

T H E

BABURNAMA

Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor

Translated, edited, and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston

FREER GALLERY OF ART * ARTHUR M. SACKLER GALLERY

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See illus. p. 417.

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

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

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

12. Folio 257.

❖ Babur Sets Out against Sultan Ibrahim

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

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

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

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

Marching from Dun we came to Rupa. While we were there, it rained a lot of rain and was extremely cold, and many hungry, naked Hindustanis perished. From Rupa we marched to Karal¹³ opposite Sirhind, where a Hindustani came to our camp saying that he was Sultan Ibrahim's envoy. Although he had no letter or credentials, he asked us to send an emissary. We sent back with him a night watchman from Swat. No sooner had the poor fellows arrived than Ibrahim threw them both into chains. A few months later, the very day we defeated Ibrahim,¹⁴ the Swati escaped and returned to us.

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

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

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

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

14. April 20, 1526.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

flows. It is not a bad place. Turdī Beg Khaksar praised it. [263b] “It’s yours,” I said, and thus Turdī Beg was given Sarsawa.

handwriting of His Blessed Majesty.”

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

❖ Preparation for Battle

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

❖ The Battle of Panipat

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

❁ Babur Enters Delhi

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

22. Folios 223-238.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

❁ Description of Hindustan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

29. Muzaffar Shah II, r. 1512–26.

30. The Bahmanid dynasty ruled in the northern Dec-can, 1347–1527.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

38. Folios 333–335.

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

39. The modern Jhelum.

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

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

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

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

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

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

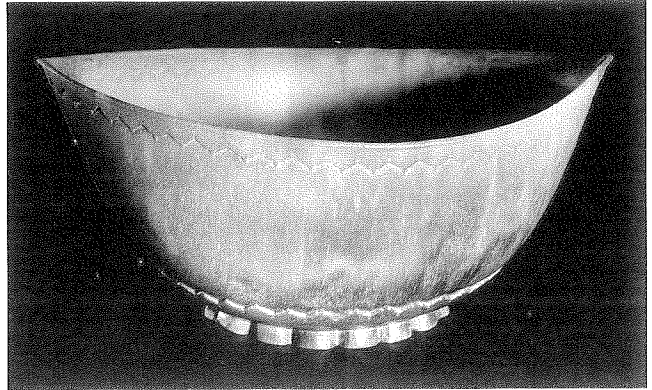
The cities and provinces of Hindustan are all unpleasant. All cities, all locales are alike. The gardens have no walls, and most places are flat as boards.

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

❖ Animals That Are Peculiar to Hindustan: Beasts

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

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



are valuable. The elephant has no hair as other animals do. This animal is of great importance to the people of Hindustan. Indian armies have several elephants in every unit as a matter of course. Elephants have several good qualities: they can easily carry heavy loads across large and swift-running rivers. Three or four elephants can

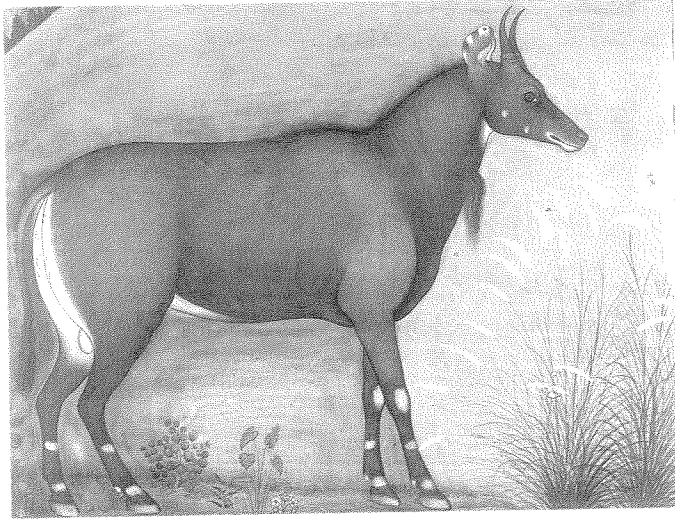
haul mortar carts that would take four or five hundred men to pull. They eat a lot, however: an elephant eats as much as two strings of camels.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Another is the *gynee*, a small cow⁴⁶ the size of a large ram in our country. Its meat is tender and delicious.

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

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

42. "Shortlegged."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

❁ Birds⁴⁹

Peacock. The peacock is a colorful and ornamental animal, although its body, like that of a crane but not so tall, is not equal to its color and beauty. On both the male's and female's head are twenty to thirty feathers two to three fingers long. The female has no other colorful plumage. The male's head has an iridescent collar, and its neck is a beautiful blue. [277b] Below the neck its back is painted yellow, green, blue, and violet. The eyes on its back are very, very small. From its back down to the tip of the tail are much larger eyes in these same colors. The tails of some peacocks are as long as a human being. Under the eye feathers are shortish feathers like those of other birds. Its true tail and wing feathers are red. The peacock occurs in Bajaur and Swat and lower; farther up, in Kunar and Laghman, it occurs nowhere. It is less capable of flight than even the pheasant and cannot do more than one or two short flutters. Because it is all but flightless it sticks to mountains and forests. It is strange that in the forests where peacocks are, there are also many jackals. With a tail a fathom long, how can it run from forest to forest and not fall prey to the jackals? Hindustanis call the peacock *mor*. In the sect of Imam Abu-Hanifa⁵⁰ it is licit to eat it. Its meat is not without flavor, rather like the partridge, but one eats it, like the camel, only with reluctance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

51. May be the Indian lori-quet (*Loriculus vernalis*).

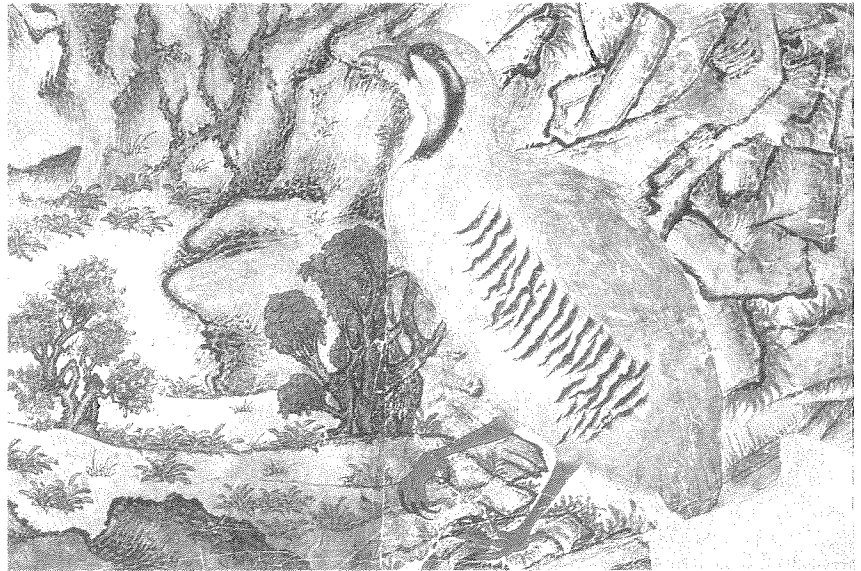
52. The Himalayan starling (*Sturnus bumii*).

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

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

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

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



or six different colors that shimmer like a pigeon's throat. [279] It is about the size of a snow cock. It most likely is the Indian snow cock, for it runs about mountain-tops like a snow cock. It occurs in the Nijrao mountains of Kabul Province and in mountains farther down,

but not higher than that. The people there tell an amazing story about it: in winter it descends to the mountain foothills, and if it is made to fly over a vineyard, it cannot fly any more and can be caught.⁵⁸ It is edible and has quite delicious flesh.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

64. May be the western bamboo partridge (*Bambusicola fytchii*) or a Himalayan pheasant (*Gallopbasis albo-cristatus*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

❖ Birds That Live In and Beside Water

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

73. Perhaps some sort of green woodpecker.

❖ Aquatic Animals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

❖ Flora Peculiar to Hindustan

Mango. Most people in Hindustan pronounce the *b* in this word without a vowel, and since such a pronunciation is ugly⁷⁶ some call the mango *naghzak*, as Khwaja Khusraw says:⁷⁷

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

79. *Bassia latifolia*.

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

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

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

80. *Averrhoa carambola*.

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

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

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

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

82. The Husayni grape is long and seedless.

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

83. Unidentified.

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

84. *Flaucortia cataphracta*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

86. Folio 33ob.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another fruit like the orange is the large lime they call the galle-galle⁹¹ lime in Hindustan. In shape it resembles a goose egg, but the ends are not tapered like an egg. The skin is even like a *sangtara*. It is unbelievably juicy.

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

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

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

❁ Flowers of Hindustan

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

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

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

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

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

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

❁ Divisions of Time

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

95. See part 2, note 5.

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

97. Babur's calculation is correct.

❖ Weights and Measures

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

Trans-Sutlej, Bhera, Lahore, Sialkot, Dipalpur, etc. 33,315,989 tankas	Kalpi and Seondha 42,855,950 tankas	Saran 11,018,373 tankas
Sirhind 12,931,985 tankas	Kannauj 13,663,358 tankas	Champaran 19,086,060 tankas
Hissar Firoza 13,075,174 tankas	Sambhal 13,844,000 tankas	Kandhla 4,330,300 tankas
The capital Delhi and the Doab 36,950,254 tankas	Laknaur and Buxar 13,982,433 tankas	Tirhut (tribute from Rajah Rup Narayan) 255,000 silver tankas 2,750,000 black tankas
Mewat (not inside the realm at the time of Sikandar ¹⁰¹) 16,981,000 tankas	Khairabad 1,265,000 tankas	Ranthambhor, including Buli, Chatsu, and Malana 2,000,000
Bayana 14,414,930 tankas	Oudh and Bahraich 11,701,369 tankas [293a]	Nagaur
Agra 2,976,919 tankas	Jaunpur 40,088,333 tankas	Rajah Bikramajit of Ranthambhor
Central provinces 29,100,019 tankas	Kara and Manikpur 16,327,282 tankas	Kalinjar
Gwalior 22,357,450 tankas	Bihar 40,560,000 tankas	Rajah Singh Deo
	Sarwar 15,517,506.5 tankas	Rajah Bikam Deo
		Rajah Bikam Chand

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

❖ Distribution of the Treasury in Agra

On Saturday the twenty-ninth of Rajab [May 12] examination and distribution of the treasury began. Humayun was given twenty lacs. I gave him outright another room of the treasury, which had not been inventoried or counted. Some of the begs were given ten lacs, some eight, seven, or six. All the Afghan Hazaras, Arabs, and Baluch¹⁰² in the army and every other group were given cash from the treasury in accordance with their station. Every merchant and student, indeed every person who was along with the army, took away a large share. Large portions of the treasury went even to those who were not in the army: seventeen lacs went to Kamran and fifteen to Muhammad-Zaman Mirza, and to Askari and Hindal and to all relatives and kinsfolk, large and small alike, went much gold and silver stuff, textiles, jewels, and slaves. Many gifts went to the begs and soldiers who were on the other side. To Samarkand, Khurasan, [294] Kashghar, and Iraq went gifts for relatives and kinsfolk. Offerings went to the shaykhs in Samarkand and Khurasan; one was even sent to Mecca and Medīna. There was a shahrukhi of largesse for every living soul, male and female, bondsman and free, adult and child alike, in the province of Kabul and the district of Wersek.

102. See note 9 above.

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

❖ Disaffection in the Army

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

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

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

❁ Khwaja Kalan Leaves Hindustan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

❖ Awards Ceremony

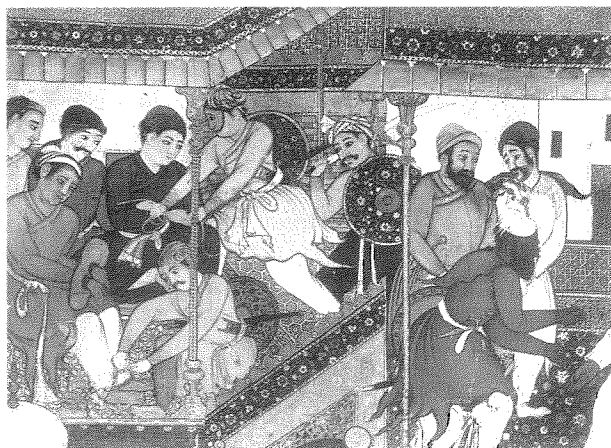
103. The "Shawwal festival" refers to the feast for the end of the month of Ramadan (see part 2, note 173).

Several days after the Shawwal festival¹⁰³ a great party was held in the domed portico with stone columns in the middle of Sultan Ibrahim's harem. Humayun was given a charqab, a girth sword, and a horse with a gold saddle. Chih Temür Sultan, Mahdi Khwaja, [297] and Muhammad-Sultan Mirza were also given charqabs, girth swords, and girth daggers. The other begs and warriors were given girth swords and girth daggers and robes of honor according to their rank, as is shown in the following table:

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

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

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



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

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

Trifle not with the Turk, O Mir of Bayana, / For the agility and bravery
of the Turk are obvious. / If you do not come soon and listen to reason,
/ What need is there for clarification¹⁰⁴ of the obvious?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

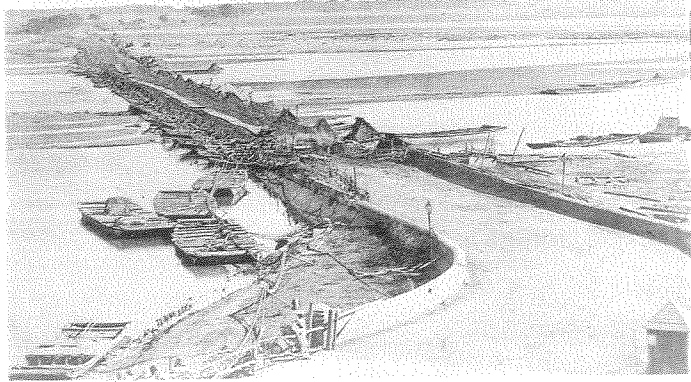
On Wednesday the thirteenth of Dhu'l-Qa'da [August 21], Humayun set forth and stopped in the village of Jalesar, three leagues from Agra. He stayed there one day and then proceeded march by march.

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

❖ Babur Plans a Garden

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

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



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

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

We suffered from three things in Hindustan. One was the heat, another the biting wind, and the third the dust. The bathhouse was a refuge from all three. Of

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

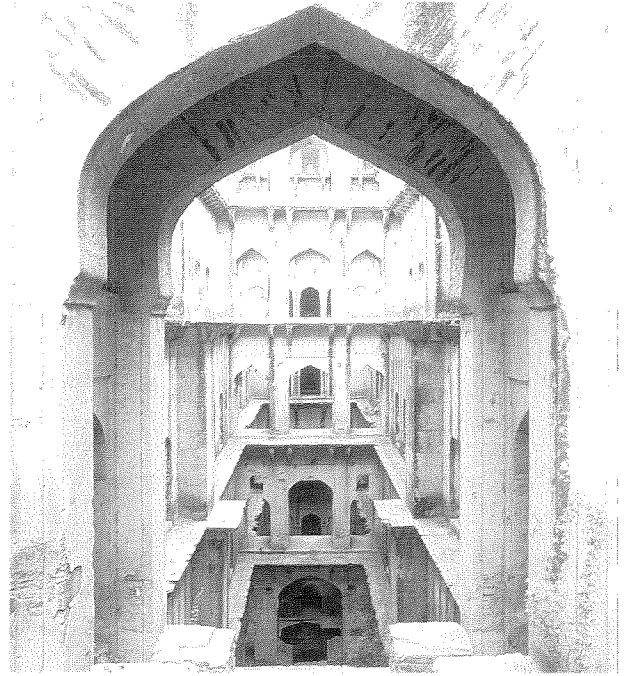
105. That is, the locals named the new "suburb" after the place from which the conquerors had come.

❖ The Making of a Well

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

106. That is, after March 1527.

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



❖ Humayun Rides against the Rebels

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

❖ In Khurasan the Uzbeks Attack Merv

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