P, situated on the left bank of the Ghāgra near its confluence with the Raptı]

[2] It will be recollected, that Alı Kulı was to cross the Gogra above its junction with the Ganges, while Mustafa was to cross the Ganges below its junction with the Gogra.

[3] Bābur's division was to cross over under cover of Alı Kulı's fire, and Muhammed Zemān Mirza under that of Mustafa

Sūki[a] Bāba Kashkeh, Kurbmish[b] Uzbek, Kurbān Churkhi, Hussain Khan, with the Daryā-khānians.[1] The fourth division was under the conduct of Mūsa Sultan, and Sultan Juneid Birlas, who had with them the whole army from Jaunpūr, to the number of twenty thousand men. Proper officers were appointed to get the whole of these divisions mounted and in march that same night, being Sunday eve.

On the morning of Sunday the army began to pass the Ganges.[2] I embarked and crossed over about the first watch.[3] The third watch was past when Zard-rū, and those who had accompanied him to search for the ford, returned without having found it. They brought word, that by the way they had met the boats, and the detachment of the army which had been ordered up the river.[4] May 2

On Tuesday we marched from the place where we had crossed the river, advanced towards the field of action, which is near the confluence of the two rivers, and encamped about a kos from it. I myself went and saw Ustād Ali Kuli employed in firing his *feringis* and artillery. That day Ustād Ali Kuli struck two vessels with shot from his *feringi*, and sank them.[c] Having dragged on the great cannon towards the field of battle, and appointed Mulla Gholām to forward the necessary preparations for planting it, and left him some *yasāwels*[5] and officers to assist him, I embarked in a boat and went to an island opposite to the camp, where I took a maajūn. While I was under the influence of the maajūn, they brought the boat near the royal tents, and I passed the whole night aboard. This night, a singular occurrence happened. About the third watch of the night an alarm was given by the boat-people. I found that my May 4. Singular occurrence.

[a] Kūki [b] Tulmish

[c] *Add* It was from this spot also that Mustafa shattered and sank two boats with shots from a swivel gun

[1] [According to P. de C these were the chiefs who were specially appointed to superintend the banks and streams of the Ganges]

[2] They passed from the right to the left bank of the Ganges, preparatory to crossing the Gogra

[3] [About 6 a m A *pahar* or watch =three hours]

[4] [i e. Askari's force.]

[5] The *yasāwel* is an officer who carries the commands of the prince and sees them enforced He has a staff of office.

servants had each of them laid hold of some piece of wood belonging to the ship, and were calling out, 'Strike him, strike him.' The vessel Farmāish, in which I slept, was close by the Asāish,[a] on board of which was a *tunkitār*,[1] who, as he waked from his sleep, saw a person that had laid hold of the ship Asāish, and was endeavouring to climb up her side. The *tunkitār* struck him with a stone on the head. The unknown person, while in the act of falling from above into the water,[b] let fly a blow with his sword at the *tunkitār*, and wounded him a little. The man made his escape in the river. This had produced the alarm. The night that I left Munīr, one or two of my *tunkitārs* had chased a number of Hindustānis who had come near my vessel, and took two of their swords and a dagger, which they brought in. Almighty God preserved me:

> Let the sword of the world be brandished as it may,
> It cannot cut one vein without the permission of God.

May 5. The following morning, being Wednesday, I went aboard of the Gunjāish, and having approached the place where they were firing the artillery, I allotted to every one his particular duty. I dispatched about a thousand men, under the command of Aughān Berdi Moghul, with orders to ascend the river for two or three kos, and use every endeavour to cross it.[c] While they were on the march, not far from Askeri's camp, they fell in with twenty or thirty Bengali vessels which had crossed the river and landed a number of infantry, with the intention of making a sudden attack on one of our divisions.[d] Our men charged at full gallop, threw them into confusion, put them to flight, took some prisoners, whose heads they cut off, killed and wounded a number of others with their arrows, and seized

[a] The Asāish in which I slept was anchored close to the Farmāish,
[b] The other immediately dived and, coming up again,
[c] cross the river two or three kos higher up
[d] While they were on the march, they fell in with a large force of Bengali infantry, who having crossed opposite to Askari's camp by the aid of thirty vessels, flattered themselves with the idea that they would find an occasion for displaying their valour

[1] A confidential servant. [P. de C. translates this 'night watchman'.]

seven or eight of the vessels. The same day, the Bengalis landed from a number of vessels, near Muhammed Zemān Mirza's quarters,[1] and made an attack on him. He, on his part, received them with great firmness, put them to flight, and pursued them; the men of three vessels were drowned, and one vessel was taken and brought to me. On this occasion, Bāba Chihreh particularly exerted himself and signalized his bravery I ordered Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Yakkeh Khwājeh, Yunis Ali, Aughān Berdi, and the body which had previously been appointed to pass the river, to make use of the seven or eight ships which Aughān Berdi and his men had taken, to row them over[a] during the night while it was dark, and so cross the river.

Passage of the Sarū effected.

The same day, a messenger arrived from Askeri with information that his army had now all crossed the river, and that early next morning, being Thursday, they would be ready to fall upon the enemy; I immediately issued orders, that all the rest of our troops who had effected their passage, should co-operate with Askeri and fall upon the enemy, in conjunction with him. About noon-day prayers, A. D. 1529 a person came from Ustād with notice that the bullet was ready to be discharged,[2] and that he waited for instructions. I sent orders to discharge it, and to have another loaded before I came up.

About afternoon prayers I embarked in a small Bengali boat, and proceeded to the place where the batteries had been erected; Ustād discharged a very large stone bullet once, and fired the *feringis* several times. The Bengalis are famous for their skill in artillery. On this occasion, we had a good opportunity of observing them. They do not direct their fire against a particular point, but discharge at

[a] tow them up stream

[1] On the Ganges, below its junction with the Gogra

[2] At this period the Asiatics were fond of artillery of huge size, as the Turks still are The operation of loading was performed very slowly. [By *bullet* is meant *cannon*. I saw a huge gun of this description at Bījapūr, which I photographed with a native boy comfortably squatted inside the muzzle. It was 14 ft long with a bore at the muzzle of 2 ft 4 in From an inscription which it bore, it appears to have been made for the Emperor Aurangzīb in 1685 by Muhammed Rūmi]

random. The same afternoon prayers, I ordered that some vessels should be rowed right up the river Sarū, in front of the enemy. The persons appointed to row the boats, without any hesitation, though unsheltered, rowed up about twenty vessels.[a] Orders were given to Isān Taimūr Sultan, Tukhteh Būgha Sultan, Bāba Sultan, Arāish Khan, and Sheikh Gūren, to proceed to the spot where the vessels were, and to guard them. I then left the place, and reached the camp in the first watch of the night.

Towards midnight, news came from the ships that had been collected higher up the river, that the detachment ordered on the service had advanced as directed; that while the ships which had been collected were moving according to orders, the Bengali ships had occupied a narrow pass in the river and engaged them[b]; that one of the boatmen had his leg broken by a shot, and that they found themselves unable to make their way.

May 6. Defeat of the enemy.

On Thursday morning, I received intelligence from the men in the batteries, that the ships which were higher up the river were all sailing down,[c] and that the enemy's whole cavalry had mounted, and were now moving against our troops, who were advancing. I set out with the utmost expedition, and repaired to the vessels which had passed up by night. I dispatched a messenger full gallop to Muhammed Sultan Mirza,[1] and the detachment which had been appointed to pass, with orders for them to cross without delay, and to join Askeri. I ordered Isān Taimūr Sultan and Tukhteh Būgha Sultan, who were protecting the vessels, to lose no time in crossing. Bāba Sultan had not yet reached the appointed place. On this occasion, Isān Taimūr Sultan embarked with about thirty or forty of his servants in a boat; they swam over their horses by the side of the boat,[d] and so effected a passage; another boat got across after him. On seeing that the first party had landed,

[a] carried out the undertaking

[b] the Bengalis, on discovering our manœuvre, had come out to attack us;

[c] had all arrived,

[d] *Add* by taking hold of their manes,

[1] On the Gogra, between Bābur's position and Askeri's.

a large body of Bengali infantry marched down to attack them. Seven or eight of Isān Taimūr Sultan's men mounted their horses, rode out to meet them, and kept them occupied in skirmishing, drawing them on towards Isān Taimūr, till he was prepared. This gave Taimūr Sultan time to mount and make ready, and in the meantime the second boat had also come across He now set upon the large body of infantry with thirty or thirty-five horse, and put them to flight in grand style, distinguishing himself in several respects ; first, by the vigour and celerity with which he crossed over before all the rest ; and next, by advancing with a handful of men to charge a numerous body of foot, which he threw into confusion and defeated Tukhteh Būgha Sultan also passed the river, and the vessels now began to cross in uninterrupted succession The Lahoris and Hindustānis also began to pass separately,[a] some by swimming [b] and others on bundles of reeds, each shifting for himself.

On observing what was going on, the Bengali ships, which lay opposite to the batteries down the river, began to flee.[c] Derwīsh Muhammed Sārbān, Dost Ishek-Agha, Nūr Beg, and numbers of our troops now passed, opposite to the batteries. I dispatched a messenger to the Sultans, to desire them to keep together in a body such as had crossed, and that as the enemy's army drew near, they should take post upon its flank, and skirmish with them. The Sultans accordingly formed such as had crossed into three or four divisions, and advanced towards the enemy. On their approach, the enemy pushed forward their infantry to attack them, and then moved from their position to follow and support their advance. Kūki arrived with a detachment from Askeri's division on the one side, and the Sultans advancing on the other direction, they both charged. They fell furiously on the enemy, whom they bore down, taking a number of prisoners, and, finally, drove them from the field. Kūki overtook one Basant Rao, a pagan of rank, and having unhorsed him, cut off his head.

[a] in their usual fashion and each from his own position,
[b] some supported on pieces of wood
[c] began to flee down the river

Ten or fifteen of his people, who threw themselves upon it,[a] were killed on the spot. Tukhteh Būgha Sultan signalized his valour by pushing on, and engaging the enemy hand to hand. Dost Ishek-Agha also showed great intrepidity.[b] Moghul Abdal Wahāb and his younger brother likewise distinguished themselves. Although Moghul could not swim, he yet contrived to get across in his corslet [c]

My own ships were still behind. I sent orders for them to come up. The Farmāish came first, and having gone on board of her, I crossed, and examined the position of the Bengalis; after which I embarked in the Gunjāish, and made them pull up the river.[d] Mīr Muhammed Jālehbān having informed me, that higher up, the river Sarū afforded more favourable situations for passing, I gave orders for the troops to pass with all speed by the passages which he mentioned. While Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and the other officers who had been ordered to cross, were effecting their passage, Yakkeh Khwājeh's vessel sank, and Yakkeh Khwājeh went to the mercy of God. I bestowed his retainers and government on his younger brother, Kāsim Khwājeh.

About noon-day prayers, while I was bathing,[e] the Sultans waited on me. I praised their conduct in high terms, and led them to indulge hopes from my favour and good opinion. Askeri, too, came at the same time. This was the first time that he had seen service, and it afforded a favourable omen. That night, as the camp equipage was not yet come over, I slept on a platform on the Gunjāish.[f]

May 7. On Friday we halted at a village called Gundneh, in the government of Kharīd, in the perganna of Nirhan,[1] to the north of the Sarū.

[a] who tried to defend him,
[b] *Omit this sentence*
[c] *Add* by clinging to his horse's mane
[d] made inquiries about the upper reaches of the river
[e] performing my ablutions,
[f] *Add* which had been moored to an island

[1] The Nurhun of Rennell, situate below Iskanderpūr, on the left bank of the Gogra. [It lies about ten miles due east of Sikandarpūr, but on the opposite bank. By Gundneh may be meant Godna (now

On Sunday, I dispatched Kūki with his party towards Hājipūr,[1] for the purpose of procuring information. Shah Muhammed Maarūf, on whom I had conferred great favours when he had waited on me last year, and on whom I had bestowed the country of Sāran,[2] had conducted himself to my satisfaction on several occasions. He had twice engaged his father, and had defeated and taken him. When Sultan Mahmūd took Behār by stratagem, Bīban and Sheikh Bayezīd marched against him. He then saw nothing left for it but to join them. About this time I had received several letters from him, and various confused reports [a] respecting him were current. As soon as Askeri had passed at Haldi, he came at the head of his men, waited upon Askeri, and joined him in his operations against the Bengalis. While I remained at this station he waited on me, and tendered his services. May 9. A. D. 1529.

We now learned by successive messengers, that Bīban and Sheikh Bayezīd intended to cross the river Sarū. At the same time an unexpected piece of news came from Sambal. Ali Yūsef, who was in command there, had employed himself in reducing the country to order, and in introducing regularity into the government. He and a person, who acted as his physician, both died on the same day. I ordered Abdallah to proceed to Sambal, for the purpose of maintaining order and good government in that country; and on Friday, the 5th of Ramzān, he accordingly took leave, and set out for it. Bīban and Sheikh Bayezīd cross the Sarū. May 14

At the same time I received a letter from Chān Taimūr

[a] wild rumours

Rewalganj), which lies on the left bank of the Ghāgra a little east of Chapra in the Sāran district]

[1] Hājipūr stands opposite to Patna, on the Ganges [Hājipūr is a town in Tirhūt, Bengal, situated opposite to Patna at the confluence of the Gandak and Ganges, about fifteen miles from Dinapūr.]

[2] [Sāran is a district in the Patna Division of Bengal, which forms a wedge between the Ganges and Gandak rivers, with the apex pointing towards Patna Its western boundary marches with the United Provinces, and its head-quarters station is Chapra, opposite to which the Ghāgra meets the Ganges Sāran is a very fertile, highly cultivated, and densely populated tract Shah Muhammed was son of Ma'ruf Fermūli]

Sultan, informing me that several of the Amīrs who had been appointed to accompany my household from Kābul, would not be able to attend them.[a] Muhammedi and some others had gone on a plundering expedition a hundred kos off along with the Sultan, and had inflicted a severe chastisement on the Balūches. I sent notice through Abdallah to Chīn Taimūr Sultan, that Sultan Muhammed Duldāi, Muhammedi, and several Amīrs and officers in that quarter, had orders to join him in Agra, and remain there in readiness to march against the enemy in whatever direction they showed themselves.

May 17. On Monday the 8th, Jalāl Khan, the grandson of Deryā Khan, to meet whom I had sent Jamāli Khan, arrived with a number of his chief Amīrs, and waited on me. The same day Yahyā Lohāni, who had previously sent his younger brother to tender his services, having been reassured by a gracious letter which I wrote him, came and was introduced. As seven or eight thousand Lohāni Afghans had come in hopes of employment,[b] to keep them in good humour, I set apart one kror[1] from the *khālseh* or imperial revenue of Behār, of which sum I gave fifty laks[2] to Mahmūd Khan Lohāni; the rest I granted to Jalāl Khan, who had orders to levy another kror for my service.[c] Mulla Ghulām *yasāwel* was dispatched for the purpose of receiving this money. I bestowed the government of Jaunpūr on Muhammed Zemān Mirza.

Wednesday, May 19. The Bengalis accept terms of peace. On Thursday eve, one Ghulām Ali, a servant of Khalīfeh, who, before Ismāel Mīta returned to his court, had carried the three propositions, in company with Abul Fateh, a servant of the Prince of Mongīr, returned along with Fateh, bringing letters from the Prince of Mongīr,[3] and

[a] several Amīrs would not be able to join him as they had been told off to escort my family from Kabul.

[b] participating in my bounty,

[c] who consented himself to pay a kror as tribute

[1] About £25,000. [2] About £12,500.

[3] [Monghyr is the head quarters of a district in Behār situated on the south bank of the Ganges. It was once a place of considerable military importance, and was first captured by Muhammedans under Muhammed Bakhtiyāi Khilji in 1198 At the time of Bābur's invasion it was held by a Prince of the Royal House of Bengal.]

Hassan Khan Lashker the Wazīr, addressed to Khalīfeh. They assented to the three propositions, took upon themselves to act for Nasret Shah,[1] and proposed that a peace should be concluded. As this expedition had been undertaken for the purpose of punishing the rebellious Afghans, of whom many had gone off and disappeared, many had come in and entered into my service, while the few that still remained took shelter among the Bengalis, who had undertaken to answer for them; and as the rainy season too was now close at hand, I wrote in return, and sent my acceptance of the terms of peace, along with the articles [a] above mentioned.

On Saturday Ismāel Jalwānī, Alāul Khan Lohānī, Aulia Khan Usterānī, with five or six other Amīrs, waited on me, to tender their submission. May 22.

The same day I presented Isān Taimūr Sultan, and Tukhteh Būgha Sultan,[2] with a sword and belt, a dagger for the [b] girdle, coats of mail, dresses of honour, and Tīpchāk horses. To Isān Taimūr Sultan, I gave thirty [c] laks [3] from the perganna of Nārnūl,[4] and to Tukhteh Būgha Sultan, thirty laks from the perganna of Shamsābād, for which they knelt, and offered their duty.[5]

On Monday the 15th, having accomplished all my objects on the side of Bengal and Behār, I marched from our station on the banks of the Sarū and the vicinity of Gundneh, in order to check the hostilities of Bīban and Sheikh Bayezīd, who were still refractory.[6] After marching two stages, the third, on Wednesday, brought us to the passage May 24 Bābur se out on hi return. May 26.

[a] on the conditions [b] with its [c] thirty-six

[1] Nasret Shah, it will be recollected, was King of Bengal.

[2] [These were sons of Sultan Ahmed Khan, the 'Younger Khan'.]

[3] About £7,500.

[4] [Narnaul is the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Patiāla State, Panjāb, situated on the banks of the Cholak Nadi, thirty-seven miles from Rewāri. It is a place of considerable antiquity, and later we hear of it in connexion with Sultan Altamsh. It claims to be the birthplace of Sher Shah, the tomb of whose grandfather, Ibrahīm Khan, adorns the town. It was one of the strongholds of the military adventurer George Thomas during his short-lived government.]

[5] Or rather *did homage*

[6] [They were then, according to Erskine, probably in the Bahraich District, U. P.]

of Choupāreh Chatermūk,[1] at Sikanderpūr. That same day our people began to busy themselves in crossing.[2] Intelligence arrived again and again, that the insurgents had passed the Sarū and Gogra,[3] and were marching towards Lakhnau.

Violent storm.

In order to check their progress, I appointed, out of my Tūrki and Hindustāni officers, Sultan Jalāleddīn Sharki,[4] Ali Khan Fermūli, Tardīkeh Nizām Khan, Sālih Karīmish [a] Usbek, Kurbān Chirkhi, Hussain Khan Daryā-khāni, who took leave on Thursday eve. That same night after the *terāwīh* prayers,[5] when about five garis of the second watch were past,[6] the clouds of the rainy season broke, and there was suddenly such a tempest, and the wind rose so high, that most of the tents were blown down. I was writing in the middle of my pavilion, and so suddenly did the storm come on, that I had not time to gather up my papers and the loose sheets that were written, before it blew down the pavilion, with the screen that surrounded it,[b] on my head. The top of the pavilion was blown to pieces, but God preserved me. I suffered no injury. The books and sheets of paper were drenched and wet, but were

[a] Bayati Tulmish

[b] the tent with its anteroom (*porch*)

[1] [Chaupāreh is the modern Chapra, the head quarters of the Sāran District in Bengal, situated near the left bank of the Ghāgra In the eighteenth century it was a thriving commercial centre with British, French, Dutch, and Portuguese factories, but it has since declined owing to its having been deserted first by the Ganges and then by the Ghāgra Chaturmūk is on the opposite bank of the river.]

[2] The river Gogra

[3] [The Ghāgra rises in Tibet, flows through Nepal, joins the Sarda at Mallanpūr and the Sarju near Katai Ghat, passes Ayodhya and Azimgarh (where the Lesser Sarju takes off), and after traversing the Districts of Azimgarh, Ghāzipūr, and Ballia, falls into the Ganges on the left bank opposite Bahrāmghāt]

[4] [This Jalāl ud dīn Sharki, the ex-king of Jaunpūr, must not be confounded with Jalāl Khan Behār Khan Lohāni.]

[5] The *terāwīh* are certain prayers said late at night, during the Ramzān [*Tarāwīh* (places of rest) are so called because the congregation sits down to rest at intervals during the service]

[6] That is after 11 o'clock at night This storm marks the setting in of the rainy monsoon.

gathered again with much trouble, folded in woollen cloth,[a] and placed under a bed,[b] over which carpets were thrown. The storm abated in two garis.[1] We contrived to get up the *tūshek-khāneh*[2] tent, lighted a candle with much difficulty, kindled a fire,[c] and did not sleep till morning, being busily employed all the while in drying the leaves and papers.

On Thursday I crossed the river. May 27.

On Friday I mounted and rode round Kharīd and Sikanderpūr. The same day I received Abdallah and Bāki's letters, announcing the taking of Lakhnau.[3] May 28. Loss of Lakhnau

On Saturday I sent forward Kūki with his party, for the purpose of reinforcing Bāki. May 29.

On Sunday I dispatched Sultan Juneid Birlās, Hassan Khalīfeh, Mulla Apāk's men, and the brother[d] of Mūmin Atkeh, with orders to proceed and join Bāki, and to use all their endeavours to forward the service till my arrival. A.D. 1529. May 30.

The same day, about afternoon prayers, I bestowed a dress of honour from my own wardrobe, and a Tipchāk horse, on Shah Muhammed Maarūf, and dismissed him. In the same manner as last year I had given Sāran as an assignment to him and Kundleh, for the purpose of supporting and paying the wages of the archers, I now gave Ismāel Jilwāni an allowance of seventy-two[e] laks[4] out of Sarwār,[5] bestowed on him a dress of honour from my own wardrobe, and a Tipchāk horse, and dismissed him. To Alāul Khan Lohāni, and the body of men that accom-

[a] a bedcover of scarlet wool.
[b] on the throne,
[c] *Transpose* with much difficulty *to follow* fire,
[d] brothers
[e] sixty-two

[1] About three-quarters of an hour

[2] The *tūshek-khāneh* was the store-room, in which the clothes, carpets, &c., were kept

[3] By the enemy.

[4] £18,000, which may seem small, while £720,000, supposing the laks to be of rupees, would be too large

[5] [In Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (vol. i, p 56, note 4) Sarwār is stated to be an abbreviation for Sarjūpār = the other side of the Sarjū (or Ghāgra) river, and hence may mean the country beyond the Ghāgra, the name by which Gorakhpūr is now known to the people about Benāres. Abul Fazl also mentions it as a synonym of the Sarjū or Ghāgra river.]

panied him,[a] I also gave assignments on Saṛwār, and they took leave. It was settled, that each of them should always leave his son or younger brother [b] in Agra, to await my orders.

It had been agreed with the Bengalis, that they should carry, by way of Tirmahāni, to Ghāzipūr, the Gunjāish and Arāish, with two Bengali ships which I had selected from among those that had fallen into my hands in Bengal. I ordered the Farmāish and the Asāish to sail up the Sarū along with the camp.

May 31. Having accomplished all my views in Behār, and on the Sarū,[c] on the Monday, after crossing at the passage of Choupāreh Chatermūk, I marched[d] up the Sarū towards Oudh, keeping close along the banks of the river. After a march of ten kos, we encamped on the banks of the Sarū, hard by a place called Kilīreh,[e] dependent on Fatehpūr, in which there were extremely beautiful gardens, embellished by running streams and handsome edifices, we particularly admired the number of mango trees, and of richly coloured birds of various kinds. Having rested some days, I directed the army to march towards Ghāzipūr. Ismāel Khan Jilwāni, and Alāul Khan Lohāni, asked leave to visit their native country, after which they promised to repair to Agra. I agreed to give them leave at the end of one month.[1]

A number[2] of our troops being overtaken by night,[f] lost their way, and went to the great tank of Fatehpūr. Some men were dispatched to bring in such of the stragglers as were near at hand, while Kūchek Khwājeh was sent to stay all night at the tank, and in the morning to bring back with him to the camp such troops as had halted

June 1. there. We marched thence early in the morning; in the

[a] to the body of men who accompanied Alāwal Khan Lohāni,
[b] one of his sons [c] Sarwār,
[d] I marched from the Chaupāra-Chaturmūk passage
[e] Kalpahrah [f] Those who had started early

[1] Here my Persian manuscript closes The two additional fragments are given from Mr Metcalfe's manuscript alone, and, unluckily, it is extremely incorrect [The whole of the passage from 'in which there were' to 'one month' is omitted in P. de C 's version]

[2] This fragment is from Mr. Metcalfe's MS, folio 166, page 1.

middle of the march I embarked in the Asāish, and we were pulled up to the camp. By the way, a son of Shah Muhammed Diwāneh, who had been sent by Bāki with letters for Khalīfeh,[a 1] met us, and gave an accurate statement of the transactions at Lakhnau. It appears, that on Saturday, the 13th of Ramzān, the enemy had made May 22.
an attack, but could effect nothing. During the assault, some hay[b] that had been collected, being set on fire by the fireworks, turpentine, and other combustibles that were thrown on it,[c] the inside of the fort became as hot as an oven, and it was impossible to stand on the parapet, and consequently the fort was taken. Two or three days afterwards, on hearing of my return the enemy marched towards Dalmau.[2] This day also, we advanced ten kos, and halted hard by a village named Jalīsir, in the perganna of Sikri, on the banks of the river Sarū.

On Wednesday[3] we continued in the same station, to June 2.
rest our cattle. Many came in with reports, that Sheikh Bayezīd[4] and Bīban had crossed the Ganges, and intended to push on with their troops, and fall upon the territories of Jaun (pūr) and Chunār. The Amīrs were summoned, and a council held. It was arranged that Muhammed Zemān Mirza, Sultan Juneid Birlās, who had got the government of Chunār and some other pergannas in exchange for Jaunpūr, Mahmūd Khan Lohāni, Kazi Jiā, and Tāj Khan Sārangkhāni, should march, and prevent the enemy from reaching Chunār.

Next morning, being Thursday, we marched early, left June 3.
the river Sarū, and having advanced eleven kos, and passed Reaches Parserū.
Parserū, encamped on the banks of the river Parserū.[d 5]

[a] *For* Khalīfeh *read* and whom the Khalīfeh had sent to us,
[b] *Add* and brushwood [c] *Omit this clause*
[d] and having crossed the river Parserū, encamped on its banks

[1] [This was Nizām ud dīn Khwājah 'Alī Khalīfah, Babur's Prime Minister]
[2] Dilmū, or Dalmow, on the Ganges, south-east of Bareilli. [In the Rai Bareilly District, U P]
[3] This fragment is from Mr. Metcalfe's MS., 166, p 2
[4] [One of the three Fermūlī brothers, the other two being Mustafa and Ma'rūf]
[5] After leaving the Sārū or Gogra river, Bābur marches west, and

Here I assembled the Amīrs, and held a consultation; after which I appointed Isān Taimūr Sultan, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Tukhteh Būgha Sultan, Kāsim Hussain Sultan, Bikhūb Sultan, Muzaffer Hussain Sultan, Kāsim Khwājeh, Jaafer Khwājeh, Khwājeh Zāhid, Khwājeh Jān Beg, with the servants of Askeri, and Kūchek Khwājeh; and from among the Amīrs of Hind, Ālim Khan Kālpi,[1] Malikdād Karrāni, and Randi Sarwāni, to proceed towards Dalmau in pursuit of Bīban and Bayezīd, ordering them instantly to separate from the army, and to follow the enemy with all celerity. I purified myself in the Parserū. I and those who were along with me took a number of fish by fixing lights to a piece of framework, which was then moved along the water.[a 2]

June 1. On Friday we encamped on one of the branches of this Parserū. It was a very small stream. To obviate the inconvenience arising from the passing and repassing of the troops, we made a dam higher up, and constructed a place ten by ten, for the purpose of bathing, we passed the eve of the 27th at this same station.

June 5. Passes the Tousin June 5.] Next morning we left this stream and encamped, after passing the river Tousin.[3]

On Sunday too, we encamped on the banks of the same river.

June 6 June 7. On Monday the 29th, we halted on the banks of the Tousin. This night, although the weather was not quite favourable, a few persons got a sight of the moon, and bore testimony to the fact, in presence of the Kazi.[4] This fixed the end of the month.

[a] As I was making my ablutions at night in the Parserū river, a number of fish attracted by the light of the torches, having appeared on the surface of the water, I, and those who were with me, caught a great quantity of them with our hands

comes on the Parserū, the Sarju of Arrowsmith, which seems to be chiefly formed by branches coming off from the Gogra below Murādganj.

[1] [This seems to be the Ālim Khan Jalāl Khan Jigat of Kālpī who deserted Bābur just before the battle of Kānwā (1527).]

[2] This mode of fishing is still practised in India

[3] The Tousin is the Eastern Tons [or Tūs]

[4] This being the month of Ramzān, the great Fast of the Mu-

Next day, being Tuesday, we set out, after we had said the prayers of the Id.[1] Having marched ten kos, we halted within one kos of Tāck, on the banks of the Gūmtī. Towards noon-day prayers, I took a maajūn with Sheikh Zain, Mulla Shahāb, Khwānd-amīr June 8. A. D. 1529.

(*Tūrkī verse*)—They dropped in by threes, and twos, and ones [a]

Derwīsh Muhammed, Yunis Ali, and Abdallah were also there. The wrestlers amused us with wrestling [b]

On Wednesday we continued to halt on the same ground. About luncheon time I took a maajūn. Tāj Khan, who had gone to keep the Sharki Princes from Chunār,[c] returned this day. We had a wrestling match. The champion Oudhi,[2] who had arrived some time before, tried his skill with a Hindustāni wrestler who was there, and threw him I bestowed fifteen laks[1] on Yahyā Lohāni in Sarū,[d] by way of allowance; clothed him in a complete dress of honour, and gave him leave. June 9

Next morning we marched eleven kos, passed the river Gūmtī, and halted on the banks of the same river. Here we learned, that the party of Sultans and Amīrs who had been sent on the expedition, had reached Dalmau; that they had passed first the Ganges, and afterwards the Jumna, in pursuit of the enemy; that they had taken Ālim Khan along with them, had followed the enemy for many kos with great keenness, and having left the latter river, after three marches, had returned to Dalmau [e] Thus June 10.

[a] About noon-day prayers having taken a ma'jūn, I sent the following verse to Sheikh Zain, Mulla Shahāb, and Khwānd-amīr, inviting them to join me:

'Sheikh Zain, Mulla Shahāb and Khwānd-amīr come to us by threes, or by twos, or one by one'

[b] *Add* in the afternoon

[c] Malik Sharq, who had been dispatched to make Tāj Khan evacuate Chunār.

[d] Parserūr,

[e] but they had not yet crossed the Ganges. I was grievously disappointed, and immediately sent them orders to cross the river as quickly as possible, to be careful not to lose touch with the Muhammedans, they were anxious to see the new moon of Shāwal, when it concluded

[1] The great festival on the conclusion of the Fast of Ramzān.

[2] [i. e. the champion of Oudh.]

[1] £3,750

Passes the Ganges

day, most of our troops passed the Ganges by a ford. Having sent the camp-equipage and troops across, I ate a maajūn lower down than the ford, on an island. We halted [a] on the spot where we passed the river, to give time to such as had not crossed to come over.[b] That same day Bāki Tāshkendi arrived with his troops,[c] and was introduced.

Reaches Korah.

Advancing two marches from the Ganges, we halted in the neighbourhood of Korah,[d 1] on the banks of the river Rind.[2] From Dalmau to Korah is twenty-one [e] kos.

June 17

On Thursday we marched early from our ground, and halted before [f] the perganna of Adampūr. We had previously sent one or two persons [g] to Kālpi, to bring whatever boats might be there, for the purpose of following after the enemy. The evening we halted there a few boats arrived, and a ford over the river was discovered. The camp being very dusty, and at some distance from the river, I slept on an island, where I remained for several days, day and night. For the purpose of gaining accurate information regarding the enemy, I dispatched Bāki Shaghāwel with a few troops across the river, to procure intelligence of the enemy.

June 19

Next day, about afternoon prayers, Juma,[h] a servant of Bāki, arrived with information, that he had routed one of Sheikh Bayezīd and Bīban's outposts, killed Mubārek Khan Jalwāni, an officer of some note, with a number of

fugitives, to pass over the Jamna as well, to take Ali Khan along with them, and to use every endeavour to overtake the enemy We reached Dalmau on the third day after leaving the river (Gūmti)

[a] *Add* a day

[b] to give to as many soldiers as had lost their way time to reassemble

[c] *Add* from Oudh,

[d] After having encamped on the banks of the Ganges, we reached Korah,

[e] twenty-two [f] opposite [g] boat-men

[h] *Omit this name.*

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[1] [This is Korah Khās, a town in the District of Fatehpūr, U P., thirty-six miles WNW. of Fatehpūr town]

[2] [The Rind, or Arind, river rises in the Mainpūri District, flows through the Mainpūri, Etāwa, and Cawnpore Districts, passes Korah, and joins the Ganges on the left bank below Hamīrpūr.]

others, and cut off some heads, which he sent, with one living prisoner. He [a] gave a circumstantial narrative of the particulars of this defeat, and of all that had happened.

The same night, being the eve of Sunday the 13th, the river Jumna rose, so that we could not remain in the tent, which in the morning had been pitched on the island [b], we were therefore obliged to remove to another island a bow-shot off, where I took up my quarters in another tent that was pitched.

On Monday, Jalāl Tāshkendi arrived from the Sultans and Amīrs who had gone on the expedition. Immediately on discovering some men of their left wing,[c] Bīban and Sheikh Bayezīd had fled from the perganna of Mahūbeh.[1] As the rains had set in, and as we had been for five or six months engaged in various expeditions in the field, so that the horses and cattle of the troops were worn out, I sent notice to the Sultans and Amīrs who had been detached, to inform them that I should remain a few days in Agra and that vicinity, to wait their arrival.[d] The same day, about afternoon prayers, I gave Bāki Shaghāwel and his party [e] leave to go home. To Mūsa Maarūf Fermūli,[2] who had come and offered me his allegiance when the army was passing the Sarū on its return, I gave a perganna of thirty laks[3] out of Amerhār[4] for his support, a complete June 21.

[a] On the morning of Saturday Shah Hosain Bakhshi came in, and

[b] so that in the morning the whole island where I lay encamped was flooded,

[c] on getting wind of their approach,

[d] I instructed the Sultans and Begs who had advanced ahead of us, to halt where they were until they were joined by fresh light cavalry from Agra and its neighbourhood.

[e] the troops from Oudh

[1] [Mahoba is the head-quarters of a Tahsīl in the Hamīrpūr District, U P. A town of considerable antiquity, it was the civil capital of the Chandels, Kalinjar being their great fortress It stands on the banks of a lake (Madan Sāgar), and there are several other island-studded lakes in the vicinity, which form a highly picturesque scene. Mahoba was captured by Prithvi Raja of Delhi in 1182, and in 1202 it fell to Kutb ud dīn Aibek]

[2] [i. e. Mūsa son of Ma'rūf Fermūli]

[3] £7,500.

[4] [Probably Amroha, a town in the Tahsīl of the Morādābād District, U P.]

dress of honour from my own wardrobe, and a horse with its saddle, and dismissed him to Amerhār.

Sets out for Agra

Having settled everything in this quarter, on Tuesday eve, after about one gari of the fourth watch was past,[1] I set out post for Agra.

June 22.

Next morning, after having ridden sixteen kos, I passed the noon in a perganna dependent on Kālpi, called Balāder; whence, after resting[a] our horses, we set out at evening

June 23

prayers. This night we rode thirteen kos, and at the end of the third watch[2] halted at the tomb of Bhau[b] Khan Sarwāni, in Sougandpūr, one of the pergannas of Kālpi. Having mounted early, by noon prayers, I had advanced

Arrives at Agra

seventeen kos, and at midnight reached the garden of Hasht Behisht at Agra.[c]

June 25

Next morning, being Friday, Muhammed Bakhshi and some others came and paid me their respects,[d] after which I went into the castle and visited the Begums, my paternal aunts. A native of Balkh had prepared some melon beds. A few of the melons which had been preserved were now presented to me, and were very excellent.[e] I had set a few vine-plants in the garden of Hasht Behisht, which I found had produced very fine grapes Sheikh Gūren also sent me a basket of grapes, which were very excellent. I was truly delighted with having produced such excellent melons and grapes in Hindustān.[3]

[a] feeding with barley [b] Bahādur

[c] *Instead of this sentence substitute*. I started next day after saying the early morning prayers, and a march of sixteen kos brought me to Etāwa, which I reached at midday, and where I found Mahdi Khwāja (his brother-in-law), who had come out to meet me I mounted again at the end of the first watch, and halted some time en route in order to sleep After a march of sixteen kos I halted again in the morning at Rāberi-Fatehpūr I again set out about the time of midday prayers, and marched another sixteen kos · at last, at the end of the second watch of the night, I alighted at the garden of the Hasht Bihisht at Agra

[d] *Add* About the time of midday prayers, I crossed the Jamna to visit Abdul Haqq,

[e] A kitchen gardener of Balkh, whom I had placed in Agra to sow melons, had raised some which he brought me I thought them excellent

[1] Half-past three a m [2] Three o'clock in the morning

[3] Melons are now cultivated by the commonest gardeners all

It was Sunday at midnight when I met Māham.[a 1] I had joined the army on the 10th of the first Jumāda. It was an odd coincidence that she had also left Kābul the very same day. June 27. Jan. 21

Thursday, the 1st of Zilkaadeh, was the day on which the *peshkeshes* or tributary offerings were made to Humāiūn and Māham [b] in the great Hall of Audience, on a grand levee day. The same day we dispatched a servant of Faghfūr the Diwān, accompanied by a hundred or [c] a hundred and fifty hired porters, to bring melons, grapes, and other fruits from Kābul. July 8

On Saturday the 3rd, Hindu Beg, who had arrived with an escort from Kābul, whence he had been sent for immediately on the death of Ali Yūsef,[d] arrived and was introduced. A. D. 1529 July 10.

Husām-ed-dīn Khalīfeh, having arrived from Alwar, also waited on me this day.

Next morning, being Sunday, Abdallah, who had been sent to Tirmahānī [e] in consequence of the death of Ali Yūsef, returned back. July 11.

From the men who had come from Kābul, we learned that Sheikh Sharīf Karabāghi, whether from the evil suggestions of Abdal-azīz, or from mere attachment to him, ascribing to us tyranny that never had been exercised, and offences never committed, had written certificates,[f] to which he had compelled the Imāms[g] to affix their names, and had sent copies of these certificates to different cities, in hopes of exciting commotions; that Abdal-azīz, too, had disobeyed several Conspiracy of Abdal-azīz

[a] It was on the eve of Sunday (Saturday night) at the third watch (midnight) that Māham arrived

[b] the offerings of Humāyūn and Māham were presented to me

[c] *Omit* a hundred or

[d] who had come on escort duty from Kabul, and had been sent to Sambhal on the occasion of Ali Yūsuf's death,

[e] who had been sent from Tirmahāni to Sambhal

[f] manifestoes,

[g] *Add* of Lahore

over Hindustān, and form part of the food of all ranks This valuable present seems to be due to Bābur's activity of mind Grapes, too, are found in most gardens of any consequence.

[1] A name of endearment, which Babūr gave to his favourite wife, the mother of Humāiūn [whom he married in 1506 *Humāyūn-nāmeh*, p 258]

orders which he had received, had been guilty of uttering several most unbecoming expressions, and of doing some
July 18 most improper acts; on these accounts, on Sunday the 11th, I sent Kamber Ali Arghūn, to apprehend and bring to the presence Sheikh Sharīf, the Imāms of Lahore, and Abdal-azīz.

July 22. On Thursday the 15th, Sultan Taimūr arrived from Tajāwer [1] and waited on me. The same day the champion Sādik and Oudhi [a] had a great wrestling match. Sādik threw Oudhi with great ease, which vexed him extremely.

July 26. On Monday the 19th, having given Murād Korchi, the Kizilbāsh ambassador, a side-dagger,[b] clothed him in a suitable dress of honour, and made him a present of two hundred thousand *tankehs*, I gave him leave to return.

Disaffection of Rahīmdād. At this time, Syed Mahdi [c] arrived from Gwāliār, and informed us of the revolt of Rahīmdād Shah Muhammed, the seal-bearer, a servant of Khalīfeh's, had been sent by him to Rahīmdād with a letter of advice. Shah Muhammed went, and in a few days returned with Rahīmdād's son, but he himself did not choose to come. In order, however, to lull our suspicions asleep, Nūr Beg came, and having preferred the same requests that Rahīmdād had formerly made, actually gained firmans conformable to his wishes.[d] When the firmans were on the point of being dispatched,[e] one of Rahīmdād's servants arrived, and gave us information that he had himself been sent for the purpose of effecting the escape of the son, and that the father had not the least intention of coming. On getting this intelligence, I wished instantly to have proceeded against Gwāliār. Khalīfeh, however, requested that he might be permitted to address one other letter of advice to Rahīmdād,

[a] the champion wrestler of Oudh,

[b] *Add* with a jewelled belt,

[c] Meshedi

[d] With a view to dissipating all his suspicions, on the 5th of the month of Zil Hijjeh I dispatched Nūr Beg to Gwāliār. He returned after the lapse of some days, and acquainted me with the claims of Rahīmdād

[e] Just as I was about to dispatch letters patent according all his demands,

[1] [Or rather Tajārah.]

as probably he would submit peaceably. Shahāb-ed-dīn Khosrou was sent to carry this remonstrance

On Thursday, the 7th of the month, Mahdi Khwājeh [1] arrived from Etāwa On the day of the Īd, I bestowed on Hindu Beg a complete dress from my own wardrobe, a sword and belt enriched with precious stones, and a Tipchāk horse To Hassan Alı, who was one of the most eminent among the Chaghatāi Turkomāns,[a] I gave a *sarupā* (or complete dress of honour), a side-hanger adorned with jewels, and a perganna of seven laks [2] Aug 12

[a] who was known among the Turkomāns under the name of Chagatāi

[1] [He was governor of Etāwa]

[2] About £1,750 The rate used for reducing Bābur's krors and laks to English money, may sometimes appear to reduce them too much, and yet it is probably near the truth

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 936

A. D. 1529 Sept. 7

On Tuesday the 3rd [a] of Muharrem, Sheikh Muhammed Ghaus came out of Gwāliār with Shahāb-ed-dīn Khosrou, as intercessor for Rahīmdād.[1] As this man was a humble [b] and saintly personage, I forgave, on his account, the offences of Rahīmdād, and sent Sheikh Gūren and Nūr Beg to receive the surrender of Gwāliār.[2]

[a] 13th [b] pious

[1] [He had captured Gwāliār with the connivance of this very Muhammed Ghaus in 1526.]

[2] [In the *Tārīkh i Salātīn i Afāghinah* mention is made of Bābur's journey to Lahore in the third year of his reign (i. e. 935 = 1529). At Sirhind he was met by the Rājā of Kahlūr (the old name for Bilāspūr, one of the Simla Hill States), and presented by him with seven falcons and three *mans* of gold. The occasion was taken to confirm him in his fief. Bābur was met in Lahore by his son Kāmrān, who gave a magnificent entertainment in his honour. Bābur remained a year in the Panjāb, during which Hindāl came to see him. Hindāl returned to Kābul at the close of the cold season and received a parting gift from his father of two elephants and two horses, besides girdles and a jewelled dagger. Bābur left the Panjāb on the fourth of Rajab (936 = 1530). On reaching Sirhind, on his return journey to Agra, a Qāzī of Samāna complained to him that Mohan Mundāhir had attacked his estate, plundered his property, and killed his son. By the Emperor's orders an expedition was organized against him. The first attack under 'Alī Kulī Khān Hamadānī proved unsuccessful. Another larger force was thereupon dispatched against the Mundāhirs under the command of Tarsam Beg and Nauroz Bahādur, whose efforts were crowned with success, the rebels being defeated and their leader killed. After this expedition had been successfully accomplished Bābur is stated to have spent two months hunting in the neighbourhood of Delhi, after which he returned to Agra.—Elliot and Dawson's *History of India*, v. 40. 2.]

CONCLUDING SUPPLEMENT

TO

BĀBUR'S MEMOIRS

FROM the first days of the year 936 of the Hijra, Bābur's Journal ceases, and no fragments have been found of any later date. Whether he composed Memoirs, or wrote any journal of the remaining fifteen months of his life, is uncertain. The state of his health, which was rapidly declining and much broken, probably diminished his usual activity. The silence that prevails among historians, regarding the remaining events of his reign, may justify a belief that no Journal was written, or at least none published. In the course of the year 936, Humāiūn,[1] who appears to have been anxious to be near the seat of empire, probably from being aware of his father's declining health, suddenly left his government of Badakhshān, which he entrusted to the care of Sultan Weis, and set out for Hindustān by way of Kābul. At Kābul, he had a conference with his brother, Kāmrān Mirza, who had just arrived from Kandahār,[2] after which he proceeded towards Agra.

Sept 7. A D 1529.

Humāiūn leaves Badakhshān

He had scarcely left Badakhshān, when Saīd Khan of Kāshghar, who is said to have been invited by Sultan Weis and the other Amīrs that were in the country, leaving Rashīd Khan in Yārkend, marched into Badakhshān. Hindāl Mirza,[3] on hearing of his approach, threw himself into the fort of Zafer, in which he defended himself for three

which is attacked by Saīd Khan

[1] ['Humāyūn had resided for the greater part of nine years (1519-1528) in the distant government of Badakhshān'—*E. B.*, p. 508.]

[2] [In 1525, Bābur had appointed his second son, Kāmrān, then a child, to the nominal charge of Kābul and Kandahār.—*E. B.*, p. 427.]

[3] [Hindāl, Bābur's youngest son, then over ten, though under orders for Agra, was prevailed upon by Humāyūn to take his place in Badakhshān.—*E. B.*, p. 510.]

months with so much vigour, that Saīd Khan was compelled to raise the siege.[1]

Bābur's anxiety.

In the meanwhile a report reached Bābur, that Saīd Khan had gained possession of all Badakhshān. The unwelcome intelligence that daily arrived from that quarter preyed upon his mind, and helped to impair his declining strength. He sent instructions to Khalīfeh to set out in order to recover Badakhshān; but that nobleman, who was Bābur's prime minister, knowing probably that the orders were dictated by Humāiūn's mother, who had a great ascendancy over Bābur, and who wished to remove from court a powerful enemy of her son, found means to excuse himself. Similar orders were then sent to Humāiūn, whose government Badakhshān was, but that prince also declined engaging in the expedition, under the pretence that his affection for his father would not permit him to remove so far from the presence. Mirza Sulemān,[2] the son-in-law of Sultan Weis, was then dispatched, with instructions to assume the government of the country; and was at the same time furnished with letters for Saīd Khan, complaining of his aggression. Before reaching Kābul, Sulemān heard of Saīd's retreat; he, however, prosecuted his journey, and received charge of the country from Hindāl, who set out for Hindustān; and the civil wars that followed the death of Bābur enabled Sulemān[3] to keep possession of Badakhshān, which was long held by his posterity.

Mirza Sulemān sent to Badakhshān.

Illness of Humāiūn

Humāiūn reached Agra neither sent for nor expected, but the affection of his father, and the influence of his mother, procured him a good reception. His offence was forgotten, and, after remaining some time at court, he went to his government of Sambal. When he had resided there

[1] [Mirza Haidar, the author of the *Tarīkh i Rashīdī*, who was in command of Sultan Sa'īd's advance guard, on arriving at Kila Zafar found that Hindāl had entered it sixteen days before.—*E. B.*, p. 510.]

[2] [Mirza Sulemān, now sixteen, was Bābur's cousin, being the son of Khan Mirza, a former governor of Badakhshān (died 1520), and grandson of Mahmūd Sultan ('the Elder Khan').]

[3] See Abulfazl in the *Akbernāmeh*, the *Tārikh e Khāfi Khan*, *Ferishta*, &c.

about six months he fell dangerously ill. His father, whose favourite son he seems to have been, was deeply affected at this news, and gave directions for conveying him by water to Agra. He arrived there, but his life was despaired of. When all hopes from medicine were over, and while several men of skill were talking to the emperor of the melancholy situation of his son, Abul Bakā, a personage highly venerated for his knowledge and piety, remarked to Bābur, that in such a case the Almighty had sometimes vouchsafed to receive the most valuable thing possessed by one friend, as an offering in exchange for the life of another. Bābur, exclaiming that of all things, his life was dearest to Humāiūn, as Humāiūn's was to him, and that, next to the life of Humāiūn, his own was what he most valued, devoted his life to Heaven as a sacrifice for his son's The noblemen around him entreated him to retract the rash vow, and, in place of his first offering, to give the diamond taken at Agra, and reckoned the most valuable on earth: that the ancient sages had said, that it was the dearest of our worldly possessions alone that was to be offered to Heaven. But he persisted in his resolution, declaring that no stone, of whatever value, could be put in competition with his life. He three times walked round the dying prince, a solemnity similar to that used in sacrifices and heave-offerings,[1] and retiring, prayed earnestly to God. After some time he was heard to exclaim, 'I have borne it away!-I have borne it away!' The Musulman historians assure us, that Humāiūn almost immediately began to recover, and that, in proportion as he recovered, the health and strength of Bābur visibly decayed. Bābur communicated his dying instructions to Khwājeh Khalīfeh, Kamber Ali Beg, Terdi Beg, and Hindu Beg, who were then at Court, commending Humāiūn to their protection. With that unvarying affection for his family, which he showed in all the circumstances of his life,

Bābur devotes his own life for his son's

Illness of Bābur

[1] It is customary among the Musulmans, as it was among the Jews, to wave presents of money or jewels thrice round the head of the person to whom they are offered, on particular occasions, as on betrothings, marriages, &c There is supposed to be something sacred in this rite, which averts misfortunes.

he strongly besought Humāiūn to be kind and forgiving to his brothers. Humāiūn promised, and, what in such circumstances is rare, kept his promise. The request which he had made to his nobles was heard, as the requests of dying princes generally are, only as a signal for faction. Khwājeh Khalīfeh had conceived a strong dislike to Humāiūn, in consequence of some circumstances which are not explained, so that the court of the expiring conqueror became the scene of intrigue and cabal. Khalīfeh, as prime minister,[1] possessed the chief authority among the Tūrki nobles. He did not wish that the succession should be in the children of Bābur, and had pitched on Mahdi Khwājeh, Bābur's son-in-law, as his successor. Mahdi Khwājeh [2] was a brave, but extravagant, and wild young man, and had long been closely connected with Khalīfeh When it was known that Khalīfeh was in his interest, and intended to raise him to the throne, the principal men in the army lost no time in paying their court to Mahdi Khwājeh, whose succession was regarded as secure, and who began to affect the deportment of a sovereign prince Everything seemed to promise that he was to be the Emperor of Hindustān, when suddenly he was ordered by Khalīfeh to remain in his own house under a guard

Intrigues at his Court.

Anecdote of Mahdi Khwājeh.

The cause of this sudden change has escaped the researches of Abulfazl and Khāfi Khan. It is explained, however, by a well-informed historian, who relates the anecdote on the authority of his father: 'It so happened', says he, 'that Mīr Khalīfeh had gone to see Mahdi Khwājeh, whom he had found in his tent. Nobody was present but Khalīfeh, Mahdi Khwājeh, and my father Muhammed Mukīm Khalīfeh had scarcely sat down an instant, when Bābur, who was at the last extremity, suddenly sent for him. When he left the tent, Mahdi Khwājeh accompanied him to the door, to do him honour, and to take leave of him, and stood in the middle of it, so that my father, who

[1] His title was Nizām-ed-dīn Ali Khalīfeh.

[2] [Mahdi Khwāja was Bābur's brother-in-law. His only son-in-law was Muhammed Zamān Mirza, the husband of his daughter Ma'sūmah Begum]

followed, but, out of respect, did not push by him, was immediately behind. The young man, who was rather flighty and harum-scarum, forgetting that my father was present, as soon as Khalīfeh was fairly gone, muttered to himself, "God willing, I will soon flay off your hide, old boy!" and, turning round, at the same instant saw my father. He was quite confounded, but immediately seizing my father's ear, with a convulsive eagerness, twisted it round, and said hurriedly, "You, Tājik! The red tongue often gives the green head to the winds." My father having taken his leave and left the tent, sought out Khalīfeh, and remonstrated with him on his line of conduct; telling him, that in violation of his allegiance, he was taking away the sovereignty from Muhammed Humāiūn and his brothers, who were accomplished princes, to bestow it on the son of a stranger; and yet how did this favoured man behave? He then repeated what had passed just as it happened. Khalīfeh, on the spot, sent off an express for Humāiūn,[1] and dispatched a body of *yasāwels*, or special messengers, to Mahdi Khwājeh to inform him that the king's orders were, that he should instantly retire to his own house. The young man had now sat down to dinner, which was still before him. The *yasāwels* communicated their message, and forced him away. Mīr Khalīfeh then issued a proclamation, prohibiting all persons from resorting to Mahdi Khwājeh's house, or waiting upon him; while Mahdi Khwājeh himself received orders not to appear at Court.'[2]

Bābur,[3] in the midst of these intrigues, with which he

[1] [Humāyūn had meanwhile recovered his health, and returned to his government of Sambhal.]

[2] For the fragment of the anonymous history from whence this extract is made, and which contains the Memoirs of Hindustān, from Bābur's invasion of that country down to the beginning of Akber's reign, I am indebted to Captain William Miles of the Bombay establishment. The author calls his father Muhammed Mukīm Heravai (of Herāt). [The writer referred to was Nizām ud dīn Ahmed Bakhshi, the author of the *Tabaqāt i Akbari*, who was at this time Divān i bintāt to Bābur, and afterwards rose to high office under Akbar.—*E. B*, p. 516.]

[3] [At a council of ministers summoned to receive his dying injunctions, Bābur formally declared Humāyun, who had now

Death of Bābur Dec 26, 1530.

was probably unacquainted, expired at the Chārbāgh, near Agra, on the 6th of the first Jumāda, A. H. 937, in the fiftieth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign as a sovereign prince.[1] His body, in conformity with a wish which he had expressed, was carried to Kābul, where it was interred in a hill that still bears his name.[2] He had reigned five years over part of Hindustān Humāiūn ascended the throne on the 9th of the same month without opposition, by the influence of Khalīfeh.

His wives

Though Bābur has given us such a minute account of the wives and families of his uncles and cousins, he has communicated but few particulars regarding his own. It appears that, when only five years of age, he was betrothed to his cousin Āisha Sultan Begum, the third daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, the King of Samarkand, by Kātak Begum He married her after his first expedition to Samarkand, and had by her one daughter, who died young. They seem to have quarrelled, and Bābur says she was misled by her eldest sister Rabīa Sultan Begum, who induced

returned to court, his successor, and commanded him to take his seat on the Imperial throne —*E B*, p 516]

[1] Ferishta and the anonymous historian place his death on Monday, the 5th of the first Jumāda Computing by solar years he died in the forty eighth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign.

[2] [Bābur was at first buried in the Nūrafshān Garden (now the Rāmbāgh) on the left bank of the Jamna The remains were afterwards taken to Kābul and interred there on a site chosen by himself, in a grave, which like that of his descendant, the Emperor Aurangzīb, was open to the sky 'The tomb of Bābur', says the writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 'stands on a slope about a mile to the West of Kābul in a charming spot The grave, marked by two erect slabs of white marble, is situated in a garden which was formerly enclosed by a white marble wall A clear stream waters the flower beds From the hill that rises behind the tomb there is a noble prospect of his beloved city, and the Chārdeh Valley' According to a statement in Raverty's *Notes*, p 67, it appears that the Emperor Jahāngīr rebuilt the tomb in 1607-8 The adjoining mosque was erected by Shah Jahān in 1646 The following Persian chronogram, inscribed on his tombstone, which Raverty quotes, contains the date of Bābur's death *Firdaus dāms jāe Bābur Bādshāh* (Paradise is for ever the abode of the Emperor Bābur) It may be mentioned in this connexion that Bābur's posthumous title was *Firdaus makānī*, or 'the Inhabitant of Paradise']

her to leave his house. Another of his wives was Zeineb Sultan Begum, whom he married after the surrender of Kābul. She also was his cousin, being the fifth daughter of Sultan Mahmūd Mirza, King of Hissār, by Khanzādeh Begum, the grand-daughter of Mīr Buzurg of Termiz. He informs us that he married her at his mother's desire, that they did not agree, and that in two or three years she died of the small-pox. His third wife, Maasūmeh Sultan Begum, was likewise his cousin, being the sister of his first wife, and the fifth daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza by Habībeh Sultan Begum. She saw him at Herāt, during his expedition to Khorasān, and fell in love with him. It was arranged that she should go to Kābul, where he afterwards married her She had one daughter, Maasūmeh, of whom she died in childbed Her daughter, Maasūmeh, joined Bābur in Hindustān, but probably died before him. He also, during his campaign in Bajour, married a daughter of Shah Mansūr,[1] the Malik or chief of the Yūsefzai Afghans. She is said to have survived him, and to have died in the reign of Akber Bābur seems to have had no children by her. The names of his other wives, and of the ladies of his *haram*, have not been preserved [2] He himself mentions the birth of a prince named Fārūk, who probably died young

[A. D 1504-5]

[A. D 1507]

A. D 1519

Aug 1520

Bābur, at the time of his death, had seven children alive, four sons and three daughters. The names of their mothers are not recorded [3] The eldest son, Nasīr-ed-dīn Muhammed Humāiūn, succeeded him as Supreme Emperor in all his

His family

[1] [Bībī Mubārikah]

[2] [The names of four other wives are known, viz Māham Begum, Dildār Begum (Heart-ravisher), Gulrukh (Rosy-cheeked), and Rāiqah (the Desired) According to Lane Poole, Māham, his favourite wife, belonged to the family of Sultan Hosam of Herat]

[3] Mrs Beveridge, in her scholarly edition of the *Humāyūn-nāmeh*, supplies this information Māham was the mother of Humāyūn (1508-56) and Fārūq (died young)

Gulrukh had two children that survived their father, viz Kāmrān (died 1557) and 'Askari (1516-58), besides others that died young

Dildār's children were two sons, Hindāl (1519-51), Alwar (died young), and three daughters, Gulrang (Rose-coloured), Gulchireh (Rosy-face), and Gulbadan (Rose-body) The last named was the authoress of the *Humāyūn-nāmeh*, or History of Humāyūn, referred to above]

dominions. Humāiūn, on his accession, gave to his second brother, Kāmrān Mirza, the Panjāb, in addition to the government of Kābul and Kandahār which he had formerly held; to Hindāl Mirza, who had just arrived from Badakhshān, he gave the country of Mewāt, and to Askeri he assigned the province of Sambal, which he had himself held. All these princes acted a conspicuous part in the confusions of the succeeding reign. Bābur's three daughters, Gulrang Begum, Gulchehreh Begum, and Gulbaden Begum, were all by one mother.

His character.

Zahīr-ed-dīn Muhammed Bābur was undoubtedly one of the most illustrious men of his age, and one of the most eminent and accomplished princes that ever adorned an Asiatic throne. He is represented as having been above the middle size, of great vigour of body, fond of all field and warlike sports, an excellent swordsman, and a skilful archer. As a proof of his bodily strength, it is mentioned, that he used to leap from one pinnacle to another of the pinnated ramparts used in the East, in his double-soled boots; and that he even frequently took a man under each arm, and went leaping along the rampart from one of the pointed pinnacles to another. Having been early trained to the conduct of business, and tutored in the school of adversity, the powers of his mind received their full development. He ascended the throne at the age of twelve, and before he had attained his twentieth year, the young prince had shared every variety of fortune; he had not only been the ruler of subject provinces, but had been in thraldom to his own ambitious nobles, and obliged to conceal every sentiment of his heart; he had been alternately hailed and obeyed as a conqueror and deliverer by rich and extensive kingdoms, and forced to lurk in the deserts and mountains of his own native kingdom as a houseless wanderer. Down to the last dregs of life, we perceive in him the strong feelings of an affection for his early friends and early enjoyments, rarely seen among princes. Perhaps the free manners of the Tūrki tribes had combined with the events of his early life, in cherishing these amiable feelings. He had betimes been taught, by the voice of events that could not lie, that he

was a man dependent on the kindness and fidelity of other men; and, in his dangers and escapes with his followers had learned that he was only one of an association, whose general safety and success depended on the result of their mutual exertions in a common cause. The native benevolence and gaiety of his disposition seem ever to overflow on all around him; and he talks of his mothers, his grandmothers, and sisters with some garrulity indeed, but the garrulity of a good son and a good brother. Of his companions in arms he always speaks with the frank gaiety of a soldier; and it is a relief to the reader, in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept, for the playmate of his boyhood. Indeed, an uncommon portion of good nature and good humour runs through all his character, and even to political offences he will be found, in a remarkable degree, indulgent and forgiving.

In the character of the founder of a new dynasty, in one of the richest and most powerful empires on earth, we may expect to find a union of the great qualities of a statesman and general; and Bābur possessed the leading qualifications of both in a high degree. But we are not, in that age, to look for any deep-laid or regular plans of civil polity, even in the most accomplished princes. Bābur's superiority over the chiefs to whom he was opposed, arose principally from his active disposition and lively good sense. Ambitious as he was, and fond of conquest and of glory in all its shapes, the enterprise in which he was for the season engaged, seems to have absorbed his whole soul, and all his faculties were exerted to bring it, whatever it was, to a fortunate issue. His elastic mind was not broken by discomfiture, and few princes who have achieved such glorious conquests have suffered more numerous or more decisive defeats. His personal courage was conspicuous during his whole life, but it may be doubted whether, in spite of his final success, he was so much entitled to the character of a great captain, as of a successful partisan and a bold adventurer. In the earlier part of his career his armies were very small. Most of his expeditions were rather successful inroads than skilful campaigns.

But he showed a genius and a power of observation which, in other circumstances, would have raised him to the rank of the most accomplished commanders. As he had the sense to perceive the errors which he committed in his earlier years, so, with the superiority that belongs to a great mind, conscious of its powers, he always readily acknowledges them. His conduct, during the rebellion of the Moghuls at Kābul, and the alarm of his army in the war with Rāna Sanka, bears the indications of the most heroic magnanimity. The latter period of his life is one uninterrupted series of successes.

But we are not to expect in Bābur that perfect and refined character which belongs only to modern times and Christian countries We sometimes see him order what, according to the practice of modern war, and the maxims of a refined morality, we should consider as cruel executions. We find him occasionally the slave of vices, which, even though they belonged to his age and country, it is not possible to regard in such a man without feelings of regret We are disappointed to find one possessed of so refined an understanding, and so polished a taste, degrading both, by an obtrusive and almost ridiculous display of his propensity to intoxication. It may palliate, though it cannot excuse this offence, that it appears to have led him to no cruelty or harshness to his servants or those around him, that it made him neglect no business, and that it seems to have been produced solely by the ebullition of high spirits in his gay and social temper. We turn from Bābur, the slave of such vices, which probably hastened on a premature old age, and tended to bring him to an early grave and view him with more complacency, encouraging, in his dominions, the useful arts and polite literature, by his countenance and his example. We delight to see him describe his success in rearing a new plant, in introducing a new fruit-tree, or in repairing a decayed aqueduct, with the same pride and complacency that he relates his most splendid victories. No region of art or nature seems to have escaped the activity of his research. He had cultivated the art of poetry from his early years, and his *dīwān*, or collection of Tūrki poems, is mentioned as giving

him a high rank among the poets of his country. Of this work I have not been able to learn that any copy exists.[1] Many of the odes in it are referred to in his Memoirs, and quoted by the first couplet. A few specimens of his Persian poetry are also given, which show much of that terseness and delicacy of allusion so much admired in the poets whom he imitated His Persian *Masnevi*, which he published by the name of *Mubīn*,[2] I have never met with, though Abulfazl speaks of it as having a great circulation; nor have I seen his versification of the tract of Khwājeh Ahrār,[3] which has been already mentioned.[4] He also wrote a work on Prosody [5] and some smaller productions, which he sometimes alludes to in his Memoirs. He was skilful in the science of music, on which he wrote a treatise. But his most remarkable work is, undoubtedly, the Memoirs of his own Life, composed by him in the Tūrkī tongue. The earlier part of them is written with great spirit, and the whole bears strong characteristics of an ingenious, active, and intelligent mind No history, perhaps, contains so lively a picture of the life and opinions of an eastern prince. The geographical descriptions which he gives of his hereditary kingdom, and of the various countries which he subdued, have, what such descriptions seldom possess, not only

[1] [A facsimile of the manuscript of the *Dīvān* was published by Sir Denison Ross in the *J A S B*, 1910]

[2] [Half of the *Mubīn*, a collection of *masnavis*, has been translated by Professor Berezine in his *Chrestomathie Turque* Bābur also wrote a work on jurisprudence, which had a considerable vogue]

[3] [The *Risālah e wālidīyah*]

[4] Abulfazl, in the introduction to the *Akbernāmeh*, quotes a few of his Persian verses with approbation The following quatrain is not unhappy in the original

Though I am not related to Dervishes,
Yet I am devoted to them heart and soul
Say not that the state of a prince is remote from that of a Dervīsh,
Though a king, I am the Dervīsh's slave

He also gives the following elegant *matla*—

I know that separation from thee were my death,
Else might I tear myself from this city
But, while my heart is encircled with the locks of my beloved,
I forget the world and its cares.

[5] [This is the work styled *Mufassil*]

great accuracy, but the merit of uncommon distinctness. The Memoirs, however, will be found of unequal value according to the periods of which they treat. Some years particularly in the later period of his life, present little more than a dry chronicle of uninteresting events, probably written down as they occurred, and never rewritten, as the earlier period certainly have been. It probably was his intention to have connected the whole, and completed them in the same strain of happy narrative that runs through the first half of them, a design which it is to be regretted that he did not live to execute.

A striking feature in Bābur's character is his unlikeness to other Asiatic princes. Instead of the stately, systematic artificial character that seems to belong to the throne in Asia, we find him natural, lively, affectionate, simple, retaining on the throne all the best feelings and affections of common life. Change a few circumstances arising from his religion and country, and in reading the transactions of his life, we might imagine that we had got among the adventurous knights of Froissart. Thus, as well as the simplicity of his language, he owed to his being a Tūrk. That style which wraps up a worthless meaning in a mist of words, and the etiquette which annihilates the courtier in the presence of his prince, were still, fortunately for Bābur, foreign to the Tūrkī race, among whom he was born and educated.

Upon the whole, if we review with impartiality the history of Asia, we shall find few princes who are entitled to rank higher than Bābur in genius and accomplishments. His grandson Akber may perhaps be placed above him for profound and benevolent policy. The crooked artifice of Aurangzīb is not entitled to the same distinction. The merit of Chingiz Khan, and of Tamerlane, terminates in their splendid conquests, which far excelled the achievements of Bābur; but in activity of mind, in the gay equanimity and unbroken spirit with which he bore the extremes of good and bad fortune, in the possession of the manly and social virtues, so seldom the portion of princes, in his love of letters, and his success in the cultivation of them, we shall probably find no other Asiatic prince who can justly be placed beside him.

APPENDIX A

AN ACCOUNT OF BĀBUR'S DELIVERANCE FROM IMMINENT DANGER AT KIRMĀN

As given in Pavet de Courteille's French Translation.

'WHETHER you live for a hundred years or a single day, you must surely leave this palace which delights the heart.'

I resigned myself to death. A channel of water flowed through that garden. I performed my ablutions, and recited a prayer of two inclinations. Then, giving myself up to silent meditation, I was in the act of supplicating God for his mercies, when sleep closed my eyes. I saw Khwāja Yā'kūb, the son of Khwāja Yahya, and grandson of His Highness Khwāja Obeidullah, with a numerous following, mounted on dapple-grey horses, who appeared before me and said: 'Be not anxious! The Khwāja has sent me to inform you that he will accord you his aid; that he will seat you on the throne of sovereignty; that whenever any trouble befalls you, he will immediately respond to your appeal, if you will seek his assistance, and that victory and triumph will now incline to your side. Lift up your head and awake!' I then awoke with a happy heart just as Yūsuf, the Dārogha, and his companions, had agreed that it was necessary to make a pretext, and have recourse to a ruse, for the purpose of securing my person and binding me. On hearing them talk in this fashion I said to them: 'What you have just said is all very well, but I am curious to see which of you will dare to approach me.' I was in the act of saying these words, when I heard the clatter of the hoofs of a large number of horses outside the garden wall. Yūsuf, the Dārogha, exclaimed, 'If we had seized and taken him to Tambol we should have done well. Now he has sent a large band to arrest you, and the noise which you hear is nothing else but the echo of the horses' footfalls sent in your pursuit.' At these words I became anxious, and was

at a loss to know what to do At the same time the horsemen, who at first were not able to find the garden gate, made a breach in the wall, which was already dilapidated, and entered. I saw that they were Kūtluk Muhammed Barlās and Bābā-i-Pargari, two of my most devoted servants, accompanied by ten to fifteen or twenty persons. On approaching my presence they flung themselves from their horses, and bending the knee at a respectful distance, they fell at my feet, and lavished on me every mark of respect. Astounded at their appearance, it seemed to me that God had restored me to life. I immediately exclaimed: 'Seize Yūsuf, the Dārogha, and those wretched traitors that are in his company, and bring them to me bound hand and foot' I then added, addressing my rescuers: 'Whence have ye come? Who informed you of what had happened?' Kūtluk Muhammed Barlās answered: 'When I got separated from you in my hurried retreat from Akhsi, I reached Andejān just as the Khans were entering it. There in a dream I saw Khwāja Obeidullah, who said to me: The Emperor Bābur is now in a village named Kirmān, make haste and bring him back with you; for the throne of sovereignty belongs to him by right. Overjoyed at this dream, I related it to the Elder and Younger Khans, and said to them that I had five or six young fellows with me, and that, if they added a few soldiers, I would go in the Kirmān direction to bring news. They replied that it had occurred to them too that I ought to go in that direction. They then appointed ten persons to accompany me, and charged me to follow the route which we had agreed upon, to make careful enquiries, and above all to take every means to obtain sure news. While we were engaged in this conversation Bābā-i-Pargari said that he also wished to join the party, and indeed, he did accompany me with two soldiers and his younger brother. Then we mounted our horses, and set out. It is three days to-day that we have been on the road and we thank God that we have met you. And now quickly to horse and take with you these prisoners, for it would not be wise to stay in this place, as Tambol knows that you have found an asylum here. So let us start as soon as possible, and

proceed to join the Khans.' We thereupon mounted our horses without a moment's delay, and took the road to Andejān I had not eaten anything for two days. Towards noon, having had the good luck to find a sheep, we dismounted, and settled ourselves comfortably to roast it. Having satisfied my ravenous hunger, we started off again, and, hurrying forward, we entered Andejān after accomplishing a five days' journey in two nights and a day. I embraced the two Khans, my uncles, and related to them all that had happened to me since we parted. I stayed four months with the Khans, during which time I gathered round me, to the number of two hundred, all my servants who had been scattered about in different places. It then occurred to me that it would be much better for me to leave Ferghāna, no matter in what direction, than to remain there like a vagabond.

APPENDIX B

HINDĀL'S ADOPTION

[The French translation has the following account of Hindāl's adoption by the mother of Humāyūn (Vol. II, p. 86, following the words 'my officers and the soldiers')]

In order to understand what has been said above it is necessary to bear in mind that up to this time all the children that had been born of Humāyūn's mother, namely a son (who was younger than Humāyūn, but older than my other children) and three daughters, had died in infancy. I ardently desired to see a brother or sister born to him. Just about this time Dildār Agācha became pregnant, so I kept on saying, 'I wish to God that the child which is coming might be born to Humāyūn's mother.' To this my mother replied, 'If Dildār Agācha bears a son, can I not take it and be responsible for it?' I said in my turn, 'Nothing could be better' As a rule womenfolk practise the following method of taking omens when they wish to ascertain if they are going to have a son or a daughter. They take two bits of paper, on one of which they write the name of Ali or Hasan, and on the other that of Fātimah.

They then put these in two balls of clay which are placed in a cup of water. The one which is first opened serves them as a means of foretelling the future. If it discloses the name of a boy, she will have a boy, and if a girl, a girl. So this method was employed by these ladies (Bābur's womenfolk) and the birth of a male child was predicted. On the receipt of this good news, I immediately wrote to acquaint my mother; some days later the prediction was verified. God had given me a boy Three days after his birth, and before announcing it, the child was carried off willy-nilly from its mother and brought to my palace, where it was taken care of. When I had informed my mother about him, she, on learning that she had obtained the object of her prayers, had bestowed on the young prince the name of Hindāl, which was for us a name of good omen. Under this arrangement, the child was to me at one and the same time a younger brother and a son.

[N B —There is some confusion in this passage, as by 'my mother' is meant Humāyūn's mother (Māhim) and not that of Bābur This gives colour to the idea that the note was partly written by Humāyūn]

APPENDIX C

A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF KĀNWĀHA

RĀNA SANKA, on his part, advanced at the head of countless battalions, which reached a total of two lakhs calculated in the Indian fashion, according to which a *lakh* is equivalent to a hundred thousand, and a hundred *lakhs* equal a *kror*. The forces of his dominions, on a general estimate, could not have been less than ten *krors*. Of his hundred thousand horsemen only about a third had previously given him proofs of their fidelity. The greater number, which consisted of an undisciplined rabble, had never assisted him in any war, and had not even acknowledged him as their suzerain. On this occasion, however, they had made common cause with him and obeyed his orders. [The troops that were directly under his command were disposed in the following

manner: Salāh ud dīn, Governor of Raisen and Sārangpūr, was in possession of a territory that could furnish 30,000 horsemen; Rāwal Udai Singh Nāgari had 12,000 horsemen; Hasan Khan Mewāti, Governor of Mewāt, 12,000, Bahādur Hemladuri, 4,000; Sattervi Kachji, 6,000; the Governor of Barmul, Parm-Deo, and Mirta, 4,000; Birsingh Deo Jehān, 4,000; Mahmūd Khan, son of Sultan Sikander, who, although he was not in possession of any fief, was so fond of playing the general that he maintained at his own expense a corps of 12,000 horsemen; in short the forces of the rebels attained a total of 200,000 men. As soon as I became aware of their approach, I put into execution the plan of action that I had devised in accordance with the arrangement I had always followed. I posted my household troops in the centre with Chīn Timūr Sultan, Mirza Sulaimān, Khwāja Dost Khand, Yunis Ali, Shah Mansūr Birlās, Darwish Muhammed Sārbān, Abdullah Kitābdār, Dost Ishīk Agha, and other Amīrs on the right, and on the left, Sultan Behā ud dīn, Alā ud dīn, son of Bahlol Lodi, Sheikh Zain Khwāfi, Muhibb Ali, son of Nizām ud dīn Khalīfeh, Tardi Beg, the younger brother of Kūch Beg, and his son Sher Afgan, Arāish Khan, Khwāja Hosain, and others among my officers. I stationed myself on the right wing, keeping under my immediate command several of the Amīrs of Hindustān, such as Kham Khānān, Dilāvar Khan, Malik Dād Karrāni, and Sheikh Gūren. On the right of this wing were disposed Kāsim Hosain Sultan, Ahmed Yūsuf Oghlān, Hindu Beg Kūchīn, Khusru Kokaltāsh, Kavvām Beg Urdu Shah, Wali Khāzin Kara-Kūzi, Mir Kuli Sīstāni, Khwāja Pahlwān Badakhshi, Abdul Shakūr, the younger brother of Malik Kāsim Bāba Kachka, and other notables among the Mongols. On the left of the same wing were posted Mir Hameh, Muhammedi Kokultāsh, Khwājagi Asad, and some other officers. On the left wing—that post of good omen—the following were stationed, armed for the fight: Mahdi Khwāja, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, 'Ādil Sultan, son of Mahdi Sultan, Abdul Azīz Mir Akhor, Muhammed Jang Jang, Kūtluk Kadam Karāwul, Shah Hosain Bārgi, Jān Beg Atkeh; among the Amīrs of Hindustān were Jalāl Khan, and Kamāl Khan,

sons of Sultan Alā ud dīn, Ali Khan Sheikh-zādeh-Fermūli, Nizām Khan of Biāna, Mūmin Atkeh, Rustam Turkomān, all officers of my household, and many other chivalrous warriors. According to my instructions Nizām ud dīn Ali Khalīfah, carrying out the practice that is in vogue among the Western Turks, fastened the gun carriages together by means of chains to form an intrenchment (barrier) where the matchlock men and gunners, who were posted in the front line of the army, might take cover. I directed 'Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi to stay close to me, so that he might be able to communicate my orders, as circumstances might suggest, to the adjutants and aides-de-camp for conveyance to the commanders. As soon as the arrangements for the disposition of the army had been completed, the commanders and grandees, each followed by his own adherents, proceeded to take up their respective positions. Then I issued orders prohibiting anyone whomsoever from leaving his post, and warning every one, no matter how high placed a personage he might be, against engaging without formal instructions.

More than three hours of the day had already passed (9.30 a.m.) when the battle between the right and left wings (of the opposing armies) burst forth with such fury that the earth trembled and the whole world resounded (with the clang of arms). The enemy moving to our right made a desperate charge against Khusru Kokultāsh, Malik Kāsim, and Bāba Kachka. I immediately ordered Chīn Timūr Sultan to proceed to their assistance. He attacked the assailants with supreme bravery and, driving them before him, threw their ranks into confusion, and routed the centre of the Hindu army. So the reward for this victory was assigned to him without dispute. According to my orders Mustafa Rūmi had taken the yoked artillery in front of our centre, and by the fire of his musketry and culverins had thrown the army of the enemy into such disorder that the hearts of our brave troops were filled with fresh courage, while the bodies of a large number of the enemy were rolled in the dust of humiliation, and scattered to the winds of destruction. But at this juncture the main body of Rāna Sanka's army

arrived from behind in good order. On my side, having collected the pick of my men, I divided them into several corps, which I sent forward in successive detachments to the assistance of our troops. At first I sent Kāsim Hosain Sultan, and Ahmed Yūnas Kavvām Beg; next after that Hindu Beg Kūchīn; then Muhammed Kokultāsh and Khwājagi Asad; then Yūnas 'Ali, Shah Mansūr Barlās, and Abdullah Kitābdār, followed immediately after by Dost Ishik Agha and Muhammed Khalīl Akhtah Begi. The right wing of the enemy repeatedly charged our left wing, but on each occasion my brave troops, loyal in heart, nailed to the earth with shots of their arrows a large number of their assailants, and despatched to hell many others by striking them with their swords and daggers. Mūmin Atkeh, Rustam Turkomān, Mulla Muhammed, 'Ali Atkeh, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, 'Ādil Sultan, Abdul Azīz Mir Akhor, Kūtlak Kadam Karāwul, Muhammed Ali Jang Jang, Shah Hosain Bāigi, Moghal Ganji fought with vigour and firmness. Khwāja Hasan Divān with those under his orders, also came to their assistance. All our soldiers, jeopardizing their own lives and sacrificing those of the infidels, made the lightnings of their vengeance flash afar at the expense of the foe, although the fight was protracted owing to their immense number. My household troops had meanwhile remained behind the gun carriages like chained lions. I now ordered them to deliver an attack from the right and left of the centre (main body of the army) as soon as the matchlock men had been posted in the middle. These intrepid warriors, like lions which, gnawing their fetters, had in the end succeeded in severing them, were no sooner freed from restraint, and at liberty to act, than, flinging themselves on the enemy's squadrons, they gave full play to their pent-up energy.

In front of the centre 'Ali Kuli, the wonder of his age, at the head of his men, continued to rain fire on the enemy from his matchlocks and guns. Coming to the conclusion, however, that their defeat had been unduly delayed, I gave orders that the gun carriages should be moved forward from the centre, and I personally pushed on in front. On seeing this, the whole army advanced all along the line from the

right wing to the left, and charged the infidels. At this juncture the fight waxed so furious that our right and left wings swept away and drove back in confusion the enemy's right and left wings. The enemy having resolved to sacrifice their lives dearly, made a desperate attack on our right and left wings and nearly reached the spot where I was stationed. Thanks, however, to the strength of our position, the assailants were unable to withstand us, and were constrained to take to flight. The greater part of them perished and went to hell, and the remainder, becoming a prey to confusion, were scattered about the plain like grains of sand. Hasan Khan Mewāti, who had been hit by a matchlock ball, was brought down and killed. Many persons of note among the infidels, such as Rawal Udai Singh, Mānikchand Chauhān, Rai Chanderbhān, Dilbes Rai, Gangūr, and Gūren Singh, blocked with their corpses the road of destruction, while thousands of the baser sort were trampled under our horses' hoofs.

[N B—I have thought it advisable to omit the portions of the 'Fragment' that deal with the events which preceded and followed the actual battle, as they do not differ materially from the account given in the Memoirs]

APPENDIX D

AN ACCOUNT OF HUMĀYŪN'S ILLNESS AND OF BĀBUR'S SELF-DEVOTION

[This is an extract from Pavet de Courteille's 'Fragments', which he regards as the last words written by Bābur.]

A YEAR had already elapsed since Humāyūn had retired to Badakhshān, and withdrawn himself from society. At the end of this time he called me to mind, and having made over the government of Badakhshān to Sulaimān Mirza, his father-in-law, he reached Kābul after a day's journey. During the ceremonies of the Feast of Bairām, he met Kamrān Mirza at Kabul, who had arrived there from Kandahār. The latter, much astonished at meeting him, asked him why he was on the move. Humāyūn, who was hurrying to see me again, despatched Hindāl Mirza

from Kābul to Badakhshān, and set off to interview me. After an interval of a few days, he reached Agra, the imperial residence. I was engaged in talking of him to his mother, just as he arrived. His presence made our hearts expand like rosebuds, and our eyes shine like flaming torches. It was my daily custom to maintain an open table, but on this occasion I held a feast in his honour, and treated him in a most distinguished manner. We stayed together for some time living on terms of the closest intimacy. The truth is that his conversation had an inexpressible charm, and that he realized completely the type of the 'perfect man'.

At the time that Humāyūn left Badakhshān to visit me, Sultan Sa'īd Khan, who belonged to the family of the Khans of Kāshgar, and was related to me, having left Rashīd Khan at Yārkand, advanced in the direction of Badakhshān, which he had a mad desire to possess, but, before his arrival, Hindāl Mirza had already entered Fort Zafar. Sultan Sa'īd, after besieging him there for three months, returned without being able to accomplish anything. As soon as I was informed that the people of Kāshgar had come to conquer Badakhshān, I gave orders to Khwāja Khalīfeh to go there, and take such measures as he thought the situation required. He, however, was ill advised enough to decline the mission which I had offered him. Then I asked Humāyūn if he could bring himself to go there in person. He replied that he would of course obey an official order, but protested that he would never leave me willingly. Sulemān Mirza was therefore sent to Badakhshān. This, on the other hand, is what I wrote to Sultan Sa'īd. 'After all the favours that I have bestowed upon you, I was astonished to find you acting as you have done. For the present I have recalled Hindāl Mirza and have sent Sulemān Mirza to take his place. If regarding the rights of justice, you make over Badakhshān to this Prince, who is our son, all will be well; otherwise, I will not take notice of your offence as it concerns myself, but will leave the heritage to my heirs to deal with it as they may think best.'

Suleimān Mirza had not reached Kābul before the enemy,

abandoning the possession of Badakhshān, demanded quarter (peace). As soon as that Prince arrived there, Hindāl Mirza gave up the place to him and left for India. Muhammed Humāyūn took leave of me to proceed to Sambhal, which was the place assigned for his residence, and where he stayed for six months. It is probable that the climate and water of the place did not suit him, for fever attacked him, and continued for such a long time that I ended by making up my mind to speak to him about it. I gave orders to have him conveyed by boat to Delhi and thence to Agra so that capable doctors might see him and prescribe a proper treatment for him. He was accordingly made to travel by water for several days. In spite of all the remedies that were administered to him, he got no better. Then Mīr Abul Kāsim, who was a person of the highest esteem, represented to me that the only remedy that could be applied in the case of such maladies was to make a sacrifice to God of something of great value in order to obtain from Him the restoration of the patient's health. Thereupon, having reflected that nothing in the world was dearer to me than Humāyūn except my own life, I determined to offer myself in the hope that God would accept my sacrifice. Khwāja Khalīfah and other close friends of mine said to me, 'Humāyūn will recover his health, so how can you speak so unwisely? It will suffice if you offer to God the most precious thing you possess of worldly goods. Offer as alms that diamond which came into your possession after Ibrahīm's defeat, and which you presented to Humāyūn.' 'But', I replied, 'there is no treasure which can be compared to my son. It would be better for me to offer myself as his ransom, for he is in a very critical condition, and the situation demands that I should come to the aid of his weakness at the expense of my own strength.' I immediately entered the room where he was and went thrice round him, starting from his head, and saying: 'I take upon myself all that you suffer.' At the same instant I felt myself heavy and depressed, while he became cheery and well. He got up in complete health, while I became weak and afflicted with malaise. I summoned to my bedside the grandees of the Empire and the most influential

nobles, and placing their hands in that of Humāyūn as a mark of investiture, I solemnly proclaimed him as my successor and the heir to my crown, and placed him on the throne; Khwāja Khalīfah, Kambar Ali Beg, Tardi Beg, Hindu Beg, and others of my dependants took part in these deliberations. All of them agreed to what had been done, and bound themselves by an oath to support him.

APPENDIX E

BIOGRAPHIES OF ERSKINE AND LEYDEN

William Erskine (1773–1852), the distinguished Orientalist, was born in Edinburgh on November 8, 1773. His father, David Erskine, was a Writer to the Signet, and his grandfather, John Erskine (1605–1768), a well-known writer on Scottish law. He was educated at the Royal School and the Edinburgh University, where he was apparently a fellow student of John Leyden, whom he met again in Calcutta. He was also associated at the time with Thomas Brown, the metaphysician, and the poet Thomas Campbell. He was apprenticed for seven years (1792–9) to James Dundas, Writer to the Signet, but, the work proving uncongenial, he left Edinburgh in 1799 to become factor to Mr. Hay of Duns. There he remained till 1803, but as the salary was small, and his prospects poor, he threw up his appointment, and returned to Edinburgh with the intention of studying medicine. A fortnight later Sir James Mackintosh, who had accepted the Recordership of Bombay, invited him to accompany him to India, promising him the first appointment in his gift. Mackintosh was attracted to him by his taste for philosophical studies, and, in a letter to Dr Parr written in 1807, he speaks of him as 'one of the most amiable, ingenious, and accurately informed men in the world'. Erskine sailed from Ryde with Mackintosh in February 1804, reaching Bombay in May of the same year. There he attended a meeting convened by Mackintosh for the purpose of founding the Literary Society of Bombay, of which Erskine was the first secretary. Soon after his arrival he was appointed Clerk to the Small Cause Court,

and later served for many years as one of the stipendiary magistrates of Bombay. Erskine must have begun his Persian studies early, for he states that he had translated a small portion of Bābur's Memoirs before 1810–11. In 1820 he was appointed Master in Equity in the Recorder's Court, Bombay. Here he enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Mountstuart Elphinstone, and was a member of the committee that drew up the Bombay Code of Regulations. He did not, however, hold the office of Master in Equity for long, as he was removed from it, and left India under a cloud in 1823. The Chief Justice, West, appears to have behaved harshly to Erskine, the honesty of whose intentions was never open to doubt, though he may have been neglectful of his duties, the result perhaps of sickness. On his return from India Erskine at first settled in Edinburgh, where in 1826 he published the translation of Bābur's Memoirs, which had been completed and sent home ten years previously. He tells us in his preface that he had been working at this translation from the Persian version, while Leyden in Calcutta was engaged in translating the same work from the Tūrkī original. Leyden, however, died in 1811 before his translation was half finished, leaving his papers to Erskine, who received the MS. in 1813. By this time Erskine had completed his translation, and had just finished the work of comparing the two versions, when he received from Elphinstone his copy of the Tūrkī original. This compelled him to undertake the task of comparing his translation throughout with the Tūrkī, of which he had only an imperfect knowledge. Though Leyden was associated with Erskine as joint translator of the Memoirs, and the book was published for the benefit of Leyden's father, the chief credit of the performance belongs to Erskine. Leyden translated only down to page 318 (Vol. I), and pages 79–94 (Vol. II) of the Memoirs, and supplied practically no notes; Erskine, on the other hand, contributed a valuable preface and introduction, corrected Leyden's version, and translated the remainder of the work. He also supplied the notes, which Lord Jeffreys described as 'the most intelligent, learned, and least pedantic, notes we have ever seen attached to such a performance', and filled up the

gaps in Bābur's narrative with scholarly memoranda. In 1827 Erskine went to Pau, and there he resided for two or three years. He became Provost of St. Andrews in 1836, and in 1839 he returned to Edinburgh. He again went abroad in 1845, and lived in Bonn till 1848. Most of his later years were spent in Edinburgh, and during the last of these he became blind. He died on May 28, 1852, and was buried in St. John's Episcopal Church. Erskine married in Madras Maitland, second daughter of Sir John Mackintosh, who died in 1861, and by whom he had fourteen children. Four of his sons were in the Indian Civil Service, of whom the eldest, James (1821–93), became judge of the Bombay High Court, and the youngest, Henry (1832–93), rose to be Commissioner of Sinde. Apart from his edition of Bābur's Memoirs his chief work was the *History of India under Bābur and Humāyūn*, which was edited by his son James, and published after his death in 1854, though it had been completed several years before. This work is a valuable contribution to Indian history, and is marked throughout by good sense, accuracy, and impartiality.

John Leyden, M.D. (1775–1811), physician and poet, son of John Leyden and Isabella Scott, was born on September 8, 1775, at Denholm, Cavers, Roxburghshire. He received some elementary schooling at Kirktown, and from 1790 to 1797 was a student of the Edinburgh University, where he greatly distinguished himself as a scholar. During the vacations he studied Natural Science, Scandinavian and Modern Languages, Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian, while his professional pursuits included Theology, Philosophy, and Medicine. Among his associates were Brougham, Sydney Smith, Jeffreys, Horne, and Thomas Brown. From 1796 to 1798 he was tutor to the sons of Mr. Campbell of Edinburgh, and accompanied them to St. Andrews (1797–8), where he was licenced as a preacher. He contributed poems to the *Edinburgh Literary Magazine* through Anderson, the editor of *British Poets*, and was one of the first to welcome the *Pleasures of Hope*, though subsequently he and Campbell had a ridiculous quarrel, which led to

amusing consequences. In 1799 he came to know Heber, who introduced him to Sir Walter Scott, whom he materially helped with the earlier volumes of *Border Minstrelsy*. About 1799 Leyden published 'An Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlement of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa at the close of the eighteenth century'. He also contributed a poem 'The Elf King' to Lewis's *Tales of Wonder* in 1801, and edited for Constable *The Complaynte of Scotland*, with an elaborate introduction and glossary. For six months in 1802 he edited the *Scots Magazine*, contributing both prose and verse to it. His best poetic qualities, however, are shown in his 'Miscellaneous Lyrics'. Through the influence of Dundas he secured the appointment of Assistant Surgeon in Madras and after six months' study at St. Andrews he took out a nominal M.D. degree. Meanwhile he zealously studied Oriental languages, and prepared for publication his *Scenes of Infancy*. In August 1803 he reached Madras, and at first held charge of the Madras General Hospital. He subsequently accompanied, in the capacity of surgeon and naturalist, the Commission on the Mysore Provinces, taken from Tippu Sultan, and prepared an elaborate report on the geology, crops, diseases, and languages of the districts traversed. Having contracted fever he was obliged to stay at Seringapatam, where he was befriended by Sir J. Malcolm. In 1805 we find him travelling to Malabar, Cochin, and Quilon, and thence to Penang, for the benefit of his health. At Penang he wrote a 'Dissertation on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations'. Returning to India in 1806, Leyden settled in Calcutta, and his 'Essay on the Indo-Persian, Indo-Chinese, and Dekhan Languages', which appeared in 1807, led to his appointment as professor of Hindustānī in the Calcutta College. He did not hold this post for long, as soon afterwards he was appointed to the Judgeship of the twenty-four Pergunnahs. In 1809 he became Commissioner of the Court of Requests, and was appointed Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint in the following year (1810). In 1811 he accompanied Lord Minto to Java as interpreter in the Malay language. He died of fever at Cornelis after a

three days' illness on August 28, 1811. In an eulogium delivered before the Literary Society of Bombay, William Erskine claimed that Leyden in eight years had done almost as much for Asia as the combined scholarship of the West had done for Europe. Scott embalmed his 'bright and brief' career in the *Lord of the Isles* (IV, 2). Lord Cockburn, after referring to his unconscious egotism, uncouth aspect, and uncompromising demeanour, declares 'there was no walk in life in which Leyden could not have shone'. The 'Ettrick Shepherd' bewailed the loss of the poet's 'glowing measure', and Lockhart in his *Life of Scott* fully recognized his extraordinary abilities and attainments as a scholar. Sir Walter Scott contributed a memoir of Leyden to the *Edinburgh Annual Register* in 1811. His 'Poetical Remains' with a memoir were edited by the Rev. James Morton in 1819, and in 1858 his 'Poems and Ballads' with Scott's Memoir were published. He translated one or more of the Gospels into Pushtu, Belūchi, Maldivian, Macassar, and Bugis, and in 1821 his *Malay Annals* with introduction by Sir Stamford Raffles appeared (*Dictionary of National Biography*.)

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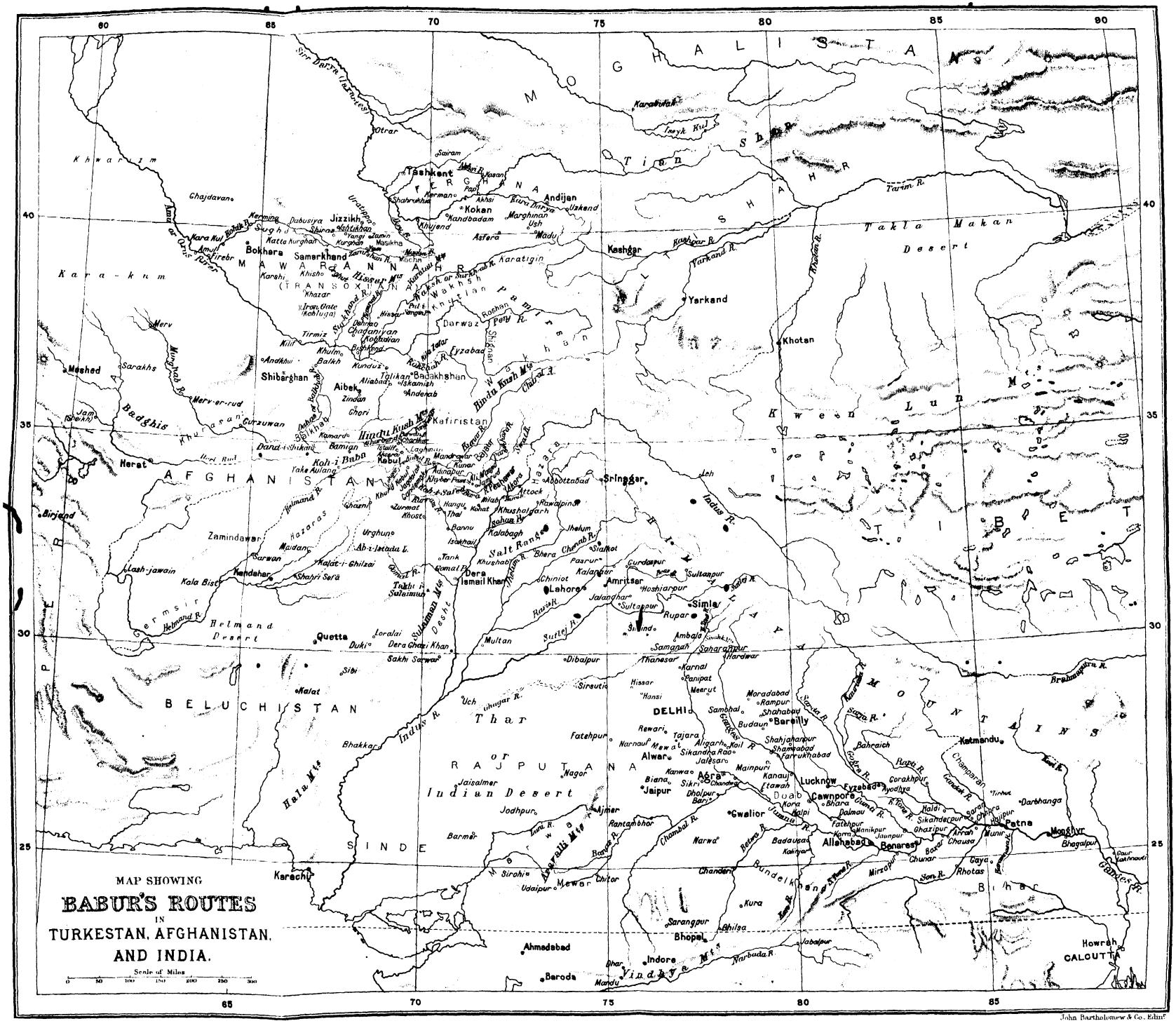
MAP SHOWING
BABUR'S ROUTES
IN
TURKESTAN, AFGHANISTAN,
AND INDIA.
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
MOGHALISTAN
TURKESTAN
MAWARANNAHR
(TRANSOXIANA)
FERGHANA
Tian Shan Mts
Takla Makan Desert
Kara-kum
Khwarism
Karakoram Mts
Kwen Lun Mts
Hindu Kush Mts
Kafiristan
Badakhshan
Wakhan
Pamir
Darwaz
AFGHANISTAN
BELUCHISTAN
Helmand Desert
Germsir
Khelat
Sulaiman Mts
Suleiman Khel
Salt Range
Thar or RAJPUTANA Indian Desert
Aravalli Mts
Vindhya Mts
SINDE
Himalaya Mts
Nepal
Thibet
Kumaon
Rohilcund
Doab
Bundelkhand
Behar
Mountains
Tashkent
Andijan
Kokan
Bokhara
Samerkhand
Kashgar
Yarkand
Khotan
Meshed
Herat
Shibarghan
Aibek
Kabul
Jellalabad
Peshawar
Abbottabad
Srinagar
Attock
Rawalpindi
Lahore
Amritsar
Simla
Delhi
Agra
Lucknow
Cawnpore
Allahabad
Benares
Patna
Monghyr
Bhagalpur
Calcutta
Howrah
Karachi
Quetta
Kandahar
Ghazni
Zamindawar
Multan
Dera Ismail Khan
Dera Ghazi Khan
Jaisalmer
Jodhpur
Ajmer
Jaipur
Gwalior
Bhopal
Indore
Baroda
Ahmedabad
Mewar
Chitor
Udaipur
Sirohi
Nagor
Barmer
Bikaner
Rantambhor
Kalinjar
Chunar
Rhotas
Gaya
Darbhanga
Katmandu
Oxus R.
Indus R.
Sutlej R.
Jhelum R.
Chenab R.
Ravee R.
Ganges R.
Jumna R.
Gogra R.
Gunduck R.
Brahmapootra R.
Helmand R.
Tarim R.
Yarkand R.
Karatigin
Khulm
Balkh
Tirmiz
Merv
Merv-er-rud
Sarakhs
Furiab
Andkhui
Maimana
Kunduz
Talikan
Khanabad
Aliabad
Zindan
Chori
Anderab
Iskamish
Fyzabad
Khoja Ghar
Hissar Mts
Karatigin
Darwaz
Roshan
Petty R.
Khuttlan
Kulab
Kurgan Tube
Kurgan
Khojend
Kokan
Kanbadam
Marghinan
Ush
Andijan
Uzkend
Akhsi
Kuva
Asfera
Madu
Aksu
Kasan
Sairam
Otrar
Sir Darya (Jaxartes)
Aral Sea
Karabutak
Turyk Kul
Chajdavan
Amu or Oxus R.
Kara Kul
Bokhara
Sughd
Jizzikh
Dabusiya
Shirin
Katta Kurghan
Kurghan
Masikha
Yangi
Zamin
Khojend
Uratippa
Khuttlan
Kerman
Shahrukhia
Tashkent
Chach
Ferghana
Kara Tube
Kara Kul
Amu
Firebr
Karshi
Khisho
Khazar
Iron Gate (Kohluga)
Stuckland R.
Dehnau
Chaganiyan
Kobadian
Bishkend
Tirmiz
Khulm
Balkh
Andkhui
Meshed
Sarakhs
Murghab R.
Merv-er-rud
Jam
Sheikh
Badghis
Khurasan
Curzuwan
Herat
Hari Rud
Furiab
Shibarghan
Aibek
Aliabad
Talikan
Badakhshan
Iskamish
Anderab
Zindan
Chori
Fyzabad
Khoja Ghar
Hissar Mts
Karatigin
Darwaz
Roshan
Petty R.
Khuttlan
Kulab
Wakhan
Pamir
Hindu Kush Mts
Kafiristan
Kamard
Shukai
Dand-i-Shukan
Bamian
Koh-i Baba
Kabul
Jellalabad
Peshawar
Abbottabad
Srinagar
Attock
Rawalpindi
Khyber Pass
Lake Aulang
Yake Aulang
Kohistan
Kohat
Khushalgarh
Jhelum
Salt Range
Chenab R.
Sialkot
Pasrur
Kalanpur
Amritsar
Lahore
Jullundur
Hoshiarpur
Sultanpur
Rupar
Simla
Ambala
Samanah
Saharanpur
Hardwar
Thanesar
Karnal
Panipat
Meerut
Delhi
Sambhal
Moradabad
Rampur
Shahabad
Bareilly
Budaun
Shahjehanpur
Farrukhabad
Alwar
Rewari
Tajara
Narnaul
Mewat
Sikandra Rao
Jalesar
Mainpuri
Kanauj
Agra
Aligarh
Koil
Etawah
Lucknow
Fyzabad
Cawnpore
Bhara
Kora
Kalpi
Dolmau
Fatehpur
Manikpur
Allahabad
Benares
Ghazipur
Arrah
Patna
Munir
Monghyr
Bhagalpur
Darbhanga
Katmandu
Gorakhpur
Ayodhya
Bahraich
Rapti R.
Gogra R.
Gunduck R.
Champaran
Tirhut
Kosi R.
Brahmapootra R.
Sirsa R.
Kalee R.
Ganges R.
Jumna R.
Chumbal R.
Betwa R.
Kane R.
Sone R.
Nerbudda R.
Tapty R.
Mahanuddy R.
Godavery R.
Indus R.
Sutlej R.
Jhelum R.
Chenab R.
Ravee R.
Helmand R.
Tarim R.
Yarkand R.
Karatigin
Khotan
Yarkand
Kashgar
Khojend
Kokan
Andijan
Tashkent
Ferghana
Bokhara
Samerkhand
Karshi
Khisho
Khazar
Merv
Merv-er-rud
Sarakhs
Meshed
Furiab
Andkhui
Maimana