



of Rānā Sāṅgā, as yielding ten *krors* of revenue, furnished 100,000 horse. Many chiefs also, who had never served under him before, gave in their allegiance and increased his army. Thus Silāḥu-d-dīn,¹ the ruler of Rāisin and Sārangpūr, etc., supplied 30,000 horse; Rāwal Ūdī Singh of Nagaur, 12,000; Ḥasan Khān Mewāṭi, ruler of Mewāt, 12,000; Bihārī² Mal Īdari,³ 4,000; Nirpat Hādā, 7,000; Sitarvī Kaci (of Cutch), 6,000; Dharan⁴ Deo, ruler of Mīrtha, 4,000; Narsingh Deo Cūhān,⁵ 4,000; Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sikandar Sultān, though he had no territory, yet⁶ in hope of regaining his ancestral throne, brought with him 10,000 horse; so that the whole force amounted to two *lakhs* and 1,000 horse.

When his Majesty heard of the arrival of the enemy, he set about arranging his forces. The royal station was in the centre. Cīn Tīmūr⁷ Sultān, Mīrzā⁸ Sulaimān, Khwāja Dōst Khāwand, Yūnus 'Alī, 107 Shāh Maṅṣūr Barlās, Darvēsh Muḥammad Sārbān,⁹ 'Abdu-l-lāh Kitāb-dār, Dōst Ishak Āqā and others of the great officers were stationed in the right. On the left were 'Alā'u-d-dīn,¹⁰ son of Sultān Buhlūl Lōdī; Shaiḥ Zain Khwāfi, Amīr Muḥibb 'Alī, son of Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khālifa; Tardī Bēg, brother of Qūc Bēg; Shīrāfgan, son of Qūc Bēg; Āraish Khān, Khwāja Ḥusain and many other servants of the Sultānate and pillars of the State.

The right wing was adorned by the fortunate presence of his

¹ Text, Silhadi. See Erskine's B. & H. I, 471n.

² Erskine, *Bārmal* (360).

³ Idar or Edar in Kāthiāwar, Gujrāt.

⁴ Text, Parm and also in fragment of Bābar's Mem. trs. by P. de C. II, 445.

⁵ This passage occurs in the report of the victory drawn up by Shaiḥ Zainu-d-dīn (Bābar, Ers., 360). There is some discrepancy about the proper names and I have corrected some of those in the Text.

⁶ Copied from Bābar (Ers., 360), but the meaning there is that 10,000 horsemen followed him because they

hoped that he would recover his ancestral possessions.

⁷ The eighth son of Sultān Aḥmad Khān and grandson of Yūnus Khān, so he was Bābar's cousin, i.e., his mother's nephew. He died of dysentery at Agra. (T.R. N. & R., 161).

⁸ Son of Mīrzā Khān and afterwards ruler of Badakhshān.

⁹ A disciple of Khwāja Ahrār.

¹⁰ Brother of Sultān Sikandar and uncle of Ibrāhīm Sultān who was killed at Pānīpat. Ers. B. & H. I, 423 and 421n. According to another account, 'Alā'u-d-dīn was Ibrāhīm's brother. He was generally known as 'Ālam Khān.



Highness Jahānbānī and on his right were Qāsim Husain Sultān, Ahmad Yūsuf Ūhlāqū, Hindū Bēg Qūcīn, Khusrū Kōkultāsh, Qawām Bēg, Urdū-shān, Walī Khāzin, Qaraqūzī, Pīr Qālī Sīstānī, Khwāja Pahlwān Badakhshī, ‘Abdu-l-shakūr and many other gallant men. On the victorious left of his Highness Jahānbānī, were Mīr Hama, Muḥammadī Kōkultāsh, and Khwājagī Asad Jāmdār.

And on the right wing there were nobles of India such as the Khān-khānūn, Dilāwar Khān, Mulkdād Karārānī and Shaikh Ghūran.

On the left wing were Sayyid Mahdī Khwāja, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, ‘Adil Sultān, son of Mahdī Sultān, ‘Abdu-l-‘azīz Mīr Akhūr, Muḥammad ‘Alī Jang Jang, Qatlaq Qadam Qarāwal, Shāh Husain Bār-bēgī, Jān Bēg Atka. And of the nobles of India there were Jalāl Khān and Kamāl Khān, sons of Sultān ‘Alā’u-d-dīn, ‘Alī Khān Shaikh-zāda Farmulī, Nizām Khān of Bīāna and many other brave warriors who girt the waist of service with perfect loyalty. And as a flanking party, there were Tardī Ikka, Mulk Qāsim, brother of Bābā Qushqa and many Mughals on the right wing. Mūman Atka and Rustam Turkamān with many of the Emperor’s special dependants were stationed on the left wing.

For the sake of protection, the practise of the holy warriors of Rūm was followed and a line of carts was arranged and connected by chains so that there might be cover for the matchlock-men and cannoniers, who were in front of the soldiers,—and Nizāmu-d-dīn ‘Alī Khalifa was appointed to command this line. Sultān Muḥammad Bakhshī, after arranging the commanders and officers in their posts, stood near the Emperor to hear his commands which were allied to Divine inspiration,—and despatched adjutants (*tawācīcān*) and couriers to all sides who conveyed the orders to the officers. When the pillars of
103 the army had been arranged in this excellent manner, a command was issued that no one should stir without orders from his position, nor without permission advance his foot into the battle. A watch of the day had passed¹ when the fire of war was kindled.

Verse.

The soldiers bestirred themselves on each side,
Day and night were commingled,



On each side arose a war-cry,
Two seas of hate foamed at the lips,
The steel-shod hoofs of the chargers
Reddened the ground with the blood of the brave.
The world-holder mid his glorious camp
Moved exultant on his prancing steed.

Such a battle raged on the right and left wings that the earth quaked and the universe resounded with the clangour. The left wing of the enemy moved against the imperial right and fell upon Khusrū Kōkultāsh, Mulk Qāsim and Bābā Qashqa. Cin Timūr Sultān was ordered to go to their assistance and by his intrepid aid he drove the enemy nearly to the rear¹ of their centre. A noble reward was assigned to him for this. Mustafā Rūmī brought forward the carts from the centre of his Highness Jahānbānī's division and by his matchlocks and culverins (*zarbzān*) so broke up the ranks of the enemy that the rust was scoured off from the mirror-hearts of the brave combatants, and many of the enemy were laid level with the earth and were annihilated. And, as from time to time, the hostile troops advanced, so did his Majesty Gītī-sitānī send on picked men to succour his victorious soldiers.

At one time orders were given to Qāsim Husain Sultān, Aḥmad Yūsuf and Qawām Bēg; at another to Hindū Bēg Qūcīn; at another to Muḥammad Kōkultāsh and Khawājagī Asad. After that Yūnus 'Alī, Shāh Manṣūr Barlās and 'Abdul-l-lāh Kitābdār received orders. Then Dōst Ishak Āqa, Muḥammad Khalīl Ākhta Bēgī were sent to assist. The enemy's right wing repeatedly attacked the left wing of the victorious army but every time the loyal souled Ghāzīs affixed some of them to the ground by a rain of calamitous arrows, and slew many of them with the lightning of daggers and scimitars. Mūman Atka and Rustam Turkamān acting according to orders, attacked the benighted bands from the rear, and Mullā Maḥmūd and 'Alī Atka Bāshliq who were servants of Khawāja Khalifa went to their assistance. Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, 'Adil Sultān, 'Abdu-l-'azīz Mir Akhūr, Qatlaq Qadam Qarāwal, Muḥammad 'Alī Jang Jang, Shāh Husain Bārbēgī and Mughal Ghānījī engaged in action and maintained a firm position. Khawāja Husain went with a body of the household troops

¹ Bābar, nearly to their centre.

(*diwānīān*) to their assistance and all the victorious warriors,—who with jeopardy of their lives devoted themselves to service,—made lofty the standards of toil by taking vengeance on the enemy, and choked the springs of the enemy's hope with the dust of failure.

Verse.

The hands¹ of the javelin-throwers were knot upon knot
(*gīriḥ bar gīriḥ*),

The backs of the brazen-bodied ones were cuirass upon
cuirass (*zirih bar zirih*).

On each side, the rock-piercing spears

Closed with thorns the path of safety.

The shining of caerulean scimitars

Deprived eyes of sight by their gleaming.

The dust of the earth put a cap on the Moon

And stopped the breath in the throat.

As the engagement was long, owing to the numbers of the enemy, orders were issued to the household troops, who were behind the carts like chained tigers,—to emerge from the right and left centre and after leaving a space in the middle for the musketeers, to charge from both sides. In accordance with the noble call the gallant youths and valiant warriors, like tigers breaking from their chains and gaining their liberty, dashed forward. The clashing (*caḥācāḥ*) of swords and the whizzing (*shīpāshūp*) of arrows reached the heavens, and that rare one of the Age, 'Alī Qūli,² stood with his following in front of the centre and performed wonders in discharging stones³ and in firing of culverins and muskets. Just then orders were issued for moving forward the carriages of the centre and his Majesty himself moved against the foe. When this was perceived by the glorious army, they became agitated like a billowy sea and all at once made an assault on the hostile ranks. At the end of the day the flame of conflict so blazed up that the right and left of the victorious army forced and drove the enfeebled left and right of the

¹ The meaning seems to be that the opposing soldiers were locked together in flight. The phrase brazen-bodied was an epithet of Isfan-

diyār, a Persian hero killed by Rustam.

² Ustād 'Alī Qūli the cannonier.

³ *Sang*. It may also mean cannon-balls.



army into one mass with their centre, and so beat upon that wretched body that all those ill-fated ones washed their hands of life and rushed upon the right and left centre of the imperialists. They approached very near but the high-minded Ghāzis stood firm and quitted themselves like men. By heaven's help, the opponents were unable to abide the contest and those ill-fated, wretched ones were compelled to loose the rein of firmness from the palm of contrivance and to take flight and to regard as meritorious their escaping half-dead from such a courage-testing contest. The breezes of victory and success blew on the grove of fortunate standards, and the buds of strength and help blossomed on the branches of faith and exertion. Many of the 110 hostile troops became the food of the blood-drinking sword and of the hawking arrow. And many wounded, the remains of the sword, turned the dust-stained cheek of courage, and the besom of dismay swept away the rubbish of their presence from the field of battle, quivering like moving sands, they became a Sahara of wretchedness. Hasan Khān Mēwātī was killed by a bullet and Rāwal Uday Singh,¹ Manik Cand Cūhān, Rāi Candrabhān Dilpat Rāi, Gangū, Kram Singh, Rao Nagarsī²(?) and many of their great chiefs were slain. Many thousand wounded were destroyed by the hands and 'neath the swift feet of the victorious army. Muḥammadi Kōkultāsh, 'Abdu-l-'aziz Mīr Ākhūr, 'Alī Khān and some others were sent to pursue Rānā Sāngā.

His Majesty Gīti-sitānī Firdūs-makānī having become victorious returned thanks for this great victory and sublime blessing to Almighty God, Glory be to His Name, (who arranges the series of fates by re-setting the openings and shuttings of things visible and invisible), and pursued the enemy for one *kos* from the field of battle, till at length night fell; that day was black for foes and that night joyful for friends. Then he recalled his lofty spirit from the enemy and beating high the drum of success, turned and reached his camp some hours after night-fall. As it was not ordained of God that that abandoned one (Rānā Sāngā) should be taken, the men who were sent in pursuit of him, did not manage well. His Majesty observes thereon, "The time was critical, I should have gone myself and not have trust-

¹ Tod, "of Dangarpūr."

² Text, Dūngarsī. Erskine, Rao

Bikersī with the variant Nagarsī.
P. de C., Rao Niguersī.

ed to others." Shaikh Zain the Ṣadr who was possessed of distinguished qualities, found the date of this great victory in the words *Fath-i-Bādshāh-i-Islām*¹ and Mir Gēsū sent the same chronogram from Kābul. His Majesty writes in his Memoirs that there was a similar coincidence in the chronograms of the former victory of Dipālpūr when two persons found the date *Wasat-i-shahr-i-Rabī'u-l-awwal*.²

When so great a victory had been gained, the pursuit of Rānā Sānga and the attack on his country were postponed and preference was given to the conquest of Mēwāt. Muḥammad 'Alī Jang Jang,
111 Shaikh Ghūran and 'Abdu-l-Mulūk Qūrcī were sent with a large force against Ilyās Khān who had raised the head of sedition in Kōil³ in the Dūāb and had imprisoned Kacak 'Alī the governor of that place. When the victorious army approached, he was unable to resist them and retired. After the victorious army had reached Agra, that rebel was produced before the royal Court and met with capital⁴ punishment.

As the conquest of Mēwāt had been determined upon by the world-adorning soul (of Bābar), he proceeded to that province. On Wednesday, 6 Rajab (7th April, 1527), he arrived at Alwar which is the capital of Mēwāt. The treasures of Alwar were bestowed on his Highness Jahānbānī. And when this territory had been annexed, he returned to the capital in order to undertake the reduction of the eastern territories.

DEPARTURE OF HIS HIGHNESS JAHĀNBĀNĪ FOR KĀBUL AND BADAKHSHĀN, AND THE MARCH OF THE ROYAL ARMY TO AGRA.

As it was necessary to arrange for the administration of Kābul and Badakhshān, and as the time was exigent, and as Badakhshān had been committed to Humāyūn since 917⁵ (1511) when Mirzā Khān

¹ The letters make 933.

² The letters make 930. See supra. Bābar (Ers., 368) says that it was the same persons, Shaikh Zain and Mir Gēsū, who found out the Dipālpūr chronogram.

³ Jarrett II. 188. Text, Kōl. It is in 'Aligarh.

⁴ He was flayed alive. Ers., Bābar, 368 and P. de Courteille II. 310.

⁵ As pointed out by Ers. (B. & H., I. 341) and Blochmann (311n.) and Mr. Ney Elias (T. R. 373n.), this date which is also given by Haider Mirzā, must be wrong and is perhaps a mistake for 927 (1521). In 917, Humāyūn was only three or four years old, and in the T. R. (353) we have an account of Mirzā Khān as reigning in Badakhshān in 924.



had died, and as many servants were employed there, his Highness Jahānbanī, ornament of world-subduing, jewel of the sword of fortune, forehead of glory, frontispiece of splendour and glory, preamble of an incomparable model, pupil of the eyes of sovereignty and the Khilāfat, the father of victory (abū-n-naṣr), Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn was, on 9th Rajab of this auspicious (humāyūn-fīl) year (11th April, 1527), at 3 *kos* from Alwar despatched to that country. At the same time, the Emperor swiftly applied himself to the reduction of Biban Afghān who during the Rānā's disturbance had besieged Lakhnaw and taken possession of it. Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān, Malik Qāsim Bāba Qashqa, Abū'l-Muḥammad Nizabāz, Ḥusain Khān, and —from among the Amīrs of India,—Ali Khān Farmulī, Mulkdād Kararānī, Tātār Khān and Khān Jahān were sent along with Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā against him. That luckless one, on hearing of the approach of the glorious army, left all his goods behind him, and fled with naught but the coin of life in his palm. His Majesty at the end of this year, visited Fathpūr (Sikrī) and Bārī¹ and then proceeded to Agra. In 934 he visited Koīl and went from thence to Sambal² to hunt, and after viewing these delightful Highlands, returned to the capital. On 28th Ṣafar (23rd Nov.) Fakhrjahān Bēgam³ and 112

According to P. de C.'s fragment of Bābar's Mems. (II. 452) Mīrzā Khān did not die till 934. This must be wrong, for Bābar speaks of Badakhshān as belonging to himself at the time (932) of his conquest of India, and it is plain that Mīrzā Khān was not alive after 927. (Bābar, Ers. 286 and note.) Most probably he died in 926, as Firishṭa says and as is in accordance with Ḥaidar Mīrzā's statement (Elias & Ross 387) that Humāyūn's reign in Badakhshān began in 926. The events of this year, with the exception of those of the first month, are not recorded in Bābar's Memoirs which are blank for the six years from Ṣafar 926 to 932. Gulbadan does not give any precise date for

the death but says that ambassadors from Badakhshān brought the news about the time of the Bajaur campaign. Apparently they brought Sulaimān, Mīrzā Khān's young son, with them. Gulbadan says that thereupon, Bābar sent Humāyūn to Badakhshān and she adds the interesting circumstance that Bābar and Māham (Humāyūn's mother) followed him there and stayed a few days.

¹ In Dhōlpūr, Rājputānā and 44 miles south-west of Agra.

² Or Sambhal. See Jarrett II, 281, where A. F. states that the rhinoceros is found in Sambhal.

³ Bābar's paternal aunts; they seem to have made a short stay only with him and then to have returned



Khadija Sultān Bāgam arrived from Kābul, and his Majesty embarked on a boat and went to meet them and behaved with liberality towards them.

As news was frequently brought that Medinī Rāi, the ruler of Candēri¹ was collecting troops and that the Rānā also was preparing war and putting together the materials of his own destruction, the Emperor marched in a fortunate hour against Candēri and also sent 6,000 or 7,000 gallant men from Kālpī under Cīn Timūr Sultān to Candēri. On the morning of Wednesday, 7th Jumāda'l-awwal (29th Jan., 1528), a splendid victory was gained at Candēri. *Fath-i-dāru-l-ḥarb* (Conquest of the hostile country, i.e., of the country of the infidels = 934) is the chronogram of this Divine aid. After this Candēri was made over to Aḥmad Shāh, grandson of Sultān Naṣīru-d-dīn and then the Emperor returned on Sunday, 11th Jumāda'l-awwal (2nd Feb.).

It has been stated by trustworthy annalists that the Rānā (Sāngā) had meditated revolt and been collecting an army before the Emperor marched against Candēri, and that when the former came to Irij,² Āfāq,³ a servant of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, had put it into a condition of defence. That black-fated one came and besieged the place, but one night he beheld in a dream an ancestor of his under a dreadful appearance. He awoke in terror and horror and began to tremble in all his limbs. After this he immediately set about his return and on the way, the forces of death attacked him and he died. The victorious army crossed the river of Burhānpūr and it came to the ears of the Emperor that Ma'rūf, Biban and Bāyazīd had gathered their forces and that the imperial servants had abandoned Kanauj and come to Rāberī and that the enemy had taken the fort of Shams-ābād from Abū'l-muḥammad Nizabāz. Accordingly the reins of resolution were turned to that quarter and a number of heroes were sent on in advance. Merely on seeing the soldiers, the son of Ma'rūf became dumbfounded and fled from Kanauj; and Biban, Bāyazīd and Ma'rūf having heard of the royal army, crossed the Ganges and re-

to Kābul. (Bābar, Ers. 382 and 387.) Gulbadan says there were seven of them, all daughters of Abū Sa'īd and she gives some of their names.

¹ Jarrett II, 196. It is in Gwālyār.

² Jarrett II, 187.

³ Bābar, Ers. 387, Mullā Āfāq.



mained on the east side, opposite Kanauj, with a view to dispute the passage. The royal army continued to advance and on Friday, 3rd Muḥarram, 935 (18th Sept., 1528), Mīrẓā 'Askarī who had been sent for from Kābul before the Candērī disturbance, to advise (with the Emperor) on the affairs of Multān, arrived and entered upon auspicious service. On Friday next, the 'Aṣḥūrā, (10th Muḥarram) his Majesty halted at Gwālyār and next morning surveyed the palaces of Bikramājīt and Mān Singh and then proceeded towards the capital. 113 He arrived there on Thursday, 25th Muḥarram.

On Monday, 10th Rabī'u-l-awwal, couriers arrived from his Highness Jahānbānī in Badakhshān and brought several pieces of good news. It was written that a son had been born to his Highness Jahānbānī by the chaste daughter of Yādgār Taghāī and that he had received the name of Al-amān.¹ As this name was equivocal and had an improper meaning among the generality, it was not approved of. It was not acceptable also because it had not received the assent of his (Bābar's) holy heart. The pleasing of the father, especially such a father and such a king, is fruitful of blessings, visible and invisible, and the displeasing of him is the cause of a hundred evils, external and internal. What marvel then if men of experience regard the rapid disappearance of this first fruits of sovereignty as a mark of this displeasure.

When his Majesty had been settled in the capital, he convened the Turkī and Indian nobles and had a splendid feast and held a consultation about the settlement of the eastern districts and the extinguishing of the flame of rebellion. After much discussion it was agreed, that before his Majesty took the field, Mīrẓā 'Askarī should be sent to the east with a large force and that when the trans-Gangetic Amirs had joined him with their forces, some great expedition might be undertaken. In accordance with this determination, Mīrẓā

¹ *Al-amān*, in Arabic, means peace or protection; also the protected one, the trusty. But Bābar did not like the name because people in general pronounce it *alaman* or *ilaman*, and these words in Turkī have bad meanings, viz., *alaman* is a plunderer or runner, and *ilaman*, "I do not

feel." (P. de C. II, 363n. See also Dicts. s. v.) Bābar's objections to the name are given in his letter to Humāyūn (Ers., 391). Besides the ambiguity mentioned above, he objected because it was unusual to place the article *al* thus before a name.

Askari departed on Monday, 7th Rabi' u-l-ākhar, while the Emperor himself went for a visit and for hunting towards Dhōlpūr.

On 3rd Jumāda'l-awwal news came that Maḥmūd,¹ the son of Iskandar, had taken Bibār and was raising the head of rebellion. His Majesty returned from hunting to Agra and it was settled that he should proceed in person to the eastern districts.

At this time, couriers came from Badakhshān with the intelligence that his Highness Jahānbāni had collected the troops of those provinces and accompanied by Sultān Wais,² had set out with 40 or 50 thousand men on an expedition against Samarkand. It was also reported that there was talk of a peace. In an auspicious moment a message was sent that, if the time for negotiations had not passed, he should make peace until the affairs of India had been cleared off. The letter also summoned Hindāl Mirzā and mentioned that Kābul was to be a royal domain. He (Bābar) also wrote "God willing, "when the affairs of Hindūstān which are near settlement, shall be "finished, we shall leave these faithful servants and ourselves visit "our hereditary kingdoms. It is proper³ that all the servants of "these countries should make preparations for the expedition and "await the arrival of the imperial army." (Bābar's)

114 On Thursday, the 17th of the said month, he crossed the Jumna and went towards the eastern districts.

In these days the ambassadors of Nuṣrat Shāh,⁴ the ruler of Bengal, brought valuable presents and did homage.

¹ Brother of the Ibrāhīm² slain at Pānipat.

² Ers., B. & H., I. 509. He was an Amīr of Khatlān (T.R. 21a.) and is often called Sultān Awais or Uwais. He was Sulaimān's father-in-law. (Blochmann, 311.) Bābar refers to him in a letter to Humāyūn (392). Apparently he was at one time king of Swāt. (Bābar, Ers., 249).

³ In this and other passages of this chapter, describing the events of 935, A.F.'s abstract agrees with P. de C.'s trs. (Vol. II.) rather than with Ers. The meaning is not clear

in the text, but seems to be that the army to be awaited is Bābar's. The corresponding passage occurs in a letter to Humāyūn (P. de C. II, 456) and refers to Bābar's desire that all his subjects should assist Humāyūn in his projected expedition against the Uzbēgs. P. de C. has, "En attendant, il est nécessaire que tous nos sujets se joignent à Humaiun dans cette expedition et le servent avec fidélité."

⁴ Son of 'Alā' u-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh. Bābar has a short notice of him (Ers., 311). He was also called Naṣīb and apparently reigned 1518-1532.



On Monday, 19th Jumada'l-ākhar, Mīrzā 'Askarī arrived on the banks of the Ganges and tendered his duty. He was ordered to march with his army down the opposite bank of the river. Near Karra¹ news came of the defeat of Maḥmūd Khān, the son of Sultān Sikandar. Having advanced near the borders of Ghāzīpūr, he stopped at Bhōjpūr² and Bihāya.³ In that place Bihār was bestowed on Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān.⁴ On Monday, 5th Ramazān,⁵ being set at ease with regard to Bengal and Bihār, he proceeded to Sirwār⁶ to put down Biban and Bāyazīd. The enemy engaged with the victorious army and was defeated. After visiting Kharīd⁷ and Sikandarpūr and being satisfied with the state of things there, he rode post⁷ towards Agra which he reached in a short space of time.

His Highness Jahānbānī Jaunat-ashīyānī had spent one year pleasantly in Badakhshān. Suddenly a desire for the society of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī,—who was a world of internal and external perfections,—took possession of him and being unable to restrain himself, he made over Badakhshān to Sultān Wais, the father-in-law of Mīrzā Sulaimān, and proceeded towards the Qibla of fortune and Ka'ba of hopes. Thus in one day he arrived at Kābul. Mīrzā Kām-rān had come there from Qandahār. They met in the 'Īdgāh⁸ and

¹ 42 miles north-west of Allāhābād and in Allāhābād district. Jarrett II, 167.

² Towns in Shāhābād.

³ The Mems. say (418), that the government of Jaunpūr was conferred on Muḥammad Zamān but he also held Bihār (409 and 410).

⁴ Should be 15th (24th May). (Ers., 419).

⁵ So in Text, but in Mems. (Ers., 419) instead of Sirwār, we have the river Sarjū or Gogra mentioned and are told that Bābar marched from his station on its banks to put down the rebels. But A.F. is nearly in accord with P. de C. II, 456, where Bābar says that on Thursday, 7th Ramazān, he marched towards Sirwār

to repulse Biban and Bāyazīd. Sirwār is also mentioned in Mem. (Ers. 420) and appears in the list of Bābar's provinces. (Ers., B. & H., I: 541). See Blochmann, 381n. where it is stated that Sirwār got its name from the river Sarwa.

⁶ In Jaunpūr. Jarrett II, 163 and 164.

⁷ Probably because his family had just arrived from Kābul. He met Māham, his favourite wife and Humāyūn's mother at midnight on Sunday, 27th June, 1529.

⁸ P. de C. (II, 457) has "lors des cérémonies du Bairām." Probably Kām-rān came there for this festival. There are two Bairāms (Vullers s. v.), one on 1st Shāwāl and one on



Humāyūn being surprised to see him, asked him the cause of his journey. Humāyūn replied it was a desire to see his sovereign, and that though he was always seeing him with his mind's eye, yet this was not equal to a personal interview. He ordered Mirzā Hindāl to proceed from Kābul for the protection of Badakhshān and putting the foot of purpose in the stirrup of courage, and urging along the charger of joy on the highway of determination, he in a short time reached Agra and was rewarded by tendering his service.

A wonderful thing was that his Majesty Gīti-sitānī was sitting at table and talking with his (Jahānbānī's) mother about him when suddenly¹ the shining star emerged from the ascension-point of Badakhshān. Their hearts were rejoiced and their eyes brightened.

115 Each day of princes is a feast but that day, by the advent of his Highness Jahānbānī, was made a feast such as cannot be described.

Mirzā Ḥaidar writes² in his *Tārīkh-i-rashidī* that his Highness Jahānbānī came to Hindūstān in 935 (1528-29) at the summons of his Majesty Gīti-sitānī and that he left Faqr 'Alī in Badakhshān.

At this time the darling (lit. eye-pupil) of the Sultānate, Mirzā

10th Zī-l-ḥijja. Probably the latter is meant. On the other hand Bābar (Ers., 428) seems to imply that Humāyūn was at Agra on 8th July, 1529. If so the Bairām referred to must have been that of 1st Shawwāl (June 8th) and Humāyūn must have reached Agra at about the same time as his mother. This too would harmonize with A.F.'s story that he appeared all of a sudden when his father and mother were talking of him. It agrees better too with Ḥaidar's statement that Sa'īd Khān left Kāshghar for Badakhshān in the beginning of Muḥarram 936 (Sept. 1529). If Humāyūn only left Badakhshān in the middle of August, there was hardly time for the Badakhshīs to send to Sa'īd Khān for help and for him to get his army together by the beginning of September. Ac-

cording to P. de C. (II, 457n.) and Ers., (Bābar, 426) Humāyūn did not leave Badakhshān till 936 (1530).

¹ We are not told the date of his arrival but as he was at Kābul during the Bairām and reached Agra in a few days (Bābar, P. de C. II, 457) he probably arrived at end of August, 1529. His mother had come about two months before, for Bābar met her on Sunday night, 27th June. She had been six months on the journey.

² T.R. E. & R., 337. Ers. (B. & H., I. 508) has given good reason for doubting the statement. Very probably Humāyūn gave out that his father had sent for him and Ḥaidar, who was in Badakhshān shortly afterwards, may have recorded what he heard then.



Alwar¹ had just died and his Majesty was deeply grieved on that account. The coming of his Highness Jahānbānī was therefore a great comfort to his heart. His Highness Jahānbānī remained for a while in attendance on him and the Emperor many times declared that Humāyūn was an incomparable companion. In fact the name of *Insān-i-kāmil* (Perfection of Humanity) might well be applied to that majestic one. When he left Badakhshān for India, Sultān Saʿīd Khān, who was the Khān of Kāshghar and was related² to his Majesty and who, moreover, had been in his service and had received favours and instruction from him,—being stimulated to crude imaginations by messages from Sultān Vais and other Amīrs of Badakhshān, left Rashīd Khān (his son) in Yārkand and marched against Badakhshān. Before he arrived there Mirzā Hindal had reached Badakhshān and established himself in Qil'a Zafar.³ Saʿīd Khān besieged the

¹ Gulbadan calls him Alūr or Alwar Mirzā and he appears in her list as the youngest child of her own mother, Dildār Bāgam. He must have been quite a child when he died in 1529, for his elder sister Gulbadan was only eight when Bābar died in December 1530. She describes Alūr's illness and death. He was born at Kābul. Bābar says (Ers. 250) that several children were born to him in 925 (1519) but none of them lived. See in P. de C. (II. 45) a paragraph on this subject which is not in Ers. Its language causes confusion about the birth of Hindāl for it would appear from Bābar (Ers. 250 and P. de C. II. 45) that he was born in 925. But if so, how could Bābar make over the infant to his mother (P. de C., II. 46) who had died in 911. The explanation is that there is a mistake in P. de C.'s trs., and that the child was made over to Māham, Bābar's wife, and not to his mother and thus became at once a son to Bābar and a brother to Humāyūn.

² Bābar's cousin, being the son of Sultān Ahmad, the brother of Bābar's mother. He was indebted to Bābar for hospitality at Kābul and for the government of Farghāna (Mems., Ers. 217). It was Bābar who suggested to Saʿīd Khān that he should call his son 'Abdu-r-rashīd. (T. R., E. & R., 140). The account of Saʿīd's raid into Badakhshān is given in the T. R., 387. It began at the commencement of 936 (about 5th September 1529; I. c. 388).

³ The old capital of Badakhshān. It was on the Kōkca and was built by one Mubārak Shāh about the beginning of the 16th century. He called it Qil'a-zafar on account of a victory which he gained there over the Uzbēgs and because he belonged to the Muzaḥfar tribe (qn. the Ahl-i-muzaḥfar of Timūr's day?) The ruins of the fort still exist but the modern capital is Faizābād. (T. R. 220 and n.) The old name of Qil'a-zafar was Shāf-tiwār, (Bābar, Ers. 167).



fort for three months and then returned, *re infectâ* to Kāshghar. His Majesty Gīṭi-sitānī heard that the Kāshgharīs had taken possession of Badakhshān and he directed Khwāja Khalifa to go and put the affairs of that country in order. But the Khwāja in his folly delayed to obey. Then his Majesty asked Jahānbānī who by his fortune had come to reside with his Majesty,—what he thought about going there himself. He represented in reply, that he had suffered affliction by being debarred from the blessing of his Majesty's presence, and had vowed that he would never again voluntarily exile himself but that there was no help for it, if he were ordered to go.

Accordingly Mirzā Sulaimān was despatched to Badakhshān and a letter written to Sultān Sa'id saying, "Considering¹ my numerous "claims on your consideration, this affair seems strange; I have "recalled Hindāl Mirzā and have sent Sulaimān. If you have any "regard for hereditary rights, you will be kind to Sulaimān and "leave him in possession of Badakhshān, for he is as a son to us "both. This would be well. Otherwise I, having given up my
116 "responsibility, will place the inheritance in the hands of the heir. "The rest you know."²

¹ Bābar says (Ers. 217) "Sultān "Sa'id Khān, the Khān of Kāsh- "ghar" (he was not so then which shows that Bābar did not write his Memoirs year by year) "came to me "with five or six naked followers on "foot. I received them like my own "brothers and gave him the *Tumān* "of Maudrāur."

² I have substituted Mr. Ross' trs. (T.R., 389) for A.F.'s abstract. The meaning of the last sentence in the letter, is more clearly brought out by Ers.' paraphrase (B. & H. I. 512) "If not," (i.e., if Sultān Sa'id did not yield), "the Emperor, having "resigned to him (Sulaimān) his own "claims, would know how to sup- "port him against the pretensions of "others." It seems evident that Ers. is right (508) in rejecting Haidar

Mirzā's statement that Humāyūn left Badakhshān in obedience to his father's commands. Perhaps he is confounding 935 with 932, when Bābar summoned Humāyūn to help him in the conquest of India. It is clear that Humāyūn's abrupt departure in 935, deranged Bābar's project of reconquering his ancestral kingdom and also that it led to disasters in Badakhshān. But Bābar was probably too near his end and too fond of Humāyūn to quarrel with him for leaving his post and coming to Agra. As Ers. remarks, the visit was probably arranged between Humāyūn and his mother. See P. de C. II. 457, for the passage which A.F. must have had before him.



Before Mirzā Sulaimān had reached Kābul,¹ Badakhshān had been freed from the oppression of evil-thoughted men and been made an abode of peace, as has been already stated. When he arrived at Badakhshān, Hindāl in accordance with orders (from Bābar) made over the country to him and proceeded to India.

After some time spent in attendance, his Majesty sent his Highness Jahānbānī to Sambal² which was his fief (*jāgīr*). He remained happily there for six months and then was suddenly attacked by fever. The malady gradually increased and his Majesty Giti-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, growing disturbed at the alarming news, ordered, in his affection for him, that he be brought to Delhi and thence by water to Agra, in order that he might be treated by skilful physicians under the Emperor's own eyes. A large number of learned doctors who were always in attendance at the royal Court, were directed to employ their talents in effecting a cure. In a short space of time, he was conveyed by boat. Though physicians used their skill and exhibited Messiah-like science, he did not get better. As the sickness was prolonged, the Emperor one day was seated with the wise men of the Age by the Jumna and considering about remedies. Mir Abū Baqā³ who was one of the most distinguished saints of the Age, represented that it had been received from the ancient sages, that in a case like this, when physicians were at a loss, the remedy was to give in alms the most valuable thing one had and to seek cure from God. His Majesty Giti-sitānī said, "I am the most valuable thing that Humāyūn possesses; than me he has no better thing; I shall make myself a sacrifice for him. May God the Creator accept it."

Khawāja Khalifa and the other courtiers represented that Humāyūn would, by the grace of God, recover and attain to the limit of his

¹ Meaning that Sa'īd Khān had already retreated. Mr. Ney Elias (339n) supposes that Kābul is a mistake in the T.R. for Badakhshān, but no correction seems needed, for Sulaimān would go by Kābul from India to Badakhshān. (Price IV. 715) Sulaimān was then 16, having been born in 920 (1514). In the passage already referred to, (P. de C. II. 457) "Sulaimān" must be a mistake

for Sultān Wais and the meaning be that the latter was Sulaimān's father-in-law.

² In the Muradābād district; north of Agra and east of Delhi. It was given to Humāyūn in fief in 1526 (Bābar, Ers., 338).

³ T.R. (E. & R.) 478. He was apparently related to Khawāja Khwānd Maḥmūd also called Khawāja Nūra.



natural life under the shadow of his Majesty's fortune. Why had such an expression come from his tongue? The meaning of the saying of the great men of old was that the most valuable article of property should be given in charity, consequently the priceless diamond which had in a mysterious way been obtained in the war with Ibrāhīm and had been presented to Humāyūn, should be sacrificed. He replied, "What value has worldly wealth? and how can it be a redemption for Humāyūn? I myself shall be his sacrifice. He is in extremity and I have lost the power (*tāqat*) to behold his
 117 "powerlessness (*bī-tāqatī*), but I can endure all his pain." Thereafter he retired to his oratory and having performed such special rites as befitted the occasion, he thrice walked round his Highness Jahānbāpī Jannat-āshiyānī. When his prayer had been heard by God,—Glory be to His name!—he felt a strange effect on himself and cried out, "We have borne it away. We have borne it away." Immediately a strange heat of fever surged upon his Majesty and there was a sudden diminution of it in the person of his Highness Jahānbāpī. Thus in a short time he entirely recovered, while Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī gradually grew worse and the marks of dissolution and death became apparent.

Then out of his active mind and truth-seeking soul, he summoned his officers and nobles and making them place the hands of homage¹ to the empire (*Khilāfat*) in the hands of Humāyūn, appointed him his heir and successor, placing him on the throne of sovereignty, while he himself remained bed-ridden (*ṣāhib-i-farāḡh*) at the foot of the throne. Khwāja Khalifa, Qambar 'Alī Bēg,² Tardī Bēg, Hindū Bēg, and all the others were in attendance. Lofty counsels and weighty mandates, such as might form a stock of lasting fortune and eternal auspiciousness,—were imparted. Advice was given about munificence and justice, about acquiring the favour of God, cherishing subjects, pro-

¹ بَيْعَت—This Arabic word is derived from بَاعَ a contract or sale. In swearing allegiance it was usual, says Lane, for the person making the covenant to place his hand in that of the prince in confirmation of the covenant, as is done by the seller and buyer.

² T. N. (E. & R.) 307, 357, 422. He belonged to a family of Bārki and was a son of Mīr Kāka also called, apparently, Amīr Qāsim Kucīn. Perhaps he is the Qambar 'Alī Mughal of Bābar's Mem. (Ers., 17).



fecting mankind, the accepting of apologies of those who had failed in duty and the pardoning of transgressors; about the honouring of those who did good service and the casting down of the rebellious and the oppressors. And he exclaimed "The cream of our testamentary directions is this, 'Do naught against your brothers even though they may deserve it.'" In truth it was owing to his observing the mandates of the Emperor that his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-ashiyānī suffered so many injuries from his brothers without avenging himself, as will clearly appear from this history.

When his Majesty Giti-sitānī Firdūs-makānī was at the height of his disorder, Mir Khalifa took a short-sighted view — as is the nature of mankind — and from a suspicion that he entertained about his Highness Jahānbānī wished to place Mahdī Khawāja on the throne.¹ The Khawāja too, from his evil disposition and wickedness and folly, gave way to vain thoughts and coming every day to the *Darbār*, made a disturbance. At last by the intervention of right-speaking, far-sighted men, Mir Khalifa was brought to the true path and passing from such thoughts, forbade the Khawāja to appear at the *Darbār*, and also prohibited anyone from visiting him. Thus, by the Divine aid, things came to their own place, and Right was fixed in its own centre.

He (Bābar) left this world on 6th Jumāda'l-awwal,² 937, in the 118 *Cahārbāgh*, on the banks of the Jumna in Agra. The eloquent of the Age composed chronograms and elegies about his Majesty. Among them was this chronogram by Maulānā Shihāb Mu'ammā'i (the Enigmatist).

Verse.

Humāyūn becomes his kingdom's heir.³

It would be impossible even if volumes were employed to detail the perfections of this Holy One. Among them he possessed

¹ For an account of this intrigue see Ers. (B. & H., I. 515 and Elliot, V. 187). Mahdī Khawāja was Bābar's brother-in-law. Perhaps Mir Khalifa was afraid of Humāyūn's addiction to opium (T. R. E. & R. 469). Humāyūn's sudden leaving his post in

Badakhshān must have given the old man a bad opinion of him.

² Firishtā, Monday, 5th Jumāda'l-awwal (21st December, 1530). Ers-kine B. & H., I. 517.

³ *Humāyūn buwād wāriq-i-mulk-i-wai.*



the eight essentials of empire, viz. (1) high fortune; (2) great designs; (3) conquering power; (4) administrative capacity; (5) civilizing faculty; (6) devotion to the welfare of God's servants; (7) the cherishing of the army; (8) the restraining it from evil.

And in acquired accomplishments, he was at the head of his Age. He held high rank as a poet and a prose-writer, and especially in Turki poetry. The Turki *dīwān*¹ (*dīwān-i-turkī*) of his Majesty is of great eloquence and purity, and its contents are charming. His book of *Maṣnawī* which has the name of *Mubīn*² (clear) is a famous composition and is mentioned with great applause by critics. He versified the *Risāla-i-wālidīya*³ of Khwāja Aḥrār which is a pearl from the ocean of knowledge, and very excellent it was. He also wrote his Acts (*Wāqī'āt*) from the beginning of his reign to the time of departure with fidelity and in a lucid and eloquent style. It is an Institute for all earthly sovereigns and a manual for teaching right thoughts and proper ideas. This Institute of dominion and fortune was, by the world-obeyed commands of the king of kings, translated into Persian by Mīrzā Khān Khān-khānān, son of Bairam Khān, in the 34th year of the Divine Era, at the time of the return of the standards of glory from the roseate vernal abode of Kashmīr and Kābul, so that its exquisite bounties might moisten the lips of all the

¹ Probably A. F. could not read Turkī and has copied Ḥaidar Mīrzā's panegyric (T. E. E. & R. 173) for he seems only to use the Persian trs. of the Memoirs.

² Perhaps, *Mubayyan*. It was in Persian and Erskine says he has never met with it. According to Badāonī (I. 343) it was a versified treatise on Muḥammadan law or Theology according to the Ḥanafī school and Shaikh Zain wrote a commentary on it which he called *Mubīn*. See also Dr. Ranking's translation, 450. There are two excellent articles on Bābar and Abū'l-faẓl by Dr. Tempel in the Z. D. M. G. In one he mentions that a poem by Bābar has been published by Ilminsky.

³ Bābar, Ers., 388 and P. de C., II. 358. The *Wālidīya* or *Walidīya* was a treatise in honour of Khwāja Aḥrār's parents. Bābar put it into verse about two years before his death, in hopes that the Khwāja (then dead) would cure him of his fever, in the same way as the author of a *Qaṣīda* had been cured of his paralysis. The trss. differ here. P. de C. says it was Sharafu-d-dīn al-Būsīrī, the author of the Borda, who was cured. He wrote an Arabic poem in praise of Muḥammad and died in 694 (1294-5). But if the cure was effected by the Khwāja, it must have been for another Sharafu-d-dīn, possibly of Bukhārā.



thirsty and that its hidden treasures might be beheld by those whose hands were empty of learning.

His Majesty was also eminently skilled in music and composed charming verses in Persian. Among them the following quatrain is a product of his bounteous muse.

Verse.¹

Though I be not related to dervishes,
Yet am I their follower in heart and soul.
Say not a king is far from a dervish;
I am a king but yet the slave of dervishes.

The following two *Maṭla'* are also sparkles from his enlightened mind.

Maṭla' I.

119

Parting from thee were perdition,
Else could I depart from this world.

Maṭla' II.

Whilst my heart is bound with her cypress locks,
I am free from the griefs of the world.

His Majesty was also famous for treatises on prosody, and among them is a book called *Mufaṣṣal* which is a commentary on the science.

His Majesty left four sons and three daughters:—(1) His Majesty Jahānbānī Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, (2) Kāmran Mīrzā, (3) 'Askarī Mīrzā, (4) Hindāl Mīrzā.

The daughters were:—Gulrang Bēgam; Gulcihra Bēgam; Gulbadan Bēgam, all three by one mother.²

¹ I have in part copied Ers.' trs. (Bābar, 431).

² Dildār Bēgam who was also Hindāl's mother. A. F.'s list of Bābar's children is very imperfect. According to Gulbadan, her father had eighteen children, all of whom were born at Kābul except two daughters, born at Khōst. Apparently she does not reckon the

Fakhrū-n-nisā, who was born at Samargand and lived only some 40 days. Her list is as follow:

I. Māham Bēgam's children:—Humāyūn, Bārbūl, Mihr Jahān, Ishān Daulat, Fārūq.

II. Gulrukh's children: Kāmran, 'Askarī, Sultān Aḥmad, Gul'azār.

III. Dildār's children: Gulrang, Gulcihra, Hindāl, Gulbadan, Ālār.



Among the illustrious men, courtiers and companions who attained to felicity in the field of honour of his Majesty Firdūs-makānī, there were :—

(1). Mīr Abū-l-baqā¹ who was of lofty rank in learning and wisdom.

(2). Shaikh Zain Sadr, grandson of Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn Khwāfi.² He had acquired practical sciences ('ulūm-i-muta'arifa³) and had distinguished abilities. He was skilled in prose and the art of letter-writing. He was distinguished by his long association with his Majesty. He⁴ was also noted in the time of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī.

(3). Shaikh Abū-l-wajd Fāriḡhī,⁵ paternal uncle of Shaikh Zain. He was a pleasant companion and of good disposition. He wrote poetry.

(4). Sultān Muḥammad Kūsa (beardless.) A pleasant man and a critic of poetry. He was a companion of Mīr 'Alī Shīr⁶ and lived in the glorious society of his Majesty.

(5). Maulānā Shihāb Mu'ammāi⁷ (the Enigmatist) whose poetical name was Ḥaqīrī.⁸ He had an abundant share of learning, eloquence and poetry.

(6). Maulānā Yūsufī the physician. He was sent for from Khu-

IV. Ma'sūma's child, Ma'sūma.

These do not bring up the number to eighteen for Mihr Jān and Gulrang were the daughters born at Khōst; perhaps 18 is a mistake for 16. Gulbadan says the taking of Kābul was clearly a good omen, for Bābar, then 23 and without a son, had many children born thereafter and she gives it as a reason for his liking Kābul that it was their birth-place. His attachment to it is also proved by his choosing it as his place of burial.

¹ T. R. E. & R. 478 and A. N. I. 128. The learning ('ilm) meant is probably religious learning. He was a brother of Khawāja Dōst.

² Blochmann, 592n.

³ Perhaps, the science of exposition and arrangement. Dict. of T. T., 1066.

⁴ He was the first to translate or rather to paraphrase Bābar's Memoirs into Persian. Badā'ūnī, I. 341, 471, and Elliot, IV. 288.

⁵ Wahid, in corresponding passage of P. de C. (II. 463). He made chronograms (Bābar, Ers. 389).

⁶ Bābar, Ers. 184 and Elliot, IV. App. 527.

⁷ He came from Herāt with Khwand Amīr in 1528. Bābar, Ers. 382.

⁸ P. de C., Faqīrī.



Iran. He was distinguished for good qualities, for dexterity as an operator¹ and for assiduity.

(7). Surkh Widā'i. An old and inartificial poet. He wrote in Persian and Turki.

(8). Mullā Baqā'i. He had a correct taste (*salīqa-i-darast*) in poetry. He composed *maṣnawī* in the metre of the *maḥzan*,² in the name of his Majesty.

(9). Khawāja Nizāmu-d-din 'Alī Khalifa.³ On account of his long service, trustworthiness, soundness of understanding and steadfastness of counsel, he held high rank under his Majesty. He possessed various qualities and excellences and in particular was a successful physician.

(10). Mīr Darwīsh Muḥammad Sārbān,⁴ a favourite pupil of 120 Nāṣiru-d-din Khawāja Ahrār. He was distinguished for learning and social qualities and was much relied upon at Court.

(11). Khawānd Mīr,⁵ the historian. He was learned and an agreeable companion. His writings are well known, e.g., the *Ḥabībus-siyar*, *Khulāṣatu-l-akhbār*,⁶ *Dastūru-l-wuzarā*,⁷ etc.

(12). Khawāja Kilān Bēg, one of the great officers and who was allowed the honour of a seat.⁸ Distinguished for gravity of manners and discretion. His brother Kicak Khawāja⁹ was keeper of the seals and was especially trusted and was allowed a seat.⁹

¹ "Très habile dans l'art de tâter
"le poulx et de faire le diagnostic
"des maladies." (P. de C. I. c. 463.)
He is Yūsuf bin Muḥammad Harātī
and the author of several medical
works. Rien, Pers. Cat. II. 475b. and
Browne, Cat. Pers. MSS. Camb. 278.

² The *Maḥzanu-l-asrār* of Nizāmu-d-din.

³ Commonly known as Mīr Khalifa.

⁴ Bābar, Ers. 273. Honourably distinguished for temperance.

⁵ Joined Bābar only two years before the death of the latter. See account of meeting, Elliot, IV. 143, 155.

⁶ Text, *alḥyār*.

⁷ Contains the biographies of famous ministers. Elliot, IV. 148.

⁸ *Ahl-i-nishast*. This epithet is generally applied to hermits, but I think it means here that Khawāja Kilān and his brother were allowed to sit in Bābar's presence. Khawāja Kilān was a poet and composed an elegy upon Bābar's death. Badā'uni, I. 341.

⁹ A Kicak Bēg, an elder brother of Khawāja Kilān, is mentioned in the Mems. (Ers., 171) but he was killed in '911. Apparently there were seven brothers and all were killed in Bābar's service except Khawāja



(13). Sultān Muḥammad Dūldāi, one of the great officers and of excellent morals.

I refrain from mentioning others as the design of this glorious work is to describe the lofty lineage of his Majesty, the king of kings, and I proceed to the holy traits of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī. And in completing the accounts of those ancestors (*buzurgān*) I prepare myself for the description of the great one of realm and religion and lord of the visible and invisible.

Kilān (248n.) There is a Kūcak Khwāja mentioned in Bābar, Ers., 420. Possibly A.F. means Khwāja Mullā, also an elder brother of Khwāja Kilān. He was a *Sadr*

(Chief Judge), and Bābar's father made him keeper of the seals. He was killed by an arrow in 902. (Bābar, Ers. 43.)



CHAPTER XX.

HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHIYĀNĪ NAŚĪRU-D-DĪN
MUHAMMAD HUMĀYŪN PĀDŠĀH-I-GHĀZĪ.

Theatre of great gifts; source of lofty inspirations; exalter of the throne of the *Khilafat* of greatness; planter of the standard of sublime rule; kingdom-bestowing conqueror of countries; auspicious sitter upon the throne; founder of the canons of justice and equity; arranger of the demonstrations of greatness and sovereignty; spring of the fountains of glory and beneficence; water-gate for the rivers of learning; brimming rain-cloud of choiceness and purity; billowy sea of liberality and loyalty; choosing the right, recognizing the truth; sole foundation¹ of many laws; both a king of dervish-race² and a dervish with a king's title; parterre-adorning arranger of realm and religion; garland-twiner of spiritual and temporal blossoms; throne of the sphere of eternal mysteries; *alidād*³ of the

¹ Perhaps codifier or reducer into unity.

² Alluding to the circumstance that Humāyūn, as well as his wife, was said to be descended from the famous saint Aḥmad-i-jām.

³ *اَلِدَاد* 'uzāda. The *alidād* or *alhidada* of English dictionaries is a corruption of this word with the prefix of the Arabic article. It meant the index or fiduciary of an astrolabe. In Murray's English Dictionary, we are told that the *alidād* is the revolving radius of a graduated circle and that in the astrolabe, it revolved at the back and was called by Chaucer, the Rule. The statement, however, that it revolved at the back, seems not quite correct. In the astrolabes that I have seen, the index—it has two limbs—is on

the face of the instrument. Perhaps the explanation is that the astrolabe had two limbs or indices attached to it, one called the Rule and attached to the back of the instrument and another in front and called the Label. (See Prof. Skeat's Chaucer, III and the plates there given.) According to Moxon's Dict. it is the Label which is the *alidād*. Whitney (Century Dict.) quotes in part an interesting passage from the Ency. Brit. (X. 181, col. 2). The whole of it is as follows: "The astrolabe (used by Vasco de Gama) was a metal circle graduated round the edge with a limb called the *alhidada*, fixed to a pin in the centre and working round the graduated circle. The instrument had two sights fitted upon it, one at each end and was



astrolobe of theory and practice; in austerities of asceticism and spiritual transports, a Grecian Plato¹ (*Aflātūn-i-Yūnānī*); in executive energy and the paths of enterprise, a second Alexander (*Iskandar-i-šānī*); pearl of the seven oceans and glory of the four elements; ascension-point of Suns and dawn of Jupiter; phoenix (*Humā*) towering to the heights of heaven,—Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Ḥumāyūn, Pādshāh-i-Ghāzī,—May God sanctify his soul!²

Great God! 'twas as if the veil of humanity and the elemental screen had been cast over a holy spirit and a sacred light. The open plain of language narrows in the quest of his praises, and the parade-ground of indication remains league upon league distant from the city of his virtues. God be praised that the time is nigh when I may withdraw my hand from lofty genealogy and plunge it in the
 121 skirt of my real intent. I now essay an abridged account of the astonishing actions of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-ashiyānī for this is at once a preliminary nigh to my far-seen goal and a commentary forming part of the history of my saint and sovereign (*Pir ū Pādshāh*). By unveiling the reflected godhead³ of the divine lord, I shall satisfy the thirsty-lipped⁴ with the sweet waters of knowledge and bring my own parched heart near the shore of the sea of the com-

suspended by a ring so as to hang vertically on one hand, while the *alidada* was worked up and down until the Sun could be seen through both sights. It then gave the Zenith distance." (See Littré, s.v. *Alidada*, Lane, s.v. and Dict. of T. Ts., I. 291 and II. 952.) According to the last named book, the *alidada* was at the back of the instrument as stated in Murray's Dict. A.F. applies the term to Humāyūn on account of his attainments, real or alleged, in mathematics.

¹ Orientals seem to have regarded Plato as a great ascetic. See account of him in Gladwin's Persian Munshī (37) where we are told that he spent much time in the mountains and deserts.

² *Anūra-llāhū burhānahr*, lit. "May God illuminate his proof" or "God taught him his proof." Lane, 2865a.

³ A. F. means apparently that Humāyūn is the reflected or derivative glory of his son but the exact force of his blasphemous language is hard to discover. Certainly he carried his adulation higher than any other Muḥammadan writer. Had A.F. been a good Musalman, he would have been a better man, for then he never would have confounded the Creator and the creature as he so often does.

⁴ Several MSS. have *dilā*, hearts, and this is probably the correct reading as being in antithesis to *tishna-jigar*, lit. thirsty-liver in the next clause.



prehension of the holy virtues of the exquisitely perfect one
Avaunt! Avaunt! How may the praise of the perfections of this
unique pearl come from one like me? It behoves his panegyrist to
be like himself but alas, alas! where is anyone like that unique pearl
of the ocean of knowledge? I confer a lustre on my own words
and I compass an achievement for myself inasmuch as I make my
heart familiar with sacred knowledge and give unto my tongue the
glory of spirituality.

O searcher¹ after the knowledge of events, arouse thyself, and
receive the announcement that the auspicious birth of his Majesty
Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī occurred on the night of Tuesday, 4th Zi-
qa'da, 913 (6th March, 1508) in the citadel of Kābul and from the
holy womb of her chaste Majesty Māham Bēgam.²

That pure one was of a noble family of Khurāsān and related
to Sultān Husain Mirzā. And I have heard from some reliable
persons that just as the honoured mother of his Majesty, the king of
kings, was descended from his Holiness Shaikh (Aḥmad) Jām, so also
was Māham Bēgam connected with him. His Majesty Gīti-sitānī
Firdūs-makānī married her when he was residing in Herāt to condole
with the sons of Sultān Husain Mirzā. Maulānā Masnādī found the
date of his Majesty's birth to be Sultān Humāyūn Khān; and
Shāh-i-firūz-qadr (Victorious Prince) and Pādshāh-i-ṣaf-shīkan (Rank-
breaking king) and also the saying "*Khush bād*" (May he be
happy) give the date of this fortunate epoch, as discovered by the
learned of the Age.³ Khwāja Kilān Sāmānī⁴ has said:—

Verse.

It is the year of his fortunate birth,
May God increase his glory.
I've taken *one alif* from his date,
That I may blind *two* evil eyes.

¹ Here A.F. addresses his readers.

² Māham is evidently not her full name. Erskine asks if Māham be not a term of endearment used by Bābar and signifying "My Moon."

³ The first, second and fourth chronograms yield 913, the true date,

but the third, 853 only. If we read *pādshāh-i-ṣaf-shīkan-īn* (īn = he) the chronogram will be correct.

⁴ Apparently meaning that he was of the race of the Sāmānīdæ, ancient princes of Transoxiana. His chronogram is enigmatic. The



The accession of his Majesty took place in Agra on 9th Jumāda l-
 awwal, 937 (29th December, 1530), and *Khairu-l-mulūk* (Best of
 kings)¹ is the chronogram. A few days later, he made an excursion
 upon the river and placing the barks of pleasure in the stream of
 joy, gave away on that day, a boat full² of gold, and by the largesse
 122 laid a golden foundation of dominion. Bravo! the first grace bestowed
 on him upon whom is conferred the sovereignty of the world, is
 munificence and liberality.

Verse.

Not every man is exalted.
 He becomes head who is kind to men.
 The lion became king of all beasts
 Because he was hospitable in the chase.

And one of the learned found the date of this wave of giving
 in the words *kishti-i-zar* (boat or tray of gold = 937).

From the commencement of his career till his accession when
 he had arrived at the age of 24,³ the notes of success and fortune
 were conspicuous on his destiny's forehead and the lights of glory
 and empire streamed forth from the tablets of his greatness and
 glory. How should not his lustrous temples radiate greatness and
 magnanimity when he was carrying the light of the king of kings
 and was the custodian of the granary of Divine knowledge? It was the
 same light which was shewn forth in the victories of his Majesty Giti-
 sitānī Firdūs-makānī and that gloriously appeared in the dawns

words of the second line, *Zādaka-
 llāhu la'ālā qadran* yield 914 which
 is one too much. So the composer
 says, he takes away an *alif* which
 represents the figure one and also,
 from its shape, resembles a bodkin
 or the fine pencil (*mīl*) used for
 blinding. Or it may perhaps be bet-
 ter to take *burda am* to mean "I
 have added," e.g., that he has added
 the *alif* at the end of *qadran* but in
 that case, the preposition *az* con-
 stitutes a difficulty. I should state

that the word *Allāh* in the chrono-
 gram is reckoned as 66, being con-
 sidered to contain three *ls*, only two
 of which however are counted.

¹ Badāonī (I. 344) gives the couplet
 ending in the chronogram. See Dr.
 Ranking's trs. 451.

² *Kishti* means both a boat and a
 tray but here A.F. seems to mean
 the former. But see Elliot V. 183
 and Badāonī, Ranking, 451.

³ Gregorian Cal. adar, 22 years,
 10 m. only.



of the world-conquering rays of his Majesty *Ṣāhib Qarānī*. And it was this same light which from the time of the ocean pearl-shell *Alanquā*, displayed itself from the royal shells and pearls under the veils of women in travail. It was the same light by whose splendour *Ughaz Khān* was made glorious, and it was the same light which was preparing and increasing from Adam till Noah. The secrets of the revelation of this light, and the strange notes of its manifestation are beyond the circle of restraint and limitation, nor is everyone capable of recognizing this secret substance or of understanding its subtleties. To sum up; His Majesty *Jahānbānī* was illuminating the world with the power of this Divine light, which through so many cycles and epochs had been concealed under various garbs, and the time of its apparition was now at hand. Accordingly the glory of spiritual and temporal greatness was radiating from the arch of his Majesty's shining forehead. Perfect modesty and exceeding courage were conjoined in his holy nature, and all his lofty energy was devoted to fulfilling the desires of his great father; and the excellence of intrepidity being united with consummate majesty and dignity, out of his magnanimity and high-thoughtedness, he paid no regard to self and held himself of no account. Consequently he was glorious for right-mindedness and lofty courage in every enterprise that he engaged in and every service that he undertook. In the whole of his auspicious life, he adorned the world by joining knowledge with power, and power with compassion and clemency. In many sciences and especially in mathematics, he had no rival or colleague. His noble nature was marked by the combination of the energy of Alexander and the learning of Aristotle. He displayed great justice 123 in carrying out the provisions of the will for the distribution of territories and exhibited thorough equity or rather exceeding kindness and beneficence therein. But superiority in spiritual perfections (which is real sovereignty), that was his own by God's grace; none of his brothers shared in the dainties of that table of inheritance.

Everyone connected with the Court received offices and pensions. *Mirzā Kāmran* obtained *Kābul* and *Qandahār* as his fief; *Mirzā 'Askarī*, *Sambal*; *Mirzā Hindāl*, *Sarkār Alwar*. *Badakhshān* was made over and confirmed to *Mirzā Sulaimān*; and the nobles and great officers and the whole of the victorious army were brought into obedience by proper measures. Everyone who breathed disaffection,



e.g., Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, son of Badī'ū-z-zamān Mīrzā, son of Sultān Husain Mīrzā (who had been in the service of his Majesty Gīti-sitāni Firdūs-makāni and been distinguished by being made his son-in-law,¹ but who had from short-sightedness and deficiency of judgment opened the sleeve of contumacy), bound the cincture of service on the waist of obedience. His Majesty, after five or six months, turned his attention to the conquest of Kālinjar² and besieged that fort for about a month. When the people within became distressed, the governor submitted and sent twelve *mans*³ of gold with other presents. His Majesty had regard to his supplications and entreaties and forgave him. From thence he proceeded towards Cunār and besieged it.

Let it not be concealed that this sky-based fortress was in the possession of Sultān Ibrāhīm and was held for him by Jamāl Khān Khāṣṣa Khail Sārangkhānī.⁴ After the catastrophe of Sultān Ibrāhīm, Jamāl Khān's life came to an end from the evil design⁵ of a worthless son, and Shēr Khān sought the widow (who was called Lād Mulk, and was adorned with beauty and charm) for his wife and by this contrivance got possession of the fortress. When Shēr Khān heard of the approach of the conquering army, he left his son, Jalāl Khān⁶ with a number of trusty persons, in the fort, and came out himself. He sent clever ambassadors and wove crafty speeches. His Majesty, recognizing the circumstances of the time, accepted his proposals and Shēr Khān sent his son, 'Abdu-r-rashīd⁷ to serve his Majesty Jahānbānī so that he might himself remain guarded from the blows of the imperial armies and might arrange the materials of pride and presumption. This son was for a long time in the service, but when his Majesty came to Mālwa, to subdue Sultān Bahādur, that worth-

¹ He married Bābar's daughter Ma'sūma whose mother (also called Ma'sūma) died in childbed. Ers. B. & H. I. 525 and 526 n.

² In Bundelkhand.

³ Akbar's *man* was apparently 34½ lbs. (Wilson's Glossary) but Price (Retrospect, IV. 713) estimates it at 28 lbs.

⁴ Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī, Tāj Khān.

Elliot, IV. 343. See also Bābar's Mem., 406. Bābar visited Cunār.

⁵ See the story in Elliot, l. c. and Ers. B. & H. II. 132.

⁶ Also called Islām Khān and his father's successor on the throne of India.

⁷ Also called Qutb Khān. Ers. l. c. II. 12 n.



one fled from the imperial army. In 939, when Biban and Bayazid the Afghāns rose in rebellion, his Majesty proceeded to the eastward. Bayazid was killed in battle against the warlike heroes and this rubbish was cleared away, and Jaunpūr and the neighbouring territories, having been given to Sultān Junaid Barlās, his Majesty returned to the capital.

As the echo of his Majesty's victories and conquests was high-sounding in various kingdoms, Sultān Bahādur, the ruler of Gujrāt, sent, in 940, experienced ambassadors bearing valuable presents to him and set in motion the processes of friendship. His Majesty received his overtures with imperial kindness and set his heart at rest by sending him diplomas of amity. In the same year, a city was founded on the banks of the Jumna, near Delhi, which received the name of Dīnpanāh.¹ One of the learned of the Age found the chronogram *Shahr-i-pādshāh-i-dīnpanāh* (City of the King, Defender of the Faith=940). After that, Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā and Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā with his son, Ulugh Mirzā, took the path of hostility and rebellion. His Majesty turned the reins of resolution against them and encamped on the Gauges near Bhūjpūr. Yādgar Nāsir Mirzā was sent across the river with a large force against the rebels, and by Divine help, he gained a victory. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and Walī Khūb Mirzā were made prisoners. Muḥammad Zamān was sent to Biāna and the other two were blinded and thereby cast down from the pillar of respect. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā did not recognize the kindness with which he had been treated, but got out of prison by presenting a forged order.² He then fled to Gujrāt to Sultān Bahādur.

Many of the delightful countries of India which had not been conquered in the time of his Majesty Giti-sitānī Firdūs-makānī on account of want of leisure and shortness of time were subdued by his (Humāyūn's) arm of dominion and strength of fortune.

¹ See Khwānd Mir's account of the founding of this city. Elliot, V. 124. It was Shihābu-d-dīn who discovered the chronogram.

² According to Ers. (II. 13 and

42) he won over his custodian Yādgar Taghāi who was governor of Biāna Fort and, I presume, Humāyūn's father-in-law. (*Vide supra*).

CHAPTER XXI.¹

ACCOUNT OF MĪRZĀ KĀMRĀN'S COMING TO THE PANJĀB.

When Mīrzā Kāmrān heard of the demise of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, he, out of an inordinate spirit, made over Qandahār to Mīrzā 'Askarī and proceeded to India in hope that some
125 advantage might accrue to himself. But whene'er felicity's diadem hath exalted the head of a fortunate one and the Divine protection is watching over him, what save evil (*tabāhē*) can happen to the evil-disposed (*tabāh*)? It is stated that at that time Mīr Yūnus² 'Alī was, in accordance with the orders of Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, Governor of Lāhōr. Having laid his plans, Mīrzā Kāmrān one night pretended to be enraged with Qarāca Bēg³ and used violent language towards him. Next night Qarāca Bēg fled with his soldiers from the Mīrzā's camp to Lāhōr. Mīr Yūnus 'Alī regarded his coming as of much importance and received him with great kindness and frequently invited him to his own quarters. They were on friendly terms but Qarāca was watching his opportunity, till at length on one night when there was a convivial party, and Yūnus 'Alī's best soldiers were away at their quarters,⁴ he seized him and, putting him in prison, placed his own men in charge of the Fort gates. He then hurried off a message to Mīrzā Kāmrān. The Mīrzā (who was in expectation of this), came post to Lāhōr and took possession of the city. He released Mīr Yūnus 'Alī, apologized to him and said that if he would remain, he

¹ This chapter is a parenthesis and should apparently have been inserted by A. F. before the latter part of the preceding one. It relates to the years 938-939 (1532-33).

² Mentioned several times in Bābar's Mem., e.g., 365, near top and 382 where he is said to be a friend of Khwānd Amīr, the historian. He died in 952 (1545-6). A. N. I. 245.

³ Killed by a musket ball near Kābul in 958 (1551-2) when leading a charge of cavalry against Humāyūn. (Jauhar, Stewart 101 and A. N. I. 304).

⁴ *Jāīgīr*, perhaps should be *Jāīgāh*. B. M. No. 4944 has *Jāūdīgar* elsewhere. I do not think it can mean estates. Ers. II. 7 translates it as quarters.



might continue to be Governor of Lāhōr. Mīr Yūnus 'Alī did not consent to serve him and taking leave, went off to his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-ashiyānī. Mirzā Kaurān appointed his own creatures to the *parganās* of the Sirkār¹ of the Panjāb and took possession up to the Satlaj (which is known as the Water of Lūdhīyāna). Then he craftily sent skilful ambassadors with protestations of loyalty and sincerity and begged that he might be confirmed in the province. His Majesty Jahānbānī, partly because the sea of his liberality had been set in motion, and partly from a desire to observe the precepts of his Majesty Gīṭī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, made over the province to him and issued a decree appointing him to the charge of Kābul, Qandahār and the Panjāb. The Mirzā returned thanks for this unexpected favour and sent presents to the Court. He followed this up by opening the gates of correspondence and by sending eulogiums of his Majesty Jahānbānī. Among them was the following ode:—

Ode.

May thy beauty increase each moment;
May thy star be splendid and fortunate;
May every mist which rises on thy way,
Be the dimming of the light of my own eyes.

Should dust arise² on Laila's path,
May its place³ be Majnūn's eyes.

Whoe'er moves not round thee like the limb of a compass, 126
May he be ejected from this sphere.

Be victorious⁴ while this world endures,

May Humāyūn be the Cyrus (*Khusrū*) of epochs.

And in truth his prayer was heard, for by reason of his disloyalty, he was ejected from the sphere of respect or rather from the sphere of existence, as will be stated in its own place. In short,

¹ More generally, *Sūba* Lāhōr.

² Price (IV. 717) seems to have read the words *gird kān*, i.e., should dust, as *gar dukan*, if moss (or touchwood); for he translates, "Does the moss and the thistle overgrow the path of Laila."

³ No. 4944 seems to have *jāfī*, injurious.

⁴ *Kāmran*. There is a play on the author's name and the words may also be rendered, "O Kāmran."



his Majesty out of his magnanimity, looked to his outward loyalty and made him the recipient of princely favours and from exceeding kindness, rewarded him for the ode by bestowing upon him *Hiṣār Firūza* (Hissar). The *Mirzā* always kept up appearances and continued in obedience and became the receptacle of many favours. In 939,¹ (1532-33), *Mirzā Kāmran* made over the government of Qandahār to *Khwāja Kilān Bēg*. The cause of this was that when *Mirzā 'Askarī* was coming to Kābul he encountered the *Hazāras* on the way and was defeated by them. *Mirzā Kāmran* was displeased by this and took away Qandahār from him.

¹ The Text and several MSS. have 938 which must be wrong. No. 4944 B. M. has 939 which is

no doubt correct and which Price must have found in his MS. (*Vide* IV. 718).



CHAPTER XXII.

MARCH OF THE ARMY OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHIYĀNĪ
FOR THE SUBJUGATION OF BENGAL, ABANDONMENT OF THE
DESIGN, AND RETURN TO THE CAPITAL.

When the mind of his Majesty Jahānbānī was at leisure from the affairs of his dominions, he, in 941 (1534), turned the rein of intent towards the eastern quarter and the conquest of Bengal. The standards of felicity had reached the town of Kānār,¹ within the limits of Kālpī, when it came to the royal hearing that Sultān Bahādur, under the pretext of besieging Citōr, had gathered a large body of men under Tātār Khān, son of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-dīn, and that he was entertaining wild projects. His Majesty after an enlightened consultation, despatched, in Jumāda'l-awwal 941 (November-December, 1534,) a force to quell the enemy, and himself beat high the drum of return.

It is not unknown to the circumspect that Sultān Bahādur was ever engaged in high-flying imaginings, and was always holding in his palate the bruised thorn² of evil wishes. But as, before he became the ruler of Gujrāt and was but a private individual, he had seen with the eye of warning a specimen of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī's way of fighting in the campaign against Sultān Ibrāhīm; he could not bring himself for any consideration to resolve on encountering the victorious soldiers of that illustrious family. And this view he repeatedly expressed to his confidants. When Tātār Khān

¹ Kinār of Erskine, II. 16. See Jarrett, II. 184 and Bābar's Memoirs, Ers. 374, 375 and 379. It is mentioned there as a ford on the Jumna, two or three miles below the junction of the Cambal. It is described in Atkinson's Gazetteer, N.-W. P., I. 217 as an old pargana in Jalaun. The town, on the west bank of the Jumna,

is now in ruins. Elliot, Supp. Glossary, 315.

² Cf. Spenser's description of envy:

“And still did chaw
Between his cankered teeth a
venomous toad
That all the poison ran about his
jaw.”



127 came and waited upon him, he was continually filling his mind with vain propositions and was representing that it was easy for him to advance beyond the sacred ground of respect. For a time Sultān Bahādur was not caught, but at length he one day laid bare the truth, and said to Tātār Khān: "I have been a witness¹ of the superiority of those splendid soldiers; the Gujrāt army is no match for them, so I shall by craft and contrivance win over his (Humāyūn's) army to myself." Accordingly he opened the doors of his treasuries and lavished gold and thereby gained over as many as 10,000 men, who had the skill² to appear as soldiers without being in reality such. During this time Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā escaped from confinement by the connivance of his custodians,³ the servants of Yādgar Bēg Taghāi,⁴ and came to Gujrāt. The lord of that country, on account of the crude plans that he was concocting, regarded the arrival of the Mīrzā as a gain and treated him with great consideration. His Majesty Jahānbānī wrote to Sultān Bahādur that treaties and engagements required that all who had turned obligations (*huqūq*) of service into disobligations (*'uqūq*) and had fled to his (Bahādur's) dominions, should be sent back or at least be driven out from his presence, so that their unanimity (his own and Bahādur's) might be evidenced to the world. Sultān Bahādur, either from inexperience or the intoxication of the world, wrote in reply "Should a high-born man take refuge with us and be treated with consideration, there could not be in this any breach of good feeling or of sincerity, nor any detriment to treaties. For instance, in the days of Sikandar Lōdī, there was perfect friendship betwixt him and Sultān Muẓaffar (Bahādur's father), yet his brother Sultān 'Alā'u-d-dīn and many Sultāns' sons came upon occasions from Agra and Dehli to Gujrāt and

¹ Bābar's Mems, Ers. 343. Bahādur had quarrelled with his father and taken refuge with Ibrāhīm, and was with him at about the time of the battle of Pānīpāt, though apparently he left before the battle. Bābar calls him a bloodthirsty and ungovernable young man.

² This, I presume, is the meaning of the phrase *ki hukm-i-numūd-i-bī-*

būd dāshī, i.e., had they been real soldiers they would not have deserted.

³ Erskine, II. 42, speaks of his escaping along with his keeper Yādgar Taghāi. According to the *Sikandar-nāma*, Bayley's Gujrāt, 374, Muḥammad Zamān was under the charge of Bayāzīd Khān Afghān.

⁴ Humāyūn's father-in-law? Bābar's Memoirs, 388.



were received with kindness. Never did this cause a breach of friendship!" His Majesty Jahānbānī sent a suitable missive in reply, to this purport, "The note of steadfastness in the path of observance of treaties is simply this, that any act which can shake the pillars of loyalty be utterly eschewed so that the cheek of concord be not scratched by the nail of enmity." He also enclosed these two couplets in the rescript.

Verse I.

O Thou who vauntest a loving heart
Hurrah a million times, if heart and tongue accord.

Verse II.¹

Plant the tree of friendship that the heart's desire may
bear fruit,
Uproot the sapling of enmity that yields countless ills.

"Beware, a hundred thousand times beware; listen to my advice with the ear of understanding and send that abandoned one (*malḥūz*) to the foot of the throne, or withdraw the hand of favour from him and let him not abide in thy dominions. Else how can reliance be put on thy friendship? Strange it is that you liken this matter to those of 'Alā'u-d-dīn and others like him. What analogy is there between the cases? That affair was one thing, and this is another. Mayhap you have learnt from books of history that in spite of the refractoriness of Ildarīm Bayāzīd, his Majesty Šāhib Qarānī (Timūr) was constitutionally indisposed to invade Rūm, inasmuch as Bayāzīd was engaged in a war with the Franks. But as Qarā Yūsuf Turk-mān and Sulṭān Aḥmad Jalāūr had fled to him, his Majesty by sundry good counsels forbade him to entertain them. When Bayāzīd refused to accede to this, his Majesty showed what his might was."²

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¹ According to Firishta (see his account of Bābar's reign) this couplet was sent by Šāh Ismā'īl to Shāibānī to warn him against attacking Persia.

² Two of the letters which passed between Humāyūn and Bahādur are given at greater length in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, B.M. Add. 26,277, 1330.

See also Bayley's Gujrāt; the letters are also given, as Sir E. C. Bayley has pointed out in the collection of letters B.M. Add. 7688; Rien I. 3906. Timūr's letter to Bayāzīd is given in the *Zafarnāma*, II. 256, and the reasons why he made war on him are stated at 389 l. c., Bib. Ind. ed. But, as Bayley has pointed out, Timūr only



Sultān Bahādur out of a weak head and foolishness did not write a sensible reply. Meanwhile Tātār Khān kept saying vain things¹ to Sultān Bahādur, calculated to deceive narrow intellects, and kept urging that he himself might be sent towards the imperial dominions, representing that the royal army had grown pampered and comfort-loving, and was no longer such as the Sultān had seen. In consequence of the misrepresentations of strife-mongers, Sultān Bahādur made preparations for despatching Tātār Khān and sent to the fort of Ranthanbhūr twenty *krors* of the old coinage of Gujrāt²—equal to forty *krors* of the current Dehlī coinage—to be used under Tātār Khān's instructions for the hiring of new soldiers. He also sent Sultān 'Alā'u-d-dīn, father of Tātār Khān, with a large force towards Kalinjar, to stir up a disturbance in that quarter. Likewise he deputed Burhānu-l-mulk Banyānī³ and a body of Gujrātīs to proceed to Nāgōr and make an attempt on the Panjāb, dividing his forces with the idea that the imperial army would thereby be thrown into confusion. Though able and experienced men told him that his forces

speaks of Qarā Yūsuf Turkmān. Aḥmad Khān Jalāir was the Sultān of Baghdād and was driven out by Timūr. He was a friend of Qarā Yūsuf, but afterwards behaved treacherously to him and was defeated and put to death by Qarā Yūsuf in 1410. Apparently Sultān Aḥmad took refuge with the king of Egypt, and not with Bayāzīd. There is a long account of him in D'Herbelot, under the head, Avis Aḥmad Ben Avis or Virs. According to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* Bahādur did not know how to read and write, and so depended on a Munshī who had deserted from Humāyūn and took the opportunity of revenging himself by writing disrespectfully to his old master.

¹ *Tangsharābī*, lit. easily becoming drunk.

² *Zar*, gold; but apparently silver

coinage is meant. Erskine in his MS. translation of the *Akbarnāma* (in the British Museum,) seems to regard the money as silver, but in his *History*, II. 44, speaks of it as gold, and says A.F. estimates the Gujrāt gold coins as double that of his own time. But surely A. F. would never admit that the Gujrāt gold coins were as fine as or finer than Akbar's! See *Āin Blochmann*, 18 and 31. In Firishṭa's account of Bahādur Shāh, (*History of Gujrāt*), the amount is spoken of as thirty *krors of muzaffaris*, though Briggs seems to have had three and not thirty in his MS. Nizāmu-d-dīn, from whom Firishṭa probably borrowed his figures, has thirty in his account of Gujrāt.

³ *Multānī* Text, but it is clear from the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* that Banyānī, given in the Bib. Ind. as a variant, is the true reading.



should march in one direction, they were not successful, and though both by hints and plain speech they delineated on the board of manifestation the inauspiciousness of treaty breaking, it was of no avail. He gave way to the vain thought that as the Lūdiyān party claimed the sovereignty of Hindūstān, the supporting of them (*talāsh-i-īshān*) did not interfere with his promises, and that the consequences of a violation of engagements would not recoil upon himself. He sent Tātār Khān on a bootless quest towards Dihlī and, keeping both aloof from and in touch with him, addressed himself to the siege of Cītōr¹ so that he might both capture the fortress and be an intermediary for helping the Lūdiyāns when occasion offered. Be it known that Sultān 'Alā'u-d-dīn bore the name of 'Ālam Khān. He was brother of Sikandar Lōdī and paternal uncle of Sultān Ibrāhīm. After Sultān Sikandar's death he contended with Sultān Ibrāhīm, and in the territory of Sihrind set up a claim to the sovereignty and giving himself the title of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-dīn, marched towards Agra with a force of double-faced Afghāns. Sultān Ibrāhīm came out to fight, and the two factions met near Hōdal.² Sultān 'Alā'u-d-dīn not finding himself strong enough to engage in a pitched battle made a night attack, but was unsuccessful and had to return with loss. Fraudulently and with evil intent he went to Kābul,³ and in the war with Ibrāhīm he was with the victorious army. After the conquest of India his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī became cognisant of his hidden motives and sent him to Badakhshān.⁴ With

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¹ This must be the second siege of Cītōr by Bahādur. On the first occasion the Rānā bought off the attack. It is to Bahādur's wars with the Hindūs and Portuguese that Humāyūn refers when speaking of Timūr's abstention from invasion whilst Bayāzīd was making war on Constantinople.

² In Sarkār Sahār, Şubah of Agra, Jarrett II, 96 and 195. In the Persian text of the *Āin* I, 357 and 455, it is spelt Hōral هورل, and Tiefenthaler I, 169 and 207, spells it Horel and says it has many brick houses, and lies on

the road from Mathurā to Dihlī. It is about 80 miles south of Dihlī. Hunter, I. G., has Hodāl and describes it as in the Gurgāōn district, Panjāb.

³ This is a mistake. 'Alā'u-d-dīn went to Kābul before his defeat and after it he met Bābar in India near Pelhūr. Bābar's Mem., 297.

⁴ Qil'a Zafar seems to have been used by Bābar as a state-prison. He sent Shāh Bēg, the son of Zu-n-nūn, there before the final capture of Qandahār, but Shāh Bēg managed to escape by the help of a slave, Qumbul



the help of Afghān traders he escaped from Qil'a Zafar and came to Afghānistān, and from thence to Bālūcistān, and finally reached Gujrāt.

In short, when the armies set out Tātār Khān laid hold of the treasure and set about recruiting soldiers. Nearly 40,000 cavalry, Afghāns and others, gathered round him, and he came to Bīāna and took it. When this news was brought to his Majesty Jahānbānī, who had marched to subdue the eastern countries, he turned the reins of attention, and with the greatest rapidity arrived at Agra, the capital. He despatched Mīrzā 'Askarī, Mīrzā Hindāl, Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā,¹ Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān, Mīr Faqīr 'Alī,² Zāhid Bēg and Dōst Bēg with 18,000 horse to put down this disturbance. His Majesty remarked that the putting down of this large army, which was approaching Dihlī with evil designs, would be in reality the extirpating of the other armies; it was therefore best to address one's efforts to the subduing of it. When the victorious army drew near the opposing force, fear fell on the latter and there were daily desertions, so that it gradually decreased and in brief space dwindled down to 3,000 horse. As Tātār Khān had obtained his army by

Mihtar. The story is told in the *Tārīkh-i-sind*. Bābar does not mention it, but with an evident reference to Sumbul's subsequent achievement he speaks with regret (p. 230), of Sumbul effecting his escape after Qandahār was taken.

As pointed out by Erskine II, 53, and 44*n.*, there were two 'Ālam Khāns, (Bayley 276*n.*, says there were three), and there is considerable confusion between them. The one who called himself 'Alā'u-d-dīn, and was the brother of Sikandar, had a command at the battle of Khānwā in 1527 (Bābar 363), and his son or sons were there also, l. c. 364. He was put to death in Gujrāt in 950 (1543). Bird, 260, 261. See Dorn's *Hist. of the Afghāns and Bābar's Memoirs*, 295, for accounts of his defeat by

Ibrāhīm (his nephew). Erskine, *Hist. I*, 422*n.*, remarks on the great age of 'Alā'u-d-dīn as shown by the statement in *Firishta*. He is apparently the man whom the Portuguese saw at Diu in 1535. See Rehatsek, *Calcutta Review*, 1882, No. 147, p. 73, where it is said that one of those present was a brother of the Emperor of Dihlī and apparently seventy years old. He is also probably the 'Ālam Khān of the same article, pp. 960 and 99. The other 'Ālam Khān appears to have been a nephew of Ibrāhīm, and consequently a grand-nephew of the 'Ālam Khān who was 'Alā'u-d-dīn.

¹ Humāyūn's cousin.

² Later on, the name is spelt Faqr. Possibly it should be Fakhr, and it is so spelt in *Badā'ūnī I*, 352.



great importunity and had spent vast sums of money on it, he neither could make up his mind (*rāi*) to retire, nor could he make head (*rāi*) in war. At last he washed his hands of life, and came to an engagement at Mandrāil.¹ After having for a while struggled hand and foot, he became handless and footless and was made the target of fatal arrows, and the harvest of blood-shedding heroes. On the dispersal of this army what the inspired mind had foreseen came to pass, for the two other forces broke up of themselves on the report of the victory and felicity of the conquering army.

¹ Apparently this is the Mandlāer of the *Āin*, Jarrett II, 190, and the Mandalayan or Madracl of Tiefenthaler I, 174. It is in Sarkār Mandlāer, and is, according to Tiefenthaler, two miles west of the Cambal. He describes it as 12 miles S.S.E. of Karauli in which Rājputānā State it seems to be situated. It lies south of

Agra and apparently not far from Biāna. According to Nizāmu-d-dīn and Firishta, Tātār Khan's force was reduced to 2,000 men, and he perished with 300 of his officers after a very gallant fight. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* gives an account of his struggle.



CHAPTER XXIII.

ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-
ĀSHYĀNĪ FOR THE SUBJUGATION OF GUJRĀT, OF THE
DEFEAT OF SULTĀN BAHĀDUR, AND THE
CONQUEST OF THAT COUNTRY.

130 Though the world-conquering heart (of Humāyūn) was void of the thought of the conquest of Gujrāt so long as its ruler trod the path of harmony and sincerity, yet when the Creator wills to adorn a country with the splendour (*far*) of a lawgiver's advent, He inevitably prepareth the means therefor. The actions of the ruler of Gujrāt are a proof of this, for he, out of native arrogance, the assaults of flatterers, abundance of intoxication and intoxicated men, poverty of prudence and of the prudent, broke without object, treaties and visible ties, and became author of many improper acts. Thus it grew imperative for the lofty spirit (of Humāyūn) to march his army towards Gujrāt. Accordingly in the beginning of Jumādal-lawwal, 941, (8th November, 1534), the foot of determination was placed, in a happy hour, in the stirrup of felicity, and the reins of prowess were directed to the subjugation of Gujrāt. When the army approached the fortress of Rāisīn,¹ the garrison submitted entreaties together with rich presents, representing that the fort was his Majesty's, and themselves his Majesty's slaves, and that as soon as the affair of Sultān Bahādur was settled, of what use would the fort be? In fact, as the object in view was the conquest of Gujrāt, the army did not delay here, but marched on towards Mālwa. When the army had encamped at Sārangpūr² the news of its arrival reached Sultān Bahādur who was then besieging Cītōr. He awoke from the sleep of carelessness and sought the advice of his followers.

¹ Fort in Bhōpāl, I. G. and Jarrett II, 199. It was taken by Shēr Shāh in 1545.

² On the Kālī Sind, Dewās State

of the Central Indian Agency, 80 miles from Indore, I. G., Jarrett II, 203, and Tiefenthaler I, 351, who describes it as ruined.



Most were of opinion that as the matter of Cītōr could be settled at any time and the garrison was not giving any annoyance at present, the proper course was to put off the reduction of the fort and to march against the royal army. But Šadr Khān, who was prominent for knowledge and eloquence, and who ranked high in the congress (*jirga*) of soldiers and was renowned for wisdom and counsel, said that the proper thing was to finish the matter of the fortress, already nearly accomplished, and that as they had come out against infidels, the King of Islām would not come against them. Should he do so, they would then be excused if they abandoned a holy war (*ghazā*) and attacked him. This view commended itself to Sultān Bahādur, so he went on with the siege, and on 3rd Ramazān, 941, (8th March, 1535), subdued the fort of Cītōr. Thereupon he marched against the illustrious army which was then encamped at Ujjain.¹ When the news of Sultān Bahādur's audacity reached the royal hearing, his Majesty also accelerated his movements, and the two armies encamped in the territory of Mandasōr,² belonging to Mālwa, on the opposite banks of a lake which for greatness and breadth was a sea. An engagement took place between the van 131 of his Majesty Jahānbānī's army commanded by Bacaka Bahādur, and Sultān Bahādur's van under Sayyid 'Alī Khān and Mīrzā Muqīm, who had the title of Khurāsān Khān, in which the latter was worsted. Sultān Bahādur too was worsted (*shikasta*) in his heart. Taj Khān and Šadr Khān said to him "Our army is flushed with the victory of Cītōr and has not yet greatly felt the force of the royal army; it will address itself to battle with a stout heart. We

¹ In text without *tashdīd*, but see *Āin Bib. Ind.* I, 457.

² Now in Gwālīār. In Jarrett II, 208, spelt Manōsōr. It is about 80 miles north-west of Ujjain and on the north bank of the Seū, a tributary of the Cambal. There is a plan of the British encampment near Mandasūr in Blacker's *Mahratta War*, London 1821, but no lake or tank is shown there. Possibly the lake has dried up since A.F.'s time as had happened with the

Kānkaria reservoir near Ahmadābād, Tiefenthaler I, 378; or perhaps A.F. means Lake Debār which is not very far off and lies between Cītōr and Ujjain. See the Rājputānā Gazetteer III, 12. It is true this lake is said to have been only made in the end of the 17th century, but it may have existed before this. Neither Firishṭa, Niẓāmu-d-dīn nor the *Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī* refers to any lake.



should without delay go forth to fight." Rūmī Khān¹ who commanded the artillery, and all the others, said to the Sultān "We have a grand park of artillery; when we have such a force of firearms, what sense is there in swordplay? The proper course is to make a bulwark of gun carriages (*arāba* lit. carts) and then having put a moat round this, let us first use those arms of long range so that the enemy may be diminished day by day, and be dispersed. Fighting with arrows and swords has its own proper place."

In the end this plan was adopted. There were constant encounters and the Gujrātīs were always defeated.²

The following was one of the fortunate occurrences. One day a number of heroes and choice spirits were banqueting and became heated with wine. Everyone was exhilarated and talked of his exploits. One of them, who was further gone than the others, fell to saying, "How long shall we boast of the past! To-day the enemy is before us. Let us up and at them and so give a specimen of our valour." Ere the reflecting portion of the army could know their design, those wine-flown revellers, about 200 in number, accoutred themselves and set out for the hostile camp. When they approached, a Gujrātī noble, with about 4,000 men who were on guard outside the camp, advanced, and then ensued such an engagement as beggars description. The Gujrātīs gave way and retired to the camp discomfited, whilst the battle-lovers returned in triumph. The report of this daring robbed Sultān Bahādur's army of repose and after it they seldom came outside their fortification of gun-carriages. The

¹ This is Rūmī Khān Khudāwand Khān and not the Rūmī Khān Šafar who built the fort of Surat. Erskine II, 82n. Yet though there were certainly two distinct Rūmī Khāns, Nizāmu-d-dīn gives the name of Khudāwand Khān to the builder of the fort. Elliot V, 347.

² The *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* ascribes this advice to treachery but probably only because Rūmī Khān afterwards deserted Bahādur, being disgusted, it is said, because the Sultān did not fulfil his promise of making

him governor of Cītōr. Bahādur seems to have been misled by his experience in the war between Bābar and Ibrāhīm. He imitated Bābar's plan of entrenching himself, but Humāyūn (perhaps because he had read his father's Memoirs) was more cautious than Ibrāhīm, and instead of dashing himself to pieces against the entrenched camp, destroyed Bahādur's army by cutting off the supplies. Had Ibrāhīm acted with like prudence, the Mughals might never have reigned in India.



victorious soldiers went everywhere, hindering the transport of corn, so that there arose great scarcity in the Gujrātī camp.

On the 'Īd of Ramazān, (4th April, 1535), Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā advanced with 500 or 600 men, and the other side also came forward to fight. After making two or three discharges of arrows the Gujrātīs dispersed, and by this stratagem brought the victorious army within the range of the guns. All at once they opened fire, and on that day some of the king's men were destroyed. After 17 days, when the auspicious hour had arrived, his Majesty Jahānbānī resolved that an attack should be made on the camp of Sultān Bahādur. Meanwhile the fear and distress of the Gujrātīs increased daily, and the conditions of misfortune became more marked. At length by the Divine favour, on the night of Sunday,¹ 21st Shawwāl, (25th April), Sultān Bahādur grew distracted, and ordered that his cannon and great mortars² should be crammed full of powder and set fire to so that they should burst. When evening came, Sultān Bahādur got out by a slit in the enclosure (*sarā-parda*), accompanied by Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh³ and a few others of his intimates and set off for Māndū, taking first the road to Agra in order to throw out pursuers.⁴ Sadr Khān and 'Imādu-l-mulk Khāṣakhaī took, with 20,000 horse, the direct road to Māndū.⁵ Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā went off towards Lāhōr with a body of men in order to stir up a commotion there. That day there was a strange uproar and confusion in the Gujrātī army, nor was the real state of matters known in the royal camp. His Majesty Jahānbānī remained under arms with 30,000 men from evening till morning and awaited the good news of a mysterious victory. At length after one watch (i.e., three hours) of the day it became known that Sultān Bahādur had fled to Māndū. The heroes

¹ Probably Saturday night is meant.

² The *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* speaks of two large mortars known as Laila and Majnūn, Bayley's Gujrāt, 385. See also Jauhar, Stewart, p. 4.

³ Prince of Khāndēsh, sister's son and short-lived successor of Bahādur. Ers. II, 53 and 97.

⁴ Badā'uni I, 346 and Nizāmu-d-

dīn, Elliot V, 192, give an apt chronogram for Bahādur's shameful flight, viz., "Zall-i-Bahādur," "Bahādur's disgrace," but it seems to be out by one year, yielding 942 instead of 941. It may however be taken as referring to the flight from Māndū.

⁵ It is Mandū in text, but Māndū is the more correct spelling.



of the victorious army came to the camp of Sultān Bahādur and set about plundering it. A quantity of spoil, including many elephants, and horses fell into their hands. Khudāwand Khān¹ who had been both preceptor (*ustād*) and finance-minister (*wasīr*) of Sultān Muẓaffar was made prisoner and was treated by his Majesty with great favour and made one of his servants. Yādgar Nāsir Mīrzā, Qāsim Sultān, and Mir Hindū Bēg were despatched with a large force to pursue the routed army.

Verily, whoever consorts with men of darkened understanding, become darkened. Especially shall an evil day come upon the man who violates treaties and engagements, and comes forward as a juggler, and plays the game of deception against such a world-lord who is the cynosure of sincerity and rectitude. In fine, after Ṣadr Khān and 'Imādu-l-mulk had departed, his Majesty's army went straight to the fort of Māndū. His Majesty followed in the wake of his troops, and halted at Na'lea,² and drew his camp round the
133 fort. Rūmī Khān³ deserted the hostile army and entered his Majesty's service and received a robe of honour. On the 14th day⁴ Sultān Bahādur after passing by circuitous routes entered the fort of Māndū by the Cūlī Mahesar⁵ Gate. A talk of an agreement took place, according to which Gujrat and the recently acquired Citor should remain with the Sultān, while Māndū and its territory should belong to his Majesty Jahānbānī. Maulānā Muḥammad Parghālī⁶ on his

¹ This was an old man, and quite different from the two Rūmī Khāns. His proper name was apparently Hājī Anḥammad; Bayley, 312.

² The text has Ghalca, but this is corrected in the *Terrata*. It is mentioned, (Jarrett II, 112 and 207) as a *mehāl* in Sarkār Māndū and is described in Dr. Campbell's account of Māndū, Journal Bomb. R. A. S. XIX, 154 for 1896. He spells it Naālecha and describes it as three miles north of the Dihlī Gate of Māndū.

³ It will be seen from this that Khudāwand Khān, the *wasīr*, and Rūmī Khān are different persons.

According to the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandārī* (Bayley's Gujrat, 386), Rūmī deserted at Mandasōr. The author tells an amusing story, on the authority of his father, about Rūmī Khān's being abused by Bahādur's parrot.

⁴ The month is not given, but it must be Zī-l-qa'da, so the date corresponds to 19th May, 1535. Possibly however what is meant is the 14th day after Humāyūn invested the fort.

⁵ Mentioned as a *mehāl* of Māndū, Jarrett II, 206.

⁶ Text Pīr 'Alī.



Majesty's side and Šadr Khān on behalf of Sultān Bahādur sat down together in the Nili Sabil¹ to make arrangements. At the end of the night the sentinels of the fort left off pacing to and fro, and about 200 soldiers of the victorious army entered at the back, some by placing ladders and some by ropes. Then throwing themselves down from the wall, they opened the fort gate there and brought in their horses and mounted them. Other soldiers entered by the gate. The news was brought to the officer in charge of the works,² Mallū Khān of Māndū, who had the title of Qādir Shāh. He got on horseback and galloped to the Sultān who was still asleep. He (Bahādur) was awakened by Qādir Shāh's cries and, between sleeping and waking, took to flight, and rushed out with three or four others. On the way Bhūpat Rāi,³ son of Silhadī, who was one of his companions, came up from behind and joined him with about twenty horsemen. When they got to the gate opening on the esplanade, about 200 horsemen of the victorious army came forward to intercept them. The Sultān was the first to attack them and he was seconded by some others. At last he and Mallū Khān and one other follower cut their way through and reached the fort of Sungad.⁴ Bahādur lowered down horses from there by ropes, and then letting himself down he after a thousand troubles took the road to Gujrat. Qāsim Husain Khān was standing near the Fort. An Uzbek named Būrī who had deserted from the Sultān's service and become the servant of Qāsim

¹ Blue road. Perhaps this is the Nīlkanth celebrated by Jahāngīr and which was visited by Akbar. See Dr. Campbell's article already cited. I do not however find the name Nīlkanth in the Tūzak. See p. 181 of Sayyid Aḥmad's ed.

² *mūrca*, battery or earthwork. Nizāmu-d-dīn in his history of Gujrat calls it the battery of 700 steps.

³ According to the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, lithog. ed. 279 and Bayley, 388, Bhūpat betrayed Māndū to the enemy in revenge for his father who had been killed in 938 (1532), when fighting against Bahādur. Silhadī

or Šulḥu-d-dīn, his father, was a Hindū and prince of Mālwa. He fought against Bābar at the battle of Khānwā. Bahādur attacked him and deprived him of Rāisīn, &c., because he kept Musalmān women in his harem. He was induced to turn Muḥammadan and his name was altered to Šulḥu-d-dīn. But he recanted and died a Rājpūt's death, a circumstance which may remind us of Cranmer's end. See Bayley, 364.

⁴ It is the inner part or citadel of Māndū. See Dr. Campbell's article. In text it is written Sūkar.



Husain Khān, recognised the Sultān and informed the Khān. But the latter, owing to his length of service,¹ treated what he heard as unheard and so Bahādur carried off half-a-life into safety, and was joined by 1,500 men by the time he had reached Cāmpānīr. When he got there, he sent as much of his treasures and valuables as he could to the port of Diu.²

Now that the narrative has come so far, we cannot avoid giving some account of the beginning of this auspicious victory. As the victorious heroes were so rapid in getting into the fort of Māndū and in performing prodigies of valour there, no authentic news of their success emerged in the early morning. When two hours of day had elapsed his Majesty Jahānbānī heard of the entry, &c., and mounting his horse proceeded towards the fort and entered by the Dihlī gate.³

Ṣadr Khān and his men were meanwhile fighting at the entrance to his house, and though he was wounded he continued firm. At last, the nobles seized his rein and conducted him to Sungad. Many people went with him and took refuge there, and among them was Sultān 'Ālam. The victorious soldiers plundered the houses of the enemy for three days, and then an order was issued for restraining the spoilers. Reliable persons were sent to Ṣadr Khān and Sultān 'Ālam, who inspired them with confidence. After long parleys of little moment, they gave the besieged quarter and brought them out, but as Sultān 'Ālam had several times committed sedition and rebellion, he was hamstrung⁴ and let go. To Ṣadr Khān royal favours were shown. Three days after this victory, his Majesty came down from the fort and proceeded by forced marches to Gujrāt, accompanied

¹ Viz., *kuhna*-*'amalagī*. This is a sneer at old servants whom A. F., being himself a new man, did not like. See a similar use of *kuhna*-*'amala* at 157 l. 9, and also see 139, l. 3.

² Text, *Dīp dīn* but spelt *Dīū* in *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*.

³ The northern gate.

⁴ *Pai karda*. See *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, 258, for account of this man, and also Bayley, 366n. Apparently he was Sultān Ibrāhīm's nephew and con-

sequently grand-nephew of the 'Ālam Khān who called himself Sultān 'Āla'u-d-dīn. He was the son of Jalāl Khān, and at one time was governor of Kālpī. Perhaps Humāyūn was incensed against him because he had proved ungrateful for Humāyūn's kindness in introducing him to Bābar. Bābar's Mem. 349, 375. According to Bayley, 388, he was put to death at Māndū.



by 30,000 chosen horsemen, while the camp was ordered to follow stage by stage.

When the victorious troops came near Cāmpānīr they halted, and drew up by the side of the Piplī Gate near the tank of 'Imādu-l-mulk which is three *kōs* in circumference. When Sultān Bahādūr heard of this, he strengthened the fort and went out by another gate, on the side of the *Shukr* tank, and fled to Cambay. By his instructions the town (Cāmpānīr) was set on fire, but when his Majesty Jahānbānī arrived, he directed the flames to be extinguished. Leaving Mir Hindū Bēg and the rest in Cāmpānīr he took about a thousand horse and set off rapidly in pursuit of Sultān Bahādūr. As soon as the Sultān came to Cambay he hastened to Diu, after setting fire to a hundred warships (*Gharāb*), which he had prepared against the Portuguese, lest the soldiers of the sublime army should embark on them and pursue him. On the same day that he left for Diu, his Majesty Jahānbānī reached Cambay and encamped by the seaside. From thence he despatched a force in pursuit of Sultān Bahādūr. When the Sultān reached Diu, the victorious soldiers returned from its neighbourhood with abundance of booty. By the favours of heaven were 135 Māndū and Gujrāt conquered in 942 (1535). Whoever is stayed upon God and whose standard is a good intention, will assuredly have his desire placed within his bosom.¹

In the beginning of *Sh'abān* of this year, (25th January, 1536), Mirzā Kāmran marched from Lāhōr to Kābul, and after a great battle won a victory over Sām Mirzā,² the brother of *Shāh Tahmāsp* Safavī. The short account of this is as follows. Sām Mirzā came to Qandahār with a large body of *Qizilbāshīs* (*Persians*). *Khawāja Kilān Bēg* had strengthened Qandahār and defended it for eight months. Meanwhile Mirzā Kāmran marched from Lāhōr with a full equipment. A great battle took place between him and Sām Mirzā. *Aghziwār Khān*, one of the great officers of the *Qizilbāshīs* and Sām Mirzā's tutor, was taken prisoner and put to death, and many of the *Qizilbāshīs* perished.³ Mirzā Kāmran returned victorious to Lāhōr,

¹ Cf. the line in preface of *Anwār-i-Suhailī* "No seeker leaves that door without obtaining his desire."

² Then about 20 years of age. He afterwards wrote biographies of

Persian poets. *Rieu's Cat.* I, 367b.

³ There is an account of this victory in the *Tār. Rash.* Ross & Elias, 468. *Ḥaidar* attributes the victory to *Khawāja Kilān*.



and the disturbance caused by Mirzā Muḥammad Zamān was put down. The explanation of this is briefly this. It has been already mentioned that after the defeat of Sultān Bahādur, M. Muḥammad Zamān marched against Lāhōr with the idea of stirring up strife there. When he came to the borders of Sind, Shāh Ḥasain, the son of Shāh Bēg Arghūn and the ruler of Sind, did not give him a place in his own territory, but pointed out Lāhōr to him as M. Kāmran had gone towards Qandahār, and suggested that as such a rich country was unprotected he should go there. The ill-fated Mirzā came to Lāhōr, thinking he had got an open field, and besieged it. Meanwhile M. Kāmran arrived near Lāhōr and beat the drum of superiority. M. Muḥammad Zamān was disconcerted, and saw no resource except to return to Gujrāt. Driven out and abandoned, he went there. In this year Mirzā Ḥaidar Gūrgān came from Kāshghar¹ *via* Badakhshān and joined M. Kāmran in Lāhōr. Next spring Shāh Tahmāsp came in person to the district of Qandahār, and Khwāja Kilān Bēg put all the wardrobes, pantries and other offices in order and sent the keys of the store-houses and of the fort to the Shāh, saying that he had no means of holding the fort and was unable to give battle, and that it was inconsistent with loyalty and his duties as a servant to his master that he should come and do homage to the Shāh. Hence he thought it proper to set his houses in order and to make them over to his guest and for himself to withdraw. He then went by way of Tatta and Ucc² to Lāhōr. M. Kāmran for a month would not allow him to
136 pay his respects, saying "Why could you not have waited till I arrived?" After various transactions M. Kāmran made his preparations and marched against Qandahār for the second time, leaving M. Ḥaidar in charge of Lāhōr. Before this Shāh Tahmāsp had put Bidāgh Khān Qajar,³ one of the great officers, in charge of Qandahār

¹ *Tar. Rash.*, 467. He came from Tibet and Badakhshān.

² In Bahāwalpūr, Panjab, 10 miles S. S. W. Multān. Spelt Āch in text but corrected in errata.

³ Qacar in text, but with variant Qajar. It is the present royal family of Persia. It is curious that Tahmāsp should have, apparently, employed

the same Bidāgh Khān again and sent him with his infant son to accompany Humāyūn. Ḥaidar Mirzā, (*Tar. Rash.*, 405), remarks on the curious readiness with which Bidāgh Khān surrendered to Kāmran, and he does not seem to have been more efficient when attacked by Humāyūn.



and had departed. M. Kāmran arrived and laid siege to Qandahār, and Bidāgh Khān capitulated and retreated. The Mirzā got possession of Qandahār, and after putting it into a condition of defence returned to Lāhōr.

Whither have my words strayed? It is certainly better that I withdraw my hand from these affairs and attach myself to the thread of my design.

When his Majesty Jahānbānī was encamped at Cambay with a small force Malik Ahmad Lāḍ and Rukn Dāūd who were officers of Sulṭān Bahādur, and leading men in Kōliwāra, arranged with the Kōlis and Gawārs¹ of that country that as there were few men with his Majesty Jahānbānī there was a suitable opportunity for making a night attack. They accordingly made preparations. By good fortune an old woman who had heard of this came to the royal enclosure and told one of the attendants that she had urgent business and wished to have a personal interview. As she was very importunate and appeared to be honest she was admitted to the presence, and communicated the plot of the night attack. His Majesty said "Whence comes this well-wishing of yours." She replied "My son has been confined by one of your servants and I want him released as a reward for this well-wishing. If I have spoken falsely, punish both me and my son." In accordance with orders, her son was produced, and a guard placed over them both. As a measure of precaution the troops were got into readiness and drawn off. Near dawn 5 or 6,000 Bhils and Gawārs fell upon the royal enclosures, his Majesty Jahānbānī and the troops having retired to a rising ground. The Gawāns came and proceeded to plunder, and many rare books, which were real companions and were always kept in his Majesty's personal possession, were lost. Among these was the *Timūr-nāma*,² trans-

¹ Text *Kawārān*, but corrected in errata.

² Ers. II. 62n. supposes that this was the *Zufarnāma* of Sharafu-d-dīn. This may be so but *Timūr-nāma* is properly the title of a poem by Hātifi, i.e., 'Abdu-l-lāh, the sister's son of Jāmī. See Rien II, 652 and Bābar's Memoirs, 196. Ers.

takes A.F. to mean that the very copy that was lost was recovered, but A.F. does not clearly say so, and the words "having been recovered" quoted by Ers. do not occur in the text. Probably all that A.F. means is that there is now a *Timūr-nāma* in the imperial library. It is rather grotesque that A.F. should



cribed by Mullā Sultān ‘Alī and illustrated by Ustād Bihzād, and which is now in the Shāhīnshāh’s library. To sum up in a short space of time the breeze of salvation’s morn breathed from fortune’s ascension, and the brave warriors turned upon that mob and discomfited and scattered those hapless wretches by discharges of arrows. That old woman’s face was brightened, and she gained her desire. The majesty of the royal wrath, and the onslaught of o’ermastering rage boiled over and an order was issued for plundering and burning

137 Cambay.² After that the pursuit of Sultān Bahādur was abandoned, and the army returned to Campānir. The fortress³ was besieged for four months. Ikhtiyār Khān, who was sprung from a family of Qāzis in Nariād⁴ which is a town in that country, and who was, for his justice and ability one of the Sultān’s, confidants brought great exertions to bear on the defence of the fort.⁵ In addition to all these

call books Humāyūn’s companions just at the time when he left them behind to be plundered. In Blochmann, 108, mention is made of an illustrated *Ẓafarnāma*, but this was one executed in Akbar’s reign, and from the remark on the preceding page that Akbar had pictures worthy of Bihzād, it would appear that he had not any by Bihzād himself. Bihzād was a famous painter of Sultān Husain Herātī’s Court. See Bābar, 197, who criticises his style of portraying youthful beauty. Blochmann, 1072, says that Bihzād lived at the Court of Shāh Ismāil Ṣāfi, and he may have done so subsequently. Sultān ‘Alī Mashhadī was, according to Bābar, 197, the best writer of the nastālīq character. See also Blochmann, 101. It seems probable that Humāyūn inherited this book from his father, for he had not yet been to Persia himself. The Timurnāma of Hātifi, it may be remarked, is a poem in imitation of one of Nizāmī’s and

more likely to be illustrated than the somewhat ponderous and prosaic *Ẓafarnāma*.

¹ *Shība*, unnecessarily corrected in Errata to *shapa*, i.e., whizzing. See Richardson L.c. 559a and Vullers 490a.

² See Elliot V, 193 and Erskine II. 62n. Ṣadr Khān was killed in the attack by the Gawārs.

³ See description of fort by Col. Miles, Bom. L. S. Transactions I. 150 (reprint of 1877). He spells the name Champaneer.

⁴ Nirbād in text, but corrected in Errata. It was a district in Aḥmadābād Sarkar, Jarrett II, 253, and is now a station on the Aḥmadābād railway. Also a place on the sea-shore in the Surat Sirkār, Jarrett, l.c., 257.

Erskine understands A.F. as meaning that this arrangement about drawing up provisions was made by Ikhtiyār Khān. But I doubt if this is correct. A.F. seems to mean that in addition to all



protections and precautions it happened that from time to time sundry mountaineering (*kūh-nawārd*) woodcutters entered by ravines, which from the density of trees and jungle were difficult for foot passengers to traverse, and of course impracticable for traffic, and for the sake of gain brought corn and ghee, to the foot of the fort in order to sell them at a high price, while men in the fort let down money by ropes and drew up the goods.

As the siege was long drawn out his Majesty Jahānbānī would sometimes visit the different sides of the fort and search for a possible entrance for his army. On one occasion he went forward from the side of Hālul, which is a garden, and fell in with the people who were coming out of the jungle after selling their corn and butter. An order was given to find out what their business was. They said they were woodcutters, but as they had no axes or hatchets with them, their story was not accepted. They were told that they would not escape punishment unless they told the truth. Being helpless they confessed the truth. Upon this they were bidden to go forward and to point out the place. When his Majesty saw it he recognised that it was 60 or 70 yards¹ high and very smooth,² so that it would be very difficult to climb. By his Majesty's orders 70 or 80 iron nails were brought, and driven into the precipice right and left at distances of one yard. The young heroes were bid climb these degrees of daring (*mī'rāj-i-mardānagī*). Thirty-nine had ascended when his Majesty himself wished to climb. Bairām Khān begged him to delay till the men ahead had got higher up. Saying this he himself stepped up, his Majesty Jahānbānī followed him and was the 41st. Standing³

Ikhṭiyār's plans there was this favourable circumstance that the garrison were supplied by the Kōlis. Both Firishṭa and the Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, 391, represent that there was plenty of food in the fort, and the former evidently takes the view that the fort was captured owing to the greed of the Kōlis in selling provisions to the garrison and which led to Humāyūn's exploit, A.F. is favourable to Ikhṭiyār Khān, perhaps on account of his literary

abilities, but Bahādur is said to have had a very low opinion of him, Bayley, 391.

¹ *Gaz.* The exact length does not seem known, but probably was about 33 inches, Jarrett II, 58, and Wilson's Glossary.

² *Hamwārī*. The Brit. Mus. MSS. have the opposite of this, viz., *nāhamwārī*, but *hamwārī* is probably right.

³ i.e., about 300 in all, not 341, see what follows.



138 there he had about 300 men drawn up by this iron ladder. An order was given that the victorious army, which was stationed at the batteries, should attack the fort. The garrison were thrown off their guard, and addressed themselves to repel the men from without and were looking down from the battlements when suddenly the 300 braves came from behind, and overwhelmed the garrison with showers of arrows. And when they realised the fact that his Majesty Jahānbānī in person had ascended the stairs of victory, the bewildered foe crept into hiding-places. The drum of victory beat high, and Ikhtiyār Khān went off to a higher point called Mūliya¹ and there took refuge. Next day they gave him quarter and sent for him. Together with his practical knowledge (*dānish*) and his management of state affairs he was fully possessed of sciences, especially mathematics and astronomy. He was also skilled as a poet and composer of enigmas. He was honoured by being allowed to sit in the assembly of the learned, and was distinguished by princely favours, and was admitted among the intimates of the threshold of sovereignty. One of the eloquent found the date of this victory "*Awal hafta-i-Māh-i-Şafar*,"² i.e., first week of Şafar (943)=19th-26th July, 1536.

As the country of Gujrāt was in the possession of the servants of the empire up to the Mahindri,³ and as no one was appointed to administer the territory on the other side (the West), the peasantry wrote to Sulţān Bahādur and announced that the collections were ready and that a collector of these was necessary; if one were appointed, they would discharge their obligations. All the officers to whom the Sulţān spoke on the subject remained silent. 'Imādu-l-Mulk however had the courage to come forward, and he agreed to accept the office on condition that there should be no questioning afterwards.

¹ In Jarrett II, 256, the upper fort is called Pāwah, but according to Miles Bom. L. S. T. I. 152 (reprint) the proper spelling is Pavanagaḍa, wind-fort.

² The text has mah, but unless we read māh the abjad seems to be incorrect, being 942 instead of 943. Erskine VI, 64. Badāounī, Brit. Ind.

I, 347, has another chronogram "*Nuh Shahr-i-Şafar būd*" according to which the fort was taken on 9 Şafar, 942, or 9th August, 1535. But Şafar is only the second month of the Muḥammadan year, and the operations at Cambay, and the length of the siege seem to require 943.

³ Also called the Mahī L. G. T. V.



as to any land or authority that he should give to any one in order to execute the work of the collection. He proceeded with 200 horse towards Aḥmadābād. On the way he gave written grants,¹ of land to those whom he knew. When he arrived at Aḥmadābād he had collected 10,000 cavalry. He gave everyone who possessed two horses a *lak* of *gujrātīs*. In a short time he had gathered 30,000 cavalry. Mujāhid Khān, Governor of Jūnagadh joined him with 10,000 horse.

At this time his Majesty Jahānbānī on account of the conquest of the fort of Cāmpānīr and of the falling of abundant treasure into his hands was holding magnificent banquets and was constantly arranging royal entertainments on the banks of the Dū Rūya tank. One of the paramount conditions of authority is that special servants and those in near attendance should have certain fixed rules to abide by, and that in every section of them there should be some discreet and prudent person appointed who may continually look after their rising and sitting, their going and coming, and take precautions against evil companionship, which is the father and mother of wrong ideas. Especially is this required at a time when details are veiled from a Lord of the Age by the multiplicity of business. It is fitting that in such circumstances he should appoint right-speaking, right-acting intelligencers who may always bring him correct information of the real state and of the gist of the doings of this body of men. Otherwise many of the narrow-minded become from length of service less susceptible of the prestige of royalty, and the wine of familiarity carries them out of their senses, and leads them into the stumbling of eternal ruin. And great seditions emerge from this intoxication. Accordingly they became apparent on this occasion. The story of this is that on the night of the rejoicing and banquetings on account of the marvellous victories, some feeble souls who were fated to be admitted to the verge of the sublime assemblage, *viz.*, book-bearers, armour-bearers, ink-horn-bearers and the like, happened to have gone to the gardens of Hālūl,² the scent of whose flowers might cure the melancholy, and whose heart-expanding breeze might give motion to congealed³ blood, and to have started a

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¹ *Mawājib* fiefs. For this use of the word see text 1541. 15.

² Four m. from the modern city. Miles.

³ Produce a ferment in sleeping blood or perhaps, blood of a murdered and unregarded man. See Vullers I. 759.



winefeast. In this state of exultation which had put to flight sense and reason, they took up the *Zafarnāma* and read of the beginnings of the victorious career of his Majesty *Ṣāhib Qirānī* (*Timūr*)—how that prince had with him, in the vernal prime of his glory, forty chosen companions, and how one day he took from each a couple of arrows and after tying them all together, gave them to each companion to break. Though each put the bundle across his knee and exerted all his strength, it was of no use. But when he opened the bundle, and gave each two arrows every one broke them. His Majesty had then observed “we are forty persons, if we are united like this bundle of arrows victory will attend us wherever we go.” In accordance with this right thought and lofty idea they girt up their loins of courage and went forth to conquer.¹

Those ignorant fools when they heard this story did not reflect that each one of the forty was a heaven-aided host. They thought merely of the external circumstances and so fell into ruinous imaginings. When they reckoned themselves up they found they were four hundred, and in their madness and folly they conceived that unanimity among 400 persons must be exceeding wrong, and formed the notion of conquering the Deccan. Under this hallucination they proceeded to tread the broad and downward path to destruction. Next day though search was made for those near yet so far (*nazdī-kān-i-dūr*), no trace of them could be found. At last an intimation of their wild idea was obtained, and a thousand men were sent to seize them. They soon brought to Court those fortune-buffed and doomed men, bound neck and hand. It was Tuesday,² a day when his Majesty wore the red vesture of Mars and sate on the throne of wrath and vengeance. The crowd of criminals were brought forward, 140 section by section, and each of them received sentences fitting

¹ I have not found this story in *Sharafu-d-dīn* though at I. 75, Bibl. Ind. ed. there is an allusion to *Timūr*'s having forty followers. The same story is told of *Cangiz Khān* who when on his deathbed used the illustration of weapons tied together and separate, to teach the necessity of union to his sons. See

Petit de la Croix's life, quoted by *Erdmann* 639, and 442.

² *Humāyūn* assigned particular days of the week to certain duties. Thus Monday being Mars-day, was one of that assigned to the administration of Criminal Justice. See extract from *Khawānd Amīr* in *Elliot* V. 121 and A. F.'s text I. 358 and 361



their destiny, and the requirements of complete justice. Some they bound and made trodden under the feet of mountain-like elephants. Many who had carried their heads beyond the line of respect received distinction by the removal of the burden of their heads from their bodies. A number who, not distinguishing between their feet and their hands, had clapped their hands at seditious thoughts were made handless and footless. A set of them who from arrogance (*khud-bīnī* lit. self-contemplation) had not kept their ears for the royal commands found ears and nose gone from their places, others who had laid the fingertip of intent on the edge of misfeasance saw no more the figure of a finger in their hand.¹

After executing these judgments and orders the time of evening prayer arrived. The Imām, who was not void of obtuseness, at the first genuflection recited the Sūra '*A-lam tara kaifa*' "Hast thou not seen how." After the conclusion of the service the order of vengeance² was issued that the Imām be thrown under the foot of an elephant because he had designedly and allusively recited the chapter of the elephant, and had degraded justice to tyranny, and had uttered an evil presage.³ Maulānā Muḥammad Parghālī⁴ represented that the Imām did not know the meaning of the Qurān. But as the fire of wrath was darting tongues of flame he got no reply except abusive

¹ Erskine justly remarks that these details are very disgusting, and exhibit the wretched punning propensity of our James I., but on an occasion when it is not ridiculous but revolting. The sentences pronounced depend on idiomatic Persian phrases, hardly translatable. A. F.'s poor wit may be paralleled by a too-famous passage in *Paradise Lost*, B. VI, but at least it may be said that Milton puts his jests into the mouths of devils.

² *Hukm-i-gardūn-intiqām*, lit., the order of the sphere of vengeance. Vullers s. v. quotes the *Bahār-i-'Ajām* as giving *gardūn* the meaning of executioners.

³ Apparently the *fāl-i-bad* was that Humāyūn would be destroyed like the impious king of Yaman. Is it possible that Humāyūn thought the Imām was playing on the word *kaifa*, which in Persian means intoxication, and was suggesting that he was drunk? As Erskine remarks, the Sūra does not seem to contain much matter of offence. Probably however the reference to the elephant was enough.

⁴ It is pleasant to find this man, of whom Ḥaidar Mirzā speaks so ill, *Tar. Rash.* 398, acting properly and courageously. He was afterwards drowned at Causa.



epithets. After a time when the light of the Imām's simplicity shone on the marge of his holy heart and the conflagration of the flames of wrath was stayed, he expressed much regret and spent the whole night in sorrow and weeping.¹

After the completion of this affair Tardī Bēg Khān was left in Cāmpānīr, and the royal standards proceeded towards Aḥmadābād, and encamped on the bank of the Mahindrī.² 'Imādu-l-Mulk had the courage to advance, and to make a march for each one that the royal army made. Between Nariād and Maḥmūdābād³ he encountered Mīrzā 'Askarī who was in the van and several stages ahead (of the main body). A great battle ensued, and the Mīrzā was worsted until Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, Qāsim Ḥusain Khān and Hindū Bēg arrived with a large body of men and unfurling the flag of fortune proclaimed to the enemy the approach of the imperial ensigns with a "Lo, the sublime army has arrived." The utterance of this word, and its sound reaching the ears of the enemy were simultaneous with Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā's victory and the defeat of the foe. As Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā was ahead of all, the brunt of the battle fell upon him. On the side of the enemy 'Ālam Khān Lōdī⁴ and some others offered opposition till Imādu-l-mulk retired half dead. Darwēsh Muḥammad Qarāshīr, father of Shujā'at Khān,⁵ obtained martyrdom in this engagement. Meanwhile the flashing of the royal standards appeared and victory upon victory disclosed itself. After the arrival of the sublime army 3 to 4,000 of the enemy were slain. His Majesty

¹ A.F. does not clearly say that the order to trample the Imam to death was carried out, but Erskine says it was, and A. F.'s silence implies this. Had Hufāyūn repented in time, we should have had a flourish of trumpets about the imperial clemency.

² Or Mahī. Cāmpānīr is upwards of 60 miles E. S. E. Aḥmadābād, but is visible from the minaret of the Jāma' Masjid, Miles.

³ Jarrett II. 241, now a station on the Bomb. Baroda and Central I. Ry. It lies south-east of Aḥmadābād and

is, as A.F. states, nearly half-way between Nariād (spelt Nadiād in time-tables) being 11 miles from Nariād and 10 from Aḥmadābād.

⁴ It does not appear who this 'Ālam Khān is. He can hardly be the man who was mutilated at Cāmpānīr and yet possibly he is. If he was the No. III of Bayley then his real name was Ṣafdar Khān and he was perhaps not a Lōdī at all. See p. 329.

⁵ Also called Muqīm-i-'Arab, Blochmann, 371.



asked Khudāwand Khān¹ if there was likelihood of another battle, and he replied that if that leprous slave, meaning 'Imādu-l-mulk, had been personally in the fight, it was over, and if he had not been there was likelihood of another bloody² bout. Men were appointed to inquire into this matter, and from two wounded men, who were lying half dead among the dead, it was ascertained that 'Imādu-l-mulk had commanded in person. Next day the grand army marched on and then halted, M. 'Askarī going on as before in front. When the army had encamped on this side of the Kankariyā³ tank M. 'Askarī represented that if the whole camp entered the city, the inhabitants would be harassed. An order was given that provost-marshal (yasāmalān) be stationed at every gate of the city and that they should admit no one except M. 'Askarī and his men.

The army encamped on the delightful spot of Sarkāj, and on the third day his Majesty, attended by many of his courtiers, came to the city. After that he gave his attention to the affairs of Gujrāt and settled them in a proper manner. Hindū Bēg was stationed there with a large force in order that he might go wherever he was required. Pattan was given to Mirzā Yādgar Nāsir; Broach, Nansārī and the port of Surat to Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān;⁴ Cambay, and Baroda to Dōst Bēg Īshak Āqā; and Maḥmūdābād to Mir Būcaka.

When the affairs of Gujrāt had been settled his Majesty proceeded towards the port of Dīu. When the army was leaving Dandūqa, which is 30 *kōs* (W. S. W.) from Aḥmadābād, representations came from Agra, the capital, to the effect that as his Majesty was far from the seat of Government rebellious men had raised the head of disaffection, and extended the arm of strife. Couriers too

¹ This is probably the Wazīr and not Rūmī Khān. The expression used by him about 'Imādu-l-mulk may refer to his being a Circasian (according to Firishṭa) and to his grandfather's having been a slave. Bayley 233; 235. Firishṭa says he was the son of a Cangiz Khān.

² See Tiefenthaler I. 378, who states that in his time the tank was nearly dried up. It was cleared

out by Mr. Borrodaile in 1872. Bom. Gaz. IV. 17 and Hope's Aḥmadābād. It lies north of Aḥmadābād. In text the name is wrongly spelt Kangareyā. It means the limestone or pebble tank. It is also called the Haṇṣ-i-Qūṭ and was made in 1451. It covers 72 acres.

³ A grandson of Sultān Ḥusain of Herāt. Bābar's Mem. 353.



arrived from Mālwa and reported that Sikandar Khān¹ and Mallū Khān had sallied forth and fallen upon Mihtar Zambūr the Jagīrdār of Hindīā² and that he had taken his property with him and came to Ujjain, and that all the soldiers who were stationed here and there in that province had collected there, that the authors of strife had assembled in great numbers and were besieging the city, and that

142 Darwēsh 'Alī Kitābdār (librarian) had received a gunshot wound and had died, and that the rest of the besieged had asked for quarter and had submitted. His Majesty thereupon determined to return and to make Māndū his capital for a time, so that Mālwa might be cleared of rebels, and also that the newly conquered Gujrāt might be brought into order, and also that the flames of disaffection which had blazed forth in the settled portion of the empire might be extinguished. Accordingly having made over Gujrāt to M 'Askarī and a number of officers he turned his rein and halted at Cambay. From thence he went to Baroda and Broach and from thence to Surat, and from thence to Āsir³ and Burhānpūr. He stopped seven days in Burhānpūr and then marched on and passing under the fort of Āsir established himself at Māndū. As soon as the disaffected heard the sound of the return of the royal standards, they were troubled and crept into corners. His Majesty found the climate of Mālwa agreeable to his constitution and made many of his servants jāgīrdārs thereof. And the gates of success and satisfaction of desires were thrown open to the world.

¹ Apparently the Governor of Sīwās who was afterwards killed with Bahādur at Diu, Bayley 349, &c.

² In Hōshangābād, Central Prov.

I. G., S. V. Handīa and Jarrett II. 207 where it is spelt Hindīah.

³ Āsirgarh in Nimār, Central Provinces.



CHAPTER XXIV.

MIRZĀ 'ASKARĪ LEAVES GUJRĀT WITH REBELLIOUS DESIGNS.

Of a surety, a grandee who does not recognise the force of kindness and prestige, and takes the road of ingratitude, smites his own foot with a hatchet,¹ and of his own act falls into the hell of ruin. The story of the doings of Mirzā 'Askarī and the officers of Gujrāt is a proof of this, for owing to the smallness of their capacities a little success made them give way to rebellious thoughts. From immoderate living there arose the beginnings of mutual strife and their actions were darkened by the mist of dissimulation. Accordingly after about three months the enemy stirred up commotion. Khān Jahān of Shīrāz and Rūmī Khān, who had the name of Safar and who is the builder of the fort of Surat, united and took possession of Nausarī which was held by 'Abdullāh Khān, a relative of Qāsim Husain Khān Ūzbēg. 'Abdullāh Khān left that quarter and came to Broach. About this time they also took the port of Surat. Khān Jahān marched by land to Broach, while Rūmī Khān came there by sea with warships carrying guns and muskets. Qāsim Husain Khān lost his head (lit. lost hands and feet), and hurried to Cāmpānīr, and then from there went on to Aḥmadābād to Mirzā 'Askarī and Hindū Bēg in search of help. Sayyid Ishāq who had received 143 from Sultān Bahādur the title of Shitāb Khān (the swift Khān) took possession of Cambay, and Yādgar Nāsir Mirzā went off from Pattān to Aḥmadābād at the summons of 'Askarī Mirza. Daryā Khān and Muḥāfiẓ Khān set out from Rāisin and were going towards the Sultān at Din, when finding Pattān empty (i.e., undefended), they took possession of it. From want of union and want of counsel things came to such a pass that one Ghazanfar² (the lion), a

¹ A proverbial expression. See Roebuck's *Oriental Proverbs*, Part I. No. 103.

² Blochmann, 348 and Elliot, V

197. He was brother of Mahār Qāsim Khān and foster-brother of 'Askarī.

servant of Yādgar Nāṣir Mirzā deserted with 300 horse and joined Sultān Bahādur. He invited the Sultān to come (to Aḥmadābād) and letters of loyalists followed in succession, so that Sultān Bahādur marched towards Aḥmadābād, and soon halted near Sarkēj. 'Askarī Mirzā, Yādgar Nāṣir Mirzā, Hindū Bēg, and Qāsim Ḥusain Khān proceeded with nearly 20,000 horse and confronted the Sultān in the rear of Asāwal. They faced him for three days and nights, and then, as they were neither loyal to his Majesty Jabānbānī nor clear-headed they, out of a darkened understanding and evil thoughts, went off without fighting to Cāmpānīr. Much mischief ensued.

'Tis evident how far they carried the eating of the salt and the breaking the salt-cellar on the table-top¹ and how in the domain of thanksgiving they trod the arena of crime and the field of little service. Good God, I understand their lack of fidelity, which is a priceless jewel and of rare occurrence in this wicked world, but why should they drop from their hands the coin of common sense which is negotiable every where? In fine, Sultān Bahādur who had been in a thousand anxieties, grew bold and pursued them. Sayyid Mubārak of Bukhārā was at the head of the vanguard and came near the imperial army. Yādgar Nāṣir Mirzā who commanded in the rear turned and fought bravely with the result that many of the Sultān's vanguard were killed, while the Mirzā was wounded in the arm. The enemy halted at Maḥmūdābād, and the Mirzā joined the main army. As M. 'Askarī had lost heart he incontinently crossed the Mahindrī which was in front of him, and many of the soldiers lost their lives in its floods. The Sultān arrived at the edge of the river and the Mirzā went on to Cāmpānīr. Tardī Bēg Khān made arrangements for their entertainment, and then went back to his post.

Next day the Mirzās sent a treacherous message to Tardī Bēg Khān to the effect that they were in distress, and their army in evil case, and begged that he would send them by way of assistance a portion of the fort treasures in order that they might give it to their soldiers. When they had refreshed themselves, they would use
144 diligence to attack the enemy. They were reporting to Māndū, where the imperial camp was, but it would take a courier six days to

¹ A proverbial expression. Cf. Roebuck, l. c. p. 377, No. 2023 and

p. 392, No. 2129 and Vullers, s. v. *namak* 1351a.



get there. Tardī Bēg Khān did not consent to this, and the Mīrzās plotted to seize him so that they might get hold of the whole of the treasure, and establish the sovereignty in the name of M. 'Askarī. If they defeated Sultān Bahādūr so much the better, but if not, as his Majesty Jahānbānī liked the Mālwa climate, and the territory of Agra, the capital, was undefended, they would go there. Tardī Bēg Khān came down from the fort and was going to wait upon the Mīrzās when he got wind of this plot. He hastened back to the fort and sent word to the Mīrzās that it was not fitting for them to remain there. They sent back a message that they were leaving, but asked him to come that they might discuss sundry matters with him and bid him farewell. He knew their design and returned a suitable answer, and next morning opened fire on them. The Mīrzās went off with evil intentions and proceeded by Ghāt Karjī¹ towards Agra. So long as the victorious (?) army was in the neighbourhood of Cāmpānīr the Sultān did not cross the Mahindrī which is 15 *kōs* from Cāmpānīr. But when news came that the Mīrzās had retreated and gone off towards Agra with evil designs, the Sultān crossed the river and came to attack Cāmpānīr. Tardī Bēg Khān, in spite of the strength of the fort, and the store of preparations there abandoned the fort and took the road of safety. He reached Māndū and had the honour of paying his respects. He made known to his Majesty the Mīrzās' evil intentions and his Majesty on being apprized thereof hastened by way of Cītōr so that the Mīrzās might not get to Agra before him. By good fortune he came up with them on the way, near Cītōr. The helpless Mīrzās submitted to his Majesty and he out of innate kindness and clemency did not regard their offences and made universal forgiveness, the intercessor for their faults. He made liberality to supplement forgiveness and distinguished them by princely gifts.

One of the evils of the time which were the cause² of his Majesty's returning from this country to Agra was that Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā and his son Ulugh Mīrzā, who had deviated from the

¹ I have not found this place.

² Khāfī Khān, Bib. Ind. I, 80, and Ferishta give the real reason of the disastrous change in Humāyūn's

affairs, viz., that he had been living at Māndū or Shādīabād (abode of joy) as it was called, and had been enslaved by opium.



highway of obedience and become rebellious, as has been already mentioned, emerged at this time, owing to their constitutional worthlessness, from the corner of contempt and raised the head of molestation. Thus did those who had been appointed to blind him receive a lesson.¹ They now attacked pargana Bilgrām² and then proceeded to Qanauj. The sons of Khusrau Kōkaltāsh,³ who were there asked quarter and yielded up Qanauj to them. M. Hindāl who was in Agra, went forth to quell this disturbance, and the two armies met after he had crossed the Ganges at Bilgram. A battle ensued, and as the vogue of rebels and strife mongers is like a grass-fire the flames were extinguished in a moment by the blowing of Fortune's gale. The north⁴ wind of victory blew and the victorious army pursued and came to Oudh.⁵ There Ulugh Bēg M. and his sons had gathered an army and again offered battle. Meanwhile the news came of the arrival of the victorious army from Gujrāt to Agra. The wretched enemy again fought and were again defeated. Mirzā Hindāl returned victorious and kissed the sublime threshold. When the grand army of his Majesty Jahānbānī arrived at Agra Bhūpāl Rāi, governor of Bijāgaḍa (in Nimār), finding the fort of Māndā undefended boldly entered it, and Qādir Shāh returned to Māndū, and also Mirān Muḥammad Fārūqī came there from Burhānpūr. Sultān Bahādūr after staying about two weeks in Cāmpānīr returned to Diu. When his Majesty Jahānbānī and the invincible fortune of his family had turned away from Bahādūr with glories of power and majesty, an event⁶ which he thought to be to his advantage became the cause of his ruin. For after being routed by the victorious army, and after

¹ At p. 124 of text A.F. says that M. Sultān was blinded, but here he seems to imply that the operation was not effectual. See Erskine II, 14. M. Sultān is a different person from M. Zamān though both were grandsons of Sultān Ḥasan of Herāt. M. Sultān was a daughter's son, Blochmann, 462.

² In Hardoi, a district of Oudh, Jarrett 173, 178 and 145 and I. G. II, 455.

³ Bābar's Mem. 363 and 364.

⁴ It appears from Jauhar, Stewart 8, that A.F. is here referring to the fact that a North-Wester blowing in the face of the rebels was the cause of their discomfiture. See also Erskine II, 90.

⁵ Qr. the town of Ayōdhyā.

⁶ Apparently the meaning is that Humāyūn's departure which Bahādūr might think an advantage eventually turned out to be his destruction by leading to his death at the hands of the Portuguese.



beholding the impact of the majestic troops he sent persons with presents to the Feringhī Viceroy ¹ who was the Warden of the Ports, and invited him to come to him. At the time when M. 'Askari' went off from Gujrāt and the Sultān had come to Diu, the Viceroy arrived there by sea with ships and soldiers. When he learned the state of affairs he grew apprehensive, lest now that the Sultān was independent of his help he would act perfidiously after an interview. He therefore feigned illness and sent messengers to the Sultān to say that he had come in compliance with his request and would wait upon him as soon as he was better. The Sultān left the highway of caution and on 3 Ramazān 943 (13th February, 1537), at the close of the day, went by boat to inquire after the Viceroy's health. As soon as he arrived he saw that the illness was feigned, and reporting that he had come he immediately proceeded to return. The Feringhīs thought that "when such a prey has come into our grasp it will be well if we get some harbours out of him." The Viceroy intercepted him and requested him to stay till some presents should be brought before him. The Sultān said "send them afterwards," and saying this he hastily went towards his own vessel. The Feringhī Qāzī ² stopped him and bade him wait and the Sultān impatiently drew his sword and clove him to the waist. He then jumped from their vessel on to his own. The Portuguese boats which were round about closed in upon her and a 146 fight began. The Sultān and Rūmī Khān ³ flung themselves into the sea. A Feringhī acquaintance of Rūmī Khān drew him out, but the Sultān was drowned,⁴ and his attendants also perished. The chrono-

¹ نرسی representing the Portuguese Viserei. His name was Nano da Cunha.

² Apparently Manuel de Sousa, Governor of Diu. Qāzī seems used here for Magistrate or Governor.

³ This Rūmī Khān was himself an European, which may account for his being saved by a Portuguese. Barros says he was the son of an Albanian father and an Italian mother and was born at Brindisi, and first came to the east on the

fleet of the corsair Sulaimān in 1516 (Conti says his birthplace was Otranto). He built the fort of Surat, apparently in 947 and not in 930, as stated by Anquetil du Perron. See Blochmann, 354. The Portuguese called him Khwāja Šafar and Šafar Āghā. He was killed at the siege of Diu in 1546.

⁴ The accounts of Bahādur's death are very conflicting, and it is difficult to decide how he came by his death. My friend Mr. Whiteway has refer-



grām is *Faringiyān-i-Bahādur-kush*¹ (943=1531). And some used to say that he (Bahādur) came to the surface and reached the shore in safety. And subsequently there were reports in Gujrāt and the Deccan of his having been seen by people. For instance, on one occasion a person appeared in the Deccan whom the Nizāmu-l-Mulk acknowledged, and played *Caugān* (polo) with. A crowd gathered round him, and the Nizām perceiving this resolved to put him to death. On that same night he disappeared from his tent, and people concluded that the Nizām had destroyed him. One day Mīr Abū Turāb² who is one of the Gujrāt grandees, related that Mullā Qutb-u-d-dīn of Shīrāz, who was Sultān Bahādur's preceptor, was at that time in the Deccan and that he took an oath that the man was certainly Sultān Bahādur, and that he had spoken to him of certain matters only known to themselves, and had received intelligent replies. It cannot be said that in the wide kingdom of God's power such things are impossible.

In fine, when Sultān Bahādur had thus disappeared in the sea, and his officers were sitting in the dust (i.e., were in mourning),

red me to a long and interesting account by Correa. Naturally this man puts the blame on Bahādur. It would be more satisfactory if we could get the official report on the occurrence which must surely be somewhere in the Portuguese archives. No doubt the responsibility of explaining Bahādur's death rests on the Portuguese for he was their guest or at least visitor, and was killed among their ships. There is a long account of the affair in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, p. 28 *et seq.* See also Bayley's *Gujrāt*. There is this to be said for the Muhammadan chroniclers that they do not represent Bahādur as guiltless in the matter. They represent him as trying to outwit the Portuguese and anxious to get the viceroy into his power. They are therefore more honest than the Portuguese

who try to make out that Bahādur went on board to kill the viceroy and that the Portuguese were altogether blameless. Probably the truth is that Bahādur went on board in order to induce the viceroy to return with him, that the viceroy on the other hand wanted to detain him, and that then a scuffle arose in which Bahādur was slain. It is curious that the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* does not mention Šafar Āghā in his list of Bahādur's companions, and that he says they all likewise perished.

¹ "Feringis, slayers of Bahādur" (or "of heroes"). A more poetical chronogram was devised by Ikhtiyār Khān, viz., *Sultānu-l-bar-Shahīdu-l-bahr*: "Monarch ashore, Martyr asea." This also makes 943.

² Blochmann, 506.



Muhammad Zamān Mirzā put on blue clothes as mourning for the Sultān, and by hypocritical means got a portion of the treasures of Gujrāt into his possession, while another portion fell into the hands of the Feringhīs, and some was plundered. He also called himself the son¹ of Sultān Bahādur's mother, and sometimes demanded from the Feringhīs satisfaction for the murder, and sometimes secretly sent them large sums of money in order that they might use their influence in having him acknowledged as sovereign (lit. recite the *Khutba* in his name). So that for some days they read the *Khutba* in his name in the Şafā² Mosque. And he for some time went about as an adventurer till at last 'Imādu-l-mulk brought an army against him and defeated him. From thence he being helpless and ashamed cast a glance of hope towards kissing the threshold of his Majesty Jahānbānī, as will be hereafter related in its proper place. But leaving such matters, to speak of which is to indulge in amplifications and rhetoric, I proceed to my proper subject.

When his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī arrived at the capital the audacious spirits of that neighbourhood who had raised the head of refractoriness, and extended the neck of dispute came into subjection and obedience, and made tribute the material of their own peace and safety. The dominions became adorned with repose and steadfastness.

¹ See *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* 293.

² I do not know where this is. The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* lith. ed., p. 293, says that M. Zamān was near Ūnah which is 3 kos from Diu, and that he there set himself up as Sultān. Ūnah is referred to in Jarrett II, 244 and 247 and 258. See also I. G. art.

Una. The *Mirāt* says 'Imādu-l-mulk defeated M. Zamān-at-Zamār in Surat (*Kāthiāwār*) near Ūnah. Probably the mosque in question is in Diu for Mr. Whiteway tells me that the Portuguese authorities say that the *Khutba* was read for a time in M. Zamān's name in Diu.



CHAPTER XXV.

MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHIYĀNĪ TO SUBDUE
BENGAL; HIS CONQUEST OF THAT COUNTRY AND RETURN
TO THE CAPITAL, AND WHAT HAPPENED IN
THE MEANWHILE.

When the world-adorning mind had finished the affairs of those regions, (i.e., Agra and the territories referred to at end of last chapter) his princely genius addressed itself to the arrangements for an expedition to Gujrāt, so that he might again turn the reins of his intent towards that province and might, contrary to former dispositions, make over its management to men whose behaviour should show steadiness in administration, and whose proceedings should not be characterised by mutability and confusion. He purposed that when his mind was at ease with regard to the settlement of the province, he would return to the capital. Meanwhile news came of the emergence of Shēr Khān and of his commotions in the eastern provinces. Hence the design of subduing Bengal, which had entered his Majesty's heart before the affairs of Gujrāt and had been put off on account of the latter now revived, and orders were issued to make preparations for an expedition to Bengal. It was decided that Shēr Khān should be put down and the territories of Bengal subdued.

ACCOUNT OF SHĒR KHĀN.¹

This Shēr Khān belonged to the Afghān tribe of Sūr. His old name was Farīd, and he was the son of Ḥasan, the son of Ibrāhīm Shērakhail. Ibrāhīm was a horse-dealer, nor had he any distinction among the crowd of tradesmen. His native country was the village

¹ A. F.'s account is inferior to Nizāmu-d-dīn's (copied by Firishtā) and to Khāfi Khān's. See also Dorn's

History of the Afghāns, p. 80 *et seq.* and Garcin de Tassy's translation of the Chronicle of Shēr Shāh.