

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

*Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.*

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provinces of Kabul and Ghazni. We did not know the income or harvest of Kabul, and the province suffered heavily under such an enormous impost.

75. It is not known what type of script Babur invented, but it is likely that it was a cypher. It is mentioned again on folios 179 and 357b.

8. Perhaps Chino, although the reading is not definite. Several places in the vicinity are now named China, but none can be identified with this place with any certainty.

Around that time I invented the Baburi script.<sup>75</sup> A large tribute of sheep and horses had been imposed on the Sultan-Mas'tidi Hazaras. Collectors were sent. Several days later, word was received that the Hazaras refused to pay [145] and were being refractory. Because they had previously held up people on the Gardez and Ghazni roads, we rode out to attack them. We traveled by the flat road, advanced through the Nirkh pass by night, and charged them early in the morning in the vicinity of Chitu.<sup>76</sup> The attack was less than satisfactory. Afterward we returned by the Sang-i-Surakh road and gave Jahangir Mirza leave to go to Ghazni. Soon after our arrival back in Kabul, Darya Khan's son Shar-Husayn came from Bhera to pay homage.

Several days later the army was mustered, and persons who knew the lay of the land were summoned to scout out the surrounding areas. Some said that Dasht was good, others said Bangash was suitable, others thought Hindustan best. In consultation we decided on a campaign to Hindustan.

### ✿ First Incursion into Hindustan

In the month of Sha'ban [January 1505] when the sun was in the sign of Aquarius we rode out of Kabul for Hindustan. Stopping six times overnight on the Badam Chashma and Jagdalak road, we came to Adinapur. I had never seen a hot climate or any of Hindustan before. When we reached Nangarhar, a new world came into view—different plants, different trees, different animals and birds, different tribes and people, [145b] different manners and customs. It was astonishing, truly astonishing.

Nasir Mirza had come ahead to his province and paid homage at Adinapur. The tribes and clans who had come from the other side had all migrated into the Laghman region for the winter. We stopped there for a day or two to allow those soldiers and those who had remained behind to join us. Then we crossed the Juy-i-Shahi and camped in Khush Gumbaz, where Nasir Mirza requested leave to stay behind to get something from the province for his servants and retainers, and said he would follow us in two or three days. When we marched out of Khush Gumbaz and camped in Garm Chashma, Pikhi, one of the headmen of the Gagiani who had been with a caravan, was brought in. Pikhi was taken along to find roads. In two or three marches we went through the Khyber and camped in Jam.<sup>77</sup>

I had heard tell of the cave called Gurh Kattri. It was a holy place for yogis and Hindus, who came from faraway places to cut their hair and beards

77. Modern Jamrud.

there. While camped at Jam, I rode out to see Bigram, where I observed the great banyan tree and explored the vicinity. I asked Malik Bu-Sa'id Kamari, who was my guide, something about Gurh Kattri, but he did not answer. When we got back to the camp, [146] he said to Khwaja Muhammad Amin, "Gurh Kattri was right next to Bigram, but since it is narrow and dangerous I didn't say anything." The khwaja immediately reviled him and told me what he had said. It was too late in the day and too far for us to go back.

#### ~~• A Foray to Kohat~~

While in this camp we deliberated crossing the Indus and where to go. Baqi Chaghaniani contended that without crossing the river it was possible to go with one night's halt to a place called Kohat, where there would be many tribes with ample herds. He produced a couple of Kabulis who verified what he said. We had never heard of this place but since my man of great authority thought it wise to go to Kohat and had produced several witnesses to back his claim, we canceled our plan to cross the river toward Hindustan. Instead we marched out of Jam, crossed the Bara, and camped near the Muhammad Pikh pass.

The Gagiani Afghans were then in Peshawar, but in dread of our army they had withdrawn into the foothills. When the headman of the Gagiani, Khusrau Gagiani, came to our camp to render homage, he was taken along with Pikh to guide us. [146b] We marched out at midnight, traversed the Muhammad Pikh as day was breaking, and raided Kohat at breakfast time. We took many cows and oxen and many Afghan prisoners too, but released them all. There was no end to the grain in their houses. The raiding party sent off to the banks of the Indus returned after a night and joined us. The army had not acquired anything like what Baqi Chaghaniani had claimed, and he was rather embarrassed by this effort.

Stopping two nights in Kohat, we assembled the raiding forces and discussed where to go. It was decided to raid the Afghans in the vicinity of Bangash and Bannu and then return by either the Naghar or the Parimal road.

Yar-Husain, Darya Khan's son who had come to pay homage in Kabul, made the following request: "If orders are issued to the Dilazak, Yusufzai, and Gagiani tribes not to transgress my command, I will wield the padishah's sword on the other side of the Indus." Decrees were given according to his request, and he was given leave to depart Kohat.

Marching out of Kohat, we headed up the Hangu road in the direction of Bangash. Between Kohat and [147] Hangu is a valley with a road running through it and mountains on either side. While we were marching through

201. Shah Sultan Begim was the daughter of the king of Badakhshan. Mirza Muhammad Haydar gives her words:

Sháh Begum laid claim to Badakhshán, saying: "It has been our hereditary kingdom for three thousand years. Though I, being a woman, cannot myself attain to the sovereignty, yet my grandson Mirzá Khán can hold it. Males descended from me and my children will certainly not be rejected" (Muhammad Haydar Dughlat, *A History of the Moguls of Central Asia*, 203).

ing out of Kabul. He was stationed there in Kabul.

Since no king or princes were left in Badakhshan, Mirza Khan was inclined to go there—either because Shah Begim was connected to the ancient kings of Badakhshan or because she approved. He was given leave to go there, and Shah Begim set out with him.<sup>201</sup> My aunt Mihr Nigar Khánüm was also going to go to Badakhshan, although it would have been more proper for her to be with me since we were blood relatives. No matter how I tried to dissuade her, however, she refused to be deterred and went off with the others.

### ※ A Second Hindustan Campaign Is Launched

In the month of Jumada 1 [September–October 1507] we set out for Hindustan. Proceeding through Khurd Kabul, we traveled via Robat-i-Surkh and descended into the Quruq Say.

The Afghans between Kabul and Laghman, even in times of peace, are robbers and bandits. For just such an event as this they had been praying but so far had not obtained. Now that they knew I was leaving Kabul for Hindustan, their evil increased tenfold, and even the good ones turned foul. [214] Things got so bad that on the morning we were marching out of Jagdalak, the Afghans between there and Laghman, the Khizr Khel, Shimu Khel, Ghilzai, and Khugiani, took up positions on the northern mountain to block the Jagdalak pass and began to beat their drums and brandish their swords. I mounted and ordered the army to proceed to the mountain from all directions. The men set out at a gallop from every valley and side. The Afghans were not able to hold their stance for even a moment or to fire so much as an arrow before taking flight. I went up the mountain in pursuit of them. An Afghan was running below me. I shot him in the arm. Both he and a few other Afghans were caught and brought in, and several of them were impaled to set an example.

We dismounted before the Adinapur fortress in Nangarhar district. Before that we had given no thought to a place to camp, and neither had we established anywhere to go nor had we assigned any site to stay. Four detachments were sent up and down to bring fresh news. It was late in the autumn, and in the flatlands the rice had mostly been harvested. Those who knew the land reported that the Mil Kafirs upriver in the Alishang district grew much rice, and there was some likelihood that winter supplies of grain for the army could be had there. We rode fast from the Nangarhar glen, crossed at Saygal, and went as far as the Parayin valley. [214b] The soldiers took a lot of rice from the rice fields at the foot of the mountain. The people ran away, and some

Kafirs were killed. A few warriors had been sent to a lookout on a spur of the valley. While they were returning, the Kafirs charged the mountain and began to shoot. They reached Qasim Beg's son-in-law Puran and were hacking at him with an ax and about to take him when some other warriors turned back and, forcing the Kafirs to flee, got him out. We spent one night in the Kafirs' rice fields and then returned to the camp with much grain.

Around this same time, Muqim's daughter Mah Chüchük, who is now married to Shah-Hasan, was affianced to Qasim Kükal'dash in Mandrawar district.

Since it was not considered advantageous to go to Hindustan, Mulla Baba Pishaghari and some warriors were dispatched to Kabul. We left the Madrawar area and went to Atar and Siwa, where we stayed a few days. From Atar, I went on an excursion to Kunar and Nur Gul. From Kunar, I rode a raft back to camp. I had not ridden a raft before then, but afterward they became common.

#### ~~Shaybani Khan's Withdrawal from Kandahar~~

Around that same time, Mulla Mirak Farkati came from Nasir Mirza with the news that Wormwood Khan had taken the Kandahar fortress but withdrew without being able to take the citadel. After Wormwood's retreat Nasir Mirza had, for several reasons, abandoned Kandahar [215] and gone to Ghazni.

A few days later Wormwood Khan returned and took Kandahar by surprise. Unable to hold the outer fortress, the defenders had given it up. Wormwood Khan's men ran pines in several places around the citadel, and several battles were fought. Nasir Mirza was struck in the neck by an arrow. The attackers were close to taking the citadel. In such a precarious situation Khwaja Muhammad Amin, Khwaja Dost Khawand, Muhammad Ali Piyada, and Shami left the fortress. The defenders had lost hope and were ready to give up when Wormwood Khan initiated a truce and again withdrew. He did this because he sent his womenfolk to Niratu, where it was learned, someone had rebelled and taken over the fortress.

Although it was the middle of winter, we took the Badpakh road to Kabul. I ordered the date of this crossing to be carved in a rock at the top of Badpakh. Hafiz Mirak wrote it and Ustad Shah-Muhammad did the carving, but since we were in a hurry it was not done well.

I gave Ghazni to Nasir Mirza. To Abdul-Razzaq Mirza were given the districts of Nangarhar, Mandrawar, Dara-i-Nur, Kunar, and Nur Gul.

daughter was placed in the Bajaur fortress until the army should return.

The next morning we passed Khwaja Khizr and camped. Khwaja Kalan was given leave to depart. The *uruq*, the grain, and most of the army's equipment and heavy baggage were sent to Laghman by the Kunar road. The next morning we marched off, and the heavy baggage and camels were put under Khwaja Mirmiran's charge and dispatched by the Churghatu and Darwaza roads through the Qara Kóbá defile while we ourselves rode unencumbered through the Ambahar defile and stopped at Paniyali in the early afternoon. Ughanberdi was sent forward with a band to reconnoitre. Since the Afghans were not far from us we did not move early. It was midmorning when Ughanberdi returned. He had taken an Afghan and cut off his head, [221b] which he dropped on his way back. He did not bring any satisfactory information, and it was around noon when we started off. We crossed the Swat River and stopped in the late afternoon. That night we mounted and rode fast. The sun was up a spear length when Rustam the Turcoman, who had been sent forward as a scout, brought word that the Afghans had learned of our approach and were agitated. One group of Afghans was going up the mountain road. As soon as we heard this, we galloped off and sent a detachment ahead to raid. They killed a few Afghans, cut off their heads, and brought back a few captives and cattle and flocks. The Dilazak Afghans also cut off some heads and brought them in. We went on, stopping in the vicinity of Katlang. A guide was sent to bring the *uruq*, which Khwaja Mirmiran was leading, to join us in Maqam. The next morning we marched and camped between Katlang and Maqam. Shah Munsur's man came. Khusraw Kükäldash and Ahmadi Parwanachi were sent with a party to meet the *uruq*.

On Tuesday the fourteenth [February 15], while camped at Maqam, the *uruq* joined us. Some thirty or forty years ago a wandering dervish named Shahbaz Qalandar had led a part of the Yusufzai and Dilazak into heresy. On a spur of the Maqam mountains is a rather low mountain [222] that overlooks the whole plain; there, on an airy hill that commands superb vistas, was Shahbaz Qalandar's tomb. I went on an excursion to examine it. It occurred to me that a heretic wandering dervish had no business having a tomb in such a pleasant spot, so I ordered it reduced to rubble. Since it was an agreeable place and the air was so good, I had some ma'jun and sat there for a while.

### ✿ First Entry into Hindustan

We turned away from Bajaur with Bhera on our minds. Ever since coming to Kabul we had been thinking about a Hindustan campaign, but for one reason

or another it had not been possible. The Bajaur campaign had taken three or four months, and nothing of any consequence had fallen to the soldiers. Since Bhera, the border of Hindustan, was nearby, it occurred to me that if we crossed the Indus immediately, unencumbered, the soldiers might get something. After turning away with this thought in mind, raiding the Afghans, and camping in Maqam, some of my supporters said, "If we are going to enter Hindustan, we should enter prepared. Some of the army have stayed in Kabul. Some of our warriors have been stationed in Bajaur. Many of the soldiers have gone back to Laghman because their horses were so lean. The horses of those who have come this far are so worn out that they no longer have the strength for one day's hard ride." Although these words were reasonable, since a determination had been made we marched off early the next morning, disregarding these considerations, and set out for the Indus crossing. [222b] A detail was assigned to Mir Muhammad Jalaban and his brothers and sent up and down the river to inspect the crossings.

Having gotten the camp marching toward the river, I myself went toward Swati, which is also called Kargkhana, to hunt rhinoceros. Several were found, but they did not come out of the thick forest. One with a calf ventured into the open and began to run away. Many arrows were shot at it, but it managed to get itself back into the thicket. Even when fire was set to the forest, it could not be caught. A calf was burned, however, and lay there writhing. It was slaughtered and everybody took a trophy share.

Coming back from Swati, I wandered around a good bit before returning to camp late that night. Those who had gone to inspect the crossings had come back. The next morning, Wednesday the sixteenth, the horses and camels were sent across at the ford with the baggage. The camp market, foot soldiers, and donkeys were taken across by raft. That same day, while at the ford, the people of Nilab came and presented me with a mail-clad horse and three hundred *shabrukkis*. By noon everybody had crossed and we marched until the first watch of the night, camping near the Kachakot river. The next morning we made it across the river, went through the Sangdaki defile around noon, and stopped. [223] Sayyid-Qasim Eshik-aqa was in command of the rear guard. He caught some Gujars coming up on our rear, cut off their heads, and brought them in. At dawn we marched out of Sangdaki, crossed the Sohan River a little before noon, and stopped. The camp followers kept on coming until midnight. It was a long march, especially difficult because the horses were so worn out and thin. Many horses were left behind.

Seven kos to the north of Bhera is a mountain called Koh-i-Jud in the *Zafarnama*<sup>216</sup> and other books. I had not known why it was so named but I

216. The *Zafarnama* (Book of Triumph) was written by Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi and completed around 1425 for the Timurid Shahrukh Mirza's son Ibrahim-Sultan, then governor of Shiraz. In its day the *Zafarnama* was considered the authoritative chronicle of Temür Beg's career and was taken as the perfect model of elegant, eloquent historiography.

217. These are the Salt Range mountains of northern Pakistan.

218. *Ray* is a variant of *raja*, an Indian prince or chief, or bearer of a title of nobility among the Hindus. *Malik* is the title of a local ruler.

219. *Khabar*: "news."

220. "Garden of Purity."

221. But it is not described anywhere.

later found out that there are two clans on this mountain descended from a single ancestor, and one is called Jud and the other Janjua. The members of the clans have become the traditional rulers of the mountaineers and of the people and tribes between Nilab and Bhera. Their rule, however, is benevolent and brotherly: they do not take whatever they want, but the people give no more and no less than the rates that were fixed long ago, that is, one shahrukhi per yoke of oxen and seven shahrukhis per household. The people also serve in the army. Both Jud and Janjua consist of several branches. The mountains, which are seven kos from Bhera, break off from the Kashmir Mountains, which are connected to the Hindu Kush, [223b] and go southwest until they end at the foot of Dinkot on the Indus.<sup>217</sup> Half of the mountains are Jud, and half are Janjua. By attribution to the Jud, the mountains are called Koh-i-Jud. Among them the great chieftain is given the title *ray*, and his younger brothers and sons are called *malik*.<sup>218</sup> The Janjua are maternal uncles to Langar Khan.

The ruler of the tribes and clans in the Sohan River area is Malik Hast. Originally his name was Asad, but the Hindustanis often drop such vowels. For instance, they pronounce *khabar*<sup>219</sup> as *khab'r* and the name Asad as *As'd*, which over time became Hast. As soon as we stopped in Janjua, Langar Khan was sent to Malik Hast. He hastened there, convinced him of our good intentions and favor and brought him back that night. He presented a mail-clad horse and paid homage. He must have been twenty-two or twenty-three years old. There were many of these people's flocks and herds all around the camp.

Since we had always had in mind to take Hindustan, we regarded as our own territory the several areas of Bhera, Khushab, Chenab, and Chiniot, which had long been in the hands of the Turk. We were determined to gain control ourselves—be it by force or peaceful means—and therefore it behooved us to treat the mountain people well. [224] It was ordered that no one was to harm their flocks or herds in any way whatsoever.

Early the next morning we marched out, reached Kalda Kahar at midday, and stopped. All around were fields of grain. Kalda Kahar is a remarkable place. It is located on flat ground ten kos from Bhera in the midst of the Jud Mountains, and in the middle of the plain is a large lake created by rainwater from the surrounding mountains. The perimeter of the lake must be nearly three kos. To the north is a beautiful meadow. To the west, at the base of the mountains, is a spring, the water of which stays in the hills overlooking the lake. Since it was a worthy spot, I had a garden called Bagh-i-Safa<sup>220</sup> laid out. It was a pleasant place with good air, as will be presently described.<sup>221</sup> At dawn we rode out of Kalda Kahar. At the head of the Hamtatu defile a few local people came bearing some paltry tribute and paid homage. We attached those who had

come to Abdul-Rahim Shiqavul and sent them to Bhera to gain the trust of the Bhera people. "These districts have long belonged to the Turk," we said. "Beware lest the men give them cause for fear or bring ruin upon them, for our regard is upon this district and its people. There will be no pillage or plunder."

At midmorning we stopped at the bottom of the defile [224b] and sent ahead seven or eight men under Qurban Charkhi and Abdul-Malik Masti to bring news. One of those sent ahead, Mahdi Khwaja's Mir Muhammad, brought in a man. Meanwhile the chieftains of the Afghans came with a few presents and paid homage. We attached them to Langar Khan and sent them to allay the fears of the Bhera people. When we were through the defile and out of the forest, we marched for Bhera with the right and left wings and center in formation. When we approached Bhera, Deva Hindu, one of the servants of Dawlat Khan Yusuf-Khel's son Ali Khan, and Siktu's son came with the notables of Bhera to present a horse and pay homage. At midday, camp was made in a field beside the Bahat River<sup>222</sup> so that we would not harm or harass the people of Bhera.

### Recent History of Bhera

Ever since Temür Beg entered Hindustan,<sup>223</sup> the several districts of Bhera, Khushab, Chenab, and Chiniot had been under the control of his sons and their followers and dependents. At one time Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza, grandson of Shahrukh Mirza and son of Soyurghatmîsh Mirza, held the governorship of Kabul and Zabul (for which reason he was called Sultan-Mas'ud Kabuli). One of his protégés, Mir Ali Beg, had three sons, Baba Kabuli, Darya Khan, [225] and Apaq Khan, who was later called Ghazi Khan. After the deaths of Sultan-Mas'ud Mirza and his son Ali-Asghar Mirza, the three gained such dominance that they took over control of Kabul and Zabul and the above-mentioned districts and parganas in Hindustan. During Sultan-Abusa'id Mirza's time Kabul and Ghazni slipped from their grasp, but the Hindustan districts remained in their control.

In 910 [1504-05], the year I first came to Kabul, I went through the Khyber to Peshawar intent upon entering Hindustan, but through the machinations of Baqi Chaghaniani we marched farther down to Bangash, that is, Kohat, raided much of Afghanistan, plundered Bannu and Dasht, and came out via Duki. At that time the rule of Bhera, Khushab, and Chenab was in the hands of Mir Ali's grandson, Sayyid-Ali Khan, Ghazi Khan's son. He had the khutba read in the name of Sikandar Bahlul, to whom he owed allegiance. Terrified of our army's approach, he abandoned Bhera, crossed the Jhelum, and

222. The Bahat River is also called the Jhelum, and Babur uses these names interchangeably. See also note 106 above.

223. Amir Temür set out on his India Campaign in March 1398 and, after raiding as far as Delhi, returned to Samarkand in April 1399.

224. Thirty million.

225. Babur's digression now ends and he returns to the narrative.

226. The name is undoubtedly derived from the common Sanskrit *Sankara*, more familiar in English as Shankar.

227. *Chaudhari*: village chieftains in the subcontinent.

228. The Baloch are a people whose traditional territory, Balochistan, is now divided among Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

made himself a seat in Sherkot, one of the villages of Bhera. A year or two later the Afghans became suspicious of Sayyid-Ali Khan's intentions toward us, and once again he allowed himself to give way to fear and turned over the districts to Dawlat Khan, the son of Tatar Khan Yusuf-Khel, who was then the governor of Lahore. [225b] Dawlat Khan gave Bhera to his eldest son, Ali Khan. Bhera was then under Ali Khan's control. Dawlat Khan's father Tatar Khan was one of the seven or eight commanders who had rebelled, taken over Hindustan, and set up Bahlul as padishah. All the areas to the north of Sirhind and the Sutlej River belonged to Tatar Khan, and these districts had a revenue of more than three crores.<sup>224</sup> After Tatar Khan's death, Sultan Sikandar in his capacity as padishah seized the territory from Tatar Khan's sons. A year or two before I came to Kabul he gave Lahore only to Dawlat Khan.<sup>225</sup>



The next morning raiding parties were sent to some likely places. That same day I toured Bhera, and Sankar<sup>226</sup> Khan Janjua came, presented a horse, and paid homage.

On Wednesday the twenty-second [February 23], I summoned the chieftains and *chaudharis*<sup>227</sup> of Bhera, fixed an amnesty of four hundred thousand shahrukhis, and appointed collectors. I mounted, toured around, got on a boat, and had some *ma jun*. Haydar Alamdar was sent to the Baloches<sup>228</sup> living in Bhera and Khushab. Thursday morning they brought a horse the color of almond blossoms and paid homage. It was reported that the soldiers were acting unruly and harassing the people of Bhera. [226] Some men were sent to execute the unruly ones, and others had their noses slit and were paraded around camp.

On Friday a petition came from the people of Khushab. Shah-Shuja' Arghun's son Shah-Hasan was assigned to go to Khushab. On Saturday the twenty-fifth he was dispatched. On Sunday it rained so hard that the whole plain was flooded. Between Bhera and the mountains where we were camped was a stream, which by midday was as broad as a lake. There was no crossing within more than an arrow shot near Bhera. The men had to make their horses swim across. In midafternoon I mounted to inspect the rushing waters. The rain and storm were so bad that on the way back we wondered if we would reach the camp. I had to make my horse swim across the rushing water. The soldiers were scared too. Most of them left their tents and heavy baggage behind, shouldered their mail, armor, and weapons, stripped their horses bare, and made them swim across. The flatlands were completely covered by water. The next morning boats were brought in, and most of the soldiers used them

## Delhi and Environs

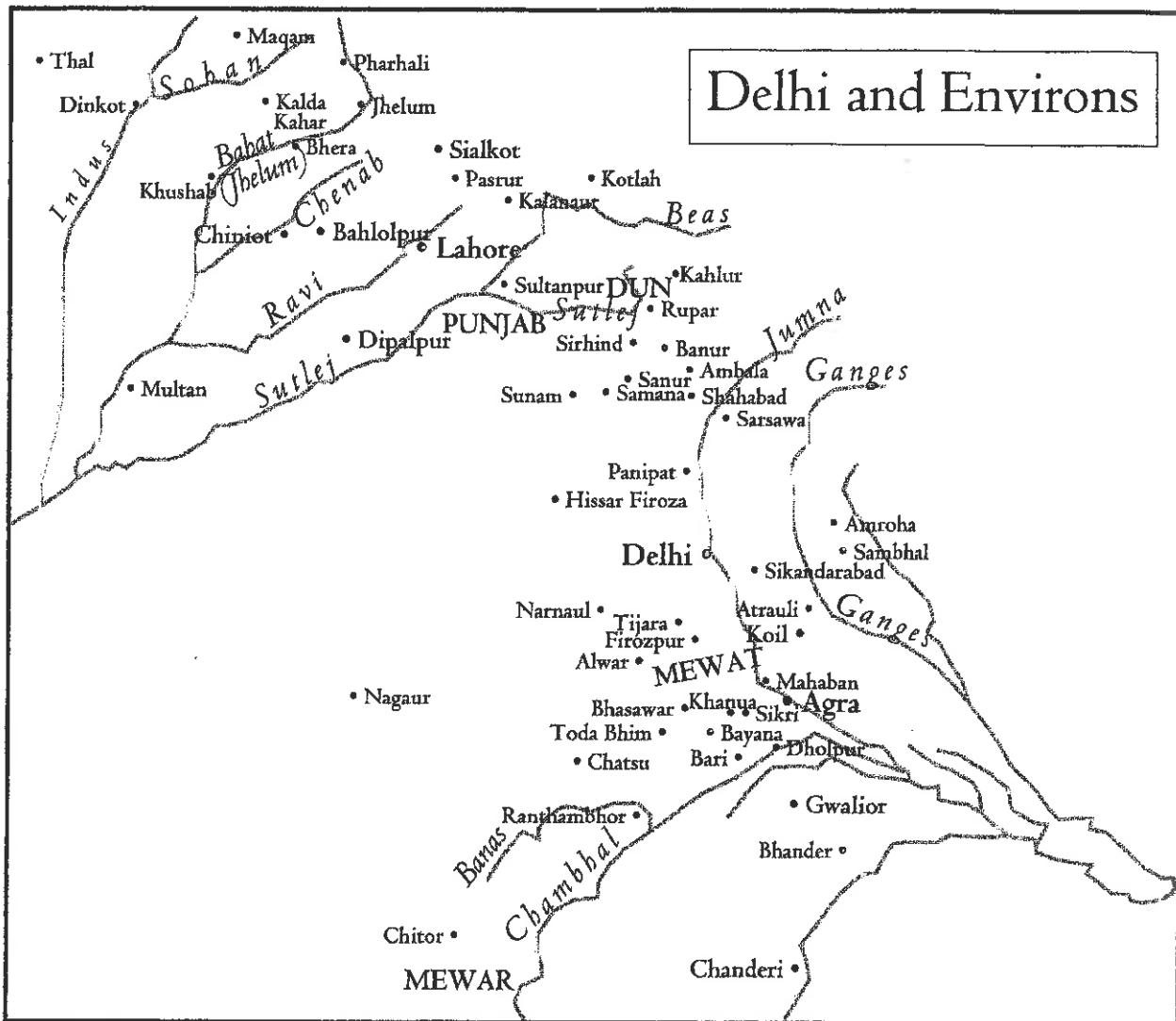


Illustration on page 308 is a detail of *Timur Granting an Audience in Balkh on the Occasion of His Accession to Power in April 1370*, from a *Zafarnama* (Book of Triumph) of Sharafuddin Ali Yadzi, Herat (?), dated A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467-68), f.83a. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. John Work Garrett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

# Events of the Year 932

## [1525-26]<sup>1</sup>

ON FRIDAY THE FIRST OF SAFAR 932 [NOVEMBER 17, 1525], with the sun in Sagittarius, we set out on an expedition to Hindustan, passed the Yak Langa hill, and camped in the meadow to the west of the river at Deh-i-Ya'qub.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. *Ashrafi*: a coin.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

O Lord, we have dealt unjustly with our own souls; and if thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we shall surely be of those who perish.<sup>6</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

battle was fast approaching, I overlooked his offense.

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

On Friday the fourteenth of Rabi' 1 [December 29] we camped at Sialkot. Every time we went to Hindustan, innumerable Jats and Gujars from the mountains and plains came to plunder our cattle and oxen. Those wretches acted so intractably and tyrannically. Before, when these regions had been the enemy, they were ill administered. This time, even though the people had become our subjects, they started their act again. No sooner had the poor, miserable men of Sialkot entered the camp than an uproar started and plunder began. The instigators were located, and I had two or three of them hacked to pieces. Shahim and Nur Beg were dispatched from Sialkot to the Lahore begs to find out where the rebels were, to learn from someone who knew the area where they could join us, and to send the news.

#### ※ Alam Khan's Defeat by Sultan Ibrahim

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

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.<sup>12</sup> [261]

12. Folio 257.

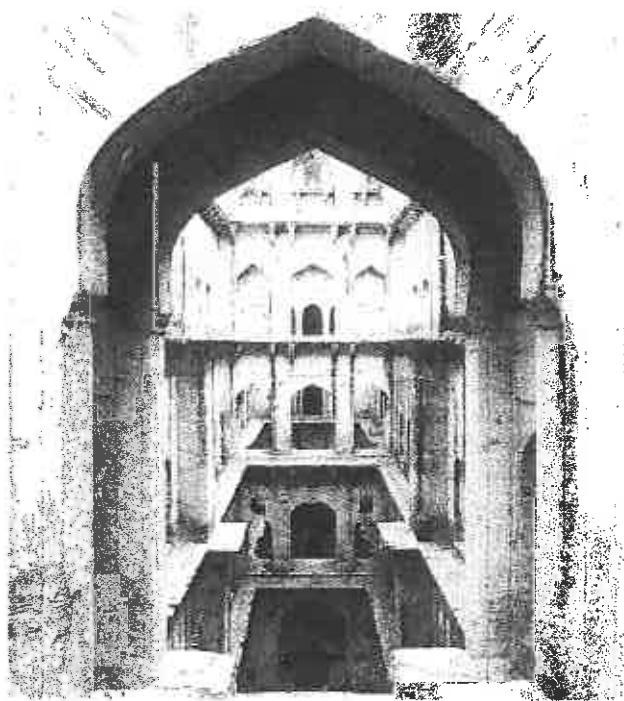
### ✿ Babur Sets Out against Sultan Ibrahim

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

Stepwell at Nimrana, Bharatpur, Rajasthan, ca. 1700

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



#### ❖ Humayun Rides against the Rebels

When Humayun rode out, the rebels under Nasîr Khan Nohani and Ma'ruf Farmuli were gathered in Jajmau. From ten or fifteen kos away Humayun sent Mu'min Atâkâ to gather intelligence while he proceeded on a raid. But Mu'min Atâkâ was unable to bring back any worthwhile information. The rebels, catching wind of Mu'min Atâkâ's movements, fled without bothering to make a stand. After him, Qisimtay, Baba Chuhra, and Böchkâ 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 Khorasan 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 (Safavids), who shut the gate and refused to give up the fortress. In confusion, the civilians opened the gates. The Uzbeks

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

On Sunday the eighth of the month [February 16], I went out to watch Master Ali-Quli shoot his great mortar, the barrel of which had come out perfect in the casting; the powder magazine he had cast later and then mounted. It was midafternoon. He shot a stone that went sixteen hundred paces. I rewarded him with a girth dagger, a robe of honor, and a fine horse.

### ❖ Babur Moves against Rana Sanga

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

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

116. Probably Agra.

117. Madhakur is just north of Dholpur.

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

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

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

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

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

Just at that time Sultan-Husayn Mirza's daughter's son, Qasim Husayn Sultan, and Ahmad Yusuf son of Sayyid Yusuf, Qiwam Ordushah, and others, altogether around five hundred men, dribbled in from Kabul. Muhammad Sharif the astrologer of gloom came with them. Baba Dost Suchi, who had gone to Kabul for wine, also came with them, [31b] bringing three camel trains loaded with superior Ghazni wine.

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

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

### ❖ Babur Takes the Pledge of Temperance

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

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

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

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

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

#### Decree of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Padishah Ghazi

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

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

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

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

120. Koran 12:53.

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

122. Koran 57:16.

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

123. Koran 7:23.

124. Koran 7:143.

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

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

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

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

### ✿ Babur Encourages His Troops

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

125. Koran 5:90.

126. Koran 2:181.

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

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

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

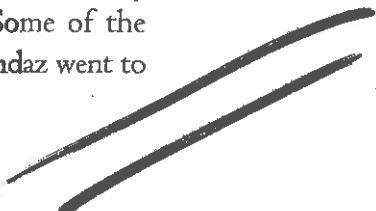
If I die with good repute, it is well. / I must have a good name, for the body belongs to death.

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

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

### ※ Rebellion on All Fronts

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



## ❖ Miscellaneous Assignments

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

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

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

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

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

159. Folio 298.

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



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

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

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

We spent Ramadan in the Hasht Bihisht garden. Every *taravih*<sup>161</sup> was performed in a state of ritual purity. Ever since my eleventh year, I had never spent two successive Ramadan festivals in one place; and last year it had been celebrated in Agra. Lest this custom be broken, on Sunday, the eve of last day of the month, I went to Sikri for the festival. The stone platform I had ordered constructed on the north-west side of the Bagh-i-Fath<sup>162</sup> was ready. A felt tent was pitched on

the platform, and there I celebrated. The evening I rode out of Agra, Mir Ali Qorchi was sent to Shah-Hasan in Tatta. Shah-Hasan was fond of *ganjifa*<sup>163</sup> and had requested a set, so one was sent. On Sunday the fifth of Dhu'l-Qa'da [August 4], I was taken ill. It lasted for seventeen days. On Friday the twenty-fourth of the same month [August 23], I set out to make a tour of Dholpur. That night I slept somewhere along the way [330b] and stopped the next morning at Sultan Iskandar's dam. Below the dam, where the mountain ended, there was a mass of red building stone. I had Master Shah-Muhammad the stonemason brought and ordered him to carve a chamber from this single block, if possible. If it was too low for a building, he was to level it down into a pool.

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

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

162. "Victory Garden."

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

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

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

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

176. Mulla Shihab the enigmatist is Mawlana Shihabuddin Ahmad al-Haqiri, of whom Khwandamir gives the following description: "Known for his good nature and purity of mind, and renowned for his expertise in the art of poetry and enigma, he has studied most of the curriculum and has composed an eloquent treatise on the art of the enigma. He is also expert at composing qasidas and ghazals, and at present [i.e., the time of writing, 1524] he composes in honor of Shah Ismail" (Khwandamir, *Habib al-siyar*, 4361).

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

178. Rajah Man Singh, r. 1486-1526.

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

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

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

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

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

### ✿ A Tour of Gwalior

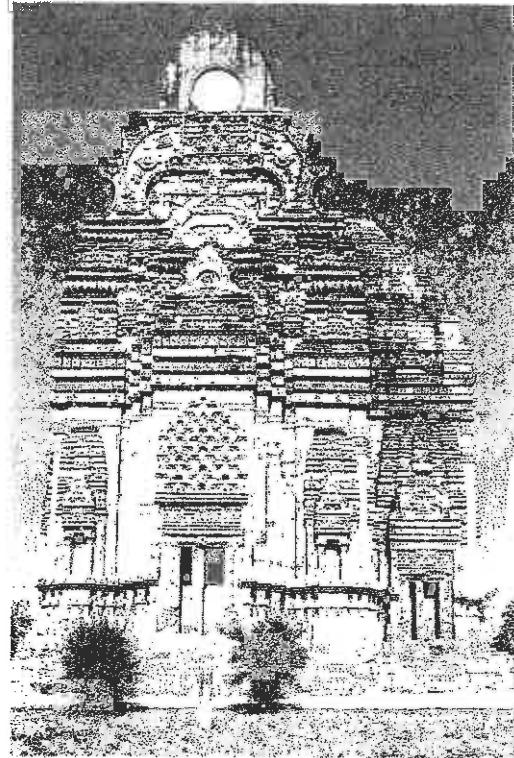
The buildings are strange. In addition to being higgledy-piggledy and inharmonious, they are all of carved stone. Of all the rajahs' edifices, Man Singh's are the most beautiful and the best.

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

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

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

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



Teli Temple in Gwalior, 8th-9th century

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### ~~Excursion to a Waterfall~~

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

183. Rana, like rajah and rāy, is a Hindu title of a ruler, particularly a Rajput. Rana is from the Hindustani; rajah (*rājā*) goes back to the Prakrit and Sanskrit; and rāy, or *rāē*, goes back to the Prakrit *rāyā* and the Sanskrit *rājā*. All are also ultimately derived from the Sanskrit root *rāj-* "rule, dominion."

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

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

### ✳ A Letter to Humayun

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

This is a copy of the letter to Humayun:

To Humayun. Thinking of you with much longing, I greet you. My words are these: On Monday the tenth of Rabi' 1 [November 23], Begginä and Buyan Shaykh came. From your letters and reports we have become acquainted with the situation on both sides of the Hindu Kush.

I give thanks for your son, a son to you and a beloved one to me.

May God ever grant me and you such joy. Amen, O Lord of the Universe. You have named him "al-Aman." May God bless him. However, although you yourself may write it thus, you have not considered the fact that frequently the common people will say either "Alaman" or "Ilaman." [348b] Moreover, names with "al-" are rare. Nonetheless, may God bless and keep both him and his name. For my sake and yours, may He keep al-Aman in fortune and happiness for many years, for many decades. God has ordered our affairs through his great grace and generosity. Such an event has not happened in how many decades?

Item: On Tuesday the eleventh rumors were heard to the effect that the people of Balkh had summoned Qurban and let him in.<sup>198</sup>

Item: Kamran and the Kabul begs were ordered to go join you, and you all will proceed to Hissar or Samarkand or whichever direction is in our best interests. Through God's grace you will defeat your enemies, take their territory, and make your friends happy by overthrowing the foe. God willing, this is your time to risk your life and wield your sword. Do not fail to make the most of an opportunity that presents itself.

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

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



Indolence and luxury do not suit kingship.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Ilifat* means attention.  
*Qulinq* means choleric.

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### ~~Askari Is Sent to the East~~

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

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

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

### ✿ Babur Sets Out for the East

On Thursday the tenth of Jumada 1 [January 21], after the third ghari I marched out on an expedition to the Purab, crossed the Jumna by boat upstream from Jaligarh village,<sup>212</sup> [357] and came to the Bagh-i-Zarafshan.<sup>213</sup> It was ordered that the yak-tail standard, drums, and royal stable, as well as all the soldiers, should camp on the other side of the river opposite the garden. People coming for *körünüş*<sup>214</sup> might cross by boat.

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

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

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

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

On Sunday the Uzbek ambassadors were given permission to withdraw.

212. See above, note 165.

213. "Gold-Flecked Garden."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Letter to Khwaja Kalan

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

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

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

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

<sup>219</sup> "View Place."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>220</sup> Kamaluddin Ali Banna'i (1453-1512). See folio 179b above.

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

<sup>222</sup> See note 192 above.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>223</sup> See folio 363b.

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

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

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

The next morning we went six kos and stopped at Serauli in the Payag<sup>224</sup> district.<sup>225</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

226. The name Lawayin is uncertain and unidentified.

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

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

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

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

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

by boat and raft and by making their horses swim.

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

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

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

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

227. Not in the memoirs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

229. Not in the memoirs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>233</sup>. Arayish (Decoration), Asayish (Comfort), Gunjayish (Capacity), Farmayish (Command).

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

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

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

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

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

234. *Shiqqdar*: a military governor.

235. Text is missing.

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

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

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

#### ❖ Battle Plans

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

# Events of the Year 936

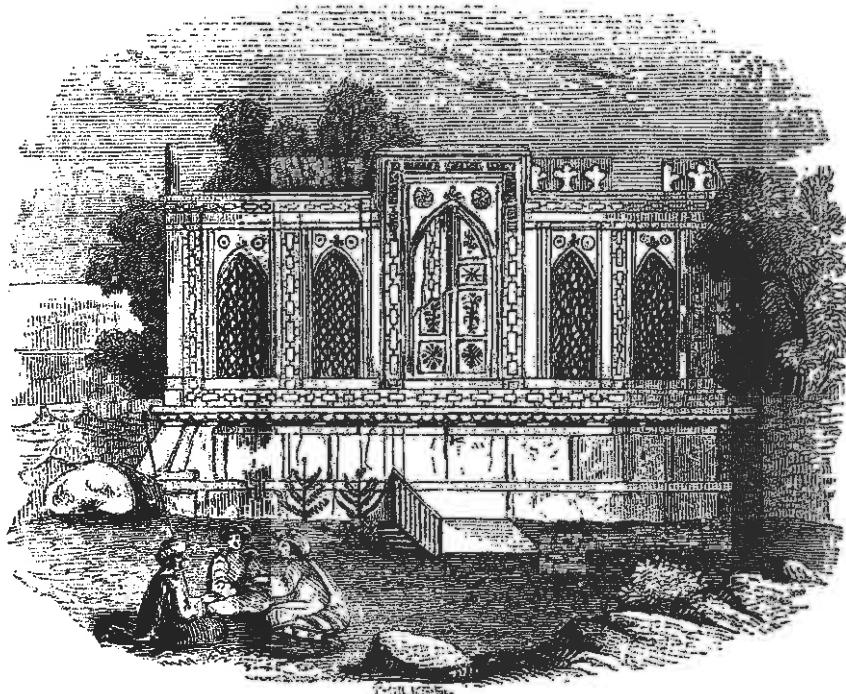
[1529-30]<sup>246</sup>

O

N TUESDAY THE THIRD OF MUHARRAM

[September 7], Shihabuddin Khusraw came from Gwalior with Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws to intercede on behalf of Rahimdad. Since the shaykh was a dervish and a powerful spiritual man, I forgave Rahimdad's crime for his sake. Shaykh Ghuran and Nur Beg were sent to Gwalior so that Gwalior could be turned over to them...

246. The year A.H. 936 corresponds to September 5, 1529—August 24, 1530.



Babur's tomb in Kabul. From *Narrative of Various Journeys in Belochistan, Afghanistan, the Panjab and Kalat*, 1844, by Charles Masson. Library of Congress

