THE

TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES

OF THE TURKISH ADMIRAL

SIDI ALI REÎS

IN INDIA, AFGHANISTAN, CENTRAL ASIA, AND PERSIA,
during the Years 1553—1556.

TRANSLATED FROM THE TURKISH, WITH NOTES,

BY

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1899.
When Sultan Suleiman had taken up his winter-residence in Aleppo, I, the author of these pages, was appointed to the Admiralship of the Egyptian fleet, and received instructions to fetch back to Egypt, the ships (15 galleys), which some time ago had been sent to Basrah on the Persian Gulf. But, 'Man proposes, God disposes.' I was unable to carry out my mission, and as I realized the impossibility of returning by water, I resolved to go back to Turkey by the overland route, accompanied by a few tried and faithful Egyptian soldiers. I travelled through Gujarat, Hind, Sind, Balkh, Zabulistan, Bedakhshan, Khotlan, Turan, and Iran, i.e. through Transoxania, Khorassan, Kharezm, and Deshti-Kiptchak; and as I could not proceed any further in that direction, I went by Meshed and the two Iraks, Kazwin and Hamadan, on to Bagdad.

Our travels ended, my companions and fellow-adventurers persuaded me to write down our experiences, and the dangers through which we had
The beginning of the story passed, an accurate account of which it is almost impossible to give; also to tell of the cities and the many wonderful sights we had seen, and of the holy shrines we had visited. And so this little book sees the light; in it I have tried to relate in simple and plain language, the troubles and difficulties, the suffering and the distress which beset our path, up to the time that we reached Constantinople. Considering the matter it contains this book ought to have been entitled, "A tale of woe," but with a view to the scene of action I have called it "Mirror of Countries," and as such I commend it to the reader's kind attention.

II.

The beginning of the story.

When the illustrious Padishah was holding his court at Aleppo, in Ramazan of the year 960 (1552), I was commanded to join the army.

I celebrated Ramzam-Bairam in attendance on His Majesty, later on however, I went to Sidi-Ghazi, made a pilgrimage in Konia to the tomb of Molla-i-Rümi, and visited the shrines of the Sultan ul-Ulema, and Shemsı Tebrizi, and of the Sheikh's Sadr-ed-din-
The beginning of the story

Koniavi; at Kassarie I made a pilgrimage to the graves of the Sheikh's Awhad-ed-din Kirmani, Burham-ed-din, Baha-ed-din Zade, Ibrahim Akserayi and Davud Kaissari. Returned to Haleb (Aleppo), I visited the graves of Daud, Zakeriah and Balkiah, as also those of Saad and Said, companions of the Prophet. The Kurban-Bairam I spent again in attendance on the Sultan.

I must here mention that Piri Bey, the late Admiral of the Egyptian fleet, had, some time previous to this, been dispatched with about 30 ships¹ (galleys and galleons) from Suez, through the Red sea, touching Jedda and Yemen, and through the straits of Bab-i-Mandeb, past Aden and along the coast of Shahar². Through fogs and foul weather his fleet became dispersed, some ships were lost, and with the remainder he proceeded from Oman to Muscat, took the fortress and made all the inhabitants prisoners; he also made an incursion into the islands of Ormuz and Barkhat, after which he returned to Muscat. There he learned from the captive Infidel captain that the Christian (Portuguese) fleet was on its way, that therefore any further delay was inadvisable, as in case it arrived he would not be able to leave

¹ In the text these are specified as Bashtarda, Kadirga, Kalta and Kalium.
² Shahar is the name of the coastline between Oman and Aden.
the harbour at all. As a matter of fact it was already too late to save all the ships; he therefore took only three, and with these just managed to make his escape before the arrival of the Portuguese. One of his galleys was wrecked near Bahrein, so he brought only two vessels back to Egypt. As for the remainder of the fleet at Basrah, Kubad Pasha had offered the command of it to the Chief Officer, but he had declined, and returned to Egypt by land.

When this became known in Constantinople the command of the fleet had been given to Murad Bey formerly Sanjakbey of Catif, then residing in Basrah. He was ordered to leave two ships, five galleys, and one galleon at Basrah and with the rest, i.e. 15 galleys (one galley had been burned in Basrah) and two boats, he was to return to Egypt. Murad Bey did start as arranged, but opposite Ormuz he came upon the Infidel (Portuguese) fleet, a terrible battle followed in which Suleiman Reis, Rejeb Reis, and several of the men, died a martyr's death. Many more were wounded and the ships terribly battered by the cannonballs. At last night put a stop to the fight. One boat was wrecked off the Persian coast, part of the crew escaped, the rest were taken prisoners by the Infidels, and the boat itself captured.

When all this sad news reached the capital, towards the end of Zilhija of the said year 960 (1552), the
The beginning of the story

author of these pages was appointed Admiral of the Egyptian fleet.

I, humble Sidi Ali bin Hüsein, also known as Kiatibi-Rumi (the writer of the West, i.e. of Turkey), most gladly accepted the post. I had always been very fond of the sea, had taken part in the expedition against Rhodes under the Sultan (Suleiman), and had since had a share in almost all engagements, both by land and by sea. I had fought under Khaireddin Pasha, Sinan Pasha, and other captains, and had cruised about on the Western (Mediterranean) sea, so that I knew every nook and corner of it. I had written several books on astronomy, nautical science, and other matters bearing upon navigation. My father and grandfather, since the conquest of Constantinople, had had charge of the arsenal\(^1\) at Galata; they had both been eminent in their profession and their skill had come down to me as an heirloom.

The post now entrusted to me, was much to my taste and I started from Aleppo for Basrah, on the first of Moharram of the year 961 (7 Dec. 1553). I crossed the Euphrates at Biredjik and when in Reka (i.e. Orfah), I undertook a pilgrimage to the

\(^1\) The word here used is the old and correct one, Dar-es-sena (the house of technics), from which word the present Tersane, i.e. Arsenal, has originated.
tomb of Abraham, having visited on the way between Nisebin and Mossul the holy graves of the prophets Yunis and Djerdjis and of the sheikh's Mohammed Garabili, Feth Mosuli and Kazib-elban-Mosuli. On the way to Bagdad I made a little detour from Tekrit to Samira, and visited the graves of Iman Ali-el-Hadi and Iman Haman Askeri, after which I came past the towns of Ashik¹ and Maashuk, and through Harbi, past the castle of Semke, on to Bagdad. We crossed the Tigris near Djisr(?) and, after visiting the graves of the saints² there, I continued my journey past the fortress of Tëir, to Bire, and crossing the Euphrates near the little town of Masib, I reached Kerbela (Azwie), where I made a pilgrimage to the graves of the martyrs Hasan and Husein. Turning into the steppe near Shefata, I reached Nedjef (Haira) on the second day, and visited the graves of Adam, Noah, Shimun and Ali, and from there proceeded to Kufa, where I saw the mosque with the pulpit under which the prophets

¹ Ashik is now a ruin opposite Samira.
of the house of Ali are buried, and the tombs of Kamber and Duldul. Arrived at the fortress of Hasinia, I visited the grave of the prophet Zilkefl, the son of Aaron, and in Hilla I made pilgrimages to the graves of Iman Mohammed Mehdi and Iman Akil, brother of Ali, and also visited there the mosque of Shem. Again crossing the Euphrates, (this time by a bridge), I resumed my journey to Bagdad and went from there by ship to Basrah. On the way we touched Medain, saw the grave of Selmas Faris, admired Tak Kesri and the castle of Shah Zenan, and went past Imare Bugazi, on the road of Vasit to Zekya, past the strongholds of Adjul and Misra to Sadi-es Sueiba and on to Basrah, where I arrived towards the end of Safar of the said year (beginning of February 1554).

III.

About what happened in Basrah.

On the day after my arrival I had an interview with Mustafa Pasha, who, after seeing my credentials, made over to me the 15 galleys which were needing a great deal of repair. As far as could be, they were put in order, calked and provided with guns which,
however, were not to be had in sufficient quantity either from the stores there or from Ormuz. A water supply had also to be arranged for, and as it was yet five months before the time of the monsoon\(^1\), I had plenty of leisure to visit the mosque of Ali and the graves of Hasan Basri, Talha, Zobêir, Uns-bin-Malik, Abdurrahman-bin-Anf, and several martyrs and companions of the Prophet. One night I dreamed that I lost my sword, and as I remembered that a similar thing had happened to Sheikh Muhieddin and had resulted in a defeat, I became greatly alarmed, and, just as I was about to pray to the Almighty for the victory of the Islam arms, I awoke. I kept this dream a secret, but it troubled me for a long time, and when later on Mustafa Pasha sent a detachment of soldiers to take the island of Huweiza, (in which expedition I took part with five of my galleys), and the undertaking resulted in our losing about 100 men all through the fickleness of the Egyptian troops, I fully believed this to be the fulfilment of my dream. But alas! there was more to follow, — for:

> What is decreed must come to pass,
> No matter, whether you are joyful or anxious.

When at last the time of the Monsoon came, the

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\(^1\) Mowsim Zemani, literally: "the time of the season." From the Arab. word 'Mowsim' the English 'Monsoon' has originated.
What took place in the Sea of Ormuz

Pasha sent a trusty sailor with a frigate to Ormuz, to explore the neighbourhood. After cruising about for a month he returned with the news that, except for 4 boats, there was no sign of any ships of the Infidels in those waters. The troops therefore embarked and we started for Egypt.

IV.

What took place in the Sea of Ormuz.

On the first of Shavvāl we left the harbour of Basrah accompanied, as far as Ormuz, by the frigate of Sherifi Pasha. We visited on the way from Mehzari, the grave of Khidr, and proceeding along the coast of Duspul (Dizful), and Shushter in Charik, I made pilgrimages to the graves of Imam Mohammed, Hanifi, and other saints.

From the harbour in the province of Shiraz we visited Rishehr (Bushir?) and after reconnoitring the coasts and unable to get any clue as to the whereabouts of the enemy by means of the Tshekleva, I proceeded to Katif situated near Lahsa and Hadjar on the Arabian coast. Unable to learn anything

1 A small vessel, worked by sails and oars, for the carrying of freights, also called Sacoléve.
2 Lahsa and Katif, islands in the Persian Gulf, which, together with Ormuz, Bahrein and Kalhata, were famous in the Middle Ages, as staple towns for the commerce between Persia and India.
What took place in the Sea of Ormuz there, I went on to Bahrein, where I interviewed the commander of the place, Reis Murad. But neither could he give me any information about the fleet of the Infidels. There is a curious custom at Bahrein. The sailors provided with a leather sack, dive down into the sea and bring the fresh water from the bottom for Reis Murad’s use. This water is particularly pleasant and cold in the spring time, and Reis Murad gave me some. God’s power is boundless! This custom is the origin of the proverb: “Maradj ül bahreia jaltakian,” and hence also the name Bahrein.

Next we came to Kis, i. e. old Ormuz, and Barhata and several other small islands in the Green Sea, i. e. the waters of Ormuz, but nowhere could we get any news of the fleet. So we dismissed the vessel, which Mustaffa Pasha had sent as an escort, with the message that Ormuz was safely passed. We proceeded by the coasts of Djilgar and Djadi, past the towns of Keimzar or Leïme, and forty days after our departure, i. e. on the 10th of Ramazan, in the forenoon, we suddenly saw coming towards us the Christian fleet, consisting of four large ships, three galleons, six Portuguese guard ships and twelve galleys (Kalita), 25 vessels in all. I immediately ordered the canopy to be taken down, the anchor

1 Tentalâri fora etmek: tenta the canopy erected to ward
What took place in the Sea of Ormuz

weighed, the guns in readiness, and then trusting to the help of the Almighty, we fastened the filandra to the mainmast, the flags were unfurled and full of courage and calling upon Allah, we commenced to fight. The volley from the guns and cannon was tremendous, and with God's help we sank and utterly destroyed one of the enemy's galleons.

Never before within the annals of history has such a battle been fought, and words fail me to describe it.

The battle continued till sunset, and only then the Admiral of the Infidel fleet, began to show some signs of fear. He ordered the signal gun to fire a retreat, and the fleet turned in the direction of Ormuz.

With the help of Allah and under the lucky star of the Padishah the enemies of Islam had been defeated. Night came at last; we were becalmed for awhile, then the wind rose, the sails were set and as the shore was near until daybreak.

off the rays of the sun. According to Lehchei-i-Osmani, a Turkish Dictionary by Ahmed Vefik Pasha, Stambul 1293 (1876) the word "pochalatmak" (from the Ital. poccia = the right side of a ship), = steering a vessel to the right so as to run before the wind.

1 Fillandra, according to L. O. a small ensign hoisted on the top of the mainmast.
2 In the text "pochalatmak" = steering a vessel to the right.
3 يابراهيمى قشلمانى وقىىى لر دوکوب کنند کاجه کورفم;
The next day we continued our previous course. On the day after we passed *Khorfakan*¹ where we took in water, and soon after reached Oman, or rather *Sohar*². Thus we cruised about for nearly 17 days. When on the 6th of Ramazan, i.e. the day of *Kadr-Ghedjesi*, a night in the month of Ramazan, we arrived in the vicinity of Maskat and *Kalhat*³, we saw in the morning, issuing from the harbour of Maskat, 12 large boats and 22 gūrabs, 32 vessels in all, commanded by Captain *Kuvva*⁴ the son of the Governor⁵. They carried a large number of troops.

The boats and galleons obscured the horizon with their mizzen sails (Magistra)⁶ and Peneta (small sails).

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¹ Khorfekan a place on the east coast of Oman, between Ras Dibba and Fedzna.
² Sohar also on the east coast of Oman.
³ This is the same as Calatu mentioned by Marco Polo, see: Travels of Marco Polo, by Col. H. Yule. Vol. II, p. 381.
⁴ Kuva, Kuvva كوان appears to me to be really the name of the town Goa, the headquarters of the Portuguese in India.
⁵ In the text *Gornator, Governator.*
⁶ According to Bianchi, 'voile d'artimon'. The following passage is, owing partly to the defective text, partly to the strange naval technical expressions, unclear and unintelligible.
What took place in the Sea of Ormuz

all set; the guardships spread their round sails (Chember-yelken), and gay with bunting they advanced towards us. Full of confidence in God's protection we awaited them. Their boats attacked our galleys, the battle raged, cannon and guns, arrows and swords made terrible slaughter on both sides. The Badjoalushka(?) penetrated the boats and the Shaikas¹ and tore large holes in their hulls, while our galleys were riddled through by the javelins (Darda)² thrown down upon us from the enemy's turrets, which gave them the appearance of bristling porcupines; and they showered down upon us.......³.

The stones which they threw at us, created quite a whirlpool ⁴ as they fell into the sea.

One of our galleys was set on fire by a bomb, but strange to say the boat from which it issued shared the like fate. God is merciful! Five of our galleys and as many of the enemy's boats were sunk and utterly wrecked, one of theirs went to the bottom with all sails set. In a word, there was great loss on both sides; our rowers were

¹ Shaika شایقه accord. to L. O. Kazak Kayugi = a Kirghiz boat.
² Compare the Hungarian Sajka = barge, boat.
³ In the text: اوغ قباسم يغمفر = a shower alike the fist of men.
⁴ Dökkünti, according to L. O., a whirlwind or whirlpool.
What took place in the Sea of Ormuz

now insufficient in number to manage the oars, while running against the current \(^1\) and to fire the cannon \(^2\). We were compelled to drop anchor (at the stern) and to continue to fight as best we might. The boats had also to be abandoned.

Alemshah Reis, Kara Mustafa, and Kalfat Memi, Captains of some of the foundered ships and Derzi Mustafa Bey the Serdar of the volunteers, with the remainder of the Egyptian soldiers and 200 carpenters (?) had landed on the Arabian shore, and as the rowers were Arabs they had been hospitably treated by the Arabs of Nedjd.

The ships (gurabs) of the Infidel fleet had likewise taken on board the crews of their sunken vessels, and as there were Arabs amongst them, they also had found shelter on the Arabian coast. God is our witness. Even in the war between Khaiveddin Pasha and Andreas Doria \(^3\) no such naval action as this has ever taken place.

When night came, and we were approaching the

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\(^1\) سيا ايتيمك. Incorrectly written in the text as سى ايتيمك. Accord. to L. O. this word is of Italian Origin, and means to row backwards (').

\(^2\) طوب صاليا ايتيمك. top Salia etmek, obsolete form of speech.

\(^3\) In the text after Andreas Doria (in parentheses) are the words, جند دال fend dal, perhaps a distortion of the Italian general...?
What took place in the Sea of Ormuz bay of Ormuz, the wind began to rise. The boats had already cast two *Lenguvurta* i.e. large anchors, the Lushtas (?) were tightly secured and towing the conquered gurabs along we neared the shore while the galleys, dragging their anchors, followed. However, we were not allowed to touch the shore and had to set sail again. During that night we drifted away from the Arabian coast, into the open sea, and finally reached the coasts of Djash in the province of Kerman. This is a long coast but we could find no harbour, and we roamed about for two days before we came to *Kichi Mekran*.

As the evening was far advanced we could not land immediately but had to spend another night at sea. In the morning a dry wind carried off many of the crew, and at last, after unheard of troubles and difficulties, we approached the harbour of Sheba.

Here we came upon a Notak, i.e. a Brigantine

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1 Of this expression only the word longa (lenga) can be identified with the Italian.

2 In the text جاص, more correctly Jask, a harbourtown in Persia, in the vicinity of Belutchistan.

3 *Rectius*: Kidj-Mekran (Marco Polo's Kesmacoran), as Yule rightly observes, situated on the coast of that part of Kerman, then belonging to India. See: Travels of Marco Polo, by Col. H. Yule. II, p. 335.

4 In the text شهبا, but on our modern maps (see G. Curzon's map of Persia) given as Shabar, which is the name of the bay as well as of the place.
What took place in the Sea of Ormuz

(Pirate-ship), laden with spoils, and when the watchman sighted us, they hailed us. We told them that we were musulmans, whereupon their captain came on board our vessel; he kindly supplied us with water for we had not a drop left, and thus our exhausted soldiers were invigorated. This was on Bairam day, and for us, as we had now got water, a double feastday. Escorted by the said captain we entered the harbour of Guador. The people there were Beluchistani's and their chief was Malik Djelaleddin, the son of Malik Dinar. The Governor of Guador came on board our ship and assured us of his unalterable devotion to our glorious Padishah. He promised that henceforth, if at any time our fleet should come to Ormuz he would undertake to send 50 or 60 boats to supply us with provisions, and in every possible way to be of service to us. We wrote a letter to the native Prince Djelaleddin to ask for a pilot, upon which a firstclass pilot was sent us, with the assurance that he was thoroughly trustworthy and entirely devoted to the interests of our Padishah.

1 Guador on the westcoast of Beluchistan, belonging to the Indian Empire.
V.

What we suffered in the Indian Ocean.

God is merciful! With a favorable wind we left the port of Guador and again steered for Yemen. We had been at sea for several days and had arrived nearly opposite to Zofar and Shar, when suddenly from the west arose a great storm known as *fil Tofani*. We were driven back, but were unable to set the sails not even the trinquetla (stormsail). The tempest raged with increasing fury. As compared to these awful tempests the foul weather in the western seas is mere child's play, and their towering billows are as drops of water compared to those of the Indian sea. Night and day were both alike, and because of the frailty of our craft all ballast had to be thrown overboard. In this frightful predicament our only consolation was our unwavering trust in the power of the Almighty. For ten days the storm raged continuously and the rain came down in torrents. We never once saw the blue sky.

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1 Zofar or Dhofar, to the east of Shar. In the middle ages there was a city of that name as mentioned by Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta. See: Travels of M. P., by H. Yule II, p. 380.
2 *Literally: Elephant's flood.*
3 *Anabas* ماناباس means in the vernacular both sun and sky, or more correctly blue sky.
I did all I could to encourage and cheer my companions, and advised them above all things to be brave, and never to doubt but that all would end well. A welcome diversion occurred in the appearance of a fish about the size of two galleylengths, or more perhaps, which the pilot declared to be a good omen.

The tide being very strong here and the ebb slow, we had an opportunity of seeing many sea-monsters in the neighbourhood of the bay of Djugd, seahorses, large sea serpents, turtles in great quantities, and eels.

The colour of the water suddenly changed to pure white, and at sight of it the pilot broke forth into loud lamentations; he declared we were approaching whirlpools and eddies. These are no myth here; it is generally believed that they are only found on the coasts of Abyssinia and in the neighbourhood of Sind in the bay of Djugd, and hardly ever a ship has been known to escape their fury. So, at least, we are told in nautical books. We took frequent soundings, and when we struck a depth of five Kuladj (= armlengths) the mizzen sails (Orta Yelken) were set, the bowspr Meet.

1 In the text sugaria appears to be a word derived from the Italian or the Portuguese.

2 Here follow some nautical expressions such as اس.
and... healing over to the left side, and flying the commander's flag, we drifted about all night and all day until at last in God's mercy the water rose, the storm somewhat abated and the ship veered right round.

The next morning we slackened speed and drew in the sails. A stalwart cabin boy (or sailor) was tied to the Djondu (?), whereby the post at the foot of the mizzenmast was weighted down, and the sailrope slightly raised. Taking a survey of our surroundings we caught sight of an Idol-Temple on the coast of Djamher. The sails were drawn in a little more; we passed Formyan and Menglir, and directing our course towards Somenat, we

1 According to L. O. the Commander's flag.
2 In the text 'jjrf NjW popa prova, two words derived from the Italian.
3 maine etmek. Acc. to L. O. the opposite of 'nora et, therefore to slacken.
4 Direk Nefti = Mastpich, appears to be an expression or epithet for a cabin boy.
5 Rectius Djamkher, a subdivision of Ahmed-nagar, in the Residency of Bombay, (Gazetteer of India VII, p. 127).
6 Perhaps meant for Manglaus, Menglaur, in the District of Sahranpur.
7 Somenat Somnath, a town in the south of the peninsula of Kathiawar, also the name of the District.
What we suffered in the Indian Ocean

past by that place also. Finally we came to Div¹, but for fear of the unbelievers which dwell there we further drew in our sails and continued in our course with serderma (سردرم)².

Meanwhile the wind had risen again, and as the men had no control over the rudder, large handles³ had to be affixed with long double ropes fastened to them. Each rope was taken hold off by four men, and so with great exertion they managed to control the rudder.

No one could keep on his feet on deck⁴, so of course it was impossible to walk across⁵. The noise of the . . . .⁶ and the . . . .⁷ was deafening, we could not hear our own voices. The only means of communication with the sailors was by inarticulate words⁸, and neither Captain nor Boatswain could

¹ More correctly Diu, an island belonging to the Portuguese in West India, separated from Kathiawar by a narrow stroke of land, with about 13,000 Inhabitants, and politically under Goa. (See: Imperial Gazetteer of India. IV, p. 305).
² *Yeke, Translated in the L. O. by Dümen Koli = handle of the rudder.
³ *Kardina, perhaps more correctly gardina, from the Ital. guarnita, guard.
⁴ *bashdan jaña = from side to side.
⁵ *charmik = cross, cross-beam.
⁶ *gumelerin seleresi, are unintelligible words, not to be found in any Lexicon.
⁷ *Mani, mani, acc. to L. O. inarticulate songs, also words.
What we suffered in the Indian Ocean

for a single instant leave their post. The ammun-
ition was secured in the storeroom, and
after cutting the from the we continued
our way.

It was truly a terrible day, but at last we reached
Gujarat in India, which part of it, however, we
knew not, when the pilot suddenly exclaimed: “On
your guard! a whirlpool in front!” Quickly the
anchors were lowered but the ship was dragged
down with great force and nearly submerged. The
rowers had left their seats the panic-stricken crew
threw off their clothes and clinging some to casks
and some to jacks, had taken leave of one another.
I also stripped entirely gave my slaves their liberty,

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1 In the text Kamartan, perhaps from the Ital. camaretta.
2 aylikchi or aylakchi? both unknown terms but from
the context might mean ‘in the storeroom’.
3 ton agatsch.
4 Acc. to L. O. talaz = waves, from the Greek, but
what can possibly be the meaning of talaz Gemisi?
5 with an expression signifying whirlpool,
or more correctly a crevice (cleft), according to L. O. انناج باروف
indze jaruk = narrow cleft.
6 funda etmek (from Ital) throwing the anchor.
7 Kharpushteh. in L. O. translated by
مغاسل طام makasli tam, deck?
8 Kadina, perhaps catena = chains, fetters, as the rowers
in those days were generally slaves.
and vowed to give 100 florins\textsuperscript{1} to the poor of Mecca.

Presently one of the anchors broke from its crook and another at the podjuz\textsuperscript{2}; two more were lost, the ship gave a terrible jerk — and in another instant we were clear of the breakers. The pilot declared that had we been wrecked off Fisht-Kidsur, a place between Diu and Daman\textsuperscript{3}, nothing could have saved us. Once more the sails were set, and we decided to make for the Infidel coast; but after duly taking note of tide and current, and having made a careful study of the chart\textsuperscript{4}, I came to the conclusion that we could not be very far off the mainland.

I consulted the Horoscope in the Koran, and this also counselled patience. So we commenced to examine the hold of the ship and found that the storeroom was submerged, in some places up to the walls, in some places higher still. We had shipped much water and all hands set to work at once to bale it out. In one or two places the bottom\textsuperscript{5} had

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} In the text فلوري, from the Ital. fiori = a gold-coin.
  \item \textsuperscript{2} پرچوز podjuz?
  \item \textsuperscript{3} Daman, a Portuguese possession in the bay of Cambay, with about 50,000 Inhabitants; was pillaged first in the year 1531, and retaken in 1553.
  \item \textsuperscript{4} In the text خرائدين كرته ريز ایتمک Kharitadin Kertez riz etmek, i.e. studying the strokes and lines of the compass.
  \item \textsuperscript{5} In the text كوك Kök = root, lower part of a body.
\end{itemize}
What we suffered in the Indian Ocean

to be ripped up to find the outlet\(^1\) so as to reduce the water.

Towards afternoon the weather had cleared a little, and we found ourselves about two miles off the port of Daman in Gujarat in India. The other ships had already arrived, but some of the galleys were waterlogged not far from the shore, and they had thrown overboard, oars, boats, and casks, all which wreckage eventually was borne ashore by the rapidly rising tide. We were obliged to lie to for another five days and five nights, exposed to a strong spring-tide, accompanied by floods of rain; for we were now in the Badzad\(^2\) or rainy season of India, and there was nothing for it but to submit to our fate. During all this time, we never once saw the sun by day, nor the stars by night; we could neither use our clock nor our compass and all on board anticipated the worst. It seems a miracle that of the three ships lying there, thrown on their sides, the whole crew eventually got safely to land.

\(^1\) In the text لفاليا, according to L. O. from the Italian and meaning touch-hole.

\(^2\) Compare the Persian بادزد = whirlwind, tempest; more correctly gust of wind from Bad = Wind and Zeden = to strike.
What happened in the Province of Gujarat.

After five days, in God’s mercy, the wind somewhat abated. All that was saved of the wreckage, cannon and other armament we left with the Governor of Daman, Malik Esed, who, since the time of Sultan Ahmed, the ruler of Gujarat, had held office there. In the harbour were some Djonk’s i.e. Monsoon ships belonging to Samiri, the ruler of Calcutta. The captains came on board our ship and assured us of the devotion of their chief to the Padishah. They brought us a letter which said that Samiri was waging war day and night against the Portuguese Infidels and that he was expecting the arrival of an Imperial fleet from Egypt under the guidance of the pilot Ali, which was to put the Portuguese to flight. Melik Esed, the Governor, gave me to understand that the fleet of the Infidels was on its

1 In the text bunatsa edib, described by the author to mean bashkoyub = to lie down. What is the origin and meaning of Bunatza I am unable to say.

2 In the text Djonk = a large ship, used principally in China. First mentioned by the Monk Odorico di Pordenone in 1331. See: Glossary of Anglo-Indian words, by Yule and Burnell. p. 360.
way, that it behoved us to avoid it and if possible to reach the fortress of Surat. This news frightened the crew. Some of them immediately took service under Melik Esed, and some went ashore in the boats and proceeded by land to Surat.

I remained on board with a few faithful of the men, and after procuring a Dindjuy, or pilotboat for each vessel, we set out for the harbour of Surat. After great difficulties we reached the open. Presently the Kutwal, Aga Hamsa, hailed us with a letter from Umad-el-mulk, the Grand Vizier of Sultan Ahmed, who informed us that there were large numbers of Infidels about, and that Daman being a free port we had better be careful. He would allow us to come to Surat if we liked, as we were now in most perilous waters. This was exactly what we wanted to do, so we struggled on for five days longer sailing at the flow, riding at anchor at the ebb of the tide, until at last we reached the harbour.

1 Compare Dingy, Dinghy (see: Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases, page 245). Literally the name of a ship or large boat, on the coast of Mekran; the word is also known in English but it originates from Beluchistan correctly speaking it means a pilotship.

2 Kotwal, kutwal = commander of a fortress, also policeman. Of Turkish origin, from the word köt = to guard, to watch, would be more correctly, köteöl = guardian.

3 In the text خورباریده Khurkaride, is unknown to me.
What happened in the

of Surat, fully three months after our departure from Basrah.

Great was the joy of the mohammedans at Surat when they saw us come; they hailed us as their deliverers (lit. Khidr) and said: "You have come to Gujarat in troublous times; never since the days of Noah has there been a flood like unto this last, but neither is it within the memory of man, that a ship from Rum (Turkey) has landed on these coasts. We fervently hoped that God in his mercy would soon send an Ottoman fleet to Gujarat, to save this land for the Ottoman empire and to deliver us from the Indian unbelievers."

The cause of the disturbances was this: After the death of Sultan Bahadur, the ruler of Gujarat, one of his relatives, a youth of twelve years old, had succeeded to the throne. The army had acknowledged him, but one of the nobles, Nasir-ul-Mulk, had refused to take the oath of allegiance, and had raised the banner of sovereignty on his own behalf. He had many adherents, took the stronghold of Burudj, left a sufficient garrison to keep it, proceeded himself

1 Cheter Kaldirmak جنتر كالدريمك means literally, to raise the Sunshade (umbrella), this being the symbol of sovereignty in India.

2 More correctly Broatsh, a place north-west of Surat in the province of Gujarat on the right bank of the Nerbudda. This place has from time immemorial belonged to the Moslem rulers of Ahmedabad and has twice been pillaged by the Portuguese (in 1536 and 1546).
to another town, and then called in the aid of the Governor of the Infidels (Portuguese) at Goa, promising that in return for his services the harbours on the coast of Gujarat, viz. Daman, Surat, Burudj, Ketbaye, Sumenat, Minglur, and Furmeyan, should be thrown open to the Portuguese, while he would retire to the land of the interior.

Sultan Ahmed had immediately collected an army to go to Burudj, and when informed of our arrival he took from our troops 200 gunners and other men, and advanced towards Burudj. On the third day we who were left behind, were attacked by the Infidel captains of Goa, Diu, Shiyul, Besai, and the Provador; five in all, commanding 7 large galleons and 80 gurabs. We went ashore, pitched our tents and threw up entrenchments; for two whole months we were busy preparing for battle. But the tyrant Nasir-ul-Mulk, who had joined with the Infidels, had hired murderers to kill me; they were however discovered by the guard and fled. Again another time he tried to poison my food, but being warned by the Kutwal of Surat this attempt to take my life also failed. Meanwhile Sultan Ahmed had taken the stronghold of Burudj and sent

1 In the text: benadir, Arab. Plural of the Persian word bender = harbour.
2 In the text: Provador, circumscribed as meaning derya Kapudani = Admiral.
two of his officers, Khudavend and Djihanghir, with elephants and troops to Surat, while he proceeded to Ahmedabad, where a youth, called Ahmed, a relation of Sultan Ahmed, had in the meantime raised a revolt. A battle followed in which the usurper was wounded, Hasan Khan, one of his adherents, killed, and his army put to flight. Sultan Ahmed reascended his throne and as Nasir-ul-Mulk died of vexation over his misfortunes, peace was once more restored in Gujarat.

When the Infidels heard of this they sent an Envoy to Khudavend Khan to say that they did not mind so much about Surat but that their hostility was chiefly directed towards the Admiral of Egypt, viz. my humble person. They demanded that I should be given up to them, but were refused, and my soldiers would have killed the Envoy but I reminded them that we were on foreign soil and must commit no rash deeds. It so happened that a runaway Infidel gunner from one of my ships had enlisted on the ship of the Envoy, and, knowing a good deal about our affairs, he had undertaken to prevent our departure after the holiday of Kurban. No sooner had this come to the knowledge of my men, then they attacked the Envoy's ship and captured the Infidel who was executed on the spot, greatly to the alarm of the Envoy.
There is in Gujarat a tree of the palm-tribe, called tari agadji (millet tree). From its branches cups are suspended and when the cut end of a branch is placed into one of these vessels, a sweet liquid, something of the nature of arrack, flows out in a continuous stream; and this fluid, by exposure to the heat of the sun, presently changes into a most wonderful wine. Therefore at the foot of all such trees drinking booths have been placed, which are a great attraction to the soldiers. Some of my men, having indulged in the forbidden drink, determined to kill their Serdar. One of these profligates, Yagmur by name, one evening after sunset surprised Hussain Aga the Serdar of the Circassians. A few comrades rushed to his assistance, there was some fighting and two young men were wounded, but one, Hadji Memi, was killed. Then the soldiers pressed round, and implored me to punish the evil-doers, but I again reminded them that we were on foreign soil, in the land of a foreign Padishah, and that our laws had no force here. "What", they cried, "the laws of our Padishah hold good everywhere. You are our Admiral, judge according to our law, and we will be the executioners!" Thereupon I pronounced judgment according to the law of the Koran, which says: "Eye for eye, life for life, nose for nose, ear for ear, etc."

The man was executed, and peace restored. When
the nobles of the Begs heard of the occurrence, they took the lesson to heart, and the Envoy immediately hired a conveyance and went to Sultan Ahmed.

But my troops were getting dissatisfied. In Surat, Khudavend Khan had been paying them from 50 to 60 paras per day, and in Burudj, Adil Khan had done the same. At last their pent-up feelings burst forth and they argued as follows: "It is now nearly two years since we have received any pay, our goods are lost and the ships dismantled; the hulks are old, and our return to Egypt is practically made impossible." The end was that the greater part of them took service in Gujarat.

The deserted ships with all their tools and implements were given over to Khudavend Khan, under condition that he should immediately remit to the Sublime Porte, the price agreed upon for the sale.

After receiving a confirmatory note to this effect, both from Khudavend Khan and Adil Khan, I started on my journey to Ahmedabad\(^1\) in the beginning of Muharram of the year 962 (End of November 1552), accompanied by Mustafa Aga, the Ketkhuda (chief officer) of the Egyptian Janissaries, and Ali Aga, the Captain of the gunners (both of which had remained faithful to their Padishah), and

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\(^1\) Ahmedabad, the chief town of the Province of that name, 310 Engl. miles north of Bombay.
Province of Gujarat

with about 50 men. A few days took us from Burudj to Belodra \(^1\), and from there we proceeded to Champanir \(^2\).

On our way we saw some very curious trees, whose crowns reached up to the sky, and the branches swarmed with bats of such extraordinary size that their wings on the stretch measured 40 inches across. The most curious part about the trees, however, was that the roots hung down from the branches and when touching the ground, planted themselves and produced new trees. Thus from one tree, from 10 to 20 new ones sprung up. The name of this tree is the Tobi tree \(^3\), and more then a thousand (?) people can find shelter under their shade. Besides these we saw several Zokum trees \(^4\). Parrots were very plentiful and as for the monkeys, thousands of them made their appearance in our camp every evening. They carried their young in their arms, made the most ridiculous grimaces and strongly brought to our minds the stories of Djihan Shah, according to whom these animals live in a community but acknowledge no

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\(^1\) More correctly Dalotra, a town in Jodpur (Radjhputana).

\(^2\) Champanir, a mountain fortress in Gujarat in the Province of Pendj-Mahal, 250 Engl. miles north-east of Bombay.

\(^3\) Compare Tuba-tree, with the Sidra-trees of the Mohammedan Paradise.

\(^4\) Zokum زقمة a tree which acc. to the Koran grows only in Hell. Its fruit resembles the Plantain and serves as food for the condemned.
What happened in the head among them. At nightfall they always retired to their own place.

After a great many vicissitudes we at last arrived in Mahmudabad, and after a journey of 50 days in Ahmedabad the Capital of Gujarat. There I visited the Sultan, his Grand Vizier Imad-ul-Mulk, and other dignitaries. The Sultan, to whom I presented my credentials, was pleased to receive me most graciously and he assured me of his devotion to our glorious Padishah. He gave me a horse, a team of camels and money for the journey.

At Cherkes, in the vicinity of Ahmedabad, is the grave of Sheikh Ahmed Magrebi, which I visited. One day, being at the house of Imad-ül-Mülk, I met the Infidel Envoy, and our host addressed him in this way, "We have need of the Sultan of Turkey. Our ships touch the ports of his Empire, and if we were not free to do so, it would be bad for us. Moreover he is the Padishah of the Islamic world, and it is not seemly that we should be expected to deliver up his Admiral to you." I became very angry at this speech and cried: "Hold, thou cursed tongue!" Thou foundest me with a shattered fleet, but

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1 At present there is only a place of that name known in Oudh. but not in Gujarat.

2 Bir Katar deve = a team of camels. Katar = team, means ten camels.
I swear by God Almighty, thou shalt see ere long not only Ormuz but Goa itself, yield before the victorious arms of the great Padishah! To which the unbeliever made the following answer: "Henceforth not so much as a bird will be able to leave the ports of India." I replied: "One need not necessarily go by water, there is a landroute also." He was silent after that and the subject was dropped.

A few days after this Sultan Ahmed offered me the command of the Province of Burudj, with a very large income, but I refused, saying that I would not stay if he gave me the whole of the land. One night in my dream I saw the Khalifa Murteza Ali. I had a piece of paper before me with Ali's seal upon it. With this seal, the seal of God to help me, away with all fear, for in its strength all foreign waters were mine to command.

Next morning I told my dream to my companions and all were glad with me. I asked for permission to depart, and the ruler granted my request out of respect for our Padishah.

1 Very characteristic is the piece of poetry here introduced. It is probably a Turkish sea-song of that time. It says:

We roam the waters far and wide,
And bring confusion upon our enemies;
Revenge and hatred is our Motto,
For we are Khairreddin's troops.

a) Khairreddin Pasha, Suleiman's renowned Admiral known in Europe as Barbarossa.
Amongst the learned of this land of Banians, there is a tribe which they call the *Bats*, whose business it is to escort merchants or travellers from one land into another, and for a very small renumeration, they guarantee their perfect safety. Should the Rajputs, i.e. the mounted troops of the land, attack the caravan, the Bats point their daggers at their own breast, and threaten to kill themselves if they should presume to do the slightest harm to the travellers entrusted to their care. And out of respect for the Bats, the Rajputs generally desist from their evil purpose, and the travellers proceed on their way unmolested. Occasionally however, the Bats carry out their threat, otherwise it would have no force. But if such a thing does happen, if a caravan is attacked and the suicide of the Bats becomes necessary, this is considered a terrible calamity, and the superstition of the people demands that the offenders be put to death, and not only the offenders themselves but the chief of the Rajputs deems it necessary to kill their sons and daughters also,

1 In the text *Bami*, may possibly be a slip of the pen and intended for Brahmin.

2 Banians = Indian merchants, more especially from the Province of Gujarat, who from time immemorial have traded with the harbortowns of Arabia.

3 Rectus Rajput, a warlike race, probably descended from the Ural-Altaic race.
in fact to exterminate the whole of their race. The Mohammedans of Ahmedabad had given us two such Bats as an escort, and so, about the middle of Safar of the said year, we started on our overland journey to Turkey.

In five days we reached Patna¹, travelling in carriages, and visited the grave of Sheikh Nizam the Pir (spiritual chief) of Patna. Here Shir Khan and his brother Mūsa Khan had collected an army, to fight Behluj Khan, the ruler of Radanpoor². For fear of our siding with their enemies, the people tried to retain us, and would not allow us to proceed on our journey until the battle should be over. We showed them, however, that we had not come to render either party any assistance, but that we only wanted to continue our journey in peace, and had a pass from their ruler to that effect. Then at last they let us go, and after five days we came to Radanpoor where I was presented to Mahmud Khan, but he treated me very rudely, and insisted on forcibly detaining three of my companions before he would consent to our departure.

¹ This cannot be the town of that name in Bengal, as this lies more to the south and could not be reached from Ahmedabad in five days.
² Radhanpur, the capital of the district of that name in the Presidency of Bombay.
On the way we met some friendly Rajputs; their Beg was of great service to us, and gave me a letter of protection (free pass). The camels were hired, and after dismissing the Bats which the people of Ahmedabad had sent with us, we continued our journey.

VII.

What befell us in the Province of Sind.

Leaving on the first of Rebiul-Evvel we came after a ten days journey to Parker ¹ a town of the Rajputs. Here we were surprised by the Infidels, but thanks to the letter of protection and a few presents, we were let free; quite anticipating further dangers, however, we were on our guard when next day a band of hostile Rajputs commenced a free fight with us. Immediately I ordered all the camels to be let down on their knees so as to form a ring round us, and then the firing began on all sides. The Infidels, not prepared for this, sent us word that 'they had not come to fight but to exact the passage money,' to which I made reply: "We are not merchants and carry nothing but medicines

¹ More correctly Parkar or Nagar-Parkar, the name of a district and a place in the Presidency of Bombay.
Province of Sind

and Mohurs\(^1\) on which we have already paid duty; but if there be anything further to pay we are quite prepared to do so.” This had the desired effect, they let us pass, and for about ten days we wandered through deserts and sandy places, until we reached Wanga\(^2\) the frontiertown of Sind. Here we hired fresh camels, and in five days we came to Djoona\(^3\) and Baghi-Feth. The throne of Sind was then occupied by Shah Husein Mirza. He had reigned for 40 years, but during the last 5 years he had become invalided\(^4\) and unable to mount his horse, so now he only went about on board his ship in the river Sihun\(^5\).

At that time Isa Terkhan, the commander of the capital of Sind, called Tata\(^6\), had put to death a number of able officers belonging to Shah Husein, after which he had captured the treasure, stored in

\(^1\) Muhre \(^\text{مْهَرُ}^\) a stone, which, so says the legend, is found in the head of the serpent and the dragon, and possesses miraculous power. Many Dervishes carry one of these stones in their girdle to trade upon the superstition of the ignorant people.

\(^2\) In the text \(^\text{وَانْكَهُ}^\). As a town, Wanga is unknown to me, unless it be intended for Wanna, in the district of Cathiawar in the Presidency of Bombay.

\(^3\) More correctly Junaghar, the name of a Province and town in Cathiawar, Presidency of Bombay.

\(^4\) In the text \(^\text{نِمْ تٰن}^\) = half body viz. ailing.

\(^5\) Sihun, means the Indus.

\(^6\) Tatta (Thats or Nagar Thats) in the District of Caratchi.
What befell us in the 

the fortress of Nasrabad, and divided it amongst his men, and then proclaimed himself as Humayun Shah. (It says literally that he had this title inserted in the Friday-prayers and ordered the Nakara\(^1\) to be played). Thereupon Shah Husein had nominated his adopted brother Sultan Mahmud as commander of the landtroops, and he himself with 400 ships had set out against the rebels. Hearing of my arrival he received me with great honour. It was then the beginning of the month of Rabia-al-Sani. He gave me festive apparel\(^2\) and conferred upon us the title of a God-sent army\(^3\); he offered me besides all this the governorship of Bender-Lahuri or Duyuli-Sindi. Of course I refused this offer, but when I requested permission to continue my journey, I was given to understand that I should not be allowed to do so until after the successful termination of the campaign. He also wrote a letter to our glorious Padishah, explaining matters; in a word he did not rest until he had quite cleared us from being mixed up in this war with Isa Khan. The Mohammedans

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\(^1\) Nakara نقارہ band of music was formerly considered in Central Asia as a sign of sovereignty.

\(^2\) Serpay vermek سپرای ویرمک = to distribute festive apparel, is a great mark of distinction in Central Asia, but as the expression is unknown in Turkey, the author has had to circumscribe it.

\(^3\) ادیمز لشکر غیب قویوب = he gave us the name of: a mystic army.
pleaded in vain that our arms could bring no evil upon them\(^1\), for said they, "are we not all of one nation, and are not many of our sons and brethren in the rebel army?" And this was perfectly true. I had an interview with Sheikh Abdül Vahab and received his blessing; I also visited the graves of the Sheikh's Djemali and Miri.

The campaign lasted a month, earthworks were thrown up and cannon raised thereon, but as Tata lies on an island and their shot did not reach so far, the fortress could not be taken. Nevertheless there was great loss of life on both sides. At last a compromise was decided upon. Mir Isa relinquished his adherence to Humayun Padishah, returned to his allegiance to Husein Mirza and sent his son Mir Salih with presents of submission. On the other hand Husein Mirza gave the remainder of the treasure, which Mir Isa had divided amongst his troops, to Mir Salih. Isa was reinstated in his former rank, and Mirza sent him a formal acceptance of his allegiance by the hand of the Vizier Molla Yari. He also sent him a Nakara by Tugbeghi, the chief standard-bearer, and released from prison the ten rebels from the tribes of Argun and

\(^1\) Literally: Tüfenklerinizde mühre olmazsın = there should be no dragonstone, i.e. sorcery in your guns.
What befell us in the Tarkhan, which had sided with Mir Isa. Mir Isa, from his side, had sent back the wife of Husein Shah, called Hadji Begum, and in the first days of Djemadi-ul-evvel, Sultan Mahmud returned by land, and Shah Husein by water, to the city of Bakar. On the tenth day after his wife had rejoined him, Shah Husein died, and it was supposed that she had poisoned him.

Directly after his father's death, Sultan Mahmud divided the property in three parts. One part was for the wife of the deceased and another part he sent to Mir Isa by a Khodja. The body was taken to Tata; he lent me one of his own ships, and providing himself with horses, camels, and other necessaries, returned by land to Bakar. While the body of Mirza, with his wife and an escort of 50 ships were on their way to Tata, the soldiers attacked the remaining vessels and plundered them. The sailors took flight, and we, the passengers, were compelled to take command of the ships. Beset on all sides by the Djagatai's (Central Asians), we relinquished our firearms, and barely escaped with our lives. At last, after struggling for ten days against the stream, we made our way to Nasirpur.

1 Argun and Terkhan are two Turkish tribes in Central Asia, direct descendants of the Transoxanian warriors, which came with Baber to India.

2 Now Nasirabad, the name of several places in Sind.
This town had been plundered by the Radja, i.e. the Bey of the Rajputs.

We were greeted with the news that Mir Isa with 10,000 valiant soldiers was pursuing Sultan Mahmud and that his son, Mir Salih, with 80 ships was close behind us. This was very perplexing but I decided at once to turn back. We prayed long together, and then started on our return to Tata. Three days later we passed Mir Salih in the river. I went on board his ship with a few small presents and he asked me where we were going. I said “We are going to your father,” whereupon he told me to go back with him. I said “we have no sailors on board,” so he gave me fifteen of his crew, and thus compelled to turn back, we had another weary ten days to get through. One day I chanced upon Mir Isa in a small town of Sind. Here I also found the former partizans of the late Mirza, who were tired of fighting and desired peace. Isa received me with great honour, forgave me the past and allowed me to remain a few days, saying that he intended shortly to send his son Mir Salih to Humayun Padishah, and that I might as well travel under his escort, for, he added “Sultan Mahmud will never allow thee to pass Bakar, he is a son of Ferrukh Mirza and wants to become Padishah.” This proposal however did not suit me, and I insisted upon continuing my journey
What befell us in the forthwith, suggesting that he should give us back the ships, lately taken from us, and also to send a messenger in advance, for with God's help he, Sultan Mahmud, would probably have to submit to the Padishah (Humayun), and thus peace be restored. Isa agreed to this, and gave me seven ships with their complement of sailors. He wrote to the Padishah to assure him of his unalterable loyalty, and so we went on our way. We were struck with the enormous size of the fish (Alligators?) sporting in the river, as also with the quantities of tigers on the banks. It was necessary to keep up a perpetual warfare with the people of Semtche and Matchi, through whose territory our course lay, and thus we reached Siyawan\(^1\) and shortly after we came to Bukkur by the way of Patri\(^2\) and Dible. Here I fell in with Sultan Mahmud and his Vizier Molla Yari. I offered a small gift to the former, who thereupon expressed his willingness to submit himself to Humayun, and also to make peace with Mir Isa.

I composed a Chronogramm on the death of Husein Mirza and presented Sultan Mahmud with

\(^{1}\) Perhaps meant for Sehivan in Naushar on the Indus.

\(^{2}\) Patri, now a station on the railwayline to Bombay, Baroda, and Central India; also the name of a small state belonging to Kathiawar.
Province of Sind

two Ghazels ¹, after which I requested permission to continue my journey. This was granted, but as the route past Kandahar was made unsafe by the inroads² of Sultan Bahadur, a son of Sultan Haidar, the Ozbek, and as the season of the Semum (hot winds), had now commenced, the Sultan offered to give me an escort by the way of Lahore, warning me to be on my guard against the Djats, a hostile tribe which had its abode there. But whichever route I chose I should have to wait a while yet, and as a matter of fact I waited for a whole month. One night in my dream I saw my mother, who told me that she had seen her highness Fatima in a dream, and had learned from her the glad news, that I should soon be coming home, safe and sound.

When next morning I told this dream to my companions they were full of good courage. Sultan Mahmud, when he heard of it, at once consented to my departure. He gave me a beautiful horse, a

¹ Our author, according to the spirit of the age was not only a brave warrior and sailor, but also a poet, using the East-Turkish Dialect (Djagatai). His muse has no special features, and with regard to his choice of words they betray a strong tendency towards the Osmanli dialect. It is nevertheless interesting to note in how short a time he mastered this dialect and that more than 100 years after Baber, the Djagatai tongue maintained itself as the court- and book-language in India. In our translation we necessarily omit these poetic effusions, as irrelevant.

² Literally: Kazak olmak = wandering.
team of camels a large and a small tent and money for the journey. He also provided me with a letter of recommendation to Humayun, and an escort of 250 mounted cameldrivers, from Sind. Thus we departed about the middle of Shaaban and reached the fortress of Mav in five days, travelling by the way of Sultanpoor. As the Djats were very troublesome, we did not take the route of Djenghelistan (the forest), but preferred to go through the steppe. On the second day we came to the spring but found no water, and many of my companions nearly succumbed with heat and thirst. I gave them some Teriak (opium), of the very best quality, and on the second day they were recovered. After this experience we deemed it advisable to leave the desert and to return to Mav, for the proverb says truly, 'A stranger is an ignorant man.' In the steppe we saw ants as large as sparrows.

Our escort from Sind was afraid of the wood, and I had to inspire my own people with fresh courage. I placed 10 gunners in front, 10 in the centre and 10 in the rear of our caravan, and thus,

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1 In the text خيمه و شاميانه Kheime we shamiane, the latter being more a kind of large sunshade.
2 As there are several places called Sultanpoor and Mav, the stations here mentioned are difficult to identify on the map.
3 تریاک فارغ teriaki faruk = the best quality of Teriak or Opium.
My experiences in Hindustan

trusting in God's protection, we commenced the journey. The people from Sind also took courage after this, and went with us.

Thus, after manifold dangers, we came after ten days to Utchi \(^1\) or Autchi where I visited Sheikh Ibrahim and received his blessing. I also made a pilgrimage to the graves of the Sheikh's Djemali and Djelali. In the beginning of Ramazan we resumed our journey and came to the river Kara or Kere \(^2\), which we crossed by means of a raft. The people of Sind gave us permission to proceed as far as the Machvara \(^3\) and this river was crossed by boats. On the other side we found 500 Djats awaiting us, but our fire-arms frightened them and they did not attack. We advanced unmolested, and reached the town of Multan on the 15\(^{th}\) of Ramazan.

VIII.

My experiences in Hindustan.

In Multan I only visited the graves of the Sheikh's

\(^1\) In Walker's large Map of India, called Utsch a small place on the left bank of the Pendtjend, a tributary of the Indus.
\(^2\) On Modern Maps of India it is marked as Gharra, by which name the Sutlej is also known.
\(^3\) On the way from Utch to Multan there is a river called Trimba. But I have not anywhere come upon a river called Machvara.
My experiences in Hindustan

Baha eddin Zekeria, Rukneddin, and Sadreddin. I received a blessing from Sheikh Mohammed Radjva and, after receiving permission to continue my journey from Sultan Mirmiran Mirza Hasan, we proceeded towards Lahore. In Sadkere I visited Sheikh Hamid, received his blessing, and in the first days of the Month Shawwal, we came to Lahore. The political state of the country was as follows: After the death of Selim Shah a son of Shir Khan, the former Sovereign of Hindustan, Iskender Khan, had come to the throne. When the Padishah Humayun heard this, he immediately left Kabul and marched his army to India, took Lahore, and fought Iskender Khan near Sahrrand. He won the battle and took 400 elephants besides several cannon and 400 chariots. Iskender Khan escaped to the fortress of Mankut, and Humayun sent Shah Abul-Maali with a detachment of soldiers after him. Humayun himself proceeded to his residence at Delhi and despatched his officers to different places. The Ozbek, Iskender Khan, he sent to Agra, and others to Firuzshah Senbel, Bayana and Karwitch. War raged on all sides, and when I arrived at Lahore the Governor, Mirza Shah, would not let me continue my journey until I had seen the Padishah (Humayun). After

1 Rectius Sambal, a place in the District of Muradabad, in the Northeast of India.
My experiences in Hindustan

sending the latter word of my arrival, he received orders to send me forthwith to Delhi. Meanwhile a whole month had been wasted, but finally we were sent off with an escort. The river Sultanpoor was crossed in boats and after a journey of 20 days we arrived towards the end of Dulkaada, by the route of Firuzshah ¹ in the capital of India, called Delhi. As soon as Humayun heard of our arrival, he sent the Khanikhanan ² and other superior officers with 400 elephants and some thousand men to meet us, and, out of respect and regard for our glorious Padishah, we were accorded a brilliant reception. That same day the Khanikhanan prepared a great banquet in our honour, and as it is the custom in India to give audience in the evening, I was that night introduced with much pomp and ceremony into the Imperial hall. After my presentation I offered the Emperor a small gift, and a chronogramm upon the conquest of India, also two Ghazels, all of which pleased the Padishah greatly. Forthwith I begged for permission to continue my journey, but this was not granted. Instead of that I was offered a Kulur ³ and the governorship over the district of

¹ Also called Firuzpoor, in Penjub.
² i.e. Khan of the Khans like the Mirimiran of the Persians, and the Beglerbeghi of the Turks.
³ Rectius Kurur = 10,000,000 Rupies = one Million Pounds Sterling.
Kharcha. I refused, and again begged to be allowed to go, but for only answer I was told that I must at least remain for one year, to which I replied: "By special command of my glorious Padishah I went by sea to fight the miserable unbelievers. Caught in a terrible hurricane, I was wrecked off the coast of India; but it is now my plain duty to return to render an account to my Padishah, and it is to be hoped that Gujarat will soon be delivered out of the hands of the unbelievers." Upon this Humayun suggested the sending of an envoy to Constantinople to save my going, but this I could not agree to, for it would give the impression that I had purposely arranged it so. I persisted in my entreaties and he finally consented, adding however: "We are now close upon the three months of continuous (Birshegal), i.e. the rainy season. The roads are flooded and impassable, remain therefore till the weather improves. Meanwhile calculate Solar and Lunar Eclipses, their degree of latitude and their exact date in the Calendar. Assist our astrologers in studying the course of the sun, and instruct us concerning the points of the Equator. When all this is done, and the weather

1 In the text Pergenei Kharcha.
2 birshegal, probably a Hindustani word.
3 In the text Kish = Winter, also bad weather, rainy season. Comp. Kish Kiamet = very foul weather.
My experiences in Hindustan

should improve before the three months are over, then thou shalt go hence."

All this was said solemnly and decisively. I had no alternative, but must submit to my fate. I took no rest however, but laboured on night and day. At last I had accomplished the astronomical observations, and about the same time Agra fell into the hands of the Padishah. I immediately wrote a chronogramm for the occasion which found much favour. One day, during an audience, the conversation turned upon Sultan Mahmud of Bukkur, and I suggested that some official contract (Ahdnameh = agreement) should be made with him, to which Humayun agreed. The document was drawn up, and the Emperor dipping his fist in saffron pressed it upon the paper, this being the Tughra\(^1\) or Imperial signature. Thereupon the document was sent to Sultan Mahmud.

The Sultan was much pleased and both he and his Vizier Molla Yari expressed their thanks for my intervention in a private letter, which I showed to His Majesty, who had entrusted me with the transaction.

This incident furnished the material for a Ghazel,

\(^1\) Opinions differ as to the exact nature of the Tughra (signature of Turkish rulers: rectius tora = decree). Some say that it is merely a flourish, others hold that it is the impression of the hand. In Central Asia, Turkish Monarchs used to dip their hand in blood, hence the expression 'al-tamga' = red seal. The descendents of Baber first introduced into India the use of the yellow dye, saffron.
with which the Sovereign was so delighted that he called me a second Mir Ali Shir. I modestly declined the epithet, saying that it would be presumption on my part to accept such praise, that, on the contrary, I should consider myself fully rewarded to be allowed to gather up the gleanings after him. Whereupon the Sovereign remarked: "If for one more year thou perfectest thyself in this kind of poetry thou wilt altogether supplant Mir Ali Shir in the affections of the people of the Djagatai's."

In a word Humayun loaded me with marks of his favour. One day I was talking to Khoshhal, the Imperial archer, and the Sovereign's special confident; a superb youth. He used to take part in the poetical discussions, and provided me with material for two Ghazels which soon became popular all over India and were in everybody's mouth. The same good fortune attended my acquaintance with the Afetabedji, Abdurrahman Bey, a courtier who

1 Mir Ali Shir the greatest poet of the Turks in Central Asia, born, according to Khondemir, in the year 844 (1440) and died in H. 906 (1500). He wrote under the name of Newai. His compositions, which are unquestionably superior to any other East Turkish productions, enjoy to this day great popularity amongst the Turks of the interior of Asia.

2 Afetabe = waterbasin, and Afetabedji = he who holds the waterbasin; a high court dignity in Central Asia, and later on also among the Moguls in India. The former Khans of Khokand had received the title of Afetabedji from the Sultan of Turkey.
also rejoiced in the confidence and affection of the Monarch, and was his constant companion in private life. He also entered the poetical contest, and I composed two Ghazels upon him.

In a word, poetical discussions were the order of the day, and I was constantly in the presence of the Emperor. One day he asked me whether Turkey was larger than India, and I said: "If by Turkey your Majesty means Rum proper, i.e. the province of Siwas, then India is decidedly the larger, but if by Turkey you mean all the lands subject to the ruler of Rum, India is not by a tenth part as large."

"I mean the entire empire," replied Humayun. "Then," I said, "it appears to me, your Majesty, that the seven regions over which Iskender (i.e. Alexander the Great) had dominion, were identical with the present Empire of the Padishah of Turkey. History records the life and the reign of Iskender, but it is not reasonable to suppose that he actually visited and personally ruled these seven regions, for the inhabited world (the fourth part of the present inhabited world), is 180 degrees longitude and from the equator about 60 degrees latitude. Its area, according to astronomical calculations, covers 1,668,670

1 Our author means by Siwas the old seat of the Osmans, but in India and in Central Asia, Rum is generally understood to stand for the West, and more particularly for the Ottoman Empire.
My experiences in Hindustan

fersakhes. It is therefore an utter impossibility for any man, to visit and govern all these lands in person. Perhaps he only owned a portion of each of these regions (Iklim), in the same way as the Padishah of Turkey does.” “But has the ruler of Turkey possessions in all these regions?” asked Humayun. “Yes certainly,” I replied, “the first is Yemen, the second Mecca, the third Egypt, the fourth Aleppo, the fifth Constantinople, the sixth Kaffa and the seventh Ofen and Vienna. In each of these regions the Padishah of Turkey appoints his Beglerbeg and Kadi, who rule and govern in his name. Moreover I was told in Gujarat, by the merchants Khodja Bashi and Kara Hasan (God alone knows whether their story is true), that when the Turkish merchants in China desired to insert the name of their Sovereign in the Bairam prayers on Bairamday, they brought the request before the Khakan of China, stating that their Sovereign was Padishah of Mecca, Medina, and the Kibla (Direction of the prayer), and therefore entitled to have his name inserted in the Bairam prayers. The Khakan, although an unbeliever, had insight enough to see the

1 As the Turks never conquered Vienna, this is a mere boast on the part of the Turkish Admiral. Possibly, in the far East the news of the conquest of Vienna may have found credence, for the campaigns of Suleiman against Vienna fall about this time.
My experiences in Hindustan

justice of their request which he granted forthwith; he even went so far as to clothe the Khatib in a robe of honour and to make him ride on an elephant through the city. Ever since that time the name of the Padishah of Turkey has been included in the Bairam prayers, and to whom, I ask, has such honour ever before been vouchsafed?" The Sovereign (Humayun) turning to his nobles said: "Surely the only man worthy to bear the title of Padishah is the ruler of Turkey, he alone and no one else in all the world."

Another time we were talking about the Khan of the Crimea, and I remarked that he also held his office under the Padishah of Turkey. "But," said Humayun, "if that be so how then has he the right of the Khutbe?" "It is a well known fact," I replied, "that my Padishah alone has the power to grant the right of Khutbe and of coinage." This statement seemed to satisfy everybody and we prayed together for the welfare of my Sovereign.

One day the Emperor planned a little excursion on horseback to visit the graves of the holy Sheikhs of Lahore, and I accompanied him. We visited the graves of Shah Kutbeddin the Pir of Delhi, of Sheikh Nizam Weli, Sheikh Ferid Shekr-Ghendj, Mir Khosru

1 Khatib is the name of the Mollah who on Fridays says the Khutbe or Friday prayer in which the names of the Khalifa and of the local ruler are inserted.
Dehlevi and Mir Husein Dehlevi. When the conversation turned upon the poetical works of Mir Khosru I quoted some of his best poems, and under their influence I conceived a most telling distich. I turned to the Emperor saying, "It would be presumption on my part to measure my powers against those of Mir Khosru, but he has inspired me, and I would fain recite my couplet before your Majesty."

"Let us hear it," said Humayun, and I recited the following:

"Truly great is only he, who can be content with his daily bread.
For happier is he than all the kings of the earth."
"By God," cried the Monarch, "this is truly sublime!"

It is not so much my object here to make mention of my poetic effusions, but rather to show up Humayun's appreciation of poetry.

On another occasion I called upon Shahin Bey, the keeper of the Imperial Seal, and asked him to use his influence to obtain permission for me to depart. In order not to come empty-handed I brought him two Ghazels, and begged him urgently to intercede

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1 Mir Khosru Dehlevi (i.e. from Delhi) one of the greatest poets of India, born 651 (1253), died, 725 (1324). He wrote in Persian, which language had been introduced into India, with the spread of Islam.
for me. Shahin Bey promised to do his best, and one day he actually brought me the glad news that my petition had been granted, but that I was expected to offer my request formally in verse. The rainy season was now at an end, I wrote to the Monarch, enclosing two Ghazels, which had the desired effect, for I received not only permission to leave, but also presents and letters of safe conduct.

All was ready for the start. Humayun had given audience on Friday evening, when, upon leaving his castle of pleasure, the Muezzin announced the Ezan just as he was descending the staircase. It was his wont, wherever he heard the summons, to bow the knee in holy reverence. He did so now, but unfortunately fell down several steps, and received great injuries to his head and arm. Truly the proverb rightly says, “there is no guarding against fate.”

Everything was confusion in the palace, but for two days they kept the matter secret. It was announced to the outer world that the Sovereign was in good health, and alms were distributed amongst the poor. On the third day, however, that was on the Monday, he died of his wounds. Well may the Koran say, “We come from God and to Him do we return.”

1 Elphinstone in the ‘History of India’ (p. 472), relates his death as follows: “He had been walking on the terrace of his library, and was descending the stairs, (which in such situations
His son Djelaleddin Ekber was at the time away on a journey to visit Shah Ebul Maali, accompanied by the Khanikhanan. He was immediately informed of the sad event. Meanwhile the Khans and Sultans were in the greatest consternation; they did not know how to act. I tried to encourage them and told them how at the death of Sultan Selim the situation was saved by the wisdom of Piri Pasha, who managed to prevent the news of his death from being noised abroad. I suggested that, by taking similar measures, they might keep the Sovereign's death a secret until the Prince should return. This advise was followed. The divan (council of state) met as usual, the nobles were summoned, and a public announcement was made that the Emperor intended to visit his country seat, and would go there on horseback. Soon after, however, it was an-

are narrow steps on the outside of the building and only guarded by an ornamental parapet about a foot high). Hearing the call to prayers from the minarets, he stopped, as is usual on such occasions, repeated the creed and sat down on the steps till the crier had done. He then endeavoured to rise supporting himself on his staff; the staff slipped on the polished marble of the steps and the king fell headlong over the parapet. He was stunned at the time and although he soon recovered his senses, the injury he had received was beyond cure. On the fourth day after his accident he expired in the 49th year of his age and the 26th of his reign, including the 16 years of his banishment from his capital.

1 This is meant for Bairam Khan, the faithful follower of Humayun and later on the Atabek (tutor) of Ekber.
nounced that on account of the unfavorable weather, the trip had to be abandoned. On the next day a public audience was announced, but as the astrologers did not prophesy favorably for it, this also had to be given up. All this, however, somewhat alarmed the army, and on the Tuesday it was thought advisable to give them a sight of their Monarch. A man called Molla Bi, who bore a striking resemblance to the late Emperor only somewhat slighter of stature, was arrayed in the imperial robes and placed on a throne specially erected for the purpose in the large entrance hall. His face and eyes were veiled. The Chamberlain Khoshhal Bey stood behind, and the first Secretary in front of him, while many officers and dignataries as well as the people from the riverside, on seeing their Sovereign made joyful obeisance to the sound of festive music. The physicians were handsomely rewarded and the recovery of the Monarch was universally credited.

I took leave of all the grandees, and with the news of the Emperor's recovery I reached Lahore about the middle of the month Rebiul Evvel. This was on a Thursday. Travelling by the way of Sani-Pata, Pani-Pata, Kirnat and Tani Sera, I came to Samani.

1 On modern English Maps of India, these names are given as Sonpat, Panipat, Karnal, Tanesar and Samani, in the same order on the way from Delhi to Lahore.
My experiences in Hindustan

where I communicated the news to the governor that the Padishah (Humayun) was giving audiences, and that he was in good health¹. From there I went by the road of Sahrandi to Matchuvara² and Bachuvara³ and crossing the Sultanpoor by boat, I returned to Lahore by a forced march. Meanwhile Prince D jelaleddin Ekber had ascended the throne, and in Lahore and many other places, his name was inserted in the Friday prayers. Mirza Shah, the governor of Lahore, however, would not permit me to leave, for he professed to have received orders from the new Emperor that no one was to be allowed to go to Kabul and Kandahar. The only way therefore was to go back to the Emperor (Ekber) and accordingly I went as far as Kelnor where I met D jelaleddin Ekber and the Khanikhanan just opposite the fortress of Mankit⁴.

I was informed through Molla Pir Mehemed⁵ the Khodja of Bairam Khan that during the interregnum I should remain where I was, and that in

¹ Very striking is the want of reserve wherewith this lie is spread to serve a political purpose.
² Rectius: Matchivara, a town in Penjab in Ludiana.
³ Perhaps Bachrewan, a town in the province of Oudh?
⁴ A stronghold built by Selim Shah on the boundary mountains of Sewalik, against the Sakkars (Elphinstone p. 496).
⁵ Elphinstone, 'History of India', page 498, calls this man Pir Mohamed, the teacher or tutor of Ekber, while our author calls him Khodja Bairam Khan.
a short time he would appoint me to some post either in Hind or Sind whichever I preferred. I hastened to produce my ferman given to me by the late Padishah, presenting him at the same time with a chronogramm on the death of his father. My verses pleased the Mirza and after examining the ferman of his father, he gave me leave to continue my journey, stipulating, however, that I should travel in company with the four Begs which he was about to send with troops to Cabul.

Ebul Maali, who meanwhile had been taken prisoner, was confined in the castle of Lahore. In return for my chronogramm I received a Lakh for travelling expenses and began to prepare for my journey with the four Begs.

Amongst the many strange and wonderful things I saw in India, I must make mention of a few. The unbelievers are called in Gujarat ‘Banian,’ and in India ‘Hindu.’ They do not belong to the Ehli-Kitab, and believe in fate (kadem-i-alem). When a man dies his body is burnt by the riverside. If

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1 Ebul Maali, a Said from Kashgar who had entered the service of Humayun in 1551. He had rebelled against Akber and had taken possession of Kabul, where he was afterwards defeated and imprisoned in Lahore. He died in 1563. (Elphinstone p. 563).

2 Literally: Believers in the Book; these, therefore, have none of the four Sacred Books, viz. Koran, Tevrat, Gospels and Psalms. Consequently they are Heathen.
the deceased leaves a wife, past childbearing she is not burnt, if, however, she is not past that age she is unconditionally burnt. If a wife of her own free will offers herself to be burnt, the relations celebrate the occasion with great rejoicings. Should the Mahommedans interfere and forcibly prevent the self-sacrifice, fate decrees that their king must die (?), and no other be raised. For this reason, officers of the Padishah are always present on such occasions, to prevent any act of violence.

Another curious custom is the use of tame gazelles in hunting. A noose is lightly thrown over their antlers and then they are driven to mix with the wild gazelles. Like seeks like, and the latter soon make up to their tame companions, bringing their heads in close proximity to those of the others. The noose which is round the antlers of the tame animal falls over the head of the other and pulls it down. The more it struggles the more it gets entangled noose, and can not possibly escape. This method is in use all over India.

Buffaloes are very plentiful in the steppes. They

1 In the text amelden Kalmish عابد ماندإ corresponding to the person عابد ماندأ amel mande, which is also used to express unfitness for childbearing.

2 The burning of widows (Suttee) has in recent times been put a stop to by the English, and it is very characteristic that the Moguls had, long before that time, endeavoured to check the custom.
are hunted with elephants. Turrets are placed on the elephant's back in which several men are hidden. Thus they traverse the plain and as soon as the elephant comes up with the buffalo he attacks him with his teeth and holds him till the hunters get off his back and capture him. Wild oxen (Gau-Kutas) ¹ are hunted in a similar manner, but they are much stronger than other animals of their kind, and their tongue is supposed to have such force, that they can kill a man with it. The Emperor Humayun once told me a story, to the effect that one of these wild oxen having overtaken a man, flayed him with his tongue from head to foot. The Emperor vouched for the truth of this story with an oath. The best kutas are found in the land of Bahr-itch, perhaps that accounts for their being called Bahri-Kutas (which means sea-kutas), although they belong unquestionably to the terrestrial animals ². I might go on enumerating many more interesting and curious things to be seen in India, but it would keep me too long.

About the middle of Rebiul Evvel we left for Kabul. We crossed the River Lahore in ships, and

¹ Also called Khutaz and Kudaz, a kind of horned cattle. Their tail is used as an ornament to hang round the horse's neck.

² Pavet de Courteille: Dictionaire Turk-Oriental, translates قوتناس, by boeuf marin.
came presently to another large stream which had to be crossed. Finding no ships at hand, we built a raft of barrels and chairs and so managed to reach the other side. Next we came to Bahara where another river had to be crossed, this time in ships. When I told the governor (Khodja) of this place what Ekber had commanded, he exclaimed, "God be merciful! As the Padishah was dead we have not collected the taxes, the people still owe them. I will send round, collect the moneys and hand them over to you." Mir Babu's and the other Begs who were of the company, consulted together and decided that as Shah Abul Maali had escaped from his prison in Lahore, and might possible have taken refuge with his brother Kihmerd Bey in Kabul, it would not be safe for them to delay, but they suggested that I should wait till the tribute money was collected, and follow them as soon as I could.

But I argued that the roads were unsafe and dangerous and that it would be much better to keep all together. I acted on the principle, that "The contented mind shall be satisfied and the covetous

1 In the text. سریر serir, the first being Persian, meaning Barrel, the second Arabian, meaning, throne, chair.

2 It appears from this passage that the Emperor's guests only received the gifts allotted to them when on their return journey, had in fact to collect them from the authorities of the districts through which they passed.
Our experience in Bakhtar-Zemin etc.

man shall be humbled." So I relinquished my claim upon the tribute money and continued my journey with the others. After crossing the rivers Khoshab and Nilab in ships, I set foot upon the shore of Bakhtar.

XI.

Our experience in Bakhtar-Zemin i. e. in Kabulistan.

In the beginning of the month Djemaziul-Evvel we left the river Nilab and turned towards Kabul. For fear of the Afghans under Adam Khan, we made a quick march through the night, and at daybreak we arrived at the foot of the mountain. So far the Afghans had not seen us, but by the time we had reached the top, there were thousands of them gathered together. We seized our guns, and with God's help managed to get out of their way, and came to the town of Pershuer, i. e. Peshawer. Soon after, we crossed the Khaiber Pass, and reached Djushai. In the mountains we saw two rhinoceroses.

1 Khoshab the name of a town in Penjab, situated on the river Djehlam, and not the name of the river itself, as our author states.
2 Nilab, blue water, cannot possibly be the river Kabul.
3 Bakhtar-Zemin = Bakhtartal, i. e. Bactria.
Our experience in Bakhtar-Zemin

(Kerkedans)\(^1\), each the size of a small elephant; they have a horn on their nose about two inches long. In Abyssinia these animals are much more plentiful.

Presently we reached Laghman\(^2\), and after a very toilsome journey through Hezareland\(^3\), we entered Kabulistan and its capital Kabul. Here I visited the two sons of Humayun, Mehemmed Hekim Mirza, and Ferrukh Fal Mirza; I also saw Mun'im Khan, and, after presenting the ferman from Humayun, I was treated with much honour. Kabul itself is a beautiful city, surrounded by mountains covered with snow, and pleasure gardens with running brooks. Pleasure and merriment prevailed everywhere, feasting and banqueting were the order of the day. In every corner were gaily dressed slender Luli’s\(^4\) enticing one with music and song to join the merry crowd; the populace in fact seemed to

\(^1\) كركدان, generally translated by Rhinoceros. Baber (1356) makes mention of this animal under the name of كرق gherek, and he describes it as being about the size of a buffalo.

\(^2\) Perhaps more correctly Lughman, east of Kabul.

\(^3\) Hezare is the name of the mountainous region, northeast of Peshawer; also the name of an Iranian Mongol tribe, dwelling between Herat and Kabul.

\(^4\) لولي is, in Central Asia, the name given to the Gipsies, to which tribe the dancing and singing damsels and the prostitutes, generally belonged. This used also to be the case in Turkey; comp. Tchenghi = musician, dancing girl, and Tchingane = Gipsy.
have no thought for any thing, but for pleasure and enjoyment.

'Who would long for Huri's and the Paradise whose good fortune has brought him amongst the Luli's of Kabul?'

We, however, had no time for such frivolities, our only aim and object was to reach home as soon as possible. Mun'im Khan remarked that the roads were snowed up, that the Hindu Kush could not possibly be passed, and that it would be far better for us to wait a few days in Kabul; but I quickly replied that men could overcome mountains, if they had the mind to do so. Thereupon the Governor commanded Mir Nezri the Chief of the Ferashi and Peshai, to accompany me, and his men were to conduct our horses and goods safely across the mountainpass. We left accordingly in the beginning of Djemazi ul Evvel and came to Karabag and from there to Tcharikar and Pervane or Mervan.

1 Kara-bag (black-garden) marked on the maps merely as Bag (garden). Tcharikar lies north of Kabul, and Pervane lies in the same direction as the Pass of that name at the foot of the Hindu Kush. Our author did not take the route now generally used, across the Dendanshiken (tooth-breaker), but the other, which lies more to the east, and which was the one followed by Baber. This is one of the Pervanpasses, which, starting from the place of that same name leads to Badigah and from there into the valley of Enderab. Comp.: 'A journey to the sources of the river Oxus,' by Capt. John Wood. Published by Yule. LXV.
The condition of Badakhshan

This was Nezri's native country. He collected his men and they took us across to the other side of the mountain. It was a very difficult passage, but we accomplished it that day and spent the night in a village at the foot of the pass.

XII.

The condition of Badakhshan and Khatlan.

Early in the month of Redjeb we came to the city of Anderab and journeyed from there through Badakhshan to Talikan where I had an interview with Suleiman Shah and his son Ibrahim Mirza. On the day of our arrival the Mirza had met us, and received me in his pleasure garden; I offered him some presents and a Ghazel. The Mirza, who understood poetry, entered into a poetical competition with me, and introduced me next day to his father to whom I also offered gifts and a Ghazel. The Sovereign also showed me much attention and loaded me with signs of his favour. There was hostility between Pir Mohammed Khan the ruler of Balkh

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1 Suleiman Shah was the son of Khan Mirza the Wise, a cousin of Baber's. He had usurped the throne of Badakhshan in 1508, and was afterwards established by Humayun as ruler over the whole of the Upper-Oxus-territory.