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Akbarnama of Abu-l-Fazl

A History of the Reign of Akbar including an Account of his Predecessors

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CHAPTER I.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

Verse.

I refresh my words with the name of God
For his name guides to Reality.
For to this end gave He us tongues
Speech [1] cannot rival Praise in weight
What weight can God-knowing Reason assign to it?
In the desert which casts down the litter
Men cannot tread with speech's foot
The orator whose fame resounds to the sky
Utters in this plain the cry of lamentation.

Alas, Alas! What strength has an accidental atom tossed about in the desert of bewilderment and thirst to attempt the comprehension of the stablished Sun? What force has it to rise from the hollow of Error to the height of Recognition? How can it reckon potsherds of its fancies and the frayed tinsel of its knowledge among the rarities of the storehouse of truths and the excellencies of substantive treasuries?

Verse.

The Divine mysteries are not comprehended by us
Nor is the ocean contained in the cowry! [2]
Neither sage nor simpleton can grasp them
The chamaeleon [3] is blinded, even as the bat.

But simple-minded terrestrials convert into materials for Divine praise, whatever perfections they find in the record of their own

[1] This and the following line are obscure, and the Lucknow editor's note does not remove the difficulty. In his edition the lines are reversed, and so are they in the variant.

[2] *Goshmāhī*, lit., "fish's ear."

[3] The chamaeleon is fabled to have powerful sight and to be ever gazing upon the sun. Hence the Persian name of *āftāb-parast*, "sun-worshipper."

conduct, or gather from the volume [1] of enlightenment, and although the incomparable Personality be excluded from their ken they regard those things as the Divine Attributes. Inasmuch as the unequalled Creator chants His own praise with the glorious voice
2 of His marvels and recites the tale of His panegyric with creation's tongue, even if I admitted that there could come to any one the heaven-measuring power of eulogising God, still such an one would stay his hand when so great a blaze of the sun of truth was presented to his eye and ear, and would not turn to his own skill nor lift the head of understanding from the abyss of ecstacy. And let praise for ever and ever be given to the divinely chosen ones, who are the gardeners of the aromatic herbs of morals, and the unveilers of spiritual and physical mysteries, for that they have in this glorious audience hall consigned the books of their own knowledge to the waters [2] of silence, and have trodden the line of ignorance, folded up the pages of their eloquence and opened a tongueless [3] tongue. Therefore it is far better that this wanderer in bewilderment's desert should address himself to the recording the events of a rule which is conjoined with eternity and should by one [4] great performance in some degree set in order two arduous tasks!

Quartain.

Glory to God the Incomparable, the Formless
That He hath made such a mirror of His beauty as the Shâh.
His glorious substance is beyond thought's ken
And his letter is beyond Reason's line,—Glory to Him!

His (Akbar's) keen eye is the astrolabe [5] of the substantive sun—his truth-discerning heart is the celestial observatory of Attributes—he is of noble lineage, of joyous countenance—of right disposition—

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[1] Either the book of nature, or religious writings. Possibly the Koran is meant. A.F.'s meaning seems to be that though God cannot be known, yet mortals take whatever is excellent in themselves, or others, and regard it as Divine Attributes.

[2] Papers used to be destroyed by throwing them into water.

[3] Meaning that they have practised "expressive silence."

[4] He means that by recording Akbar's actions he also performs his duty of worshipping God. See his preface.

[5] God is the substantive or personal sun, and Akbar the astrolabe which reads the sun.

of open brow—of well-proportioned frame—of magnanimous nature—of lofty genius—of pure purpose—of enduring faith—of perfect wisdom—begirt with varied talents—of wide capacity—of high honour—of splendid courage—of right judgment—of choice counsel—of generosity unfeigned—of boundless forgiveness, abundant in graciousness—at peace with all-compendium of dominion—of plenteous sincerity—multiple of single-minded warriors—abounding in wealth—accumulator[1] of the world's rareties—of pure heart—unspotted by the world—leader of the spiritual realm—of enduring alertness! How has he been gathered together into one place? Or how doth a single body upbear him on the shoulders of genius?

Verse.

Sphere of wisdom and vision, Akbar Shāh the Only One
Whose brow has opened on the earth like the dawn
A king whose eyes have been lessoned by the heart
A king who has been taught by Wisdom in person.

Glory be to God the Creator, who hath made the adorner of the kingly throne a witness of His lovely and awful attributes, and hath made the standard-bearer of God's shadow an ensample of His glorious praises.

Verse.

An Alexander-minded Elias[2] the producer of the fountain
Determiner of the Pole-star, expounder of the Almagest
The substance of kingship and saintship is in him
The magazine of divine mysteries is in him
From his great power, he is the head of princes
From his wondrous wisdom, he is the famed of epochs
While night and day endure, may his night be day 3
May his kingdom's jewel illumine the night.

If (even) by rising and falling (*i.e.*, stumbling) I cannot attain to the court of his praise (because) auspicious speech has not been granted to me, nor the glory of wisdom vouchsafed, and if I address

[1] Probably this refers to Akbar's having gathered round him all the great wits of the age.

[2] Elias found the fountain of life which Alexander failed to find.

who exhaled the breath of power in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar departed this life. Ascetic sages, and politicians who had regard to the repose of mortals, which is bound up with one rule, one ruler, one guide, one aim and one thought, recognised in the emergence of this event an instance of the helps of fortune, whilst those who were void of understanding and who made the agitation of the black-fated Afghans in the eastern provinces an argument in support of their own views, and opposed the expedition to Gujrat, were by this event cast into the pit of failure. Another faction whose narrow intellects could not comprehend the idea of marching to Gujrat and of overcoming it, and which indulged in foolish prattle, made the event a pretext for prating and urged the propriety of marching to the eastern provinces. As the God-worshipping Khedive reflected that the oppressed ones of Gujrat should be brought into the cradle of grace he did not give ear to these futilities and said with his holy lips that it was good that the news of Sulaimān's death had come during the march to Gujrat, for had it come while he was in the \pital, assuredly he would, out of deference to the opinions of most of his officers, have addressed himself in the first place to an expedition to the eastern provinces. What necessity was there now for the Shahinshāh's personal visit to these countries after Sulaimān's death? Now the conquest of that country would be accomplished by the skill and courage of the officers. Accordingly an order was sent to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān that he should conquer Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in concurrence with the other officers.

One of the occurrences was the wounding of the Khān[1] Kalān. The account of this is as follows:—The Khān Kalān and other great officers—who had been made a vanguard—reached the town of Bhādrajan[2] which is near Sirohī, and were halting there. Rai

only gives the year, see 427n. Properly, Sulaimān's death should come into the second volume, for it occurred on 1 Ābān and Akbar's birthday was on 8 id, and accordingly some copies have put this paragraph before the Khātima or conclusion. But perhaps A.F. went by the date when the news reached Akbar. 1 Abān 980 is 11 October 1572.

[1] Mir Muḥammad the elder brother of Shamsu-d-dīn Atka. B. 322 and the M'āsir III. 211.

[2] J. II. 276 where it appears as belonging to Jodhpūr. Gladwin has Bhadrajoon and Tiefenthaler I. 308 Tabaur ahoun. It is not mentioned in the I. G. or the Rajputana Gazetteer. It is marked in the Atlas vol. of I. G. Plate 34, and lies between Jodhpūr and Sirohī.

Mān Singh Deohra, the chief of Sirohī, took to feline tricks and sent some Rājputs as envoys, and professed obedience. When they had paid their respects to the Khān Kalān, he, at the time of dismissal, called up each one of them, and, in accordance with the Indian custom, was giving *pān* to each and bidding them adieu. One of these daring and furious men struck a blow with his dagger between the Khān Kalān's collar-bone so that the point came out below the shoulder-blade to the extent of three finger-breadths. Bahādur K. Turbatī, one of his servants ran and felled the Rajput to the ground. Ṣādiq Khān and Muḥammad Qulī Khān acted with promptitude and killed him. Others were stretched upon the ground as being involved in his wickedness. When the truth of the affair was 5
brought to the hearing of H.M. he, in contradiction to the foolish fancies of men of small capacity, prosecuted more earnestly the conquest of Gujrat. He arrived on the day of Tīr, the 13 Abān Divine month (about 20 October 1572,) at the place where the officers had been previously, and who now came in to welcome him. When he perceived that there was such rebellion on the part of the men of Sirohī he issued an order that the victorious troops should march to Sirohī and should demolish the rebels thereof. He also decided to go there himself. On the day of Sarosh, the 17 Abān Divine month he encamped in the territory of Sirohī. The presumptuous ones of that country took refuge in the mountain-defiles. In accordance with the custom which prevails among turbulent Rajputs of a number surrounding their master's palace, and of some of them establishing themselves in an idol-temple, a large body of men collected in a temple[1] of Mahādeo which was one *kos* distant from Sirohī. The world's lord restrained the alert heroes from making war on this canaille and sent off swordsmen and archers on foot to account for these doomed ones. Among the servants of the threshold of fortune, Dost Muḥammad, the son of Tātār Khān missed his way and drank the sherbet of death.

One of the occurrences was that Yār 'Alī Beg Turkamān came with a number of Persians on behalf of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudā-

[1] Probably this is the temple of Sarneswar, (Sarangeswar) about two miles from Sirohī, and on the way to Erinpura, described in the Rajputana Gazetteer III. 126.

banda, the eldest son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who was governor of Khurāsān for his father, with the rareties of Persia as an emissary.[1] He was received with princely favours.

At this stage (Sirohī) an order was issued to Rai Rai Singh and a number of servants to abide in the territories of Jodhpur and Sirohī and to exercise supervision therein, so that if the disaffected should on hearing of the advance of the royal army wish to come out of Gujrat and cause disturbance in the imperial territories, they might be prevented. When the Shāhinshāh's mind was at ease about the affairs of that country he marched onwards. From the borders of Pattan he sent forward Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn[2] with rescripts to 'Itimād Khan, who had repeatedly sent petitions and had expressed desires for the arrival of the exalted court, and gave him salutary advices to guide him in the paths of auspiciousness. When H.M. had halted in the vicinity of the town of Dīha,[3] the intelligencers reported to him that when Sher Khān, who had possession of Ahmadābad, had heard of the royal advance he had fled to the territory of Surat[4] and Jūnagarh, and had sent his sons Muḥammad Khān and Bādar to
6 Pattan to convey his family and goods to places of safety. They had now done so and were proceeding to rejoin their father. Also that Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., who had come to help 'Itimād Khān, had gone back to his own estate and that 'Itimād Khān intended to wait upon H.M. H.M. sent Rajah[5] Mān Singh and a body of troops to seize Sher Khān's sons, but they fled to the defiles. The troops, however, came up with their baggage and were victorious. On the day of Ashtād 26 Ābān Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 1 Rajab (7 November) 1572, H.M. encamped in the pleasant city of Pattan which was formerly known as Nahrwāla. The inhabitants, both high and low, showed reliance on the justice and kindness of the Shāhinshāh and tendered their homage. H.M. directed his

[1] Ṭahmāsp was then living and Khudābanda was only governor of Khurāsan. Cf. Elliot V. 342 where the statement that Ṭahmāsp had also sent the ambassador is a mistranslation.

[2] Son of Mīr Qāsim, Blochmann 406.

[3] So in text, but doubtless Dīsa in Gujrat.

[4] The variant Sorath is probably right.

[5] He was only Kuar till Rajah Bhagwān's death, and is generally called so by A.F.

attention to Mirzā Khān and questioned him about the martyrdom of Bairām Khān (his father). In his graciousness he said that he would make over Pattan to him, and that as at present he had not the means[1] of looking after it, Saiyid Aḥmad Khān would be appointed to take care of it. From this place he deputed Ḥakim 'Ain-al-mulk to bring to court 'Itimād Khān and Mīr Abū Turāb. Mīrzā Muqīm, who was related to M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, was one of the first to take the path of auspiciousness and to come and kiss the threshold. Here, too, the good services of Moẓaffar Khān were called to mind, and as his merits were found to outweigh his defects, an order was issued rescinding his departure for the Hijāz, and bringing him to Court. On 3 Āẕar Divine month or 7 Rajab (13 November 1572), H.M. marched towards Ahmadābād.

When he reached Jatāna[2] it appeared that Moẓaffar Gujrātī, who was the document of sovereignty for the Gujrātīs, had separated from Sher Khan Faulādī and was wandering about in a distracted state in the neighbourhood. Mīr Khān Yesāwal and Farid Qarāwal were sent, and after them were despatched Abū-l-qāsim Namakīn[3] and Karm 'Alī to investigate and to bring that confused wanderer to court. When Mīr Khān had gone some way, Moẓaffar's umbrella and canopy fell into his hands. He was then joined by Mīr Abū-l-qāsim and Karm 'Alī who had followed him. They went on and at last Mir Khān seized Moẓaffar, who was hiding in a corn-field, and brought him before H.M. He had compassion on him and made him over to Karm 'Alī. On the night of the same day Mīr Saiyid Ḥāmid Bukhāri and Ulugh Beg Ḥabshī arrived with their troops and did homage, and were encompassed with royal favours. No long time had elapsed after that when Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn and Ḥakīm Ainu-l-mulk brought to Court Mīr Abū Turāb, who was the chief 7
counsellor of Gujrat, and reported that 'Itimād Khān was coming to offer his submission. Before Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn arrived, he had sent Mīr Abū Turāb, Wajih-al-mulk and Mujāhid Khān to court in order that they might procure him fresh confidence and then return.

[1] On account of his youth. His father's body was apparently still there then. It was removed to Mashhad in 985 (1577). According to the Maasir I. 381, it was first taken to Delhi.

[2] So in text, but should be apparently Chotana, Blochmann 518.

[3] Blochmann 470.

When Shāh Fakhru d-dīn met in with the envoys, he comforted them and went on to 'Itimād Khān. Ḥakīm 'Ain-al-mulk came and turned back Abū Turāb and carried him to Aḥmadābād. After much discussion all the Gujrat officers and grandees of that country set their hearts to loyalty and glorified the faces of the coins and the tops of the pulpits with the name of H.M. the Shāhinshāh and proceeded to court. 'Itimād Khān dismissed the ambassadors along with Mir Abū Turāb from the town of Kari.[1] When this news was brought to the royal hearing, Khwāja Jahān, Khān 'Ālam and Ṣādiq Khān were deputed to welcome them and they conducted them with honour. Next day, when the royal standards had advanced from Jūtāna, 'Itimād Khān and a large body of persons drew near. Khwāja Jahān, Mīr Abū Turāb and a number of others were ordered to hasten forward and to exalt him by bringing him to do homage. H.M. mounted in his glory on an elephant, the envoys brought forward 'Itimād Khān and he was made illustrious by performing the prostration. After that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, Malik Mashriq,[2] Jujhār Khān Habshī, Wajīha-al-mulk and Mujāhid Khān came and kissed the carpet, and each was received with favour proportionate to his position. 'Itimād Khān and some of the nobles of Gujrat were ordered to mount (on elephants?) and to come nearer. H.M. conversed with them the whole way and encouraged them and halted at the town of Kari. Saif-al-mulk and some others were in Maḥmūdābād. Ṣādiq Khān and other servants were sent to give these loiterers the bliss of doing homage. At this station, as a matter of prudence and caution—which are adjuncts of administration—the Gujrat officers were summoned and told that H.M. would entrust the country to 'Itimād K. and would leave him all the officers he wished for. It was proper that each of them should give security so that there might be no failure of vigilance and forethought, and that the conditions of honourable conduct (*futuwat*)[3] might be ful-

[1] Kadī, in Baroda.

[2] The text has Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, the son of Mashriqī, or the Mashriqī, but it appears from the T.A. and the Iqbālnāma that Malik Maskriq or Malik Ashraq is the name and that he is another person than Ikhtiyār-al-mulk. Malik Sharq or Ashraq is mentioned in Chapter III as acting as guide to Akbar. He was afterwards made collector of Thānesar and is mentioned by Badayūnī, p. 223.

[3] *Futuwat* generally means liberality. Perhaps the meaning is that if

filled. Mir Abū Turāb engaged to be security for 'Itimād K., and the latter became surety for all the others except the Abyssinians. H.M. ordered that the Abyssinians should be included among the royal slaves on the same terms as they had been slaves of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. In observance[1] of certain matters, which were necessary for the guarding of sovereignty, they were made over to the great officers. Next day the standards of fortune halted at the village of Sântaj.[2]

One of the warning occurrences was that a crew of libertines and 8
vagabonds of that country—where there are thousands of such—raised a shout to the effect that a sublime order had been given that the people of the army of fortune should plunder the Gujrāti's camp. They began to do so and a great commotion resulted. When this came to the Khedive's hearing, he summoned the great officers and ordered them to inflict punishment on the plunderers, and to put to death those who were found in the possession of plunder. He himself held a public court and had fierce elephants present. The rioters were brought before H.M. and were trampled under the feet of elephants. The goods were returned to the owners, and in a short time the disturbance was quieted, and there was a sound of peace and security. By the glory of this justice the newly acquired territory became a seat of tranquillity. On the day of Ābān 10 Āzar Divine month or 14 Rajab (November 20, 1572) the standards were set up in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād, and merely by the glance of the Shāhinshāh a work which a crowd of men would have regarded as difficult was accomplished with ease. A multitude of men, high and low, submitted and were made happy. Everyone according to his means returned thanks[3] for the deliverance from

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the Gujrat officers gave security, Akbar would be able to deal liberally with them.

[1] This passage is explained by the T.A. Elliot V. 343, where it is mentioned that Akbar's officers were suspicious of the Abyssinians and reported to this effect to Akbar who ordered the headmen (*sirdārān*) should be made over to trustworthy servants of the Court.

[2] There is the variant Sāhaj. I have not found the place. According to the Mirāt Aḥmadī the riots mentioned in the following paragraph occurred at Ḥājīpār.

[3] *Shukrāna*. Apparently this refers to the amount of *peshkash* or presents tendered by each.

the calamities of the age, and was honoured by the sublime glance. Aḥmadābād which is the metropolis and has 380[1] pūrahs (quarters) *i.e.*, wards, each of which is like a city, became a scene of heavenly excellences from the glory of the advent of the Shāhinshāh. H.M. several times entered this city. The wishes of many generations of mortals were fulfilled; the oppressed obtained favour, and the oppressors sank into the abyss of destruction. The talented came out of the secret chamber of capability into the conspicuousness of action. On this day[2] of joy the festival of weighing the Shāhinshāh was held and there was rejoicing upon rejoicing. The solicitous obtained their wishes, and the prayers of the suppliants were heard. At this time, while the camp was at Aḥmadābād, the envoys of Amīn[3] Khān Ghorī arrived with suitable presents and had the bliss of performing homage. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. sent a hypocritical petition and presents, but as he was not sincere, he did not find acceptance.

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[1] In the Aīn. and in T.A. the number is given as 360. See J. II. 240.

[2] The particular day is not specified. If, as usual, the day chosen was Akbar's birthday, it should have been 5 Rajab, but this occurred before he arrived at Ahmedābād.

[3] He was ruler of Jūnagarh, etc. A.F.'s account of the two expeditions to Gujrat should be compared with the accounts in the T.A., both in the part which gives the history of Akbar, and in the part which gives the history of the kings of Gujrat. Nizam-ud-dīn had served in Gujrat and his descriptions are often fuller and more correct than A.F.'s. See especially Elliot V. 360-70. It was 'Itimād Khān's intrigues which led Akbar to interfere in the affairs of Gujrat. 'Itimād first produced Muzaffar or Nathū and swore on the Koran that he was Sultan Maḥmud's son, and then when Muzaffar left him for the Afghans (Sher Khān Fulādi and others), 'Itimād turned round and wrote that Muzaffar was not the king's son.

CHAPTER II.

March of the Sacred Army of the Shāhinshāh from Aḥmadābād to the Port of Cambay, and his beholding the Sea.

When the delightful country of Gujrat had become the abode of peace and tranquillity by the advent of the Shāhinshāh, he made over the government of Aḥmadābād and this side of the river Mahindri (*i.e.*, the Mahī) to the Khān A'aẓam M. 'Azīz Koka. The other side, 9
viz., Baroda, Cāmpānīr, Surat, and the districts which had been usurped by the Mīrzās were entrusted to the Gujrat officers who had bound on the straps of fealty and had been included among the imperial servants. 'Itimād Khān Gujrati was placed at the head of them, and these officers, new and old, engaged to administer the territories, and to extirpate the Mirzās. Thereafter H.M. determined that after he had visited the sea, he would return to the capital (*i.e.*, Aḥmadābād). Accordingly on the day of Asman 27 Āẕar Divine month or Monday 2 Shābān, 2 December 1572, he marched to the port of Cambay which is thirty *kos* from Aḥmadābād. The Gujrat officers took leave for some days in order to make their arrrangements and stayed in the city. He left Ḥakīm 'Aīn-al-mulk, who had relationships with them, in order that he might civilise these savages of the desert.

On the march he heard that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk had in his wickedness absconded, and that 'Itimād Khān and the other Gujrat officers were on the point of falling into evil ways. Accordingly Shahbāz Khān received orders to go there quickly and come with those traitors and prevent them from turning into the desert of error.

On 1 [1] Dai Divine month H.M. encamped at the port of Cambay so that pleasant spot became the meeting-place of the spiritual and material oceans. The merchants of Rūm,[2] Syria, Persia and Turan regarded the advent of the Shāhinshāh as a great boon and paid their respects. H.M. embarked on a ship with a select party, and

[1] T.A. Friday, 6 Shabān (12 December 1572).

[2] The Iqbālnāma has Farang (Europe) instead of Syria.

made an excursion on the sea. The hearts of the sincere received a fresh instruction. On the day of Shahrīyūr 4 Dai, Divine month, Shāhbāz Khān brought 'Itimād Khān and some other of the Gujrāti officers to Court. As these wicked and deceitful men had broken their engagements of loyalty, H.M. again turned his attention to the affairs of the country and made over each one of them to a faithful servant. The short account of those evil-conditioned men is that timidity, deceit, and falsehood have been mixed up with a little honesty, simplicity and humility (*farotanī*, perhaps meanness) and made into a paste (*mʿajūn*) to which the name of Gujrāti has been given. Among these 'Itimād Khān was the leading specimen. When the reverberation of the fortune of the sublime army rose high in Gujrat, the officers thereof lost hold of the thread of counsel. At last they contrived a scheme and did homage, but all their thought was by this deception to keep up the old state of things. As H.M. is an ocean of benevolence he winked at their inner wickedness and encompassed them with favours. Although farsighted counsellors who had to some extent understood the dispositions of those evil-minded ones, and had by hints and also by clear language suggested their arrest, their proposals were not accepted. On the contrary the position of those men (the Gujrātīs) was made yet confidential. At the time when H.M. went off to witness the spectacle of the ocean, it was evident from their taking leave and remaining behind that this wicked crew had evil designs. What campaign had they made that it was imperative that they should at this time take leave? But the world's lord, from his reverence and graciousness, took the view that they were honest, and when those wretches saw the glorious justice and the daily increasing fortune of the king, they perceived that now that so wide as a territory had been made brilliant by his equity, it was impossible for them to remain in it according to the old, old way, and that it would be better for them to retire and raise the head of turbulence. On the night[1] of the second day after H.M.'s departure, Ikhtiyār-al-mulk took the oppor-

[1] The T.A. Elliott V. 243 says Akbar left Aḥmadābād on Monday, 2 Shʿabān (8 December 1572), and that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk fled towards Aḥmadnagar and Idar on the 4th id. This Aḥmadnagar was in Gujrat some 20 miles from Idar. See Mirat Aḥmadī.

tunity to desert, and 'Itimād Khān and all those who were in league with him were on the point of going off when Abū Turāb and Ḥakīm Ain-al-mulk arrived. The conspirators sought to ruin them by tricks and pretences and sought to detain them and to use up the time by discussions and stratagems. It nearly came to their being imprisoned and carried off and to their being put to death and to the evil schemes being carried out. Just then Shāhbāz Khān arrived, and their evil intentions did not become acts. Shāhbaz Khān considered with himself that if he hastened to arrest Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, this crew would escape. Without raising the veil from over the acts of those disloyal ones, he went off to the threshold of fortune. As H.M. the Shāhinshāh is a touchstone for all classes, the false coin of these men was soon revealed, and they met with their punishment. The right-thinking and magnanimity of the world's lord were revealed to mankind and the links of sway maintained. The good fortune of the farsighted was conspicuous and also there was a demonstration to the general public of the conduct of the faction. The good name of the Shāhinshāh was written on the pages of the hearts of high and low. If H.M., in accordance with his own secret perception or with the requests of the clear-sighted ones of the court had before this put those evil-doers into confinement, how would the real state of the case have been made manifest to the general public, with whom—the blind and superficial—rulers have principally to do?

When the Shāhinshāh's mind was free from the affairs of these wicked and two-faced men, he addressed himself to the extirpation of the seditious Mīrzās. For from the time when that crew had, after failing in Malwa, come to this country, Baroda had come into the hands of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., Surat into those of Muḥammad 11
Ḥusain M. and Cāmpānīr into the hands of Shāh M. H.M. made over the charge of the port of Cambay to Ḥasan Khān Khāzānčī and on the day of Amardād 7 Dai Divine month, proceeded towards Baroda. From near Baroda he sent Shahbāz Khān, Qāsim Khān, Bāz Bahādur Khān and a body of active men towards Cāmpānīr in order to free that fort from the rebels. Khān Aāẓam M. Koka was sent off to the government of Ahmadābād. He instilled into the mind of that auspicious one many principles of government such as the love of justice, continual watchfulness, the having regard to the

ranks of mankind, the preservation of their honour, the observing of peace with all, etc., and bade him confirm him (Akbar) in his good opinion of himself. He (Akbar) also appointed as his assistants Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn Khān, Dastam Khān, M'aṣūm Khān, Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī and a large number of loyal heroes, and he encompassed them with favours above their positions. His purpose in sending them was that they might inflict suitable punishment on the Mīrzās if they should try to raise a disturbance there. On the day of Āzar the 9th of the said month (Dai) he reached Baroda. Next day he learnt that the ill-fated Mirzas had strengthened the fort of Surat and had collected near Cāmpānīr. The Khān 'Ālm, Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha, Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥram, Rājah Bhagwant Dās, Mān Singh, and Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Iṣfahānī [1] and another body of troops were deputed to give those infatuated ones a lesson. It was past midnight when an intelligencer brought news that when the news of the advance of the Shāhinshāh's army reached Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. in the fort of Broach, he put to death Rustum [2] Khān Rūmī who had resolved on becoming loyal and wished to do homage. Though he could not maintain himself in that fort against the world-conquering standards, yet the wine of presumption in his brain was making him pass by at a distance of eight kos from the camp of fortune, in order that he might cause a disturbance in the country. As many of the loyal servants had already
12 been sent against those vagabonds, the world-lord—who in his excess of courage always wished to wield his sword in the battlefield,—was pleased, and determined that he would personally make a rapid expedition and chastise those evildoers.

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[1] The variant is Āṣofkhānī is preferable.

[2] This is the Rustum Khān who had so long defended Broach. It appears from this account that it was not altogether in breach of a compact that Ibrāhīm put him to death.

CHAPTER III.

Rapid march of H.M. the Shāhinshāh against Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., the battle and the defeat of the enemy.

As H.M. knew that the chastisement of the presumptuous and rebellious was at the head of the deeds of sovereignty, he sent off Shahbāz Khān Mīr Bakhshī quickly in order that he might turn back the officers who had previously hurried off to put down the Mirzās, and cause them to join the imperial force. He left Mīr Muḥammad the Khān Kalān, Khwāja Jahān, Shujā'at Khān and Ṣādiq Khān in the camp and in charge of the princes (Akbar's children), and put his foot in the stirrup of victory. He took with him Khwāja 'Abdullah, Jalāl Khān Qūrcī, Raisāl Darbārī, Āṣaf Khān, Jaimal,[1] Bahādur Khān Qūrdār, Maqbul Khān, Aqā[2] Sarkh Badakhshī, Mathurā Dās, and Adam Tājband. Dilāwarkhān[3] was ordered to remain on the edge of the camp and to see that no one else should follow them. H.M. did not judge it proper that more than two[4] or three servants (*mardum*) of his companions should go with them lest Ibrāhīm Ḥusain should decamp on account of the crowd of victorious warriors. Though those loyalists who had the privilege of speech implored and lamented, it was of no avail. He said that such was his reliance on God's help that he needed not a large force to quell those wretched insurgents. But out of farsightedness—which is the foundation of conquest and world-rule—he ordered that the army[5] which had gone in advance should be united with his band.

[1] The Iqbālnāma has Wazīr Jamīl, and this is probably right. He is the man who afterwards turned traitor in Bengal.

[2] There is the variant Wāfa, and the Iqbālnāma has Wafa Cela and Sarkh.

[3] The Iqbālnāma has *dilāwarān*. Brave men were ordered.

[4] The text has *du kas* "two persons," but as I.O. M.S. 236 and B.M. Or. 26, 207 have *du sih kas* "two or three persons," I have adopted that reading. I.O. MS. 235 has *du sih hasār kas*, "two or three thousand persons."

[5] *Lashkar-i-pesh*. This must the army which had previously marched against the Mirzās, and which the Bakhshī Shahbāz K. had now been sent to recall. It is mentioned again a little lower down.

On the same night that the news of the rebels had been brought, he mounted his swift steed when about two hours of night remained and went off at a gallop. Malik Ashrāq [1] Gujrātī was added as a guide, as he was acquainted with the country. On that swift journey the guides went wrong owing to a design of Providence. At last the path was found by the illumination of the sun of fortune and they went on still more rapidly.

One of the mysterious indications, which caused joy to H.M.'s comrades, was that when it became morning, and the world-lighting splendour of the great luminary took possession of the world, a deer
13 appeared. It passed into the mind of the Shāhinshāh that if he caught this deer it would be a sign of victory. So a *cīta* was slipped, and immediately the deer was captured. When this became known to H.M.'s followers their hearts were strengthened a thousandfold and they addressed themselves to the march. No trace of the enemy could be seen. It appeared as if they had heard of the victorious, royal army, and had increased their pace. Delay was also caused by the cavalcade's missing its way. When two hours of day remained, they fell in with a *brahman* and inquired from him about the enemy. He said they had crossed the Bikānīr [2] river and encamped in large force at Sarnāl, and that the distance was about four *kos*. H.M. took counsel with his followers. Jalāl Khān said, "Our troops have not come up yet, and the enemy is in force. When we are so few in number it is not advisable to engage in daylight with so many. The proper thing is to halt a while and make a night-attack." The mine of truth and courage did not approve of a night-attack, which is a form of deception and fraud, and in order to encourage his comrades, said, "Courage is a helper, and many cowards become brave men out of shame. It is far better not to be

[1] Ashraf in text, but Ashraq is the correct reading.

[2] So in text, but there is evidently an error. Elliot VI. 37 has Sakānīr, and Bird's Gujrat 310 has "the ford of Bīākapūr." Evidently the river is the Mahindrī or Mahī, and perhaps the place is Wancaneer (Wankānīr) marked as on the Mahī, between Ahmadabad and Baroda, in the map to Bayley's Gujrat. The Bombay Gazetteer VII. 539 mentions the town of Vāsopura as a place where the Mahī is fordable. The original of the Mīrāt Ahmadī has "the river Mahindrī at the ford of Bīkānīr." Bom. lith. 120.

put off the work of the day till the night, and to fight with the smartness and alacrity that we are marching with." He uttered words of encouragement and said, "Friends, be stout-hearted, and let each one of us overthrow a foe." Khwāja 'Abdullah said "Your Majesty will remember that you have often said that 'A good elephant is one who is not satisfied with overthrowing one opponent but addresses himself to the casting down and trampling upon many.'" H.M. commended this speech, and resolved, heaven helping, to fight by day,[1] and pushed on faster than ever. At last the town of Sarnāl,[2] which was on the top of a hill, appeared in sight. After H.M. had proceeded a little way further, he drew up his men on the banks of the Mahindrī, and ordered them to put on their cuirasses. At this time, when this Tiger of God was preparing for combat—and not more than forty men had arrived, news came of the approach of his other troops. He was angry at their delay, and said to his companions, "We'll not suffer them to share in the fight with us." But when it was explained that the cause of their delay was that they had hurried off in an opposite direction and also that Shahbāz Khān, who had been sent to call them, had been long in coming up with them, his wrath was appeased, and he permitted some of them to present 14
themselves. The Khān 'Ālm, Ṣaiyid Muḥammad Khān Bārha Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Kuar Mān Singh Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, Bhūpat, Salīm Khān Kākar, Bhoj, Hajī Yūsuf Khān and many others of the officers and cavaliers bent forward the head of shame and joined the royal cavalcade. So the number of the troop became about two hundred. At the time of crossing the river Mān Singh petitioned to be placed in the van. H.M. said, "What force have we that we should make a division. To-day we are all one and have set our hearts upon the fight." He begged, saying, "It is the privilege of devotion to go a few steps in front and to show life-sacrifice." The just prince granted his desire and allowed him and some experienced warriors to go in front. He himself, proceed-

[1] Akbar's meaning was that it was advantageous to fight in daylight as then men were ashamed to run away.

[2] Sarnāl seems to mean "Head of the river," and A.F. plays on this, saying it was head of the hill. It is not marked on the maps and seems to have disappeared. It is entered in the Ain as in Sarkar Aḥmadabad Persian text, p. 494.

ing on *pari passu* with the Divine assistance, put his bay horse into the deep river. By the good fortune and miracle of his personality the river became fordable, and all the loyal servants crossed in safety. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had a little while before halted in the town of Sarnāl. When he saw the dust of the victorious army and the horsemen crossing the river he recognised the Divine glory (*far Izdī*) and said to his companions, "Evidently the king is here from their crossing so splendidly." From illfatedness and shortness of vision he immediately prepared for battle and came out of the town and took post on rising ground. When Ḥ.M. had crossed the river the bank was found to be very rugged.[1] The devoted heroes abandoned prudence and pressed forward. Parties of them came into the broken ground, and sought for a means of success. The lord of the earth and a few of his immediate followers came to the gate of Sarnāl which faced the river, and then some of the wretches tried to oppose him. Maqbul Khān, a Qalmāq slave, and some brave men rushed forward and levelled them with the dust. When they got into the town they found the streets full of baggage, and it appeared that Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had gone out with the rest of the rebels by another road and was prepared for battle. The world's lord and a party of kindred spirits got out, with great difficulty, from the narrow and encumbered streets, and he addressed himself to encouraging his followers. Bābā Khān Qaqshāl and his bowmen were driven off by the enemy. The other heroes stood firm. Many of the practised warriors, who had got separated in the ravines, came in from every side and attacked the foe. One of them, Bhūpat[2] the brother of Bhagwant Dās, became confronted with a number of the enemy, and bravely yielded up his life.

15 *Verse.*

In every corner there was a hot engagement,
There was a dealing with an ill-fated set,
As the troops were few but fortune was friendly
They were better than numbers and difficulties

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[1] The Mirāt Aḥmadī says the broken ground is called *Kotar* by the people of Gujrat. Bombay lith. 121.

[2] Badāūni calls him Bhunpat, and says he was Bhagwān's son! The Iqbālnāma calls him the brother's son of Bhagwān.

For in war the result is from the stars
Not from wealth and a large army.

As the ground was rough and there were thorn bushes[1] two horsemen could not advance abreast. The tiger of the forest of courage displayed the power of God and slowly advanced by the narrow ways. Rajah Bhagwant Dās was close beside him, and when on every side there was hard fighting three daring men rushed from out the ranks of the opponents against the lion-hearted sovereign. One of them made at Rajah Bhagwant Dās and aimed his javelin at him, but the Rajah stood firm in his stirrups and attacked him with his spear. The javelin did not hit its mark, and the Rajah so smote that wretch with his spear that he was overthrown. Just then the other two attacked H. M. The thorn bushes were an obstacle, and the Khān 'Aālm, Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram and some others who were near at hand, were so unfortunate as not to be able to assist. That tiger-slayer and world-champion, when he saw that those two evildoers were coming near him, urged on his horse and jumped over the thorns and in front of them. The glory of the Divine radiance affrighted them and they fled. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. was vanquished by the fortune of the King.

Verse.

Dost thou not know that when he engaged in combat
Fortune uttered the cry of "Beware"!
What brave man will seek a contest with him?
What courage will he have to look on his brow?
He so fights that heroes, high or low,
Fall down as if drunk with wine.
At each onset he strides thirty paces,
At each wound an elephant falls down.
The soldiers fly in crowds on crowds:
They give themselves to the river and the rock.

All at once they fled in confusion, and the warriors pursued them and killed many. By the blessing of the Shahinshāh's personality such a great victory was obtained by a few.

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[1] Zaqqām, either euphorbia antiquorum, or a cactus.

Verse.

No one has seen such fighting in the world
Nor has heard of such from the skilled in history.

The account of this great masterpiece is beyond the mould of
16 language, and so instructive an event has seldom been met with among the feats of the ancients, to wit, that such a great King, at whose beck are a thousand armies, should, in his high courage and greatness of soul, not delay, but with a few of his own followers should make so long a march against so many brave troops, and should, by the Divine help, uprear the standards of victory and drive such haughty ones before him! Assuredly human power cannot account for such deeds, nor comprehend them. Clearly it is the special Divine favour to which they should be ascribed!

His world-conquering mind desired that the pursuit should not be given up till Ibrāhīm Husain should be seized, but as the cup of his life was not yet full the darkness of night threw a veil over him. Of necessity the farsighted Shāhinshāh returned and encamped in the town of Sarnāl.[1] He returned thanks to God and proceeded to reward his followers. He sent the bulletin of victory, which was full of the wonders of the Divine aid, to the camp by Surkh Badakhshī. Next morning he proceeded towards the camp, and on 12 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to the night of Wednesday the 18th Shāban (24 December 1572), he returned to the camp. The gates of rejoicing and thanksgiving were opened anew.

One of the occurrences of this time was that Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram, Ṣādiq Khān and some of the chosen heroes were appointed to go to the neighbourhood of the fort of Surat so as to allow none of the besieged to escape. When the news of the royal army reached the besieged in the fort, Gulrukh Begam the daughter of M. Kāmrān, and wife of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., took with her her son Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. and some of her trusty adherents and went off to the Deccan. Though the officers hastened after her they did not

[1] A.F.'s account of the battle of Sarnāl is translated in Elliot' History of India, VI, 37. There is also in vol. V, 344, a translation of Niẓāmu-d-dīn's account of the battle.

[2] The wording of the B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 differs considerably from the text, and represents a different recension. It states, as also does Niẓāmu-d-dīn, that Shah Qulī

succeed,[2] and that wise woman manfully[1] got away from them.

Another occurrence was the chastisement[2] of Shahbāz Khān Bakhshī Begī, and the warning given thereby to all the pillars of the state. The cause of this direction was that Maḥmūd the son of Iskandar Afghan had been made over to his care, and that he managed to escape from his guards and go off to the Deccan. H.M. severely censured him. In fact it was kindness in the guise of wrath, so that the servants of the threshold of the Caliphate might not show slackness in the affairs of sovereignty—which in truth is a form of Divine worship—and should not lose hold of vigilance and wariness.

Maḥram pursued Gulrukh for fifty *kos*, and that though he did not catch her, he got hold of some of her belongings. The same MS. gives at the beginning of the chapter a long account of the fortress of Surat and of its construction by Khwājah Ṣafar (Khudāwand Khān, or Rāmī Khān). It seems that *chaukandi* was a defensive work, and apparently a tower, and that the Portuguese objected to it because it was in imitation of their own buildings.

[1] Cf. "stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach." II Maccabees. C. VII, 21.

[2] According to the account in B.M. Add. 27, 247, Shahbāz Khān was bastinadoed, but so that no visible marks were made. It would seem as if this account were the one originally written by A.F., and that a vestige of it remains in the expression kindness, or pleasantry (*laṭfī*) in the guise of anger. The pleasantry was in the beatings not being severe.

CHAPTER IV.

H.M. forms the design of taking the Fort of Surat.

When it was ascertained that the rebels were making the fort of Surat—which is in Gujrat on the bank of the Taptī and near the
17 ocean—their place of refuge, and were labouring to strengthen it, and had made it over to Hamzabān, who formerly had been among the *qūrcīs*[1] (body-guards) of the Shāhinshāh, but whom an evil fate had now included among the mutineers, H.M. turned his attention to the taking of the fort. Rajah Todar Mal, who was distinguished for foresight and mental activity, was directed to go and examine the methods of ingress and egress of the fort, and to submit a report as to how it could best be taken. He reported[2] that the capture of the fort could be very easily effected. But it was decided that the untying of this knot should be done by H.M. in person. It was from looking to the majestic fortune of the Shāhinshāh that the Raja represented this difficult task as an easy one. If he had had regard to ordinary considerations he never would have ventured on such a bold statement. But at a time when so extensive a country had come into possession, and the sovereign had come a long way from his capital, and had for some months been behind the shields

[1] Badāūnī speaks of him as having belonged to Humāyūn's body-guard.

[2] B.M. Add. 27, 247 says that Todar Mal returned within a week and reported. There is some confusion in the text, and it seems that there is another recension which is represented by Add. 27, 247. What happened apparently was that Todar Mal reported that the fort was an insignificant affair and that there was no need for Akbar's going in person to take it. Abul Faẓl's comment on this is that this was not the real state of the case—the taking of the fort was a difficult task—but that Todar Mal considered that it was not right that Akbar should go there in person when he had been so long away from his capital, and there were so many more important matters calling for his attention. So Todar Mal relied on the good fortune of Akbar's arms and represented the task as easier than it was. Akbar assented to Todar Mal's reasoning about his being required elsewhere, etc., but still judged it proper to go in person to Surat.

of the army, and when the seditious were everywhere lifting up their heads, both those of Gujrat and those of the eastern provinces, how could it be right so great a lord should personally undertake the reduction of a fort? The ruler of the world perceived in his farsightedness that although the circumstances were of this nature, yet if the disposal of the affair were left to the officers there might be delay in accomplishing it, and that if he did not give his personal attention to the matter, the root of those evildoers, which was supplying them with the means of strife, would remain fixed in the soil of sedition as before. Accordingly he determined that he would personally undertake the task and make easy what was difficult. An order was issued that Shāhām Khān Jalāīr should proceed with a number of loyal heroes towards the fort of Cāmpānīr, and that Qāsim Khān Mīr Bahr, who was there, should come to head-quarters, as he was H.M.'s best pupil in the matter of making *sābāṭs* and driving mines. An order was also sent to the Khān A'ẓam, informing him that H.M. was about, with God's help, to accomplish this work, and that he, as the arm of dominion, should see, in concert with the other officers who had been left to assist him, that if the turbulent Mīrzās should invade the country they should be suitably punished. As caution was the foundation of administration, Sher Beg Tavāčī had been sent to Mālwa to direct Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān and the Mālwa officers, who had been ordered to Gujrat, to proceed thither as quickly as possible so 18
that, if necessity should arise, the whole body of officers should be at his (Khān A'ẓam's) disposal, and clear the country of rebellious rubbish.

When the Shāhinghāh's mind was at rest about the affairs of Aḥmadābād he marched on the day of Bahrām 20 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 25 Shāban (31 December 1572), from Baroda towards Surat. He moved on, stage by stage, hunting and administering justice as he went, and at last reached the neighbourhood of the fort on the day of Ardībihisht 8 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 7 Ramzān (11 January 1573). Balls from cannon and culverins came several times into the holy quarters, but by the Divine protection they did no harm. As the station was very near to the fort, H.M. at the request of his officers moved to a place near the Gopī

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Tank.[1] That, too, was near the fort, but it was screened by forest, and uneven ground. Here, too, cannon balls reached the bounds of the quarters, but the Divine protection did its work. H.M. invested the fort with his victorious troops, and assigned each side of it to experienced loyalists. The besieged in their evil-fatedness and blackened hearts turned away from the sun of fortune, and in reliance on the strength of the place, the abundance of provisions, the number of cannon, etc., and the recalcitrancy of the Mīrzās, fell into the abyss of insouciance. Some of them continually sallied forth and made attacks on the batteries. The lives-devoting heroes exerted themselves in chastising these wretches. One of the occurrences was that on a day when there was a rain of balls and bullets from above, and an attack from below by some rebels on the miners in the batteries, Saif K. had fought and distinguished himself. As he was coming back he was struck by a bullet. Though he was confined to his bed for a month, he eventually recovered. Some one said to him: "H.M. is not pleased with you, and why do men like you take the lead for he says[2] to many who have not attained to your rank, "Why do you knowingly and intentionally throw yourselves into such dangerous positions?" That loyal warrior replied: "At the battle of Sarnāl I missed my road and could not be present at that manhood-testing place. From the disgrace of that day my life is a burden to me and I wish to make it lighter."

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[1] The text merely has *talāb*ī, a tank, but a note to the text says that many MSS. have Kolī talāo, and this occurs also in MSS. Add. 26, 207 and 27, 247. But the true reading is Kopī, i.e., Gopī talāo, and this is found in several MSS. Gopī was a Hindu and the founder of Surat about the end of the 15th century. He wished to call the city Suraj or Suryapūr, but the Muḥammadan king of Gujrat preferred to give it a name which was also that of the chapters of the Koran, and called it Surat. Gopī made a tank and lined it with stone, intending it to be the chief ornament of the city. The site of the tank is still known and is still called Gopī talāo, but it is now only a hollow and is used as a garden. See Bombay Gazetteer II. 70 and notes. See also "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar" by Jivanji Jamshedji, Bom. 1903, Du Perron's notes, p. 186. Gopīpurā is in the suburbs of Surat and near Salābatpura and Rustampurā.

[2] The use of the word *mīfarmāīnd* seems to show that the remark quoted is by Akbar. I conjecture that for bisyārī we should read *ba bisyārī*.

One of the occurrences of the siege was the obtaining possession of some elephants and baggage of the Mirzās. The brief 19
account of this is that those blind and inauspicious men had made over some of their elephants and other property to Rānā Rām Deo, a landholder of that part of the country. When the sublime camp halted there the camp-followers went out on a plundering expedition, and those elephants, etc., came into their hands. They regarded this as a good omen and brought them to H.M. who rewarded them by princely gifts.

One of the occurrences of this time was the deputation of some of the officers to the capital. The [illegible]f account of this is that Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā and Shāh M. were near Pattan and were waiting in ambush there for an opportunity to cause a commotion. Ibrāhīm Husain M., who had come away with disgrace from the battle-field of Sarnāl, joined those two rebels at Idar. It is the nature of the dominion which is conjoined with eternity that dumbfounded enemies show an activity in upraising the standards of its victory which surpasses that of the loyal, and exert themselves for their own loss. Instances of this occur in this book of fortune. The new instance was this, that a discussion arose among the brothers about Ibrāhīm's defeat at Sarnāl. From criticism they came to violent language, and from that to a quarrel. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., who was skilful as a swordsman and distinguished for his want of sense, was displeased with his brothers and separated from them, and foolishly resolved to make an attack on the capital. His haughty brothers, from their evil destiny, were glād of the departure of such a brother and did not try to appease him. When this news came to the ears of H.M., he appointed S. Maḥmūd K. Birha, Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram and Rajah Bhagwant Dās to the capital, so that they should follow Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. An order was also issued to Shāham Khān that he should retire from the siege of Cāmpānīr and hasten to Kālpī which was in his jāīgīr, as the general report was that the turbulent man (Ibrāhīm) had rushed off there. When the great officers reached the capital the commotion of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had already subsided and the eastern Afghans had raised up their heads. Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān was asking for help. Rajah Bihārī Mal, who had charge of the administration of the capital, sent the army off to the eastern provinces. It had reached Etawah

when Lûdî left Dâûd, and a stone of dispersion fell among that crew. Consequently it hastened back to the capital.

When the narrative has come so far it is necessary for the historian to give a brief account of the eastern provinces. The concise statement of this long story is that when Sulaimân Kararânî, who had been one of Selîm Khân's officers, became possessed of Orissa Bihâr and Bengal, he as being a hypocrite, did not openly cast aside the thread of obedience. He always sent petitions and presents and so kept himself known at court. On account of this adroitness the veil of his hypocrisy was not rent away. Whoever does not bind himself to the saddlestraps of such a lord of fortune (as Akbar) will some time have the dust of ruin cast upon his head and on the heads of those connected with him. Especially shall anyone who enters into opposition to his lord soon receive his retribution, and leave no trace of his dominion. The case of Sulaimân is a fresh instance of this truth. When he died the Afghans raised up Bâyazîd his eldest son in his stead. His elevation helped his folly, and he in conjunction with the vagabonds of that country, had the khutba read in his own name. In his presumption he abandoned the dissimulation by which his father had tamed the haughty and rebellious and proceeded to oppress and vex them. He made a practice of overthrowing his father's counsellers, Hansû, the son of his cousin 'Imâd, who was his son-in-law and was on friendly terms with him, became annoyed at his bad behaviour, and being stirred up to ambition by instigators of strife he had Bâyazîd put to death. Thus did this wretch disregard so many ties and commit such an act and thereby produce a result which the imperial servants could not have accomplished by a thousand endeavours. Lûdî, who was the rational spirit of the country, in concert with other officers raised up Sulaimân's younger son Dâûd, and arrested Hansû and put him to death. Gûjar Kararânî, who was the sword of the country, set up in Bihâr the son of Bâyazîd, and Lûdî set out for Bihâr from Bengal with a large force. From Mun'im Khân the Khân-Khanân's want of attention, and the tricks of Lûdî, Gûjar made out his expedition.

The brief[1] account of this is that when the death of Sulaimân became known, Mun'im Khân proceeded from Cunâr towards Bihâr.

[1] This part is translated in Elliot VI. 39.

At the same time Sikandar Uzbeg died which was good for himself and for others. The Khān-Khānān sent Tengrī Qulī, Farrukh Irghliq and Payanda Muḥammad Sagkash and others against Ḥājīpūr, and Ṭalibī, Mirzā 'Alī and Nadīm Beg and others against Patna. Gūjar was not able to withstand them, so he sent presents and professed concord, and promised that he would enter the royal service, and would co-operate in the conquest of Bengal. My request is, he said, that I may this day be enrolled among the servants 21
of the Shāhinshāh, and that Gorakhpūr may be given to me for my family and dependents, and that the province of Bihār be given in fief to the King's officers, or that you give Sarkār Hājīpūr and Bihār to me for this year that I may accept for their produce to the State. Next year I can have my fief in Bengal." Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān accepted his request, and was about to give him Gorakhpūr. Meanwhile Lūdī who was the manager[1] of these towns and the crafty one of the province, got information of the affair, and in conjunction with Hāshim Khān, who was always of two colours, spoilt the arrangement. When Gūjar became hopeless of Mun'im Khān he of necessity arranged with Lūdī. Mun'im Khān retired after receiving suitable presents from Lūdī.

At this time news came that Yūsuf Muḥammad had taken Gorakhpūr and was prepared for strife. The account of this event is that Mun'im Khān had taken Yūsuf Muḥammad the son of Sulaimān Uzbeg with him to court and had represented his disloyalty. H. M. the Shāhinshāh ordered him to be[2] imprisoned in order that he might be watched and reformed. When the royal standards had moved to Gujrat the wretch escaped from his prison in the capital, and joining with some other vagabonds he took Gorakhpūr from Payanda Muḥammad Sag-kash's people. When the Khān-Khānān heard of this he sent off Jān Muḥammad Bahsūdī, Payanda Muḥammad Sag-kash, and Tengrī Qulī to quell this insurrection. He also set out in person from the town of Maḥmūdābād along with Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl and other officers. On the way, Majnūn Khān and the other Qāqshāls got suspicious and

[1] *Dīwān*. A.F. apparently puns on the word, for *Dīwān* though it means a steward or manager, is chiefly known as the name of one of the crafty jackals in the Anwār Suhailī.

[2] This part is translated in Elliot VI. 39.

separated themselves from Mun'im Khān's army. The cause of this was that idle talkers and liars had spread a report that Bābā Khān Jabbārī, Mīrzā Muḥammad, Shāh Muḥammad and the other Qāqshāls who were in attendance on H.M. the Shāhinshāh in the Gujrat campaign had killed Shahbāz Khān and had joined with the Mīrzās, and that H.M. had issued orders for Majnūn Khān's arrest. The Khān-Khānān sent Mīr Farīdūn, Muḥammad Khān Uzbeg and Abū S'aīd to soothe Majnūn Khān and to bring him back. But though the envoys tried to contradict the rumours, they did not succeed. Meanwhile letters came from Bābā and Jabbārī full of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness and [illegible] their own good service Majnūn Khān was ashamed of his behaviour, and proceeded to join the Khān-Khānān's camp. The Khān-Khānān had taken Gorakhpūr and had returned when Majnūn Khān arrived. Various courtesies passed between them. Meanwhile the day of Dāūd's destruction approached, and in his presumption he went towards Jaunpur. He sent on in advance
22 of himself Lūdī with the best troops and the choice elephants. Lūdī came with a large force and took Zamāniya. Muḥammad Qāsim Muhrdār surrendered it on terms. The Khān-Khānān sent *sazāwals* and collected the officers. He also sent ahead Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Majnūn Khān, Qiyā Khān, Rajah Gajpatī and a large body of troops. He himself marched slowly forward. At that time he took an omen from the Divan of the Mystic Tongue (Ḥāfiz) and this distich was found.

Verse.[1]

O King of the beautiful, be just to the pain of my loneliness
Without thee, my heart is dying, 'tis time you return.

The Khān-Khānān quoted this ode in his petition and sent it to the court. He prayed for assistance from the holy mind of the Shāhinshāh, and went on to extinguish the flames of rebellion. Lūdī's presumption was increased by the capture of Zamāniya and he sent Yūsuf Muḥammad, who had fled from Gorakhpūr and joined the Afghans, across the Ganges with 5 or 6,000 men. M. Ḥasan Khān, Rajah Gajpatī, Nagr Bahādur and Ṭālibī, Tengrī Qulī and others of the servants of Mun'im Khān relied on the Shāhinshāh's fortune and waged war discreetly. The rebels were

[1] See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's Ḥāfiz III. 12, also Elliot IV. 510.

defeated, and a number were slain, and many drowned. After this victory Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and other officers joined the imperial forces, and an army was drawn up in Ghāzīpūr. The Khān-Khānān, too, joined them with a suitable body of troops. Lūdī built a fort between the Sīāh Āb and the Ganges and took post with a large army. Every day there were single combats between the brave men on both sides. Though the generals waged war manfully yet the enemy was superior in men, elephants and guns. As the imperial standards were engaged in the siege of Surat, Mun'im Khān proposed a peace. Lūdī in his haughtiness did not agree. The generals were in a strange position. To fight was not advisable, and it was difficult to retreat. Suddenly the good news of the Shāhinshāh's success arrived, and Lūdī eagerly made peace and retreated.

The account of this instructive occurrence is that when Dāūd went from Bengal to Monghyr, he put to death Yūsuf, the son of Tāj and his own cousin, from apprehension that Lūdī would set him up. Though this idea was really caused by the Shāhinshāh's good fortune, yet apparently it was the result of remarks by envious people. As Lūdī was an old servant of Tāj, and his daughter was betrothed to that son (Yūsuf), Dāūd believed whatever the evil-thoughted said about Lūdī. When the news came to Lūdī he left Dāūd, and with great urgency made an arrangement with Mun'im Khān, and sent suitable presents to court. When Dāūd heard that Lūdī had turned gainst him and was coming, he retreated in great confusion and fortified Garhī. He also distributed his father's treasures among the soldiers. Jalāl Khān Sadhaurī, and Kālā Pahār, who was called Rājū, left Lūdī, and a discussion broke out among his followers. Lūdī, who was marching against Dāūd, was obliged to retreat and take refuge in Rhotās, and ask assistance from Mun'im Khān. He plainly wrote that he had become a servant of the Court and that he wished to see him speedily, and hoped that by his help he would be exalted by kissing the threshold. Mun'im Khān sent assistance to him and waited for the arrival of the royal standards. Whither have my words gone, and how far have they carried me for the sake of enlivening my discourse?

One of the occurrences during the siege of Surat was the defeat of Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and other rebels.

CHAPTER V.

Battle of Khān A'aẓam M. 'Azīz Kokaltāsh with Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and the Fūlādiāns, and their defeat.

The sage and acute-minded man knows that whenever the lord of the earth forms a right design, and engages in the tranquillising of mankind, the servants of the threshold of fortune become loyal under his auspicious guidance, and with one heart and endeavour recognise the work of their king, their teacher and benefactor, as the Divine command, and devote themselves to his service. The world's work is adorned and glorious actions are revealed. At once does the sovereign of the world become successful, spiritually and materially, and the loyal pass by their own loss and gain, and recognise the service of the sultanate to be the highest form of Divine worship. Thus they perform services such as seldom appeared in the times of former rulers. This tale of a great victory is an instance of this. The brief account of this Divine aid is that when Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. was driven out of Gujrat by the Shāhinshāh's fortune and went off towards the capital, Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and Shāh M. and the Fūlādians, who were in the hills in a disorganised state, made a compact and came down upon the city of Pattan. Saiyid Aḥmad Khān exerted himself to defend the fort. When the news of the gathering of the rebels reached Khān A'aẓim, he assembled his forces, and by a happy coincidence Sher Beg Tawāci, who had been sent to fetch the Malwa officers, added to them Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, Shah Budāgh
24 Khān, Muṭṭalib Khān and the other fief-holders of Malwa. The Khān A'aẓim also sent persons and recalled Shaikh Muḥammad Bukhārī who was in Dūlqa, and who was preparing, under royal orders, to go to Surat.

When the officers were assembled, the Khān A'aẓim proceeded to arrange his forces in a proper manner. He himself took charge of the centre. Shāh Budagh Khān, Mu'īnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farankhūdi and his son Ma'ṣūm Khān, and Muṭṭalib Khān and a large number were stationed there. Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, Mīr

Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Injū [1] held the right wing, and his (whose ?) men were on the flank of the right wing. Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī, Muḥammad Murād Khān, Shāh Muḥammad Khān and Ḥājī Khān Afghān, the son of Khwaṣ Khān, adorned the left wing. Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn, Mozaffar Moghal and Payinda Arlāt were on the flank of the left wing. Dastam Khān, Naurang Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī and Mihr 'Alī Silduz were in the van. Bāz Bahādur and a number of others formed the *altimash*. After arranging his forces the Khān A'aẓim proceeded towards Nahrwāla which is best known as Pattan. On the day of Gosh, 14 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday, 18 Ramaẓān, 22 January 1573, the army reached the neighbourhood of Pattan. The enemy abandoned the siege and faced the victorious army. Sher Khān Fūlādī and Junaid Kararānī commanded the centre. Muḥammad Ḥusain M., Shāh M. and 'Aāqil Ḥusain M. commanded the right wing. Muḥammad Khān the eldest son of Sher Khān and Sādāt Khān held the left wing. Bidar Khān the younger son of Sher Khān Fūlādī commanded the van. The rebels did not intend that the fighting should begin that day, as the son of Jujhār Khān and other seditious ones had not yet joined them. Sher Khān Fūlādī, by a feline stratagem, sent men to Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī and proposed a reconciliation. Many of the leading men of the army who sought for safety did not consider properly and were disposed to peace. Shah Budagh Khān whispered to the Khān A'aẓim, "Beware, and do not agree to peace: the object of this crooked-minded crew is to put off the time." The Khān A'aẓim replied, "My opinion is the same as yours. As the minds of the officers were inclined for peace, and they did not understand the matter, and Sher Khān's agents used deceitful language, the Khān A'aẓim said, "If you are really for peace retire from the place where you are and encamp until we come to you, for it is not seemly 25 for us to retreat." As the words of this crew were deceitful and had no sincerity about them, they did not agree to this proposition. The imperial officers proceeded to the battle-field. And as it was generally stated that the Mirzās would take the victorious army in the rear,

[1] Ānjū in text. He is the author of the "Farhang Jahāngīr." See Rieu Pers. Cat. II. 496. He is mentioned very favourably in Sir Thomas Roe's Journal: see Foster, Hakluyt Society, 238.

Mīrzā Muqīm, Carkis Khān and a number of brave men were stationed on the rear of the centre.

When the two armies approached one another the left wing of the enemy attacked the imperial right wing, and drove off most of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān's men. The Khān kept his ground manfully with a few of his followers. He smote[1] with his sword between the two tusks of one of the enemy's elephants and so excited admiration. The vanguard of the ill-fated rebels attacked the imperial vanguard. Naurang[2] Khān's elephant, which was *mast*, attacked a horseman of his own army and crushed him. Just then the brave men of the enemy's vanguard drove off the imperial vanguard. The *altimash* (reserve), too, could not stand and showed cowardice. In their flight some ran to the right and some to the left. The Afghans followed them up. About 500 horses came in front of the Khān A'āẓim and were soon dispersed. The other body, which had driven off the vanguard and the *altimash*, came upon the left wing of the imperial army. Most of the latter lost courage, and Murād[3] Khān made himself a spectacle by withdrawing himself. Shāh Muḥammad Khān was wounded and carried off by his servants to Aḥmadābād. Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī[4] with a few of his relatives, such as the son of Saiyid Bahāū-d-dīn, Saiyid J'afar the brother of Shaikh Farīd and others, displayed courage and offered up their lives. The rebels thought that they had gained the victory and turned to plunder. The Mīrzās came in person against Mīr Fākhru-d-dīn Khān and his people. The Mīr made some resistance, but could not maintain a firm footing. Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān remained with a few men and showed a firm front against the enemy. When the rebels had driven off Quṭbu-d-dīn's troops and had come to the baggage and were occupied in plundering, Quṭbu-d-dīn came upon them from behind and attacked them. By the Divine help a thorough victory succeeded to a complete defeat. The Khān A'āẓim and the heroes of the imperial centre drove off the black-thoughted Afghans and turned against the enemy's centre which was advancing against

[1] It is not quite clear if it was Quṭbu-d-dīn himself who struck the blow.

[2] Quṭbu-d-dīn's son.

[3] Blochmann 373.

[4] Blochmann 396. The notice of Muḥammad Bukhārī here gives a good account of the battle. See also Badāūnī, Lowe 153-54.

Quṭbu-d-dīn. As most of the enemy's men had hastened off to plunder, they lost heart on seeing this force, and solely by the Divine favour did so glorious a victory show itself. The Khān 26
A'ẓim stood with his men on the top of the ridge and rejoiced in the shouts of victory. At this time the Mīrzās appeared. They had, after severe fighting, driven off the flank of the left wing and had pursued it for two *kos*. This was a great boon. If they had gone against the centre affairs would have been critical. When they had gone far, and their men had dispersed to plunder, they heard of the defeat of Shēr Khān and returned to the battle-field. In fact, if they had followed up those whom they had driven off to Aḥmadābād, they would have been successful. But from their evil fate they proceeded towards the ground of the battle. The Khān A'ẓim was drawn up in battle-array with many faithful heroes when the army of the Mīrzās approached, and Shāh Budāgh K. said, "Now is the time to attack." K. A'ẓim was about to do so, when Yār M. seized his rein, saying, "Many officers are standing still. How can you attack?" When the Mīrzās came nearer they saw the real greatness of the imperial army, which was adorned by a spiritual force, and did not think it fit to engage, and as their evil fate was written on their foreheads they turned their rein and took to flight. By the Divine favour a difficult task became easy. If the heroes had pursued them, hardly any of them would have escaped. Apparently those who made a practice of caution did not think it proper to put the matter to the test, or else they listened to the opportunists and the evil-intentioned. In fine, most of the officers in seeing this mysterious favour bound fresh threads of devotion round their necks and increased in single-mindedness.

One of[1] the wonderful things which happened on that fortunate day was that a *mast* elephant belonging to the enemy's army, whose driver had been pinned by an arrow and killed, went about of its own accord, and approached wherever it heard the sound of the drums

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[1] Add. 27, 247 tells this story in different language and gives the name of the elephant (Barbīr). It says that it was after the victory and when the drums of joy were beating that the elephant appeared, that the horsemen tried in vain to catch it, and that it was only by stopping the beating of the drums that it was caught.

and there scattered the troops. The drums of joy, which were sounding in every corps, stopped for a while, and the elephant's turbulence ceased. He was caught by Shāh Budāgh Khān's men, and formed part of the *peshkash* (present to Akbar).

When the ill-fated crew was defeated, Shēr Khān Fūlādī hastened off to Jūnagarh, and the Mīrzās went to the Deccan. The Khān A'aẓim and the officers pursued them. When the good news of the Divine favour reached H. M's ears he offered thanks to God, and then issued orders that the Khān A'āẓim should send Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Murād Khān, Mihr 'Alī Sīldūz and a
27 body of troops in pursuit of the rebels, and that he should himself come and do homage. The Khān A'aẓim had come to the district of Sarnāl in company with Dastam Khān, Naurang Khān, Maṭṭalib Khān and M'aṣūm Khān when Razavī[1] Khān brought the *firmān*. The Khan A'āzim received it with respect and kissed the threshold on the day of Daibamihr 15 Isfandārmaz Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 20 Shawwāl, 23 February 1573, and was graciously received.

One[2] of the things which happened during the siege of Surat was the arrival of Moẓaffar Khān. It has been already mentioned the Shāhinshāh's kindness had forgiven his incompatibilities and had sent for him. When he reached Aḥmadābād, the Khān A'aẓim had gone to put down the Mīrzās. Although it had been intimated to him (by the Khān A'aẓim) that it was proper that he should co-operate in this task, he did not do so, and threw away such an opportunity of service. He continued his journey and came to Baroda when the royal *firmān* reached him. The purport of it was that he should turn back from whatever place he had reached, and hasten to the Khān A'aẓim's assistance. He was obliged to turn back. When he came to Aḥmadābād it appeared that the imperial servants had been victorious, and that the Khān A'aẓim was proceeding to court in accordance with the sacred orders. Thereupon Moẓaffar Khān proceeded rapidly to court, and had the bliss of performing the *kornish*

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[1] Blochmann 438.

[2] This paragraph differs somewhat in Add. 27, 247. It says nothing about Moẓaffar's recalcitrancy in not joining the Khān A'aẓam. It says he returned to Aḥmadābād on 1 Shawwāl and arrived in Sūrat two days before the K.A.

before the arrival of the Khān A'ẓim. He was received with princely favours.

One of the occurrences of the siege was that a large number of Christians came from the port of Goa and its neighbourhood to the foot of the sublime throne, and were rewarded by the bliss of an interview (*mulāzamat*). Apparently they had come at the request of the besieged in order that the latter might make the fort over to them, and so convey themselves to the shore of safety. But when that crew saw the majesty of the imperial power, and had become cognisant of the largeness of the army, and of the extent of the siege-train, they represented themselves as ambassadors and performed the *kornish*. They produced many of the rarities of their country, and the appreciative Khedive received each one of them with special favour and made inquiries about the wonders of Portugal and the manners and customs of Europe. It seemed as if he did this from a desire of knowledge, for his sacred heart is a depôt of spiritual and physical sciences. But his boding soul wished that these inquiries might be the means of civilising (*istīnās*, i.e. familiarity or sociability) this savage race.[1]

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[1] Add. 27, 247, pp. 242*b* and 243*a*, describes this interesting incident differently. It gives the speech made by the pretended ambassadors and ends by saying that Akbar treated them graciously as long as they remained in attendance. In Bird's Gujrat, p. 320, it is stated that the besieged had invited the Portuguese and offered to give them the fort. See also Mirāt Aḥmadī Bom. lith., p. 124, where the Portuguese intrigue is described. My friend Mr. Whiteway has referred me to Diogo da Couto's account of this period in his 9th Decade, Chap. XIII., p. 63 *et seq.*, Lisbon 1786. Couto's chronology is confused, and he does not say distinctly where the ambassadors were received. I am of opinion, however, that the embassy described by him, and which was under the charge of Antonio Cabral, and that mentioned by A.F., refer to one and the same occurrence. The difficulty in reconciling the statements is due in part, I think, to A.F.'s conciseness, for at times he errs by defect quite as much as by redundancy. Just as he says that the Turkish guns were brought to Surat by Sulaimān, while what he must mean is that Sulaimān brought them to Diu, and that Ṣafar Āghā afterwards had them conveyed to Surat, so does he speak of a great number of Christians coming to Surat, while probably what occurred was that the Portuguese Viceroy and his fleet came to Daman in order to see what could be made out of the troubles in Gujrat. As in former days they came to

Footnote 1.—(Continued).

Diu to help Bahādur and ended by getting possession of the fort, so this time the Viceroy may have hoped to make a similar stroke by coming to Surat to help the Mīrzās and then getting possession of the fort. So he came to Daman with his fleet, presumably after an invitation from the Mīrzās, and then when he found that Akbar was too strong, he changed his plan and sent an embassy to Surat to Akbar. It is quite possible, too, as Couto states, that Akbar had already sent an embassy to the Viceroy. Akbar had his harem with him, and several of his ladies wished to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, and for that purpose it was necessary to conciliate the Portuguese. Perhaps the "mother" of Akbar referred to by Couto was his step-mother Ḥājī Begam who appears to have gone on pilgrimage at this time, but it may have been Miriam Makānī, Akbar's own mother. Gulbadan Begam, too, may have been one of the proposed party, for we know that she had for a long time wished to go on pilgrimage though she was unable to do so till two or three years later. Couto gives a translation of Akbar's *firmān* dated 18 March 1573. This is ten days after Akbar had left Surat. Possibly it was granted at Broach where Akbar halted on his way from Surat to Aḥmadabad. Couto also describes Akbar as being visited by the Portuguese merchants at Cambay and as assuming the Portuguese dress there, and as allowing the Portuguese to kiss his hand. He says Akbar had to leave Gujrat on account of the Lukios who were as troublesome to him in the north as the Afghans in the east. I conjecture that by the Lukios the Bilūchs are meant, though Akbar's real trouble then in the north was from Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. According to A.F. it was the Bilūchs who eventually rid Akbar of his enemy, though Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Badāūnī represent the assailants of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain as Jhils. Couto's narrative has also been used by Danvers in his Portuguese in India, II. 4. Possibly his Lukios are the Langahs, an Afghan tribe who at one time held Multan; or they may be the inhabitants of the Lakhi forest.

CHAPTER VI.

The opening[1] of the Fort of Surat by the key of the lofty genius of the Shāhinshāh. 28

Why should I mention the awakened of heart and the profound and the far-sighted? The superficial and the practical clearly perceive that those connected with this eternal fortune make, merely from such a connexion, conquests which do not even occur as possible to the solvers of difficulties. Especially they do this when to such connection there is added the auspiciousness of devotion; and most of all if they be of that fortunate band which has been exalted by the degrees[2] of loyalty toward the Khedive of horizons, how successful are they in their glorious enterprises! Consequently every task which this one who has been magnified by God (Akbar) does personally, comes forth gloriously and without the veil of delay. The few days which wear the appearance of retardation seem to be the result of the Divine wisdom which requires them in order that the inscriptions of the degrees of devotion of the loyal, and the grades of each one's service may be recorded on the portico of visibility, that the jewels of ability may be polished, and the world's lord's method of educating men may be revealed to the world, and that the gold encrusted copper may be placed in the dissolving crucible and the coin of the realm be purified, and that the testing may be carried out to the uttermost.

In fine, through the Divine favour the taking of this strong fortress, which the sagacious would not have imagined possible even after years of siege, was accomplished by the supervision of the Shāhinshāh in the period of one month and seventeen days. The pioneers made from a long distance trenches and so brought themselves to the walls and began to break them down, and the alert

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[1] A. F. puns on the word *fatḥ* which means both conquering and opening. The word for key is *miftāḥ* which is a derivative from *fatḥ*.

[2] The reference is to the four degrees of loyalty to be exhibited by Akbar's servants. See B. V. n. 1 and 177.

servants raised mounds (*tilhā*) around it, and from them showered bullets on the garrison, and the bombardiers also performed marvels. When the presumptuous garrison perceived the true state of the case, and awoke from their slumbrousness, they opened the door of entreaty and supplication. Hamzabān sent his father-in-law Mullā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Lārī to the sublime court, and he, having been introduced by those who had the right of audience, represented in skilful language the dismay of the garrison. That adroit and eloquent man represented to the lord, who is the friend of the wretched and the succourer of the miserable, the lamentations and prayers of that crew. The heart of the Khedive of horizons inclined towards him, and the boundless ocean of his benevolence was put in motion. Though the supplications were the result of necessity, and though the grandees who had the right of speech spoke against the exhibition of clemency, they were not listened to. On the contrary their urgency for punishment increased the graciousness of that world-giver. He soothed each one of his intimates by special addresses. Those who were heavenly in character he rejoiced by Divine utterances, and those who were earthly he brought into repose by worldly arguments (*maqālāt kaunī*). In accordance with his (Niẓāmu-d-dīn's) petition he sent Qāsim 'Alī Khān and Khwāja Dost Kilān,
29 (Daulat)[1] who were associates both in the battle and in the banquet, to reassure Hamzabān and the rest of the garrison and to bring them to the place of prostration. On the day of *Rashn* 18 Isfandārmaẓ, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 23 Shawwāl (26 February 1573), the stiff-necked ones of the fort did homage with a thousand supplications. The Shāhinshāh's graciousness received into the reservoir of his protection the lives, the property and the honour of all the shame-faced evil-doers. But they cut[2] the tongue of Hamzabān, as it was always uttering futilities. Some others, whom prudence required should be kept for some days under restraint, were put into confinement. Next day H.M. surveyed the fort, and ordered that some large mortars (*deg*, but perhaps only cannon) which were called Sulaimānī, should be conveyed to the

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[1] The variant Daulat is supported by MSS. 27, 247 and 26, 207, and by Badāūnī.

[2] *sabān burīdand*. A. F. puns on the name Hamzabān "of like tongue."

capital.[1] It appeared that they had belonged to Sulṭān Sulaiman, the ruler of Turkey (Rūm). He had intended to take possession of the European ports on the borders of Hindustan, and had sent great mortars along with a numerous army. But as the governors of Gujrat did not assist properly, the troops were distressed for provisions and had to return. Nor were they able to take with them those large guns.[2]

One of the things which happened, after the conquest of Surat, was the coming to Court of Baharjī,[3] the ruler of Baglāna, who was an influential landholder in that part of the country. He brought with him to Court Sharfu-d-dīn Ḥusain M. with a chain round his neck. The just Creator hath glorified this adorner of the Sultanate from the beginning of his power so that the seekers after bliss may rise to high degrees of felicity by recognising and obeying him, and that the auspicious and loyal may increase their devotion. One of the great favours which has been bestowed on this Khedive of God-knowers is that whoever withdraws himself from obedience to him either becomes a vagabond in the desert of destruction, and is brought to be in need of the threshold which is high as heaven. Or else he descends into the whirlpool of evils and is conveyed by his own bad deeds into the Presence. A fresh proof of this was afforded by this Khwāja's son. The brief account of this is that from the time when this weak-headed

[1] Bird 322 says they were not removed to the capital.

[2] The expedition here referred to took place in 1538. The Sultan of Turkey mentioned by A.F. is Sulaimān the Great, the son of Selīm. He sent his army and fleet after the death of Bahādur Shāh under the command of a Greek called Sulaimān Pasha. He reached Diu on 4 September 1538 and besieged it, but the Portuguese made a brave defence and Sulaimān abandoned the siege in 6 November. See Whiteway's "Rise of the Portuguese Power in India," pp. 256 and 265. Sulaimān had landed some heavy artillery for Ṣafar Agha (Rūmī Khān, also Khudāwand Khān) to put in position. Afterwards Ṣafar Agha brought those guns to Surat. Add. 27, 247 has a different wording (p. 243b and 244a) and says that some of the guns are now in Jūnagarh. It says that the Turkish expedition was unsuccessful because the rulers of Gujrat regarded the Turks as more formidable than the Faringhīs and so sided with the latter, and did not supply the Turkish fleet with provisions.

[3] Baharjīo in some MSS and in Badāyūnī.

and infatuated one did not understand the teaching of the Shāhinshāh and adopted evil thoughts of being supreme, and trod the path of faithlessness, he became a vagabond and wandered from door to door of every one, high or low, and gave his honour to the dust of disgrace. Why shall I say this? He revealed his own baseness. Firstly, he gave to the Fūlādīs Jalaur which had been recently taken (by him) by the backing of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, and joined himself to these wretches. He spent some time in Pattan, and from there repaired to Cingīz Khān, and when the cup of the latter's life was spilled, he joined the Mīrzās. When the
30 ruler of Khāndesh came with designs against Gujrat, and failed and retraced his steps with loss, Sharafu-d-dīn joined him. Then he came back in wretchedness and associated himself with Muḥammad Ḥusain M. When the world-conquering standards came to conquer Gujrat, and a stone of dissension fell among the rebels of that country, this Khwājazāda should have come to worship at Court and made amendment for his crimes, but as he was radically bad he hasted away to the Deccan. He had to pass through the territories of the aforesaid zamindar, and he, either from a desire of being loyal, or for his own advantage, imprisoned the Mīrzā, and plundered all his goods. He also endeavoured to arrest Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M.'s wife and children when they passed through the country, but did not succeed, though the two-years old daughter of Ibrāhīm M. fell into his hands. When H.M. heard of this he sent Mīr Khān Yesāwal to bring the landholder and his prisoners to Court. And as it appeared that the ruler of Khāndesh had sent his brother Raja 'Ali Khān to Court, and that he had reached the territory of Nadarbār, but was now being detained by the petty notions usual with landholders, an order was given to Mīr Khān to bring him also. After that H.M. sent Jotik[1] Rai, Jai Tawāchī-bāshī and Balbadhar[2] brahman that they might extricate the landholder aforesaid from the thorn-brake of delay, and that he might invigorate his brain by gathering the flowers of the garden of service. These envoys obeyed the order and brought him and his prisoners to Court. The innocent daughter[3] was taken under the shadow of H.M's protection and

[1] The Court astrologer. Blochmann, 404 n.

[2] Blochmann, 501.

[3] This was Nūru-nisā who after-

made over to the guardians of the harem. The Khwājazāda was frightened by means of an elephant which was not a manslayer, and as the sovereign was just and from extreme graciousness did not kill criminals, he was put in prison. For, keen inspection and profound consideration are requisite before destroying what has been founded by God (*i.e.* life).

Let it not be concealed that Baglāna[1] is a country one hundred *kos* long and thirty *kos* broad. It has 2,000 horse and 10,000 infantry. Its revenue is 6½ kror of dāms. Whoever is the ruler, is called Baharjī. There are two forts—Sālhīr and Mālhīr on the summits of hills. It has also two large cities—Antāpūr and Cintāpūr. It lies between Gujrat and the Deccan; and it submits to whichever of the two is the stronger. At this time, when Gujrat came into the possession of the imperial servants, the ruler, being awed by the majesty and might of the Shāhinshāh, did good service and brightened his countenance by performing the prostration.

One of the occurrences was that an injury happened to H. M.'s 31
hand; but it was cured. The brief account of this instructive catastrophe is that the sitter on the throne of the Caliphate is always shrouding himself under a special screen, while the stewards of fate are ever removing this screen and displaying the spiritual and physical glories of him who has been magnified by God. One night there was a select drinking-party. Discourse fell upon the bravery of the heroes of Hindustan, and it was stated that they paid no regard to their lives. For instance, some Rajputs would hold a double-headed spear, and two men, who were equally-matched,[2] would run from opposite sides against the points, so the latter would transfix them and come out at their backs. That Divine wrestler of the world, for the sake of screening his glory, or for testing men, or from

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wards married Jahāngīr. Blochmann, 464 and 477 note 2. In Price's Jahāngīr 21, she is called Shāei Begam. Perhaps she is the Nūr Serāī Maḥal who died in the 15th year of Jahāngīr's reign. Tūzuk 323.

[1] Jarrett, II. 251. The number of horse is there stated to be 3,000. See account of Baglāna, called there Baglan, in Bomb. Gazetteer, XVI, 399 *et seq.* It is a northern subdivision of Nāsik. See also extract from Bādshahnāma, Elliot VII, 65, and Bird's Gujrat 122 and n. The revenue of Baglāna as stated by A.F. would come to about Rs. 1,62,500.

[2] *Hamsir*, perhaps rivals.

the melancholy[1] engendered by his being in the outer world, fastened the hilt of his special sword to a wall, and placing the point near his sacred breast declared that if Rajputs were wont to sell their valour in their[2] way, he would rush against this sword. Awe fell upon those who were standing at the feast, and none had the power to utter a word, nor even to offer any opposition. Just then Mān Singh ran with the foot of fidelity and gave such a blow with his hand that the sword fell down and made a cut between H.M.'s thumb and his index-finger. Those present removed the sword and H.M. angrily flung Mān Singh on the ground and squeezed him. Saiyid Moẓaffar[3] foolishly tried to free him from the grasp of that tiger of God and by twisting his wounded finger released Mān Singh. This increased the wound, but by the Divine protection it soon healed.

When H.M.'s mind was at rest about the affairs of that country, he committed the charge of that lofty fortress (Surat) to Qulīj[4] Khān and gave him weighty counsels. On the day of Mār Isfand 29 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 8 Ẕi-l-q'anda, 8 March 1573, he proceeded to Aḥmadābād, and at this time too Rajah 'Ali Khān was honoured by kissing the threshold.[5]

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[1] Cf. text p. 89 near top. A. F. means apparently that outward existence or social life was distasteful to Akbar. I do not think that A. F. means that Akbar was intoxicated; *nishāh-i-zāhīr* is used by A. F. to mean appearances, *e.g.*, text III. 43, 9 lines from the foot, where the phrase is put into Akbar's mouth. *Nisha* also means intoxication. Du Jarric describes Akbar as being melancholy by nature.

[2] The Iqbālnāma represents Akbar as saying that the two Rajputs who killed themselves in this way were rivals and at feud with one another. He had no rival and no feud with any one (*ham-sir u hamkhashm na dārīm*) and so he would pit himself against the sword. So also Mirāt Aḥmadī, Bom. lith. 125.

[3] The Mirāt Aḥmadī says he was the brother of Saiyid 'Abdullah K. (B. 465). Probably he is the Saiyid Moẓaffar mentioned in Akbar's letter to the priests of Goa.

[4] Blochmann 34 n. 2. Badāūni says the fort was put in charge of Qulīj's son.

[5] As before noted, Add. 27, 247 differs considerably from the other MSS. It speaks of the Faringhī ambassadors asking to be allowed to inspect the fort of Surat after its capture, and at p. 244*b* it tells a story about Akbar when in a state of intoxication attacking Shahbāz Khān

CHAPTER VII.

Beginning of the 18th Divine year from the Accession, viz., the year Shahriyūr of the second cycle.

During this auspicious time the shining standards of the Sultan of spring (the sun) polished the mirror of dispositions; the gardens were adorned by the silks of the rose and the satins of the jasmine. The north winds and the zephyrs swept away the weeds and rubbish of autumn from the rose-garden of the world, and the temperate breezes, equable as the justice of the Shahinshāh, produced wondrous 32
effects, and mortals blossomed into new and glorious actions.

Verse.[1]

The parterre from its lightness sought to fly
The jasmine from its delicacy sought to melt
The wind wrote with the hand of hope
The story of the rose on the page of the willow
The jasmine and rose formed a caravan
The turtle and nightingale joined in cadence
Whiles Spring came to salute the parterre
Whiles the rose tore her breast in adoration (?)
The recorders of the garden assembled,
The nightingale decreed the death of the crow.

After the lapse of eight minutes and seven seconds of the night of Wednesday the 6th Ẕī-ul-q'aada 980 of the lunar year (12 March

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with a dagger because he would not perform in a singing-party.

The T. A. says that Akbar reached Aḥmadābād on the last day of Ẕi-al-q'aada, 3 April 1573.

[1] These lines are a cento from Niẓāmī's *Makhzan asrār*. The first two lines occur in Bland's ed., p. 23, line 609; the next four are at p. 32, line 598, etc. But Bland has *qiṣṣa dil* instead of *gul*. The next two are at line 595, and the next two are at line 599, but Bland has *as dar-i-gul* instead of *bar-i-gul*, and *sip-ās* instead of *satāīsh*. The two last lines are at p. 33, line 621. The 'recorders of the garden' are the birds. Apparently the nightingale decreed the death of the crow, or the raven, on account of its croaking.

1573) the great light which illuminates the world shed his rays on the mansion of Aries, and the elemental world received the glory of the spiritual kingdom. One of the great acts of the justice of the Shāhinshāh, which was revealed in the beginning of this year was the infliction of capital punishment on Jujhār Khān, the Abyssinian, who was one of the great officers of Gujrat, and was distinguished for his influence. When the borders of Broach were brightened by the standards of fortune, the mother of Cingiz Khān demanded justice at the sublime Court, alleging that the greedy (*zarmast*) Abyssinian had come under the guise of friendship and killed her son. Though the report was widely spread, and many in the camp asserted it, and it has already[1] been mentioned, yet as many incorrect and seemingly true stories are current, there was need for caution and consideration. So an order was issued that wise and impartial men should inquire fully into the case, and should report the result of their examination of witnesses, etc. They investigated and found that the charge was true, and an order was issued that the destroyer of God's handiwork should undergo capital punishment. So he was thrown under the feet of an elephant in the presence of high and low. The old and deserted woman never imagined that so powerful a man would be punished for misdeeds, and was astonished on beholding such justice. She returned thanks to the Khedive of God-knowers, and the general public received enlightenment from this just sentence. The black-minded and presumptuous sunk their heads in the collar of obscurity.

33 When the sacred cortège neared Aḥmadābād, the inhabitants went forth to meet and welcome H.M. On the day of Dīn 24 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 29 Ẓī-l-q'aada, H.M. encamped in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād. In ten days the affairs of the country were arranged. He made over the charge of the province to the Khān A'aẓam. Sarkār Pattan was bestowed on the Khān Kilān. Dhūlqa and Dandoqah were given to Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, and similarly other estates were given to others.

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[1] There is no direct mention of Cingiz' assassination in the previous pages of the Akbarnāma. There is only an allusion to his death in the account of Sharfu-d-dīn, p. 29, two lines from foot. There is an account of Cingiz Khān's assassination in the T. A. near the end of the chapter on the kings of Gujrat.

[2] Blochmann, 397.

Though the Khān Kilān and Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān were the uncles of the Khān A'ẓam and were old, yet the far-sightedness of the Shāhinshāh put them in a subordinate position, for in the code of just sovereignty weight is given to wisdom and not to years, and reliance is placed upon abundance of loyalty, and not upon age. Far-sightedness is the pillar, not bodily bulk. Intellect is the substantive thing, not the largeness of the visible body. The foundation of appointments is talents and virtues, and the qualities of ancestors are not regarded.

CHAPTER VIII.

Return of the Shāhinshāh's cortège to Agra after the conquest of Gujrat.

When the Shāhinshāh's sublime genius had done with the conquest of this extensive country, and had punished the haughty and presumptuous, and had rewarded the loyal, and had arranged for the administration of the country he, after celebrating the festival of the Id,[1] proceeded on the day of Ardibihist 3 Ardibihisht, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 10 Ẓī ul-ḥajj, 13 April 1573, by way of Pattan and Jālaur towards the capital. When the standards of fortune reached Sidhpūr[2] he renewed his instructions to the Khān A'ẓam. Especially did he exhort him to be active-minded and of wide capacity, and to overlook men's errors, and to accept the excuses of the faulty, and to proceed with great consideration in the disposal of disputes, and to treat impartially friends and foes. On the same day he graciously received and treated with favours the officers who had fiefs in that part of the country, and then allowed them to depart. Rajah 'Alī Khān too was received with princely favours and then returned to Khāndesh. Moẓaffar Khān received the government of the province of Mālwa and was sent there. Mān Singh
34 Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Murād Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān, Saiyid 'Abdullah, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl,[3] Bahādur Khān, Lashkar Khān, Jalāl Khān, Bhoj[4] and a number of others were ordered to hasten to Dūngarpūr, by way of Īdar, and from there to come on to the capital. The Rānā and other zamindars[5] of the neighbourhood were

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[1] The 'Id-uz-zaha which occurs on 10 Ẓī-ul-ḥajj.

[2] The I. A. has Haibatpār and says Akbar arrived there on 18 Ẓī-l-hajj. The Khān A'ẓam left Akbar here. Sidhpūr, however, seems right. It is in Baroda. *See Bomb. Gazetteer, VII.*, 616. It is 64 miles north of Aḥmadābād.

[3] Blochmann 502, 532.

[4] Blochmann 458.

[5] The reference is to the Rānā of Udaipūr. The result of Mān Singh's deputation is given later on. The zamindar of 'Idar was Narain Dās Rathor.

to be treated with princely favours and to be brought to do homage, and the disobedient were to be punished.

When the world-conquering armies had been deputed, the Shāhinshāh proceeded stage by stage. On the day that he reached Sirohī, Mādhū[1] Singh and a number of men were sent to fetch that nursling of fortune's garden, Shahzāda Sulṭān Daniel, who had been conveyed from Ajmīr to Amber, in order that he might be brought back to Ajmīr, and might come under the shadow of the Presence. In order to do honour to Rajah Bhagwān Dās, his auspicious sister,[2] who held high rank in the imperial harem, was sent off in order that she might be present at the mourning for Bhūpat, who had fallen in the battle of Sarnāl.

When H.M. reached Sirohī, a letter came from the Punjab officers announcing that Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had gone there with evil intentions, and that he had been properly punished and made a prisoner, and that mankind had thus been rescued from the flames of his sedition. The short account of this Providential help is as follows: Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., who had rebelled against the spiritual and material lord, had been defeated and become a vagabond and had joined his brothers in Idar. The Shāhinshāh's fortune had produced dissension among them, as has already been related, and he had gone off to the metropolitan province, taking with him his younger brother Mas'aūd M. He had come by Jālanr and Jodhpūr to Nāgor. Farrukh Khān, the son of the Khān Kilān, had been appointed to the command there, and he undertook the defence of the town. The Mīrzā proceeded to invest it, and matters were almost past remedy when Rai Raisingh, Mīrak Kolābī, Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh, and a number of others whom H.M. had left in Jodhpūr when he went to conquer Gujrat, as well as Rai Rām, the son of Māldeo, who held Sūjat as his fief, and Naqib Khān, Mīr[3] Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī, and a number of men who had bound on the dress of service and were on their way to Gujrat, joined together and marched in pursuit of the Mīrzā. When 35
they came near, he withdrew from the siege and went on faster. On the day of Saroṣh 17 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 3

[1] Son of Rajah Bhagwān Dās.

[2] This was Akbar's wife and the mother of Jahāngīr.

[3] The text has *walad*, son of, but this is a mistake. Mīr Ghiāṣū-d-dīn was another name of Naqībi K., and he was the son of 'Abdul Laṭīf.

Ramẓān, 7th January, 1573, the loyalists arrived at Nāgor, and Farrukh Khān joined them. The officers were doubtful about pursuing the Mīrza, but at length, on the urgency of Rai Rai Singh, they became all of one accord and set off next day in pursuit. At the end of the day, near a village called Kahutoni,[1] and which is a dependancy of Nāgor, they came up with Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. As it was night they were obliged to draw up their forces and halt. Rai Rai Singh held the centre with his followers. Rai Rām held the right wing, and Mirak Khān Kolābī, Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh, Farrukh Khān, Naqīb Khān, I'tibār Khān, 'Alī Cālāq, Muḥammad Ḥusain Jālabān, and Mīr Quṭbu-d-dīn held the left wing. It happened that the tanks in that neighbourhood were in the possession of the enemy. When a watch of the night had passed the men grew thirsty, and a party of the Moghuls rescued one of the tanks. The Mīrzā divided his force into three bands, and made an attack upon the imperialists. They began by engaging the advance-guard of Rai Rām, and they had gained an advantage when Rai Rām came in person and drove them off. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. detached a body of his own men and sent them against the Moghul officers. Gallant men advanced from the latter force and engaged in battle. The Mīrzā became aware of the defeat of his own men, attacked in person, and Mirak Khān Kolābī distinguished himself. But the force was nearly wavering when Rai Rai Singh came to its assistance. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. could not withstand this onset and turned and fled. Most of the imperialists escaped injury, but Naqīb Khān was wounded by an arrow. He however recovered. The victorious officers had regard to its being night and did not quit the field. That night a great misfortune befel the Mīrzā. His horse fell from the stroke of an arrow and he had to run some way on foot. Then one of his servants came up, and he got upon his horse, and fled with a few men. If the officers had exerted themselves next day, he would have fallen into their hands. But they were satisfied with their victory and all went off to their fiefs. The wretch went on towards Delhi. Raja Bihārī Mal, who was in the capital, sent Khangār[2] and a body of troops to Delhi, and all the

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1 Also called Kahtolī and Katholī.

2 Blochmann, 419, mentions a Khangār who was zamīndār of Great Kachh, but the Khangār here meant was the nephew of Rajah Bhagwān. See *Elliot* V. 364.

jāgirdārs who were not in this force assembled at Delhi. The inauspicious one (Ibrāhīm) hastened off to Sambal[1] when he heard of 36
the arrival of those troops, and there made some preparations. Ḥusain Khān,[2] who was in Patiālī,[3] got together some jāgirdārs and others. Just then the news came of the taking of Surat and of the march of H.M. the Shāhinshāh's army. Ibrāhīm was obliged to go to the Panjab. The Khān Jahān and the other Panjab officials were engaged in taking Nagarkot, and Ibrāhīm thought he would find the place empty and be successful, or else turn to Gujrat by way of Sind. For these reasons he went off from Sambal to the Panjab. Wherever he went he did not fail to exercise oppression and misconduct.

Ḥusain Qulī Khān in accordance with the sacred orders sent a letter of advice to the men who were in the fort of Nagarkot, but they did not hearken to his counsels. The officers marched and besieged the place. When Rajah Jai Cand was going to court he, out of forethought, committed his son Badī Cand, who was of tender age, to the charge of Rajah Gobind Jesawāl.[4] Meanwhile the Rajah (Jai Cand) returned to the fort and proceeded to defend it. The work of the siege was nearly ended when the news came of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M.'s attack on the Panjab. When the loyal officers heard of this they held a consultation. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, M. Yūsuf Khān, Kharram Khān, Fattū and a number of others were of opinion that this affair should be settled by a peace, and that they should hasten from this hill-country to the centre of the province, and take precautionary measures before the rebel should arrive. The Khān Jahān and another party took a narrower[5] view of the situation. As they had worked hard, and the fort had been nearly reduced to extremities, they were not willing to make peace. The officers said, "The measure

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[1] His former fief.

[2] This is Husain K. Tukriyah. The account of the siege of Nagarkot is more fully given by Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Badāūnī. See *Elliot* V. 356 and Badāūni.

[3] In the Etah district.

[4] This must be the same man who is called Gōpī Cand a little lower down.

[5] The text has *naẓrā farākhtar sākhta*, "taking a wider view," but the I.O. MSS. and the sense of the passage show that a negative has been omitted and that the reading should be *nasākhta*. Because the Khān Jahān had worked hard, he could not take a wide view, and perceive that the all-important thing was to anticipate Ibrāhīm.

of the gain or loss from the taking or not taking the fort is a known quantity, but the disturbance caused by this sedition-monger is a very weighty matter." The Khān Jahān said, "I will make peace on this condition, that a proceeding be drawn up, descriptive of the character of the consultation, and that each person put his seal to it, so that if this withdrawal does not please H.M. the officers[1] will escape responsibility." The officers delivered a writing and knocked at the door of peace. The Rajah regarded this as a great deliverance and was pleased. The peace was founded on four conditions: 1st.—The Rajah should send his daughter to the sacred harem. 2nd.—He should pay a suitable tribute. 3rd.—He should send with the officers
37 responsible persons from among his sons and other relatives, so that if the king did not approve of the peace, those men should remain until the delivery of the fort. 4th.—As this province had been given to Rajah Birbar as his fief a large sum of money should be assured to him. The Rajah agreed to all four conditions. The Khān Jahān added a fifth condition, *viz.*, that Rajah Gōpī Cand should come and pay his respects, and he said that in order to satisfy the Rajah, some of M. Yūsuf Khān's brothers would come into the fort until the Rajah returned. Or else M. Yūsuf Khān and Kharram Khān would come and stay in the fort. At last he sent M. Yūsuf Khān's brothers and the Rajah took them with him and came into the camp. He paid his respects to the Khān Jahān and took leave. The victorious army addressed itself to putting down the Mirzā. No long time had elapsed when the Rajah returned and from spirit of loyalty said, "At this time when you are going against the foe, why should I go back to my house?" So with great joy he joined the army of fortune.

The Mirzā had come plundering to the borders of Dipālpūr; when he heard the news of the approach of the loyal officers he became astonished and downcast. He abandoned the thought of Lahore and went to Multan. The officers left their baggage and the impedimenta of the camp and went on unencumbered to uproot the rebel. When they came near the town of Talamba,[2] which belongs to the

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[1] By "officers" is here meant, apparently, the Khān Jahān himself or the officers who sided with him. Perhaps the meaning is "each will bear his own share of the blame."

[2] It is Palta in text. Add. 26, 207 has Talamba.

province of Multan, it transpired that the Mīrzā had come there on the previous day and was staying there. The officers set themselves to draw up their forces. Ḥusain Qulī Khān, Ismā'īl Qulī Khān and a number of brave men held the centre. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and M. Yūsuf Khān were on the right wing. Khurram Khān, Dost Khān Sahārī and Shāh Ghāzī Khān Tabrīzī were on the left wing. J'afar Khān, Fattū and other brave men formed the vanguard. They marched in this order. On that day Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had gone off with a few men to hunt. When Mas'aūd Ḥusain M. heard of the approach of the imperial army, he prepared for battle, and sent a man to summon the Mīrzā. The latter hastened back with the foot of ruin, and after having made some arrangement of his troops advanced to the conflict. He engaged the right wing of the imperialists, and also with the vanguard somewhat. By the heavenly favour there blew a breeze of victory. Ḥusain Khān, who had hastened after the Mīrzā from Sambal, behaved valiantly in this battle. Mas'aūd Ḥusain M. was captured, and many of the vanquished rebels were slain. The officers returned thanks for this great boon and wrote to S'aīd Khān, the governor of Multan, that they had happily accomplished what lay upon them, and that they were now going to their fiefs; that the abandoned wretch had come to the province with a 38
few men, and that it would be a fitting service to seize him so that his commotion might be altogether quelled.

Ibrāhim Ḥusain M. went off rapidly and in a miserable plight. When he came to the district of Multan the Bilūcīs headed him and stopped his progress. He wished to come off by fighting. Some who were with him were killed. He himself was wounded and took refuge in the house of a Bilūcī.[1] When S'aīd Khān heard of this, he set out to search for him, and he found him in the place that he had crept into, and seized him. He reported the circumstances to the court. When his letter was communicated by the courtiers to H.M., he returned thanks to God, first for the repose granted to his subjects, and secondly for the seizure of this injurer of the State, and an order was given that he should be brought to court. But he who had been

[1] Badāūnī describes the Mīrzā as changing his dress, and assuming the character of a calendar. He took refuge in the house of a dervish, who betrayed him to S'aīd Khān. Ibrāhīm's wound was in the throat.

caught by his own devices was already dead, either of his severe wound, or from fear of the Shāhinshāh's majesty, or from excessive shame. Or perhaps the stewards of fate knew the extent of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness, and that if he came to court, the sovereign might pardon him, and on this account dissolved the bond between his perverse spirit and his vile body. On the day of Bahman 2 Khirdād, Divine month, corresponding to 11 Muḥarram 981 (13 May 1573), H.M. arrived at Ajmīr, and that seeker after the Divine favour visited the holy shrine and distributed various favours to the officials and visitors of that city. The special courtiers brought the prince Sulṭan Daniel there, and after one week H.M. proceeded towards the capital.

When the standards of fortune reached Sāngānir[1] the Shāhinshāh decided that he and a few should make a rapid march to the capital, and that the camp should proceed slowly stage by stage. In the space of one day and two nights he completed that long journey and arrived at the town of Bacūna,[2] which is eight *kos* from Fatḥpūr. Jotik Rai[3] represented that after three days there would be an auspicious time for reaching the capital. So the Shāhinshāh remained in that town for three days. Shaikh Selim[4] and all the great and honourable men came to welcome him.

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[1] In Jaipur.

[2] Or Bajūna, but I have not identified the place.

[3] The astrologer.

[4] The Fatḥpūr Sīkrī saint after whom Jahāngīr was named.

CHAPTER IX.

Arrival of H.M. at the Capital.

The achievements and success of the great ones of the realm and 39
religion and of the spiritual and material rulers are bound up with a right intention and a proper behaviour, the chief point of which is the seeking after the well-pleasing of God. The differences in the grades of mankind are connected with these two great characteristics. Whoever possesses these two qualities in a higher degree, becomes more and more prosperous, and his sacred personality becomes a source of great deeds. God be praised! Those two great qualities, which are the stock of realm and religion, exist in the sacred elements of the Shāhinshāh in a quantity and quality which exceed imagination, and which few of the great men of old times have attained to. Why then speak of leaders of the present time? Hence it is that he is perpetually successful in a special manner. His success in realm and religion makes him submissive to the incomparable Deity and gracious the humble. Just as his fortune increases, so his graciousness becomes greater. At this glorious time when such a vast country had been conquered in a short time, he with a thousand supplications to God arrived at Fathpūr the capital on the day of Dībādīn 23 Khirdād, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 2 Safar (3 June 1573). All the grades of mankind were exalted by doing homage, and their eyes and hearts were gratified by beholding him. Shaikh Mubārak the honoured father of this distracted one of the society of being (A. F.), who spent his days in retirement and devotion, and had a wonderful association with the lord of the world, and who, though in appearance he was little acquainted with H.M., yet always kept his heart full of light by his loyalty to that unique one of the age, and held high rank with him for purity and devotion, came to welcome him and to offer his congratulations. He represented that though the general public were presenting their felicitations to the lord of the world, yet what was now being shed upon his faithful heart from the unseen world was as follows: "Let that lord[1] of the universe of blessing

[1] *Khudāwand-i-a'ālm-mubārakbādī.* I believe that this expression means

announce to the loyal and sincere that God, the Bestower of the World, hath on account of the abundance of our[1] right thoughts and right actions bestowed upon us[2] such a great boon and sublime blessing (*viz.*, the holy personality of H.M.), in order that by his wide capacity and good administration of the outer world he may become the Primate (*Peshwā*) of the spiritual kingdom, and it is for this purpose that such glorious victories have been unveiled." The great appreciator was much pleased by this wondrous congratulation, and dismissed that holy eremite with reverence. He often called the weighty announcement to mind and referred to it with his holy lips.

40 Also during this happy time the great officers came to court from the provinces, and attained their desires. Among them was Ḥusain Qulī Khān, the governor of Lahore, who came with many officers of that province to do homage. He brought Mas'ūd Ḥusain M. and all the prisoners, who had fallen into his hands in the battle, wrapped up in cowhides[3] from which the horns had not been removed; and thereby excited great joy at court. The merciful Khedive pardoned their wickedness and immediately ordered that they should be set free from such a dress. For correction and from kindness he ordered that each of them should be made over to some place so that the real character of each might be ascertained.[4]

A. F.'s father Mubārak. Mubārakbādī is a sort of pun on his name. The message to him from the spiritual world was that he should announce to the faithful that Akbar had been so exalted by external victories in order that he might become their spiritual king also.

[1] The word *mā* is omitted by B.M. add. 27, 247 and 26, 207. I.O. MS. 236 has *bamā* "to us," which is probably right. Evidently this announcement of Mubārak's was a prelude to the famous decree, given in B. 186, which he drew up, whereby Akbar was declared to be higher than a *Mujtahid* and to have the power of deciding religious questions. It will be remembered that when Mubārak drew up this document in 987, *i.e.*, six years after this announcement, he added the statement, B. 187, that he had for several years been looking forward to such a consummation.

[3] Perhaps the hides were those of the 200 cows whom Niẓāmu-d-dīn mentions as having been slaughtered at a temple outside Nagarkot.

[4] The account in the T. A. of these events is fuller than that in the Akbarnāma. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says that Mas'ūd's eyes had been sewn up, but that Akbar caused these to be opened. He also released many of the prisoners, and made over others to jailors.

Also at this time Kūār Mān Singh and other officers came by 40
way of Idar and were exalted by doing homage. The short account of this victorious army is that when it came to the borders of Dūngarpūr, the zamindar thereof behaved presumptuously and prepared for war. The brave troops punished that seditious one and killed a great number, and plundered his country. Darveshak, one of the officers of the victorious army, was killed. From there the army went, in accordance with the orders of the King who protects the obedient and punishes the criminal, to Udaipūr which is the native country of the Rānā. The Rānā came out to welcome them, and received him with respect and put on the royal khil'at. He brought Mān Singh to his house as his guest, but owing to his evil nature he proceeded to make excuses[1] (about going to court), alleging that "his well-wishers would not suffer him to go." He made promises about going to the sublime court, but raised objections, and gave Mān Singh leave to depart, while he himself stayed and procrastinated. Also at this time Ḥusain Qulī Khān was exalted by the title of Khān Jahān. Each of the officers who had done good service was rewarded with glorious favours. The throne-occupier sate on the *masnad* of appreciation and distributed rewards. He adorned the Sultanate with justice, and made justice glorious by grace and gifts. He adorned the heavens by praise, the earth by civilization, the age by tranquillity, the palace by decoration, and man by exaltation, and exerted himself to elevate every one in his degree. He shed light by suitable regulations, and joined spiritual to material sway!

One of the dominion-increasing events of this time was that the Shāhinshāh addressed himself to the conquest of Bihar and Bengal, because the peasantry were suffering from the dominion of the evil Afghans. The Khān 'Ālam, Ashraf Khān, M'uīnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, Qāsim 'Alī Khān, Mīrzā 'Alī, and a number of other officers were sent off to the eastern provinces. An order was issued to Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān to the effect that "when the sublime standards

[1] See *Elliot* VI. 42. He seems to have read *ghadr*, treachery, but the MSS. have *'ugr*, and this seems correct. Mān Singh had been told to bring the Rānā to court, but the latter was shy of coming there, and put off the visit. Erskine in his translation B.M. Add. 26, 621 read the word as *'ugr*, and so did the author of the Iqbālnāma.

were engaged in purifying and sanctifying the country of Gujarat, the faithful servant (Mun'im) had recognised the circumstances of
41 the time, and chosen the path of discretion and delay. Now when by our dominion and fortune our throne has been made illustrious by our justice, it is right that on receiving this missive you proceed to conquer that country and to chasten the erring and seditious." Though the loyal officers who held fiefs in those parts were, by the favour of God, sufficient, yet as the more they were, the easier the task would be, many others were appointed, and from excellent foresight Rajah Todar Mal was sent to Mun'im Khān in order that he might impress upon him many of the rules of conquest which had been imparted to him (by Akbar). He was also to inquire into the capabilities and harmony of the officers and to report thereon to H.M. For if they had the energy for world-conquest, there was hope that the country would soon come into the possession of the imperial servants. Otherwise it would be necessary for H.M. to proceed there in person. The Rajah went there quickly and returned and reported that there was abundance of troops and that the officers were of one accord, and had sincere intentions and lofty aspirations. Accordingly the mind of H.M. was set at rest.

CHAPTER X.

The expedition of the Shāhinshāh for the second time to Gujarat, and his return with victory.

Though in the eyes of the superficial many things are the cause of joy to the envious and those of narrow capacity, yet in fact, they are the beginnings of increased dominion and the vanguard of brilliant fortune. They are at once the key of hope and peace, and the bolt upon sedition, and both the material of increased loyalty, and the leaven of destruction for the hypocritical. Of this nature was the commotion which now arose in Gujarat, to quell which the world's Khedive went there in person. The brief account of this instructive occurrence is that when H.M. the Shāhinshāh dismissed the Khān A'ẓam M. Koka and went on to the capital, the latter, as he knew that Ikhtīyār-il-mulk had raised the head of sedition in Īdar in conjunction with Rai Narain, the zamindar thereof, and that the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī had joined him, in order not to delay the affairs of the State, went off straight to that province without going to Aḥmadābād. Mīrzā Muqīm,[1] who had a fief there, left it on account of the predominance of those evil conspirators, and joined himself to him.

The Khān A'ẓam was in the act of extirpating that crew when 42
the dust of Muḥammad Ḥusain[2] M.'s strife rose up again. The brief account of this is that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. heard in the territory of Daulatābād in the Deccan of H.M.'s proceeding to the capital, and came to Surat and stirred up commotion. Qulīj Khān shut himself up and attended to the defence of the fort. The Mirzā left that place and came to Broach which he took owing to the unfaithfulness of Quṭbu-d-dīn's servants. From there he went to Cambay and also got possession of that place without a battle owing to the carelessness of Ḥasan[3] Khān (Khazānchī) who came away to Aḥmadabad. The Khān

[1] Perhaps the Muqīm Naqshbandī of Blochmann 433.

[2] Blochmann 463.

[3] Niẓāmu-d-dīn has Ḥasan Khān Kurkarāq and says he was the *shiqdār*. Elliot V. 360 has Karkarāh by

A'aẓam sent Saiyid Ḥāmīd, Saiyid Bahān-d-dīn, Shaikh Muḥammad of Monghyr and a number of others to assist Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān. Just then Ikhtiyār-al-mulk and the body of men who were in the defiles of the hill-country acquired strength[1] and came forward. The Khān A'aẓam took protection in a strong place and stayed there. The rebels could not venture to attack him. They considered, "How long will he stay there? What advantage will he reap from it? Our course is to attack Aḥmadabad. If the Khān A'aẓam come out of that stronghold we shall fight him and perhaps we shall succeed. If he does not come out we shall get possession of Aḥmadabad." With this evil intention they marched out. At the end of the day the Khān A'aẓam, when he heard of the march of the enemy, proceeded rapidly towards Aḥmadabad. As the day was near its close the enemy could not oppose him, and Khān A'aẓam without halting during the night entered the city at dawn. On the same night Muḥammad Ḥusain M. passed close by after his defeat at Cambay and some baggage was captured by him. As he was in a miserable plight, he passed along at a distance from the Khān A'aẓam's army, and joined Ikhtiyār al-mulk and the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī. The account of this mysterious boon is that Quṭbu-d-din Khān, Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhāri, Naurang Khān and a number of the servants of the Khān A'aẓam came to Cambay. That wretch, though he had few men, exceeded his powers of resistance, but was utterly defeated. Saiyid Bahān-d-dīn displayed great bravery and offered up his life. The officers regarded his defeat as a great boon and did not address themselves to pursuing him. If they had exerted themselves a little, the scoundrel would have been caught.

In fine, when he had joined that inauspicious crew, he was very earnest that they should hasten to Aḥmadabad. The Gujratīs made long speeches and debated the matter for three days. This was owing to the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh, and the Khān A'aẓam employed this respite in strengthening the ways of ingress and egress.

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mistake for Karkarāq. The word is Turkish and means wardrobe or keeper of wardrobe. See B. 87 n. 2 and 616. *Kurk* means fur, and the word is properly *Kurkiarāq*.

[1] I adopt the reading of Add. 26, 207 which has *bāligh yāfta*. The text has *istamālat yāfta* and there is the variant *māligh yāfta*.

The Cambay officers also arrived, and after some more days those ill-fated and presumptuous men arrived in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadabad. Though the army was such that if they had given battle, the imperial servants would have been victorious, yet as the Khān A'aẓam had not confidence in his own men or in those of Quṭbu-d-dīn 43
Khān, he did not engage. At the time of bidding him adieu the far-sighted Khedive had advised him that if by heaven's decree the seditious should gather together, and there should be a hot disturbance, he should be very cautious about giving battle. He observed this fortune-increasing advice. One day Fāẓil Khān (son of the Khān Kilān) came out near the Khānpūr gate, and sought for a combatant, when a body of the enemy fell upon him, and as soon as they attacked his men, they fled, and Fāẓil Khān was severely wounded. When he came inside of the city he expired. Sulṭan Khwāja[1] got separated from his horse and fell into the ditch. They fastened a basket and pulled him by a rope. But as by heaven's arrangement they were all agreed that they could not with their troops give battle, the Khān A'aẓam sent a report to the Sublime Threshold along with Sulṭan Khwāja, in which he described the state of affairs and asked for assistance, moral and physical, from the Shāhinshāh. When the Khwāja arrived at court and the facts of the rising of the dust of commotion were shown to H.M., inasmuch as that mine of manliness and ocean of kindness was exceedingly fond of M. Koka, his world-conquering genius determined that he would make an expedition in person and go post towards that country. As from shortness of time there was not an opportunity for the men's making arrangements for this great enterprise, he opened the door of the treasury and poured abundant money into the laps of his servants in presents and in assistance. And the sacred harem was set off along with many of the faithful officers, such as Shujā'at Khān, Raja Bhagwant Dās, Saiyid Maḥmūd Bārha, and Rai Rām Singh. He also exclaimed with his holy tongue, "Though in observance of appearances I am arranging for the despatch of men, yet it has flashed on my interior that no one will arrive before me." The Khān-jahān and S'aīd Khān and many of the Panjab officers were dismissed in order that they might arrange for the defence of that province. But he took from among them as his own

[1] Blochmann 423. He was son of Khwāja Khāwand Dost.

companions M. Yūsuf[1] Khān and Makhṣūṣ[2] Khān, and an order was issued that Moẓaffar Khān should take the Malwa officers, and proceed rapidly to Gujrat, and that Kuar Mānsingh should collect the fief-holders of Kachhīwārah, and hasten to come (to Akbar). Rajah Bihārī Mal, Rajah Todar Mal, Shaikh Ibrāhīm, Ḥakīm-al-mulk, Shaikh Aḥmad and many of the loyal were left in charge of the princes and of the capital.

44 When his holy mind was at rest about the arrangements, he on the day of Ābān 10 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 24 Rabi'-al-âkhir, 23 August 1573, mounted on a swift and softly-going she-camel.[3]

Verse.

"A camel[4] swifter than an arrow"

and taking the reins of victory in his hand, and with the help of the strong cable of reliance upon God, proceeded on the long journey to Gujrat. The loyal officers, and his special intimates accompanied him—some on swift she-camels, and some on fiery-hoofed horses. When a watch of the night had passed, he for the relief of the loyal halted in the town of Toda.[5] In the morning he again started under the guidance of an auspicious star, and early in the morning of Monday reached the stage of Hans Maḥal, and there halted for a while. From there he hastened on still faster, and after a watch of the night had passed he reached M'uizzābād.[6] On that day many of the followers had not the strength of body to keep up with him. He also felt some heaviness in his limbs, but in spite of that, after midnight he got upon a chariot and proceeded on rapidly.

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[1] Blochmann 346.

[2] Blochmann 388.

[3] *Jamāza.* According to A. F. Akbar's name for a female camel, but the word is Arabic. See Blochmann 143.

[4] *Komāngardanī* a camel, but literally a bow-necked one. The hemistich puns on the double meaning.

[5] Toda Bhīm, 70 m. W. by S. Agra (Elliot V. 362n.) and consequently under 50 from Fatḥpūr Sikrī. It is in Jaipūr. It was Badayūnī's birth-place. See J. II. 181 and 183.

[6] Marked Mozabad in map to Bayley's Gujrat, 30 m. S-W. Jaipūr (Elliot). Nigāmu-d-dīn calls the place Mozābād, or Morābād.

Verse.

The chariot goes swift as a cloud,
Like as Patience departs from lovers,
From the rapid going outside and inside
The echo reaches the southern [1] sky (?)

An order was given that if from being overpowered by sleep he should order them to drive slowly they were to regard such an order as unheard and go on as fast as before. The servants obeyed this order and drove on. At last at breakfast time on Tuesday they reached the bounteous spot of Ajmīr.[2] H.M. visited the glorious shrine and paid reverence to his God. He sought aid from the holy spirit of the Khwāja and distributed gifts to the attendants on the shrine. Thereafter he alighted at the palace which he had erected in that city and took repose there. At the close of that day he mounted on horseback [3] and went on rapidly, and on the morning of Wednesday he was joined [4] in the district of Mirtha [5] by Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥram, Saiyid Maḥmud Khān Bārha, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī, who belonged to the advance-army but had halted. He halted for a while and then moved on. A watch of the day had passed when the town of Jītāran was illuminated by the Shāhinshāh's advent, and a watch of the day remained when he again went on. At the end of the day his joyous spirit was inclined to hunt. Just then a black buck showed itself, and H.M. said, "If a swift *cīta* catch this deer it will be 45

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[1] *Burang-i-gardūn.* Burang means the part of the sky where the S. polestar is visible. But perhaps بورنگ here means rust, or darkness, and the meaning is that the colour of the sky was changed, or that the wheels were covered with dust. *Rang* has also the meaning of a bell, and the phrase may mean the bell, *i.e.*, the vault of the sky.

[2] Ajmir is 228 miles west of Agra or about 200 from Fatḥpūr whence Akbar started. The T.A. says he left at breakfast time.

[3] Elliot makes Niẓāmu-d-dīn say that the night of Akbar's departure from Ajmir was bright moonlight, but this could not be the case near the end of the lunar month, and what Niẓāmu-d-dīn says is that Akbar travelled all night, *like the moon*, *qamarwār*.

[4] The meaning is that he joined them there. The advance-army was still in front, but these men had halted. *See Elliot* V. 36.

[5] Merta of I. G., in Jodhpūr.

a sign that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. will come into our hands." With this idea he loosed the *cīta*, and the deer was caught, and the prey of joy came into the net. At midnight Sojat (in Jodhpūr) was reached, and he rested till the dawn of Thursday. When it became light he got upon the saddle, and at the time of mounting it was told him that the holy harem and the advance-army were in the town of Pālī (Jodhpūr). He ordered that his attendants should pursue their journey while he with a few of his special intimates proceeded to Pālī. When he had gone a little way he learned that the report was false. He turned back from there and resumed his proper course. At the end of the day when the attendants had halted in the vicinity of the town of Bhagwānpūr, and were much distressed at being excluded from service and the delay in the arrival of the loyal standards, the Khedive of the world appeared and shed his light upon them. They were all cheered and there were general rejoicings. H.M. wished to go on to Gujrat by way of Sirohī, as that was somewhat the shorter route, but his well-wishers begged that he would go by Jālaur. Their motive was that there were many evil characters on the former and that H.M. had few men with him. Perhaps their commotion might hinder his advance. H.M. did not accept this advice, as his foot was firmly fixed in reliance upon God, and his heart linked to secret favours. The scout Shugūna was ordered to conduct the cortège by the route of Sirohī. The well-meaning ones when they saw that the following of their suggestion was hopeless, intrigued with Shugūna and arranged that he should give out the road as leading to Sirohī, but should really go to Jālaur. With this intent they set out in the beginning of the night. The guide made a mistake and they came into a forest full of mud. The loyalists were somewhat distressed and many of the retinue got separated. Apparently this was a punishment for their opposition. At the end of the night they came to a village, and learnt that it was one of the dependencies of Jālaur, and that they were on their way to Jālaur. H.M. grew angry and halted there for a time. In the morning of Friday he pushed on. A tiger appeared on the left hand, and Saif Khān Koka and Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān prepared to hunt it. H.M. said, "Friends, swear by the dust of the holy feet that you will not go after this, seeing that we have another object in view. It is no gain to our work that we should knowingly and intentionally undertake

such an affair as this. Perchance some injury might ensue. More- 46
over the experienced men of India have settled that it is a good omen if a tiger or such-like appear on the left, and they do not kill it." By these kind words he restrained those tiger-hearts from tiger-hunting and went on. When they had gone on a little way, they learned that the army of fortune which had been previously despatched had gone by this road. Shāhbāz Khān was ordered to bring on the retinue slowly, while H.M. went ahead with a few followers.

When the standards of fortune reached the district of Jālaur there arose a sound of drums, and it appeared that this came from the advance-army. Two watches of the day had passed when they reached Jālaur. The great officers were exalted by making the prostration. An order was given that the commanders of the camp should take each one of H.M.'s companions to their quarters and show them hospitality. He himself entered for a while the *harem*. Then he came out and gave an opportunity for *kornish* (salutation). He ordered the horse-dealers who had come with the camp to be produced with their stables. They received suitable prices, and swift-coursers were distributed to many persons. An order was given that Shāhbāz Khān and Kamāl Khān of Jālaur should accompany the camp and that the other officers should proceed along with H.M. When half of the night had passed, he mounted a swift horse and went on rapidly till midday on Saturday. After that he halted in Pattanwāl.[1] He saw the moon[2] of Jamāda-al-awwal in that pleasant spot and enjoyed himself for a while and then went on. And so rapidly did he proceed that till the end of Sunday he did not repose (*lit.*, saw repose in unrepose). On the eve of Monday he reached the town of Dīsa which is twenty *kos* from Pattan. Shāh 'Alī Langā,[3] who governed there on the behalf of the Khān Kilān, from misunderstanding thought it was a foreign army and shut the fort-gate. When he learned the truth, he became fortunate by doing homage. The opinion of all the officers was that H.M. should hasten to Pattan, and

[1] Not identified.

[2] *Māh-i-jumāda-al-awcalī*. The 1st day of the month is meant. It was 29 August, 1573.

[3] This was a son of the Bakhshū Langā who helped Humāyūn in flight from Sher Shāh.

stay there one day so that the brave men who had fallen behind might come up. H.M.'s opinion was that there was no necessity to go to Pattan, or even to inform the Khān Kilān and others who were
47 there. Possibly they might on account of the length of their service put obstacles in the way of the rapid movement of the imperial retinue, and the report of its arrival might reach the enemy, and he might in consequence retire. Many encouraging words fell from his lips. By the efforts and importunities of the intimate courtiers it was determined that H.M. should leave Pattan on one side and go on towards Gujrat, (*i.e.*, apparently Aḥmadabad the capital), while one of the swift goers should go and bring the Pattan army. Khwāja Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān was sent off for this purpose. The world's lord went on with the army of fortune at midnight. At breakfast time on Monday he reached the territory of Bālīsāna[1] which is five *kos* from Pattan. Just then the Khān Kilān with his army and Wazīr Khān, Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn, Ṭaiyib Khān, Khangār[2] and other officers were exalted by doing homage. They had been appointed out of foresight before the commotion had occurred, and as the road was dangerous they had out of precaution halted in Pattan.

At this stage the conquering troops were arranged in order. Mīrzā Khān, Shujā'at Khān, Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha, Ṣādiq Khān, and a number of heroes were in the centre, which is the station of the special *qūr*,[3] the right wing was held by the Khān Kilān and other brave men; Wazīr Khān and a number of courageous men of note were appointed to the left wing; Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī, Tarkhān Dīwāna, and others were in the vanguard. The far-seeing mind of the Shāhinshāh arranged that he himself and a band of devoted loyalists should form the reserve. There were

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[1] The text has Māliyāna, but the variant Bālīsāna is supported by Niẓāmu-d-dīn. There is a Bālīsāna mentioned in the I. G. as in the Kaḍī subdivision of Baroda. The Bom. G. speaks of a Balāsinor. I think, however, that the proper reading is Maisāna, the Mesāna of I. G. which is 43 miles N. Ahmadābād. It is, however, more than 5 *kos* from Pattan. Blochmann 486 says it is 18 *kos* S.E. Pattan. Erskine and also some MSS. have Palitāna, but if this is correct it cannot be the well-known Palitāna.

[2] Rajah Bhagwān Dās' nephew.

[3] Blochmann 110 n.

about one hundred horsemen in attendance on him, each of whom was a match for thousands.

Verse.

The lance of each was a flame which melted cuirasses
The sword of each a borer which pierced rocks
At once the bow of Rustum, and the arrow of Āraṣh [1]
All were deer for swiftness, and tiger-hunters
All were perfect in their services
All were alert in their obediences.

At the end of Monday H.M. set out from the town of Bālisāna (qu. Mesāna ?). Shugūna, who was the special scout, was ordered to go quickly to Aḥmadabad, to inform the garrison of the coming of the victorious troops, and to bid them prepare for battle. When the troops came near, the Aḥmadabad army was to come out and join them.

H.M. rode on all night, and when part of the day had elapsed he arrived at the village of Cotāna which is a dependency of Karī.[2] There it was learnt that a number of the enemy under the command of Rāoliyā,[3] a servant of Sher Khān Fūlādī, had strengthened the fort,[4] and were prepared for battle. Apparently the wretches 48
thought that the Khān Kiṣān had sent a body of troops from Pattan against Karī. They therefore came out and drew up in battle array. At the same moment H.M. gave the order to a body of troops belonging to the victorious army to advance and rouse those insolent wretches from their neglectful sleep. In a moment they killed a large number of them, and the others fled inside the fort. They were preparing to take the fort when the standards of fortune arrived and halted in the city-bazaar. H.M. summoned the experienced officers and asked what was the proper thing now that the enemy had entered the fort. A party who were overcome by rashness, and were

[1] Āraṣh was a famous archer in the service of Mīnūchihr. See Burhān Qāṭi' s. v.

[2] Or Kaḍī.

[3] Elliot calls him Roliyā. Add. 26, 207 has *auliyā mulāzim*, *i.e.*, servants, and 27, 247 has *maqarībān mulāzim*. Erskine has Rao Liai. The I. O. MS. vary between *Rāo Liya* and *auliya*.

[4] The text has *qila gīrī*, 'the defending of the fort.' But Add. 26, 207 has *qil'ā karī*, 'the fort of Karī,' and this is also how Erskine read the passage. Add. 26, 621, and is probably correct.

inconsiderate represented that the proper thing to do was to advance after having taken the fort. That unique pearl of wisdom and experience said that there would be no advantage in taking this petty fort, and that all their efforts should be devoted to getting hold of the rebels of Gujrat. If they paid attention to the taking of this fort, the task might be drawn out to some days. In this event the enemy would hear of the arrival of H.M. and withdraw themselves, and it was clear that the fort would be taken without difficulty by the imperial troops which were approaching. Just then a bullet struck one of the soldiers who was standing near H.M., and the man lost his courage and displayed cowardice. When the matter was inquired into it was found that the bullet had passed through his clothes and been spent (*sard shuda būd*). It was the neighbourhood of the holy personality that made it innocuous.

Verse.

On the fateful day the spear rends the coat of mail
But does not pierce the tunic of the undoomed.

At last they all agreed to what H.M. had said. They left the fort and went on. When they had gone two *kos* H.M. ordered a halt in order to refresh the troops. Next night M. Yūsuf Khān, Qāsim Khān and a number of the officers who were coming up in the rear, arrived with torches. The garrison of the fort believed them to be the special army of H.M. and came out of the fort and went off without a battle. So the idea of H.M. was confirmed. At dawn on Wednesday the army marched on in the order that had been arranged.

When H.M. arrived within three *kos* of Aḥmadabad, Āṣaf Khān was sent off quickly to that metropolis to tell that by the Divine aid the shadow of justice was being cast upon the inhabitants, and that it was fitting that the officers should with thankful hearts and loyal
49 service join the august retinue. The names of the officers who in this rapid march accompanied H.M. are as follows :—

List.

1. M. Khān, heir of Bairām Khān.
2. Saif Khān Koka.

3. Zain Khān Koka.
4. Ḥusain Khwāja 'Abdullah Khān.
5. Jagannāth.
6. Rai Sāl.
7. Jaimal.
8. Jagmal Patwār.
9. Khwāja Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āsaf Khān.
10. Rajah Bīr Bar.
11. Rajah Dīp Cānd.
12. Mīr Ghiāsu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb Khān.
13. Muḥammad [1] Zamān.
14. Bahādur Khān.
15. Mān Singh Darbārī.
16. Saiyid Khwāja.
17. Shaikh Abdu-r-raḥīm.
18. Rām Dās Kachwāha.
19. Rām Cānd.
20. Bāhādur Khān qūrdār.
21. Sānwal Dās.
22. Jādūn Kaith Darbārī.
23. Sarkh Badakhshī.
24. Dawār Bahāla.
25. Har Dās.
26. Tāra Cānd Khwāṣ.
27. La'l Kalānwat.[2]

When the standards of fortune came near the enemy H.M. turned his attention towards putting on and bestowing cuirasses. One of the instructive occurrences was that Jaimal, the son of Rūpsī, came into the Presence wearing a heavy cuirass (*bagtar*). That gracious one felt for

[1] Brother of Muḥammad Yūsuf, Blochmann 533.

[2] Erskine in his MS. translation justly remarks on the number of Hindus in this list. No. 25 Har Dās appears in some MSS. as Patr Das, Blochmann 469. No. 27 is also called Miyān La'l, Blochmann 612 and n. 4. He was a musician, and perhaps some of the other Hindus mentioned were civilians. Sānwal or Sanwlah is perhaps the painter of that name. See B. 108. In the Victoria and Albert Museum, S. Kensington, there is in the Clarke MS. a picture of the battle of Sarnāl by him. Tāra Cānd may also be the painter mentioned in B. 108.

him and ordered that a cuirass should be given him from his private store, and presented his cuirass to Karn, the grandson of Mâldeo, who was without one. When Jaimal showed himself to Rûpsi the latter asked him about the cuirass,—as he had confidence in it,—and when he learned what had happened, he, out of the enmity which he had with the Mâldeo family, and on account of the goodness of the cuirass, and from his want of spirit, sent a person to demand the cuirass. The messenger from his want of sense forgot discretion and delivered the message. The lord of horizons from his width of capacity did not regard his shameful conduct and said, "We gave in exchange for it one of our own special cuirasses. Your remark is not courteous." Rûpsi in his folly took off his cuirass and made his body bare. That mountain of calmness and moderation who might have ordered the chastisement of that infatuated one, understood what to do and took off his own armour (saying), "Since our servants have resolved on going into this battle which will test men's mettle, without armour, it would not agree with valour that we should go armed." When Rajah Bhagwân Dâs heard of Rûpsi's[1] misconduct, he gave him salutary advice and poured vinegar into the cup of his intoxicated head. He bitterly reproached him and brought him to repentance and apologies. He flung forward the head of shame and hastened to the Presence. Rajah Bhagwân represented that Rûpsî had been eating
50 *bang* (bhâng) and begged for mercy. The gracious Khedive accepted his petition and overlooked the fault. From there he moved forward in proper order. On this march he mounted the horse Nûr Baiẓâ (white light), Rajah Bhagwân Dâs congratulated him on the victory of Gujrat and said, "Three signs of success have appeared, each one of which is in the opinion of the experienced men of India an omen of victory. *First*.—At such time as this[2] you have mounted your

[1] Rûpsî was Bhagwân's paternal uncle. Blochmann 427.

[2] Apparently the moment of mounting was an auspicious one. It will be observed that Akbar did not at once mount. He mounted on the way, presumably because the moment was auspicious. Add. 27, 247 has *bos baiẓâ*, a roan horse (?). Erskine translates the account of the first omen as "the general riding on such a horse," and it is more natural to suppose that Bhagwân was referring to something special about the horse, especially as A. F. has just given the name of the animal. But two B.M. MSS. and the text have *auqât* times. It looks as if Erskine had read *auṣâf*

horse. *Second.*—A favourable wind is blowing from behind the victorious army. *Third.*—A great number of crows and kites are keeping us company." His representation was approved of, and many of those present had their hearts rejoiced.

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qualities, and some such reading is preferable to *auqāt*. If Bhagwān was referring to the time of mounting the horse one does not see why the plural *auqāt* was used instead of the singular *waqt*. However, the I.O. MSS. have *auqāt*.

CHAPTER XI.

The Arrival of the Shāhinshāh at Aḥmadābād, the Uplifting of the Banners of Conquest, and the Victory over Muḥammad Ḥusain M.

Though [1] the final issue of actions and the solution of difficulties throw flashes of light on the mysterious purposes of God, yet the acute and active-minded—who by the blessing of God and the efforts of their own genius have struck out a way into the hidden chamber of destiny, and who have thus attained to some acquaintance with the secrets of Existence—are well aware that the success of religious and temporal ends and the unveiling of the virgins of desires, spiritual or physical, depend upon right intention, just thinking and suitable action. Especially is this so with regard to the designs of high-born rulers. Fortune raises many walls of hindrance in front of their purposes, but whenever the auspicious and felicitous look upon the multiplicity of their affairs as material for increasing their prudence and appreciate the lofty dignity of Kingship, and understand the various grades of humanity and make use of them and so become adorners of the world; and when they regard the beautifying of external conditions as the ordering of the spiritual world, and do not, like the superficial, consider secular work as opposed to and exclusive of the spiritual world, but recognise that the well-ordering of outward matters is the choicest form of worshipping the Creator of the world, assuredly will the Managers of the eternal world grant in the most complete manner the accomplishment of whatever they shall undertake. Glorious deeds, such as human strength is insufficient for, and which the world's comprehension cannot grasp, will be effected in the briefest space of time. Nay, even things which such princes have not wished for, and which have not found the way to their illustrious

[1] Nearly the whole of this exordium is omitted in the Lucknow edition. Chapter XI begins there at p. 51, l. 3, of the Bib. Ind. edition. The meaning of the first sentence seems to be that though things are generally ruled by destiny, yet much depends upon forethought and wisdom.

minds, will be clothed by the Originators of the world of production in the most splendid robes of being! At the present day these lofty qualities, the stuff of vast success, exist in the holy personality of the Shahinshāh to a degree which needs not the encomia of adorners of sentences, and which is greater than human reason can conceive. Hence it is that the increase in the God-given dominion of this sublime lord, and the accomplishment (*lit.*, the face-showing) of the designs of him whom God hath magnified are beyond the petty scope of human intellect. Though I know that the ill-conditioned and short-sighted regard these prolegomena of praise as the panegyrics of conventional encomiasts, yet, as in this book of fortune I have the noble and hard-to-be-attained title of a pure heart, the evil glance of those purblind eyes makes no stain on the temple-verge of my soul. He who is far-seeing and a friend of inquiry and a foe of hypocrisy will perceive, if he properly consider the record of the Shahinshāh, achievements which is inscribed on the rolls of the Age, that what this spectator of the congeries of existence is writing down is a drop from the ocean and a mote from the desert! Especially is this so in regard to this marvellous campaign which is fitted to embellish the masterpieces of great princes! 51

To make a long story short, the world's lord being possessed of a right intention, an upright mind, supreme confidence in God, and a lofty courage, and also because by giving even a slight attention to the matter, 300 or 400 first-rate troopers could be collected in a short space of time, accomplished in nine [1] days such a long journey—which caravans take two or three months to effect—accompanied by a few followers, and having encountered more than 20,000 rebels, he gained a victory over them on the day of Bahrām 20 Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 5 Jamāda-al-awwal (2 September, 1573). The account of this wondrous affair briefly is that when the royal standards came near the enemy, and there was no sign of the army of Gujrat, some of those who had the right of audience sug-

[1] Akbar's feat, considered merely as one of rapid travelling, was not equal to Colonel Townley's ride from Belgrade to Constantinople when he traversed 820 miles in 5 days, 11 hours, "having the whole time to contend with the wind, rain and mud, and having into the bargain two bad falls." Grant Duff's Notes from a Diary, for 1889, p. 8. But, of course, Akbar had to bring his troops along with him.

gested that a night-attack should be made. H.M. did not approve of this suggestion as it savoured of deception.

Verse.

A night-attack is the trade of cowards
It is disdained by heroes.

He relied upon the Divine aid and proceeded to battle. Orders were given for sounding the kettle-drums and for blowing the trumpets.

Verse.

A noise came from the flute of war
The drums made a noise in the world.

The rebels had been confident in their numbers and had pressed on the siege. They were expecting the coming of Sher Khān Fūlādī. When the sublime cavalcade came near the Sābarmatī the order was given that the troops should be drawn up in order and should cross the river. The officers were expecting the army of Gujrat and hesitated to advance. At this time about three hundred horse, who had come from Sarkēj, showed themselves, and H.M. ordered the special musketeers such as Sālbāhan, Qādir 'Alī, Ranjīt and others of the seldom-missing splitters of hairs to fire at them. The latter fled to
52 their entrenchments. The noise of trumpets and drums resounded. Some of the enemy thought it was Sher Khān Fūlādī who was coming, while others were certain that it was Khān Kalān coming from Pattan to help the Khān A'ẓim. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. was astonished at the uproar and went out in person to get intelligence. Subḥān Qulī Turk and some of the loyal heroes had come a little in advance of the troops to the riverbank and were inquiring into the position of the enemy. The Mīrzā raised his voice and asked who the troops were. Subḥān Qulī Turk, with the idea of inspiring dread into the enemy and of causing division among them, replied, "O ignorant one, behold H.M. the Shāhinshāh in person with a large army, why do you stand still, and why do you ask, be quick and lead away this doomed force." Though the Mīrzā's heart was moved by the royal majesty, which is a ray of Divine glory, yet as the garment of his fate had been woven in black, he rejoined, "O brother, are you frightening me, and are you speaking from your own know-

ledge? If the fact be really so, show me a sign of the royal elephants, and of the great army. What speech is this that you have uttered? The truth is that our couriers left the king in Fatḥpūr fourteen days ago." Subḥān Qulī replied, "The king has made this long march in nine days and has arrived with his devoted followers." When the ill-fated one heard this and became convinced of its truth he hastened to his own camp, and proceeded to arrange forces. When H.M. learnt that the enemy was ignorant of his arrival, he, in his abundant manliness and generosity in war, halted for some time until the swift scouts announced that the enemy were putting on their cuirasses and drawing up in line. Thereupon the order was given for crossing the river. Though the energetic exerted themselves to bring up the Khān Kalān they were not successful and represented that the enemy were numerous, and that it was advisable to remain on this side of the river till the army of Gujrat arrived. H.M. said, "In all enterprises and especially in this expedition all my reliance is on the Divine aid. If I had looked to ordinary means I ought not to have come this long journey so unattended. Now that the enemy are stationary and preparing for battle, what propriety is there in standing still in expectancy." As superficiality and the consideration of ways and means influenced those heroes, they delayed the crossing of the river and restrained the Shāhinshāh by stratagem. When that royal cavalier of the battlefield which tests men perceived the disposition of those timid ones who did not consider primary causes, 53
the ocean of his terrible majesty boiled over. By the inspiration of his fortune he separated himself from the companionship of those surface-viewers, and relying on the Divine help plunged into that swollen river along with his special followers who always kept by him.

Verse.

Once more he entered upon vengeance
He urged on his swift steed
The sparks from the horses' hoofs lighted up the soil
He came to the river and the fishes' eyes were burnt
Death became the partner of his spear
The mouth of the crocodile of evil was opened.

The putting his horse to the river, and the finding bottom occurred at the same time, and this caused joy to the exoteric, and also

was a foretaste of the delight of conquest. At this time he called for his helmet which he had taken off and made over to the Rajah Dīb Cand[1] to hold in his hand and bring along with him. The Rajah produced it, but in the hurry of the advance he had let the nosepiece[2] of the helmet fall into the road. H.M. said, "It is a good omen for our front (*peshgāh*)[3] has been made clear." He then announced to them that there would be victory. Just then one of the active heroes produced before H.M. the head of a rebel. That too was an omen of victory. The king moved on with his faithful followers and when the great officers saw this they dropped the thread of calculation and began to cross the river.

The Mīrzā from his ill-fatedness came out to fight with his benefactor and the king of the age. He appointed Walī Khān, the son of Jajhār Khān Ḥabshī—whom the justice of the Shāhinshāh had capitally punished in the first expedition to Gujrat—the leader of his right wing, and assigned to him a number of Abyssinians and Gujrātīs. Muḥammad Khān, the son of Sher Khān Fūlādī, with a large body of Afghans was stationed on the left wing. Shāh Mīrzā and many Badakhshīs and men of Transoxiana whose brains and bones had been nourished[4] by faithlessness to their salt, were taken to the battlefield by the Mīrzā in person. With an evil striving he addressed himself to his own undoing, and engaged the spiritual and temporal lord. H.M. had come to a high ground one *kos* from the river and was considering the signs of victory when Āṣaf Khān came and did homage, and reported that M. Koka was not aware of the near approach of the standards of fortune, and that when the news of the Shāhinshāh's arrival reached him he thought it was a pleasantry of Mir Abū Turāb and the other loyalists of the country. After
54 many assurances he had been convinced of the fact, and now the army of Gujrat was drawn up and was in the point of coming out. He had not finished his story and the royal troops had not come up

[1] B. 175, cf. Jahangir's Memoirs (Price), p. 54.

[2] *Peshbīnī*, *lit.*, nose-front. The word is not given in the dictionary, but I presume it means something that hung down in front and protected the nose, etc. Such a piece is depicted in B. Plate XIII, No. 43. Jahangir (Tūzak J. 19) calls it *peshrūī*.

[3] Akbar puns on the words *peshbīnī* and *peshgāh*.

[4] Apparently the meaning is simply that they were inbred traitors.

when the enemy appeared from among the trees. H.M. in reliance upon God proceeded to advance.

Verse.

The Shāhinshāh eager for battle, on his steed
Like a fire raised high by the wind
There was a cuirass on his Cyrus-breast,
A fountain-head put in motion by the ocean
The eager heroes were immersed in their coats of mail
Hidden like fire in iron
Golden standards gleamed on every side [sedition
They were lamps showing the road of death to the night of
Lions were careering rein upon rein
There were heart-piercing lances upon lances
The brave brandished their swords and cleft the ranks
They stirred up the earth to the centre (*lit.*, navel).

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī, Tarkhan Dīwāna and others of the alert heroes who were the marksmen of the centre and were stationed in the van, hastened forward and after a short contest turned back. That rock of firmness (Akbar) addressed Rajah Bhagwān Dās and said through him to all the troops that the enemy appear to be numerous, yet the favour of God towards this suppliant in the Divine Court is greater than man can conceive It behoves our comrades to hold fast to the cable of the Divine favour, and not give place to perplexity or alarm. Let them be of one heart, one face, and one way, and, avoiding distraction, and dispersion, assail the doomed body of troops which carries red standards, for it appears that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. has made red standards the mark of his special force. None of our brave men must be immoderate in his valour. When we shall have disposed of the ring-leaders in audacity, we shall easily get rid of the rest. He used many wise and encouraging words, and associated with each one of his troops an army from the Divine hosts.

Verse.

Out of wisdon he constructed a loom[1]
With knowledge for brocade, and speech for beauty

[1] Kārgah. A factory or workshop.

The warp he made[1] of soul, and the woof of eloquence,
The dye he took from thought, and the broidery from sense.

55 In his presumptuousness Muḥammad Ḥusain M. separated from his army and came forward with a band of doomed wretches. Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and Ḥusain Khān represented to H.M. that now was the time to attack in order that the presumptuous one should receive his punishment. He who knew the niceties of the banquet and the battlefield said, "Steadfast and far-seeing wisdom is ever the exhorter and guardian of mankind, and now on this day this priceless jewel must be tested. As yet the space (*lit.*, the round of the ladder) (between the forces) is considerable. Ostensibly, we are a very small body, God forbid that by attacking from a distance our men should get dispersed. The work would not be done properly, nor their valour properly exhibited, and also we would be abandoning caution." Also, as corporeal illustrations serve to instruct the superficial, he said, "If we close our hands and go to work with the clenched fist it is better than if we undertake a thing with the open hand." After uttering those wise words he advanced rapidly but in a stately and scientific manner. The spectators learnt thereby the degrees of wisdom, and also understood the stages of courage, and with one accord each heart was a thousand. Sincerity was exalted, and practical wisdom was enlightened. Knowledge of God was also increased, and innate disposition was displayed. At length the royal forces[2] also drew near; but their order and arrangement did not remain as before. Many of the faint-hearted who belonged to the right wing turned their reins when the fighting became a little hot. Just then, when the enemy had become near, and that tiger-hunting hero resolved to attack, Hāpā[3] Cāran also cried out, "'Tis time to

[1] The Lucknow ed. reads *Karū*, a spider's web, instead of *Karad*.

[2] Apparently this refers to the main body of Akbar's army as distinguished from his personal following.

[3] Evidently this is a man's name and has been so treated by the editors in the Index, p. 63. The Cārans were a tribe in Gujrat and resembled the Bhats. One of their duties was to raise the paean at the time of battle, and no doubt this is what Hāpā did on this occasion. See J. II. 249 for an account of the Cārans. In Jahāngīr's Memoirs (Price), p. 50, Shāh Qulī Maḥram and Ḥusain K. Turkaman are said to have remarked that the time for charging had arrived.

attack." To say and to do were the same thing. The world's lord and his war-loving, devoted followers drew their swords and charged. The cries of Allah Akbar and of Yā Mūīn [1] arose and pervaded time and space (*zamān-u-zamīn*).

Verse.

The sword-points were like clouds dripping blood
The brightness of the swords overcame the heart [2] of the cloud
The commotion fluttered the mind of Time
The ear of the sphere split with the uproar.

The majesty of the Divine halo which had seized the field of battle, did not suffer that there should be great contest. One or two swords-blows were exchanged, and then the men on the Shāhinshāh's right hand drove off the rebels. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. drove off the men on the king's left. Thinking the day was his, he halted after going some way and could see no trace of his own forces. For just then, the warriors of the right and left wings and some of the centre arrived and fought bravely.

One of the Divine helps, which are always in close attendance on the everlasting dominion, and at this time were especially con- 56
spicuous, was that *Kahak bānhā* [3] (rockets), which are a kind of fire-

[1] Badayūnī tells us that this was Akbar's battle-cry on that day. It means, "Lo, the Helper," but I believe that Akbar used it in a double sense and with a special reference to his patron saint M'uīnu-d-dīn of Ajmere. It probably explains the "Ajmīrī, Ajmīrī" of Saif Koka mentioned a little lower down.

[2] I owe the interpretation of this line to Maulvī 'Abdul Haq Abīd, who informs me that the meaning is that the cloud lost heart, on seeing the brightness of the swords. It is a hyperbolical way of saying that the flashes of the swords overcame the darkness of the clouds.

[3] I think this word must be the Arabic *Kahaka* roaring, and the meaning must be the "roaring, or screaming (whizzing) rockets." There is the variant *Katak* which means a short stick, cf. Badayūnī, text I. 418, l. 4, and Ranking's translation and note, p. 537. Meninski gives *Kehkehet* as meaning a roaring lion. Very possibly, however, *Kahak* merely means little from Kah and the affix K. I doubt now if Badayūnī's word applies. In the Tūzak Jahangīrī (Ahmed's ed.), p. 19, the rockets are called Kaukabāī کوکبای (stars). The Memoirs (Price) 55 give an exaggerated account of the incident.

work, were being discharged against the imperial army, though by the guardianship of the stewards of fate no harm ensued, and that one of them fell among the thorn-bushes and made such a noise that one of the enemy's most notable elephants got alarmed, and by his confusion produced a great rout among the foe. This was a help to the combatants of fortune. When H.M. had gone some way he drew rein in order to take stock of events. A strange state of matters displayed itself. The army of the centre had not yet arrived, and the other troops had driven off the reserve of the enemy. H.M. was standing alone on the battlefield, and engaged in combat. Except Tārā Cand and A'alam Khān, no other of his personal retinue was in attendance. Apparently the world-adorning God had impressed upon all the case of their own safety and had loosed the thread of the understanding of far-seeing loyalists. Otherwise it would have been fitting that so many loyal heroes should have guarded the holy personality, and have regarded their comradeship with H.M. as the most glorious form of Divine worship, and as the most urgent of the affairs of royalty! During this time of solitude—No, how shall I say solitude when the (mystic) armies were careering on his right and left?—it appeared that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. was engaged in fighting. Mān Singh[1] Darbārī displayed valour in the presence of the Shāhinshāh and became victorious. Rāghū Dās Kachwāha, who had no armour, gave his life in H.M.'s presence, and Muḥammad Wafā, who among the loyal *celhas*[2] (disciples) was a man of few words and many deeds, and one who did not sell his services, also displayed courage in the presence of the lord of the earth, and fell wounded from his horse. Karn, the grandson of Māl Deo, also distinguished himself in his presence.

Verse.

The warriors waged such war
That hand[3] and collar hung together
Blood and sweat were commingled
They[4] inflamed the wounds with their teeth.

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[1] Not Mān Singh Kuar. See Blochmann 506.

[2] B. 253.

[3] A phrase for great exertion.

[4] I presume the meaning is that they were so furious that they even fought with their teeth and aggravated the wounds thereby.

Though on this day all the royal servants did great deeds, yet these few (whom I have mentioned) though they did not know that H.M. was observing them, especially distinguished themselves.

In the midst of the contest one wretch attacked H.M. and struck his horse's head with his sword. The horse reared, but H.M. laid hold of the neck with his left hand and pushed him down. With 57
the spear in his right hand he so struck the wretch that the weapon pierced his armour and sunk into his body. H.M. was trying to extract the spear when its head broke off and the adversary fled. Another wretch then came up and aimed a blow with his sword at H.M.'s thigh. The real guardian (God) prevented any harm, and the villain fled before the Divine halo. He had gone a little way when another villain came and aimed his lance at H.M. The *cela* Gūjar disposed of him by wounding him with his spear. The Khedive of the world adorned the battlefield by his courage, and in the midst of such a crowd of villains, displayed valour which exceeded the masterpieces of ancient times.

Verse.

The dragon-slaying hero with mace and arrow
The lion-throwing horseman and seizer of the brave
Wielder of the head-strewing dagger
Scatterer of the blood of the stiff-necked
Whiles he poured out blood, and whiles raised dust
Whiles he wounded elephants and whiles he killed men.

During this time the royal centre arrived with a thousand painful feelings because Surkh Badakhshī had wickedly and foolishly come before it wounded and brought bad news about H.M. When the glance of the lion-hearted sovereign fell upon this force he, from abundant foresight and a martial spirit, went towards it and cried out, "Brave men, come up quickly and dispose of these wretches." Shujā'at K. and some others of the fortunate ones recognised the voice of that spiritual and temporal leader and galloped with a loose rein in order to put down the villains. They entirely drove off Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and all who were in that field of dishonour. Before this some of the distinguished men of the centre, such as Sayyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha, Rai[1] Raisingh, and Farhat Khān had left the centre and

[1] Blochmann 389.

given proof of valour. Owing to the genius and fortune of the Shāhinshāh the breezes of victory[1] blew and the azure anemones blossomed. A great victory appeared—such as might be a proem to world-conquering victories. H.M. returned thanks to God and turning his reins slowly proceeded towards Aḥmadābād. He inquired about the combatants, and also investigated the cause of the delay incoming of M. Koka and the army of Gujrat. L'al Kalāwant[2] represented that Saif Khān Kokaltāsh[3] had devoted his life and gone to the other world. That mine of grace and fountain of appreciation was saddened by this catastrophe, but calmed himself and inquired minutely into the circumstances. At last it appeared that Saif K. had fought like Rustum in the first onset and had discomfited his adver-
58 sary. Two conspicuous wounds adorned his countenance. Saying "*Ajmīrī, Ajmīrī*"[4] he was searching for the stirrup of the Shāhinshāh (*i.e.*, was looking for Akbar). Ḥusain K. said "When I met him I congratulated him on his victory and on his wounds (*lit.*, on the redness of his face) and then we separated." It appeared that when Muḥammad Ḥusain M. with some of his vagabonds was contending on the battlefield, the Koka (Saif K.) came up to him and after displaying great courage departed to the holy land (*i.e.*, died). From the time that he had failed to be present at the battle of Sarnāl he in his loyalty and devotion was continually calling for death. On that day

[1] Apparently A. F. plays on the words *fīrūzī* which means both victorious and the blue colour of the turquoise. *Bihrūz* is a blue crystal. I do not know what flower is meant by shaqāīqbahrūzī, but conjecture that it may mean a blue anemone, or a tulip.

[2] Blochmann 612 and note 4.

[3] Blochmann 350.

[4] I think that the meaning of this passage is explained by Badayūnī, Lowe 170 where we are told that Akbar's battle-cry on that day was Yā M'uīn, *i.e.*, O Helper. But Akbar's patron saint was Muīnu-d-din Cistī of Ajmere, and it was no doubt with reference to him that Akbar raised this cry which is also mentioned in A. F.'s account of the battle. The Ajmīrī Ajmīrī of Saif K. Koka then I regard as Saif's or A. F.'s rendering of the phrase Yā M'uīn. The M'āāṣir II 274 gives the phrase without comment, and the Lucknow editor also passes it over. It will be seen that Badayūnī twice speaks here of the battle-cry Yā Muīn, pp. 170 and 171. He also says that Saif K. plunged into the whirlpool of fight and was killed just as this cry was being raised. Cf. the account in the Tūzuk (S. Ahmad's ed.) p. 20 and also that in the Memoirs (Price) 57. The Tūzuk, p. 19 says the battle cries were Allah Akbar and Yā Muīn.

the same wine effervesced in his faithful brain and made him throw himself singly against a host and so make the last journey. This nursling of wisdom regarded his life as coming from H.M. and was firm footed in his fidelity. His parents also regarded H.M. as the cause of the Divine gift (of a son).

The brief account of this instructive event is that his honoured mother always gave birth to daughters. His father was annoyed and used to make a disturbance. At the time when she was pregnant with this loyal servant, the father broke out and said, "If this time too a daughter comes, I shall never cohabit with you again." That chaste one went to H.M. Miriam-makānī and described the reproach (that her husband had made), and asked permission to cause an abortion so that she might be saved from such censures. On the way (back) she encountered the Shāhinshāh, and when he heard what had happened, he, though very young, said, "If you wish to retain our affection, you will not touch this matter. God will bestow upon you a son (*farzand*) of a happy star." Though that chaste lady had obtained the permission of H.M. Miriam-makānī, she regarded the direction of the nursling of fortune as a mystic message, and abstained from her intention. What had proceeded from the lips of the Knower of mysteries came to pass.

At the time when that prince of the people of insight was in grief for the catastrophe, Zain K. Koka, younger brother of the departed, had done valiantly and laid low two of the enemy, and had picked up Subḥān Qulī Turk, who had been left on the battlefield. He was coming to kiss the feet (of Akbar) when he heard the news of his honoured brother's wounds. Distracted by affection he was going to assist him, when he found that there was another state of things (*viz.*, that Saif was dead). He remained for a while sunk in grief and then was comforted by the loyal graciousness. By the royal order Abdu-r-Raḥmān,[1] the son of Muyīd Beg was appointed to take charge of him in his distressed condition.

At this time when H.M. was distressed at the losing so faithful 59
a follower and at the delay in the arrival of M. Koka, news-bearers as a comfort to his ever vernal soul brought the good tidings that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. had been captured by the imperial servants.

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[1] Blochmann 465.

He said "Were I to consider far-seeing prudence, I'd shed the blood of such an ingrate, and so get satisfaction for the catastrophe of the Koka." But how could he do so when innate kindness and gentleness made him hesitate to loose the bond between his spirit and his body! Just then they brought that ingrate and nescient of the Truth into the presence. He had a wound in the face. When he had been wounded and had fled before the majestic light of the Shāhinshāh, and the onset of the heroes of the centre, his horse's feet came against thornbushes and fell. Gadā 'Alī, one of the royal champions, came up to him and said "Come, I'll take you out of this battlefield." He consented, and Gadā 'Alī put him in front of himself on his horse and was taking him towards the presence. One of the servants of the Khān Kilān joined him as he was mounting him on his horse. When they brought him to the presence, both claimed the reward. Those standing by H.M. asked him what was the fact, and that ill-fated one, now that he had awoke from his dream of negligence, spoke the truth, *viz.*, "The salt of the king of realm and religion captured me." When that lord of gentleness saw the wretch in that condition, the ocean of his graciousness effervesced, and he gave an order that his hands which were tied behind his back should be released and fastened in front, and he made him over to Mān Singh Darbārī. Just then Shāh Madad, who was the Mirzā's Koka, and a partner with him in disloyalty, was brought into the presence. H.M. pierced him with a spear which he had in his hand, and he at once descended to the depths of annihilation. It was stated in H.M.'s court that Bhūpat, the brother of Rajah Bhagwān Dās, had in the glorious battle of Sarnāl drunk the cup of death from this man's hand.

One of the wonderful kindnesses of the Shāhinshāh which showed itself at this time was that while he was standing and returning thanks to God, a disturbance and noise arose. On inquiry it appeared that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. was asking water from Mān Singh Darbārī. Farhat Khān *cela* hearing this struck him on the head with his hands, and cried out—What warrant is there for giving water to such
60 a disloyalist and rebel? That fountain of grace and gentleness reproved Farhat Khān when he heard of this, and called for his special supply of water and had it given to Muḥammad[1] Ḥusain. The

[1] Much of this rhapsody is omitted in the Lucknow edition.

lightning of benevolence shone forth comprehensiveness had its market-day. Appreciation had its adornment. The standard of forgiveness and grace to sinners was heightened. The sublime jewel of his disposition became phosphorescent. The unique gem of liberality became glorious. The coin of humanity was tested. Redress was given on the field of battle.' Deeds like this astonish the superficial who are confined in the bonds of what is ordinary, but the far-sighted who worship spiritualities and who have some acquaintance with H.M.'s noble qualities are not surprised at them. Rather they regard them as part of his natural disposition.

When by the Divine aid such wondrous things had come to pass, and M. Koka and the Gujrāt army had not arrived, and most of the day had been spent, H.M. advanced from where he had halted. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. was made over to Rai Rai Singh in order that he might put him on an elephant and convey him to the city. At this time, when many gallant men had retired and were resting after their labours and dangers, and about a hundred men were in attendance on H.M., suddenly a large force came in view, consisting of more than 5,000 men. Men were considering and conjecturing who they were. Many thought they were M. Koka and the army of Gujrāt, and some thought it was Shāh M., who had fled at the beginning of the fight and gone towards Maḥmūdābād. After a time H.M. ascertained it was the rebel Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk who was coming. Agitation sate on the brows of most of the retinue, some because they were anxious for the Shāhinshāh because he had few attendants, and others because they were timid. The rank-breaking sovereign, like a raging tiger who in the exuberance of his youth essays his force and fierceness, displayed wondrous exultation, and before disposing of the foe addressed himself to encouraging his companions.

Verse.

A single person acting along with him
Needed not to fear a hundred thousand
When the pure God gave his (Akbar's) fortune
What fear of the enemy's soldiers remained?

He made ready for battle and mounted a world-traversing steed 61
and uttered lofty and inspiriting words. He gave orders for the

beating of drums and the blowing of trumpets.[1] The drummer was so alarmed that he could neither hear the sacred order, nor address himself to his work till he was brought to his senses by the menace of a spear, and began to beat his drum. Shujā'at Khān, Rājā Bhagwānt Dās, and some other brave men advanced a little way and proceeded to discharge arrows. H.M. said "Be not hasty, and await mystic victories for soon they will bring his head." During this tumult he, at the instance of Rājā Bhagwānt Dās and Rai Rai Singh ordered that Muḥammad Ḥusain M., the foundation of the sedition, should be put to death. When Almighty God wills the dispatching of anyone to annihilation, what good will the kindness and grace of the Shāhinshāh do him? But it behoves the Unique One of creation—for whose designs the Divine goodness is surety—to be a fountain of grace, and a mine of kindness.

That force which showed such pomp, became more and more confused as it approached. Ikhtiyār-al-mulk separated from it and proceeded with a few others to withdraw himself rapidly from the whirlpool of destruction to the shore of safety. He struck upon the thorns and was thrown from his saddle to the ground. Sohrāb Turkman, who was one of the royal cavaliers, had made him his mark from a distance, and was following him. At this stumble he came up to him and lightened his shoulders of the burden of his head. On this occasion he was much agitated and died in an unmanly manner.

The detailed account of this wretch is that he engaged with a large force in besieging Aḥmadābād, and was a stumbling-block in the path of M. Koka, Qutbu-d-dīn Khān, and others. When he heard of M. Muḥammad Ḥusain's capture and of the victory of H.M. he became confused and fled. What eyes of vision have the inwardly blind, and where have they the wisdom of heart to see the end of their design or to understand their own good. That ill-fated one passed with 200 men on H.M.'s right, while his large army and array of elephants went on the left of H.M. and threw the dust of defeat on their own heads. By the Divine aid a glorious victory displayed itself in the mirror of desire. A work of many thousands of years was accomplished in nine days, for most of the first day of

[1] *Kurnā*. Blochmann 51.

leaving the capital was spent in bidding adieu to the servants of fortune's threshold, and the day of the victory, in the beginning of which H.M. halted, cannot be taken into account. On the field of battle there were counted 1,200 of the enemy as killed, and the wounded who died in the fields and meadows, and near the battle-field, were reckoned at 500. A similar number may be reckoned as that of those who were wounded and escaped half-dead. Time with the tongue of action (*zabán-i-ḥál*) came rejoicing and uttered this strain of joy :—

Verse.

By your Fortune, your enemies were, one by one
Cast by Time into enduring loss
Man killed one and heaven's avenging dagger
Cut the throat[1] of one and reft another of house and home.

It would seem that this verse was a representation of what 62
happened to those wicked and rebellious brothers. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. died in the custody of S'aīd Khān. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. became food for the blood-consuming sword at the banquet of the Shāhin shāh's wrath. Shāh Mirzā threw the dust of disgrace on his head and became a desert-wandering vagabond. About one-hundred of the victorious heroes of the royal army drank the *sherbet* of martyrdom. The chief of those devoted ones was Saif Khān Koka. Sohrāb, the cousin of Ṣādiq Khān, Rāghū Dās, and Timar 'Alī Jalāīr made over the coins of their lives to Death's treasurer.

When H.M.'s heart was set at rest by the instructive catastrophe of Ikhtiyār-al-mulk he proceeded onwards. A little of the day remained when another army was seen in battle array. The brave men advanced, and had nearly fought when Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaznavī went ahead and learnt that it was M. Koka! The imperial servants rejoiced, and H.M. the Shāhinshāh expressed his pleasure at the arrival of the Mīrzā. He embraced him in the manner that affectionate fathers embrace their loving sons. Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān and the other Gujrāt officers were exalted by doing homage, they asked how they could express their thanks for the saving of their lives. Just then Sohrāb brought the head of the bewildered

[1] Ibrāhīm Husain died of a wound in the throat.

one (Ikhtiyār-al-mulk) and was applauded by the imperial servants. H.M. prostrated himself in devotion to God, and what had passed from his lips had become fulfilled. As a lesson to the generality, an order was issued that a tower should be made of the heads of the rebels. At the end of the day H.M. reached Aḥmadābād, and the palaces of the Sultans of Gujrāt were glorified by his advent. Bulletins of victory were sent to various countries, and couriers carried the news to mortals. To Moẓaffar Khān and the officers of the province of
63 Mālwa, and to Rājā Mān Singh, there were sent rescripts to the effect that as a complete victory had been gained, and H.M. had decided upon returning, they should do homage in the capital. H.M. engaged in those delightful palaces in promoting the loyal servants, and in acts of liberality. He gave great gifts to everyone. High and low experienced his favour. M. Koka represented that some learned men and lofty recluses had plotted with the rebels. As in H.M.'s judgment they were found not to be implicated, they were treated with royal favours. Among them was S. Wajīhu-d-dīn[1] who was famed for his knowledge of the rational and traditionary sciences, and who occupied himself with the rules of contentment, seclusion, and spiritual improvement. The Mīrzā represented that property of the rebels had been found in his house, and H.M. asked the Shaikh "What connection had you with such matters?" The Maulvī replied "Acquaintanceship and delicacy made me give them one of my houses." As his honesty was evident, he was shielded from the evils of the time. Similarly, the sons of Mīr Ghiās-ud-dīn Qādirī were brought in, as properties of Ikhtiyār-al-mulk were in their house. They also were preserved by the far-seeingness and kindness of the Khedive of the world. At this same time Shaikh Moẓaffar, a relative of Shaikh 'Abdu-n-nabī and who was the Ṣadr of Gujrāt, was produced. Before this he had been bastinadoed by the Mīrzā on account of greed and of his trying to take bribes. When he came before H.M. he experienced the shade of his benevolence and remained in safety. So also were many of the wounded

[1] B. 415, 458 and 538. Badayūnī, III. 43, has a long account of this saint, and calls him Miyān Wajīhu-d-dīn Aḥmadābādī. He says he was a follower of Muḥammad Ghaus and died in 998 (1590). Jahāngīr describes a visit he paid to his shrine. Tūzuk, 211.

rebels brought before H.M., and obtained safety from his kindness. After that he went to the houses of I'timād Khān Gujrāti and occupied himself in the work of administration. The oppressed obtained relief by his justice, and the ruined world flourished anew.

During the time that he was occupying the abode of I'timād Khān, Shujā'at[1] Khān from constitutional folly advanced his foot beyond the mark of moderation and did foolishly. He used improper language with regard to Mun'im Khān. He did not regard the respect due to the sublime assembly, and transgressed the rules of the *torah* (etiquette or code) of the eternal monarchy. Whoever is not respectful to his superior and especially to the royal commander-in-chief is verbally censured by the sovereign, and this to noble minds is more severe than strokes with the glittering sword. 64 Accordingly he was fittingly rebuked and made over to Qāsim 'Alī Khān in order that he might be taken before the Khān-Khānān and be punished or forgiven by him as he thought proper. This treatment was not for himself only, but intended to be a lesson to all the foolish ones of the court. At the same time Qutbu-d-din Khān, Naurang Khān and a body of troops were sent to the province of Broach, as Shāh M. had fled to that quarter, in order that they might seize him and inflict suitable punishment on him. Rajah Bhagwānt Dās, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Lashkar Khān and a number of other servants were dispatched in order that they might, by way of Idar, go to the territory of the Rānā (Pertāb of Udaipūr) and put down the factious ones of that country, and chastise properly every one who was disobedient. As before, the government of Pattan was given to the Khān Kilān. Daudūqa and Dūlqa and some other states were given in jagir to Wazir Khān and he was sent to that country.

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[1] Blochmann 371.

CHAPTER XII

Return of the World-Conquering Standards to the Capital.

When the administrative mind of the Shāhinshāh had disposed of the affairs of Gujrāt in the space of eleven days he proceeded towards the capital on the *roz-i-roz*, the 31st Shahrīyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 16 Jumāda-alawal (13 September 1573). On that day he halted at Mahmūdābād.[1] Next day he encamped at the town of Dūlqa. In this pleasant place he stayed one day. Here he conferred honours on M. Koka and after giving him sage instructions permitted him to depart. He also exalted Khwāja Ghiāgu-d-dīn 'Alī[2] of Qazwīn, Bakhshī, who was distinguished for good services and for eloquence and had done excellent work in this campaign, by the title of Āsaf Khān and left him as Bakhshī of the province of Gujrāt, in order that he might act under H.M. Koka and assist in the work of administration. All the arrangements for Gujrāt were made at this station, and on the day of Ardībihisht 3 Mihr, Divine month, he proceeded rapidly towards the capital. In two marches he reached the town of Karī and from there arrived in two marches at Sathpūr.[3]

There he heard that the army which had been dispatched by way of Īdar under the command of Rajah Bhagwānt Dās had reached the town of Badhnagar,[4] and that Rāwālīā, the ghulām of Sher Khān
65 Fūlādī, who had strengthened Karī at the time when H.M. marched to Gujrāt, was now as formerly breathing the breath of defiance (in Badhnagar). Next day H.M. halted where he was, in order to see if he (Bhagwānt Dās) needed his assistance. When it appeared that the fort had been taken and that Rāwālīā, who had put on a jogi's dress, had been caught, H.M. proceeded on rapidly, and when he reached Sirohī he left Ṣādiq Khān there with some loyal followers in order that they might keep the peace there and repress the seditious.

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[1] Jarrett II. 241 and 253.

[2] Blochmann 433.

[3] qu. Satalpūr Jarrett 254. A variant gives Sitpūr, and this is supported by the Iqbālnāma.

[4] The Badnagar of Jarrett II. 254.

* It is Badnagar in Iqbālnāma. It lies west of Īdar and Dūngarpūr and is marked Burnuggar in Bayley's map of Gujrat. See also p. 437 of text.

On the day of Sarosh 17 Mihr, Divine month, 27th September 1573, he alighted at Ajmir and visited the shrine of Khwāja M'uīnu-d-dīn. Those connected with the shrine, and others who were needy benefited by H.M.'s bounty. At the end of the next day an order was given that the main camp should proceed slowly, stage by stage, while he himself should hasten on like the wind. He travelled the rest of that day, the whole night and to the end of the next day, and arrived near Bakar.[1] There Rajah Todar Mal who had been hastily summoned from the capital, had the bliss of doing homage. Then he was sent away in order that he might make the settlement of Gujrāt, etc. He was instructed to make a just settlement without regard to the covetous demands of men, and to send the statement to court so that the clerks might act according to it with reference to the soldiers and subjects.

In short, he halted for a little in the beginning of the evening at the village of Newata,[2] where is the house of the Rām Dās Kachwāha,[3] who performed the duties of service towards him. After midnight he again set out on his swift horse and arrived in the evening at Hans Mahal. He did not halt there, but went on that night and the next day. On the Sunday he rested in the *pargana* of Toda. When a watch of the day remained he left it and after midnight reached Basāwar. There the Khwāja Jahān and Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān, who had come from the capital to welcome him, did homage. They accompanied him on his onward journey and at dawn the town of Bajūna was reached. There he rested for a while. There an order was given that the victorious heroes who were in the retinue should take their spears or lances in their hands and so proceed to the capital. After 66
1½ watches of the day of Bād the 22nd Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 8 Jumāda-l akhira (5 October 1573) he marched to the capital. On that day a great number of the officers and nobles hastened out to welcome him, and the country was full of high and low. H.M. reached Fathpūr when a watch of the day remained. Fresh water came into the canals, and the world became a flowing garden! Their highnesses the Begams and the princes and the

[1] The Bhakar of the Ain. Jarrett II. 267. It is on the borders of Ajmir. Perhaps the Bīakoī of Jarrett 273.

[2] The Lucknow ed. has Hūna. Perhaps the place is Lūnī or Bānlī. See Blochmann 398 n. 1. and A. N. text III. 326, line 9. If so, it is in Ranthanbhūr.

[3] Blochmann 483.

secluded ladies were gladdened by seeing H.M. Largesses were bestowed. The eyes of those who longed were filled with light, and the hearts of those who waited were filled with eternal joy. By the Divine aid the march to this distant country (Gujrāt), its conquest, and pacification and return were accomplished in forty-three days.

Where is the brilliant writer who could fittingly describe the wonders of this instructive expedition? When the eye-witnesses were filled with amazement, how can hearers thereof describe it? The justice-distributing Khedive at such a time of success, and the display of such wondrous deeds, one of a thousand of which would have led many mighty men of yore into negligence and corporeal pleasures, behaved contrary to the disposition of his age and of mortals and became yet more discreet and more an adorner of the *divan* of justice and addressed himself to spiritual improvement. He enlightened the world by lofty principles and wise actions. The great men and the officers of the State came from various parts of the kingdom and did homage, and attained their desires. One month had not elapsed when Rajah Bhagwānt Dās came to court with the army which H.M. had sent by the way of Īdar. He had done good service and his reputation was increased. He brought Umrā, the son and heir of the Rānā,[1] to do homage, and also Rāwāliyā, who had fallen into his hands at the taking of Badhnagar, and he (Bhagwānt) was encompassed with royal favours.

The brief account of the campaign of this victorious army is that it in a short space of time took the strong fort of Badhnagar and then proceeded towards Īdar. The Zamindār thereof, Narain Dās Rāthor,[2] recognised the arrival of the imperial officers as a great honour and went forward to welcome them. He presented suitable
67 gifts, and when the victorious army reached Gogānda,[3] which was the Rānā's residence, Rānā Kikā expressed shame and repentance for his past conduct and prolonged deficiency in service, and by way

[1] The Lucknow ed. has the son of the Zamindar, and Blochmann 383, calls him Amr and represents him as the son of the Zamindar or Rānā of Īdar, but it seems that he really was the son of Rānā Kikā. See Jarret II. 269 where he is described as Pertāb's successor.

[2] A.F. speaks of him as such an austere Hindu that he only ate the grains of corn voided by a cow. Jarrett II. 241.

[3] Text Galkanda. See Blochmann 418 and note.

of submission came and visited Rajah Bhagwānt Dās. He also took him to his house and treated him with respect and hospitality. He sent along with him his son and heir, and represented that by his ill-fortune a feeling of desolation (*tawaḥḥushī*) had taken possession of him, and that now he presented his petition through the Rajah and was sending his son as a mark of obedience. When his desolate (or savage) heart should become soothed by the lapse of time, he too would come and do homage in person. After a little time Rajah Todar Mal also arrived from Gujrāt and did homage. He made over to the imperial archives a corrected settlement (jama' manaqqah) of those territories. The Rānā visited him also on his way and displayed flattery and submissiveness.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Mozaffar Khān and his being promoted to the lofty office of *vakīl*. Though such an adorner of the throne of realm and religion requires not a *vakīl*, nor a Vizier, for his far-seeing capacity is responsible for all the duties of sovereignty, yet H.M. either in order to veil himself, or from humility before God, or in order to increase the dignity of loyal servants, from time to time makes over the duties of sovereignty to a courtier. Accordingly on this occasion he determined that the office of *vakīl* should again be entrusted to Mozaffar Khān. From Gujrāt an order was issued that Mozaffar Khān should be turned back from wherever he might be and should come and present himself when the victorious standards reached the capital. Mozaffar Khān took with him Khāldīn Khān, Mīrak Khān Kolābī, Shāh Qulī Maimandī, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and others of the Mālwa army and proceeded towards Gujrāt. Near Ujjain he joined Rajah Mān Singh who was proceeding from Kaciwāra to Gujrāt. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khawāfī[1] says that two Seōrās (Jain ascetics) ascertained by means of astrology and stated that the army would shortly return. Mozaffar Khān, in order to test them had kept them in a kind of arrest. At the town of Dhūb,[2] which

[1] Blochmann 445. Apparently this passage means that Shamsu-d-dīn had written a history of the campaign, or of Mozaffar K's transactions. A.F. quotes him again when describing the mutiny in Bengal and the circumstances of Mozaffar's defeat.

[2] It seems probable that Dhūb or Dhūp is a mistake for Dohad, the well-known place on the boundary between Mālwa and Gujrāt, and which is supposed to derive its name from that circumstance. In that case the spelling should be Dohadd. It is

is a place between Malwa and Gujrât, letters were received from Aṣal
68 Khân and Qâsim 'Alî Sîstânî, to the effect that the good fortune of Shâhinshâh had made the conquest of Gujrât, and that the seditious and rebellious had been cast from the height of presumption into the abyss of ruin. A *firmân* was also issued that the officers should stop at whatever place they had reached and prepare to proceed to the capital. Surprise was expressed at the acuteness of those two recluses. There were rejoicings at the good news of victory and the army proceeded to return. Mân Singh went to his fief and Mozaffar Khân had not yet recruited himself at Sârangpûr when news came that the royal standards had reached the capital. Mozaffar went off post haste and did homage on the day of Anîrân 30 Abân, Divine month. He was received with princely favours, and was appointed to the high position of Vakîl. He applied himself with ability to discharge his financial and political duties. When he took charge of his former duties, and by virtue of the Shâhinshâh's fortune did good services, his eye owing to his ill-fate lost sight of the glorious aid of the God-given fortune and regarded only itself. He began to quaff the sense-destroying wine of worldly success, and ascribed every administrative success to his own abilities. He appropriated to himself the management of external affairs, and because the world's lord had for reasons of policy conferred on him the title of *Vakîl*, the simpleton gradually came to consider himself fit for such an office, and his arrogance increased. He failed to comprehend the point of the Shâhinshâh's remissness and shutting of the eyes (*lit.* winking) and looked to himself and became self-confident. At last the question of branding (*sakhn-i-dâgh i-sipâhî*) came up and as he was drunk with the intoxication of presumption, and his understanding was coated with rust, he did not comprehend the matter and made foolish remarks.

The short account of this is: H.M.'s holy head was grieved to find that there were oppositions between masters and servants. For, low-natured and mercenary officers, who had no particle of sense or loyalty, were wont to consider that their own profit consisted in others'

famous as the birthplace of Aurangzeb. Khâfî K. I. 296. It is the Dhod of Jarrett II. 256 and the Dohad of I. G. XI. 366. Aurangzeb refers to it as his birthplace in Letter XXXI. p. 35 of Jamshed Bilimoria's translation.

loss, and practised much injustice, indiscrimination and inappreciation. Consequently, servants on the occurrence of a slight contretemps cast the dust of infidelity on their heads and chose other masters. From darkness of intellect they did not apprehend the baseness of disloyalty. The masters and leaders too were overcome by cupidity and strove to gather wealth and neglected to preserve their honour. They always gave their servants little and bartered honour for silver and gold (*dirham u dīnār*). The world-adorning mind of the Shāhinshāh which had for the sake of preserving the veil, abandoned the distribution of degrees, and of pays and stipends—which is the first work of great rulers—resolved that he would remove this veil, and conduct these matters by the light of his own far-seeing intelligence. Accordingly, he promulgated the branding regulation, the 60
conversion of the imperial territories into crown-lands, and the fixing the grades of the officers of State. He decided that he would carry out all these measures in accordance with the steadiness, the services, the loyalty, disinterestedness and energy of the officers. As spiritual undertakings were always more important than external affairs, and as he did not find an interlocutor or an assistant who was fit for this matter, he on sundry occasions discussed the question with the intimate partakers of his holy entertainments. Rajah Todar Mal used to submit that it was a good idea which had entered his mind, and that it was owing to the general want of understanding among men that the thing had not occurred to them.[1] Assuredly most of the soldiers would be loyal, and their zeal would be increased by this decision. But it was most probable that Mun'im K. and Mozaffar K. would not approve of the plan.

When Mozaffar K. became the transactor of business at the sublime Court, the proposition was laid before him, but he, from self-conceit and lack of understanding, showed reluctance to carry out the sacred regulations and fell out of favour.

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[1] Text *jiz ain badil namīrasid*. But the I. O. MSS. and the Cawnpore edition have *cīzī badil namīrasid*, and this I have taken to be the true reading. Akbar's changes were very sweeping and attended with much suffering. See infra p. 457, Fath Ullah's first remark, and B. 140 n. and Badayūnī, Lowe 176 and 192. It was Shahbāz K. who introduced the branding and he only revived old regulations of 'Alāu-d-dīn and Sher Shāh.—See Elliot IV. 551.

CHAPTER XIII.

Second Expedition of H.M.'s Army to Bengal and Bihar, and the Punishment of the Evil and Seditious.

The totality of the firmly-based energy of the sovereign of our auspicious age is directed towards enabling the inhabitants, both great and small, of every country, to worship God in accordance with their capacities, and to make harmony between their outward and their inward condition, and to arrange that they do not extend the foot of propriety beyond their carpet, nor indulge in self-worship and self-exaltation. Rather may they rise somewhat higher than this stage and become disciplined, so that while not deserving the appellation of ignorant they may also not merit the description of being idle and foolish! In the case of every country to which the lord of the earth has led his armies, and of every tribe which has felt the shade of his world-conquering troops, his sole purpose has been to improve the condition of that country or to educate that tribe. Accordingly, during the time when Sulaimān Karārānī[1] governed Bengal and Bihar, as he always remembered his position, and paid the respect of obedience, H.M. regarded such outward submission as if it was real obedience (*lit.* bought it at the price of real obedience), and so that tribe (the Afghans) sustained no injury from the victorious troops of the Shāhinshāh. And though he (Sulaimān) was on account of his secret wickedness liable to punishment in the ante-chamber of chastisement, yet as in the eyes of the wise man of the age (Akbar) external regularity is subsidiary to internal order and beauty, his outer garment
70 of (submission) was a means of saving the tribe. When he died, and the time came of ill-fated and intoxicated young men, who neglected to preserve outward appearances, and especially when the government of that country fell to Dāūd, the younger son of Sulaimān, the scarf of hypocrisy was rent, and he stretched his foot beyond

[1] The above silly tirade is not in the Lucknow edition which begins with the word Sulaimān.

his condition and became an element of disturbance in the country. Some account of this has already been given. The Shāhinshāh's genius applied itself to the disciplining of that tribe and to the improvement of the condition of the subjects. Though he (Dāūd) had been worthy of punishment before this time, yet in accordance with the canon of mighty sovereignty that great matters should be preferred to ordinary ones, this task, which was of an ordinary nature, remained behind the veil of postponement. Now that the mind of the world's Khedive was free of the rebels of Gujrāt, he turned his face towards the amendment of the eastern provinces, and the overthrow of the stiff-necked and presumptuous ones of those territories. As soon as he reached the capital he sent off Lashkar Khān Mir Bakhshī and Parmānand, a relation of Todar Mal, who had charge of the fleet, *i.e.*, the war-boats containing the artillery and the men attached thereto, along with the fleet, and an urgent order was issued to the great officers and to holders of fiefs in that country that they should act harmoniously together and not deviate from the instructions of Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān.

One of the remarkable things in our lord's good fortune is that his opponents accomplish a work which the imperial servants could not effect by a hundred strivings. Accordingly, a new proof of this was given by Dāūd's putting to death Lūdī Khān. He was far-reaching in stratagems, and had a vigorous mind for plans, and was the rational spirit of the eastern provinces, and was helpful in promoting the cause of the Afghans. By help of the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh he became opposed to Dāūd, who had been raised up by him. And it has already been described how Dāūd's killing his own cousin, the son of Tāj Khān, upset Lūdī's mind, and how Mun'im Khān escaped from his great danger. As he (Lūdī) had not effected a genuine relationship with eternal dominion (*i.e.*, with Akbar), and in appearance he had quarrelled with his benefactor, all that wisdom[1] of his became a hindrance to him, and the loyal

[1] Ān hama 'aql 'aqīla shud. The Ghiāṣu-lughat gives a rope or a tether as one of the meanings of 'aqīla. *'Aqīlā* also means a secluded, or bashful woman, and perhaps the meaning is that Lūdī's reason became secluded, that is, disappeared from sight.

Afghans turned away from him. Dāūd by the efforts of Qatlū, Gūjar, Shams Khān Mūsāzai, Ism'aīl Silāhdār and others, strengthened Garhī, and opened his hands to distribute the treasure of Sulaimān. Those who were of little sense and of a fly-like disposition gathered around him, and Lūdī who presumed upon his own craft and experience and his foolish and vaunting acquaintances, became helpless and took shelter in the fort of Rhotās. Dāūd appointed a force against him and it arrived near Rhotās. As
71 Lūdī was helpless he turned to the sublime court, and asked help from Mun'im Khān. The Khān-Khānān sent Hāshim Khān, Tengrī Qulī Khān, Bārī Tāwācī-bāshī[1] and Maulānā Mahmūd Akhūnd with a force to assist him with sword and counsel. He also moved forward himself as possibly Lūdī would come and see him, and the affairs of Bengal and Bihār would be easily disposed of.

This state of affairs came to H.M.'s knowledge at the time he was at the capital, and he with the tongue of fulfilment gave out the good news of victory and conquest. H.M. gave some of his sublime attention to the facilitating of the conquest of that country. Though a numerous army had been nominated for this service, yet it is not every one who has such a nature that he performs his service equally well whether he is kept in sight or not. In order to stir up the feeble and those of a mercantile nature who reckon service without pay, and exertion without wages as their loss, and want prompt recompense, Rajah Todar Mal was appointed, who was distinguished for trustworthiness, reliability and favour with the Court. He was to see that the men came forward, and have them mustered[2] so that the above-mentioned two classes of men might regard him as an observer, and not indulge in sloth or cantankerousness, as is their nature, and might regard the absent (*i.e.*, Akbar) as present and perform their duties after the manner of loyal servants.

Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānan had reached the bank of the Tirmohinī,[3] which is the junction of the rivers Ganges, Jumna

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[1] The Iqbālnāma has Yār Ḥusain Tawācībāshī.

[2] *dīdan-i-shān-i-lashkar.*

[3] Tirmohinī. Sarū is another name for the Gogrā. The Tirmohinī is near Chaprā. Though called a Tirmohinī (three mouths), it seems to be really only the junction of the Gogrā and Ganges. The Jumna had already joined the Ganges at

and Sarū, when Rajah Todar Mal arrived, and energetically set to work. In a short time a large army was collected. The command of it was distributed as follows: The centre was under the Khan-Khānān; Majnun Khān, Bābā Khān and others had charge of the right wing. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Qīyā Khān, Ashraf Khān and others were in charge of the left wing. The Khan 'Ālam, Mīrzā 'Alī and others were with the vanguard. When the Rajah had mustered[1] the army, Lashkar Khān and many of the Khān-Khānān's servants crossed the river. Niẓām who had a large force of Afghans, for there was a newly-constructed fort in front of the royal army, took to flight. At the same time letters came from Tengrī Qulī and the force that had gone forward with him, to the effect that Lūdī had dismissed them and reconciled himself with Dāūd, and was now ready for battle and had with him a numerous army. Though this news was a little perplexing to the superficial, the eternal fortune (of Akbar) rejoiced at it and regarded it as a means of conquest. Accordingly the mystery of this singular arrangement (*manṣūba*) was afterwards revealed.

In fine the wiles of Dāūd, who was under the tuition of Qatlū and Gūjar, led Lūdī out of the road. He sent a message (to Lūdī) saying, "You are in the place of Sulaimān, if on account of 72
love to this family you have become angry with me and gone off, you have done your duty, and I am not displeased with you. In every undertaking I seek assistance from you. At this time, when the sublime armies have come against me, do you also from the excellent good-will which you have always shown, gird up the loins of energy for battle; I make over to you the army, the treasure and the park of artillery." After much talk a form of peace was, by the efforts of Gūjar, established between Dāūd and Lūdī. Dāūd soothed him and sent him in advance. After some days Lūdī in his ill-fortune came face to face with the victorious army, built a fort, and engaged in war. There were constantly fightings on the bank of the Sone, and the imperial servants were invariably successful. The brave men crossed the river and engaged in battle. One day a body of troops was sent across the river under the command

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Allahabad. It was at this Tirmohinī that Khwānd Amīr finished, in Bābar's Camp, his Ḥabību-s-siyar.

[1] *Shān-i-lashkar dīd.*

of L'al Khān and sent against Jarāndakot.[1] He acted with energy, and fourteen of the enemy's boats fell into his hands. Many of the rebels were killed, and L'al Khān's son gave up this unstable life in the service of his lord, and gained eternal fame. Just then the Afghans fell into confusion and there was a report that Lūdī Khan was killed.

The facts of this are that when Lūdī had been reassured and was carrying on the war with energy, Dāūd followed him up and arrived at the house of Jalāl Khān Gidhauriya (?).[2] He sent a messenger to invite Lūdī, Kālū, and Phūl, who was Lūdī's vakīl, to come and see him, as he had various things to say. Lūdī went with all confidence, and Phūl with him, but Kālū did not go, saying that the invitation had not a good odour. At first Dāūd treated Lūdī with respect. After that he retired. Qatlū and others came and were about to arrest him. Lūdī's servant who had his (Lūdī's) sword, when he saw that there was going to be treachery, aimed a blow at Qatlū, and was himself cut to pieces. Lūdī was arrested, and a disturbance arose among the Afghans. All the officers agreed that he should be put to death. Dāūd asked him what he ought to do. He replied: "Do not injure me in my dignity and honour; now that at the instigation of short-sighted men I have fallen into this evil, the proper thing for me is that I obtain repose in the privy chamber of annihilation." The wretches in their folly struck a blow at their own power by putting him and Phūl to death. It was one of the notes of God-given fortune that Lūdī should have been thus removed by the efforts of foes, when it would have been difficult to have got rid of him by a thousand plannings. Well-wishers conveyed
73 Ism'aīl, Lūdī's son, and who was very young, to the Khān-Khānan. The latter now crossed the Sone. From excessive caution, and owing to the plague of foolish prattlers, an easy task was made difficult. The killing of Lūdī had produced such a dissension among the enemy that if the imperial commanders had shown energy and resolution the work would have been finished quickly and easily. But as the disposal of this affair was reserved for a special time and

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[1] Perhaps the Chanend or Cheranend of Jarrett II. 156, or is it the Kot in Sarkār Rohtas of p. 157?

[2] The T. A. seems to have Jalāl K. Krorī.

for the advent of H.M., there occurred caution and delay instead of alacrity. The whole army put on their cuirasses and mounted their steeds, and Rajah Todar Mal, Lashkar Khān and 'Itimād Khān the eunuch went forward and selected a site for a camp. The ground was made over to the men and in a short time a strong fort and a deep moat were constructed. After this fashion they followed the path of vigilance and caution up to the neighbourhood of Patna.

Owing to the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh, Dāūd with such an army and equipment went off in a cowardly fashion and shut himself up in the fort of Patna. With his own foot he imprisoned himself in the furnace of destruction! The imperial army arranged the batteries and invested the town. An account of the Divine assistances, and the details of the daily-increasing fortune of H.M. were written and sent to Court. These communications led to new thanksgiving. The Shāhinshah of horizons rejoiced mankind in Agra by princely favours and instructed them in Divine worship and in usages. He displayed wonders in the way of liberality and forgivenesses, and he also laboured strenuously for outward civilisation and spiritual advancement. Contrary to the practice of most princes of the age he paid his thanks to God by the tongue of deeds. He put foreign lands (*wilāyat*) in the same position as the Sultanate, and made the sitter in the dust and the sitter on the throne of equal consequence (*hamsang*).

One of the glorious characteristics of the Shāhinshāh, which was displayed at this time, was that when it was brought to his hearing that Saif[1] Khān Kokaltāsh, who had attained the eternal world while displaying good service and loyalty, and also Shaikh Muhammad Bokhārī, who in the first expedition to Gujrat had suffered noble martyrdom, had left large debts. Gifts from the Shāhinshāh's kindness lightened the obligations of those loyalists by paying all their heavy debts, and the distressful hearts of the creditors were comforted. Lofty words and sublime laws were continually issuing from that fountain of vision, and mine of eloquence. If examples thereof were recorded by a true pen, the simple-minded would undoubtedly accuse encomiasts of exaggeration. Though the holy soul of the Shāhinshāh be not defiled by the ordinary sciences and acquired

[1] Cf. Elliot V. 370.

74 knowledge, yet as his sacred mind has received absolute light without any human intermediary or local associations, holy words come intuitively from that reservoir of abundance. Accordingly a few of those inspired utterances will be written in the conclusion of this noble volume.

Among[1] them was that at this time on a Friday he was present in the Jāma' Masjid of Fatḥpūr and was watching the crowd of ostensible worshippers. Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān the preacher, who had recently come from Māwara-n-nahar (Transoxiana), was discoursing. In the course of his address he spoke of the infidelity of the parents of the Prophet and spoke of them as being in danger of hell. H.M. said: "Methinks this statement is not true, for when there has been intercession for so many offenders by this means (the Prophet), how can the father and mother be excluded, and be consigned to everlasting infidelity?" The assembly applauded and paid him the homage of devotion.

One of the occurrences was the festival for the circumcision of the glorious princes. Inasmuch as the keeping alive of old customs is a strong pillar of administration, and the following in the steps of predecessors is an essential point in the management of the external world, and especially as the wearers of scarves and turbans regard Use and Wont as related to the Divine laws, and most of all because rulers search for opportunities for feasts, and make them an occasion for liberality and forgiveness, H.M. determined upon celebrating the circumcision of the princes. Able and labour-loving men were nominated to arrange this delightful reunion. The gates of liberality were opened, the materials of rejoicing were prepared, and there was a brilliant market of gifts. He gave a lofty foundation to his genius, and the veil over his disposition was removed. The intoxication which is the ornament of wisdom took possession of the solitaries who were lovers of melody. By exquisite musical cadences the calamity of melancholy departed from the disturbed brains of the partakers of the feast of love. The stomachs of the desires of those who looked for substance were filled. Those who had long yearned were successful. Joy left the private banqueting-hall and came to the public hall of audience.

[1] This passage does not occur in the Lucknow edition, nor does Akbar's remark appear in the sayings at the end of the Āīn.

Verse.

Sagacious, liberal and gentle
An angel in the form of a man
He spreads wide the carpet in the courtyard
Happiness is obtained in proportion as he smiles.

On the day of Āẕar 9 Ābān, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 25 Jumāda-al-ākhir (22 October 1573), those three holy-dispositioned ones underwent the rite of circumcision, and became nurslings adorning the garden of Hope.

Quatrain.[1]

Was the petal of the red rose scattered by the wind
Or did the rosebud draw the veil from her face?
Nay, nay; when the fruit of the tree of desire formed, 75
The expanded blossom dropped from the branch.

The world became pleasant to small and great. Such an occasion for expansion of the heart revealed itself to the spiritual and temporal ruler who continually used without occasion to cast treasures into the bosom of the poor and needy. The acute can imagine what sumptuous liberality was displayed! The garland-weaver of the age (Akbar) in appearance gives adornment to the creature, inwardly, he keeps close to the incomparable Divinity and his heart is embellished by the obliteration of the marks of existence.

Verse.

Good God! From his unequalled genius
Wisdom was part of his nature.
I do not comprehend one drop of his abundance,
I do not see even one particle of his light.

One of the benefit-conferring and auspicious acts was his having himself weighed against precious things. Mankind were made happy by gifts and forgivenesses.

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[1] The allusion seems to be to the drops of blood caused by the circumcision.

Verse.

He's a Shah whose heart holds the mighty talisman,
Heaven's nine [1] treasures come short of his weight.
His sublimity is such that he cannot be weighed
Unless, perhaps, they put two worlds in the other scale.

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[1] The nine heavens. Akbar was weighed twice a year, B. 266. This was the great or solar weighment, which usually took place on the first of Ābān.

CHAPTER XIV.

The sending of Prince Sultan Selīm to school.

The wise[1] sovereign kept his children under his own care and did not appoint any guardian to them, and was continually educating them in the most excellent manner of which there are few instances in ancient times. Their holy minds have been enlightened daily by the sciences. At this time, though that light of the garden of fortune (Selīm) was constantly acquiring various outward and inward excellences in the society of H.M. and in the Shāhinshāh's entourage, and from time to time the clarified heart of this nosegay of the spring-tide of dominion was acquiring degrees of light by the blessing of H.M.'s holy spirit and of his exalted attentions, though he learnt the rules of justice and of the cherishing of subjects and the principles of settling disputes—in which the friend and the stranger must be viewed with the same impartiality; though he acquired the secrets of the spirit and came to know the wondrous clarifications of the heart, nor was there need that that nursling of fortune should be delivered over to school and become a pupil, yet it is an old custom that far-seeing great ones should commit their capable children to the instruction of teachers adorned with outward and inward knowledge so that by seeing and hearing from them, and by their walk and conversation, their qualities may be developed, and also that by the companionship and conversation of such teachers the lessons that they have learned in the holy Presence (of their fathers) may become fixed in their minds even when such Presence is apparently absent. Another reason 76
is that by means of this service the capable men of the age may emerge from the defile of limited means and that their employment may be a means of conferring abundance and general comfort on them. Also there is hereby provided a mode of intercession for the afflicted and the criminal. For in this sublime court just as the control of mortals is based upon disciplining and chastising the rebellious and

[1] This insipid and turgid declamation is considerably shortened in the Lucknow edition.

froward, so also is the administration adorned by forgiveness and overlooking of offences. The administrators of the world have small leisure for forgiveness when they are under the influence of wrath. Hence it is that far-seeing rulers continually seek out a number of honest servants and give them authority to take the reins of power into their hand at times when wrath is in the ascendant, and enable them to save the guilty by means of making representations. For if the person be not guilty, such intercederś perform a religious duty and save their master from issuing an unjust order. And if he be really guilty, yet as the foundation of man is trespass, forgetfulness,[1] and fault, there are many guilty whose offences have been washed by the waters of forgiveness, for the majesty[2] of man is very great, and at the time of the ebullience of wrath there is little leisure for consideration or investigation. It is an indispensable canon of rule that every master should in proportion to his position seek out for himself some servant or other person and have him by him, who may have such a position and trust that he can show courage at such critical moments, and can convey words of truth. The king of realm and religion for these purposes, and for others which the wise and far-sighted see and know, resolved that the light of the lamp of glory and the jewel of the diadem of the Caliphate, Prince Sultan Selim, who was a pupil in the Divine school, should be made over to one of the upright-minded and be subject to his instruction. Maulānā Mīr[3] Kalān Haravī, who was distinguished for his knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences, was exalted by this grand appointment. On the day of Khirdād 6 Āzar, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 22 Rajab[4] (18 November 1573), there was a great feast, and the holy spirit of that pupil of the eye of sovereignty, in whom by the perfumes of the Divine aids had been implanted the preparations for lofty knowledge, began outward instruction. This shining lamp of the portico of the Caliphate was increased in brilliancy by the oil of instruction. The commencement of this great design was with the holy name of God, whereby the gates of Divine bounty were opened.

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1 Alluding to the story of Adam's forgetfulness.

2 Meaning that life is very sacred and should not be lightly taken away.

3 Blochmann 540.

4 The Iqbālnāma remarks that the prince was then four years, four months and four days old.

After that he began with the letters of the alphabet,[1] which are the foundation of learning and the centre of things visible, and so was guided to the highness of wisdom. The holy ones of spirituality, and the loyal servants of the Court uttered congratulations, and a hum of prayer went up from high and low.

One of the joyful occurrences of this glorious year was the auspi- 77
cious arrival of the secluded lady of the Court of Chastity, the noble dame Ḥājī Begam. After she had returned from the holy places (Mecca and Medina) she had, in spite of the ties of love between her and H.M., chosen Delhi as her place of abode. She had taken up her residence in the neighbourhood of the tomb of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī and devoted herself to works of charity. At this time, when the victories of Gujrāt occurred, and there were great feasts, she came on the day of Mārisfand 29 Dai, Divine month, to offer her congratulations. H.M. went out to welcome her. She was the daughter of the maternal[2] uncle of the mother of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī. Alāmān M. was their child. H.M. Jiqnat Āshiyānī had a great respect and regard for her. I have heard the Shahinshah say: "The kindness and affection which she showed to me, and my

[1] *ḥarūf-i-abjad*. Letters of the *abjad*, i.e., letters having a numerical value, but used here to mean the ordinary alphabet.

[2] دختر طغای والده Ṭaghāī means maternal uncle and so the meaning here, and at II. 243, seems to be that Ḥājī B. was the daughter of the uncle (maternal) of Humāyūn. But possibly *wālida* is redundant, and the meaning is that she was the daughter of Humāyūn's maternal uncle, in other words, that she was Humāyūn's first cousin. This is how Blochmann has understood the relationship (465). He has *taghāī sāda-i-wālida-i-Jinnat āshiyānī* which, however, I think should still mean daughter of Humāyūn's mother's uncle. Ḥājī B. was the lady who was taken prisoner at Cauṣa and who was released and sent back to Humāyūn by Sher Shah. She showed her love for Akbar and her observance of court-etiquette by swallowing some of the medicine herself before administering it to Akbar. Miriām-makānī was uneasy, but from respect to Humāyūn was afraid to say anything to the elder wife. Presumably Humāyūn was away campaigning. Ḥājī B. was the daughter of Yādgār Ṭaghāī, Bābar 388. She went to Mecca in the beginning of 972 (1564) and returned in 975, A.N. text II. 243 and 329. If A. F. is correct, and I have understood him properly, Ḥājī B. was the cousin of Māham Begam, the wife of Bābar, i.e., she was the daughter of her maternal uncle Yādgār Ṭaghāī. Humāyūn then was her cousin, once removed.

love for her are beyond expression. Every one who did not know the real facts thought that she was my own mother. In my sixth year I was distracted by tooth-ache. She said she had a medicine which she had tested, and went off to get it. H.M. Miriam-makānī being a world of vigilance and caution was in an agony lest she should give me the medicine, and yet she did not venture to say anything out of respect to H.M. Jinnat Āshiyānī. So she tried to take me away to her own house, but I would not leave my attendance on the lady (Ḥājī Begam). Just then she brought the medicine, and as she knew what the state of feeling was, she, in her love to me swallowed some of it without there being any order to that effect, and then rubbed the medicine on my teeth. The minds of the superficial were set at rest, and also my pain was soothed."

One of the occurrences was that Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān and other Saiyids of Bārha, and Saiyid Muḥammad of Amroha and a large body of brave men, were sent to the territories of Madhūkar,[1] who was turbulent and disobedient. The Saiyids behaved courageously and brought the country into order. The turbulent men therein had their power lessened. Shortly afterwards Maḥmūd Khān died.

Also during this year Mīr Muḥsin[2] Riẓavī of Mashhad, who had been sent on an embassy to the Deccan at the time of the first expedition to Gujrāt, brought presents from the ruler of the Deccan, and representations full of submission. The brief account of this is that when Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and a number of wretches had fled
78 to the Deccan, H.M. considered it necessary to send an able man to the ruler of the Deccan to give him good advice and guide him to the path of obedience, so that he should send the rebels to Court, or drive them away from his borders. The above-mentioned Mīr was chosen for this duty, and though Niẓām-ul-mulk, the ruler of Aḥmadnagar, had not the grace to arrest those wretches and to surrender them, yet he did this much that was good, that he did not give them a place in his territories. He also sent proper presents along with trustworthy servants and displayed loyalty. The Mīr reported to H.M. the restlessness of the men of the Deccan and their instability. They had been greatly affected by the deeds of the imperial

[1] Rajah Madhūkar Bundelā, of Undcah.
[2] He was a poet. Badayūnī III.

army and the recent victories, and they had conveyed their goods to the defiles of the mountains and were on the watch. But in accordance with the Shāhinshāh's principle of preferring urgent matters to ordinary ones, the conquest of the Deccan was delayed, and all his energies were devoted to the taking of the eastern provinces and the chastisement of the rebels there. And as he was in expectation that this work would be brought to a conclusion by the army, which under the command of Mun'im Khān was engaged in the siege of the fort of Patna, as has already been mentioned, he delayed action and kept himself on the alert so that if it became necessary he would go there in person.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. mounted his horse and adorned the festival of the 'Id of the Ramẓān. While in that great assemblage he heard that the cupola of purity Khwāja 'Abdu-sh-shahīd,[1] the grandson of the Defender of guidance Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khwāja 'Abdullah, who is known as Khwāja Aḥrār, was present. As the righteousness and seeking after God of this Khwāja was conjectured by some, and was known to others, the Khedive of the world in this worship of God paid attention to him, and having regard to the holy man he took him out of the lower ranks (of spectators) and gave him a place near himself. God be praised! H.M. in spite of all his wealth, material and spiritual, is ever unresting in his love of God, and is ever active in endeavouring to compass His Will. The majesty of spiritual sovereignty never withholds him from this quest, how then can external glory do so? If one who by sublime fortune has become familiar with the grades of existence and Divinity and is the ruler of those two great worlds displays such wondrous works in his holy personality, what marvel is it?

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[1] Blochmann 539. He was the son, by the second marriage, of Khwāja Khwājakā, the eldest son of Khwāja Aḥrār. See Khazina Aṣfiyā, I. 597.

CHAPTER XV.

H.M.'s visit to Ajmir.

The sovereign, from his abundant capacity and prudence, and
79 reverence, etc., attaches himself in all his undertakings, whether they be of a general or a special nature, to the sublime court of monotheism, and he reckons as part of this duty the paying of respect to those associated with the families of worshippers of the Creator. Although those who comprehend the secrets of the visible world, or rather the well-disposed but superficial observers of this world, have come to feel assured that the daily-increasing outward majesty and the augmenting spiritual supremacy, and the real and apparent conquest of countries, and the aggregation of exquisite corporeal and mental qualities are the products of the unequalled personality of this unique one of the court of creation, yet he from his perfect happy fortune, knowledge of God, and singleness of heart, casts no glance upon himself and recognises all such things as coming from the court of eternity. Accordingly, whenever an enterprise comes before him, he in the first place renews his devotions at God's threshold, and regards this as a dressing-up of the face of fortune. At this time it occurred to his inspired mind that the conquest of Behar and Bengal would not be accomplished by the contingent sent there, and that it would be necessary for the holy standards to go there. Accordingly he proceeded to pay his devotions, and to circumambulate the shrines. On the day of Ormuzd, the beginning of Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 16 Shawwāl (8 Feb. 1574), he proceeded to Ajmir. The first stage was in the environs of Dūbar,[1] and he remained four days in that pleasant place. The various grades of mankind obtained inward and outward joy. Khwāja 'Abdu-sh-shahīd formed part of the royal cortège and here took leave to go to the city. On the day that the royal standards halted at Toda, M. Koka arrived in his affection post-haste from Gujrāt, and H.M. exalted him by going a few steps to welcome him. He encompassed him with royal

[1] Cf. text 145. It was 4 kos from Fathpūr.

favours. On the day of Ashtād 26 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, he halted at a distance of seven kos from Ajmir. Next day, as was his custom he proceeded on foot to the glorious shrine. At the end of the day he arrived at the lofty edifice and paid his pilgrimage to it. The needy and those others attached to the shrine were enabled by the Shāhinshāh's bounty to remove the limit of abundance (i.e., they received unlimited largesse.....). After paying his devotions he took up his quarters in the delightsome palace, which by this time had been nearly completed. He directed his attention to 80
putting down the wicked and seditious and to the cherishing the loyal and obedient. Rai Rām Dās,[1] who was distinguished for administrative ability and moderation, was appointed to the Diwānī of the sublime Sarkār. An order was issued that the officials should as before be Rajah Todar Mal's men, so that neither should the affairs of the Diwānī suffer by the Rajah's absence, nor the writing of dismissal be applied to him, and that the confidence of service rendered might be maintained.

[1] Blochmann 483. Blochmann says Rām Dās was made Todar Mal's Naib in the 17th year. Apparently this should be the 18th year, and it would seem that he was appointed Diwān, though Todar Mal's clerks were kept on.

CHAPTER XVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 19TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, VIZ., THE YEAR MIHR OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

At this season when the spiritual spring was in its glory, the sound of the New Year's footsteps made the external world accord with the internal. The inner world too was exalted above angelic purity and received the holiness of Divinity.

Verse.

In that sacred expanse was opened
The cell of the bud by the key of the breeze
The rose flung her cap from her head
She placed the hundred-ply [1] cloak on her breast
The nightingales shrilled the praises of God
They turned their rosaries and parted their lips for the beauteous utterance
The rose threw perfume to the world's brain
The branch [2] threw his head-dress on the rose's tablecloth.

On the day of Thursday, after the passing of one hour and forty one minutes of the 17th Ẓī-l-q'ada 981 of the lunar year (11 March 1574), the spiritual and physical light-increaser (the sun) cast his ray on the Sign of Aries. The dejected terrestrials and the holy celestials received fresh decoration, and the nineteenth year of the second cycle began with joy and splendour. The unique jewel of the Caliphate made a great feast at the shrine of M'uīnu-d-dīn, and there was a grand assembly..... All day and night that ocean-

[1] Alluding to the hundred-petalled rose.

[2] *Shāḫ*. A branch, also civet and the civet-cat. B. 79. But I do not understand the line. Probably *shāḫ* here means branch and not civet, and perhaps the iẓāfat should be between *gul* and 'imāma, and not between *naf'a* and *gul*. The meaning then might be, "The branch flung on the carpet, *i.e.*, the ground, the head-dress of the rose", *i.e.*, it scattered the petals on the ground.

hearted one distributed treasures of red and white money in trays to skirt upon skirt of those present, and the general public obtained abundance. The hearts of the wishful were tranquillized.

At the time when H.M. was at Ajmer it was brought to his notice that Candar Sen, the son of Rajah Māldeo, from folly and an evil star had left the path of obedience and was in rebellion. He had strengthened the fort of Siwānah,[1] which is the strongest fort **81** in the province of Ajmer, and he looked upon it as a place of refuge in time of his adversity. H.M.'s heart, when he heard of this, felt for the subjects of that country, and he appointed Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Rai Rai Singh, Shimāl Khan, Kīsū Dās, son of Jaimal of Mīrtha, Jagat Rai, son of Dharm Cand, and a number of brave men to chastise the presumptuous one. In accordance with his disposition he gave them wise instructions and said: "Our threshold is an illustrious spot of grace and forgiveness, should the lamp of wisdom light up the dark soul of that wanderer in the desert of ignorance, and he feel ashamed of what he has done, you will make him hopeful of royal favours." The envoys proceeded towards the city of Sojat. Kala,[2] the grandson of Rai Māldeo, was holding out there, but on the approach of the imperial troops fled to Sirbārī,[3] which is in the defiles of the mountains. The officers pursued him and burnt the fort, and he fled from there to the mountain of Koramba.[4] (?) The brave troops made no difference between hill and plain (*dasht*) and followed him. When Kala saw that he was likely to be taken, he placed his hand in the skirt of supplication and by means of right-thinking men joined the victorious army. He brought along with him Kesū Dās his brother, Mohes Dās and Prithī Rāj Rāthor in order that they might enter into service. He himself obtained leave to remain behind in order that he might readjust his broken fortunes.

When this work had been advanced by celestial help and Candar Sen's security was disturbed, the officers proceeded towards

[1] Blochmann 399, n. 1. Jarrett II. 276.

[2] Blochmann 399 and 476.

[3] Variant Siryāni. Perhaps it is the Sarwār of J. II. 273.

[4] The Iqbālnāma seems to have *Koh-Korīwa*, which is also a variant. Perhaps the last word is merely a jingle, or it may be connected with kaur, "ground full of hollows."

Siwānah.[1] Rāwal Sukhrāj, one of the followers of the rebel, was holding that place. At this time some of the servants of Rai Rai Singh proceeded, under the command of Gopāl Dās, to attack his country (of Candarsen). Candar Sen sent Sūjā and Debī Dās with some brave men to assist Rāwal, and when the army was returning after plundering some of the villages, Rāwal came with a body of troops to attack it. A battle took place, and the brave men on both sides distinguished themselves. Sūjā, Debī Dās and Mān, the brother of Rāwal, were killed in that engagement, and by God's
82 help the standards of victory were upreared. Rai Rai Singh on hearing of the engagement proceeded to the field of battle, but the Shāhinshah's fortune had prevailed before he arrived. When Rāwal had been thus defeated he turned back from his roadless way and sent his son to the victorious army. The victorious troops proceeded from there to the conquest of Siwānah. Candar Sen did not think it advisable to remain himself in the fort, and made it over to Patāī Rathor and Patāī Baqqāl. The imperial servants addressed themselves to the siege. When the mind of the Shāhinshāh was at ease about the affairs of this province he proceeded towards the capital on the day of Amurdād 7 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 28 Ẓī-l-q'ada (17 March 1574).

On the day of Rām 21 Farwardīn, Divine month, he reached Fathpūr, and unfolded the standards of the cherishing of subjects, the checking of oppressors, and the befriending of the oppressed, in the face of mankind.

About this time, which was the beginning of the rainy season, reports came from Mun'im Khān from the eastern provinces to the effect that the siege of Patna was being protracted. Though the

[1] There is the variant Mathra, and the Iqbālnāma has Mahwa or Mahatwa; query: The Mahēwah of J. II. 276?

It seems evident that Siwāna is wrong, for the troops marched there after the battle described below.

[2] The Rajputana Gazetteer II. 232 calls Candar Sen the second son of Maldeo, and says he was killed at the storm of Siwāna, but this fact is not stated in the A.N. The authority for the statement is evidently Tod's Rajasthan. He seems to put the death of Candar Sen into 1584. Māldeo's eldest son was Udai Singh, commonly called the "fat Rajah," B. 429. His sister was the Jodhai who was married to Jahangir and was mother of Shāh Jahān.

combatants on both sides continued to give proof of courage, and victory was on the part of the imperial servants, yet as the river was on one side of the fort, abundant provisions reached the besieged. The fort too was well equipped, and the troops, the park of artillery, the treasure, and the abundance of elephants gave confidence to the enemy. The approach of the rainy and tempestuous season disturbed and distressed the imperial army. If H.M. came in person, the knot of difficulty would be easily untied. In the report many things were said which might act as inducements for H.M.'s expedition. Among them was the martyrdom of Kākar 'Ali Khān [1] and his son. They had one day attacked the enemy and done brave deeds and killed a number of the foe and then themselves gloriously drunk the last cup. There was also the great deed of the Khān 'Alam who had at dawn fetched a circuit and attacked at the Panjpahārī and had come to the market-gate (*darwāza nakhkhās*) [2] and made a bold attack and had captured great elephants and much plunder, and then returned. He had been a cause of admiration to critical spectators. There was also mention made of the coming in of Ḥasan Khān [3] Batanī and of the plan of attacking the dam of the Pun-pun, which was suggested by him.

The account of this is that Ḥasan Khān Batanī was one of the heroes of the age. By his good fortune he became separated from the enemy, and joined the victorious army. Mun'im Khān encom- 83
passed him with royal favours.

He continually encouraged the imperial servants and suggested measures for resisting the foe. Among them was his statement that two things were imperative in order that by the aid of God the knot of difficulty might be unloosed. First, the dam on the river Pun-pun must be broken down, so that at this season the waters, which had been brought there and were daily increasing, might flow into the Ganges. Otherwise the waters would come towards the fort and make the position of the besiegers difficult. Secondly, Ḥājīpūr must be freed from the possession of the enemy as most of the provisions for the fort came from there. Mun'im Khān ordered the Khān 'Ālam to take Ḥājīpūr, but he replied that he had been appointed from the

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[1] Blochmann 408. [2] The gate where slaves and cattle are sold.
[3] Blochmann 476. Patanī in text.

Court to the vanguard of the army. On account of this contention, the project was postponed. Majnūn Khān and a number of brave men were appointed to break the dam. They went off by night and executed this service in an excellent manner. Owing to the Shāhinshāh's good fortune, Sulaimān[1] and Bābā Mankalī who were among the great officers of the enemy and who were guarding the dam were on that night sleeping the sleep of negligence. Being ashamed of their behaviour they became wanderers in the desert of ruin and went off to Ghorāghāt.

As the siege was protracted and as H.M. was already inclined to turn his rein towards the conquest of the eastern provinces, the receipt of Mun'im Khān's reports confirmed his purpose. The royal retinue therefore moved from Fathpūr to Agra, and preparations were made for the expedition. Arrangements were made for having large boats, and it was decided that H.M. the Shāhinshāh, together with the princes and a few of the ladies, and the cream of the courtiers, should proceed by boat, while the main army and the great camp should travel by land. As absences from musters[2] exceeded the attendances, able and zealous *sazāwals* were appointed to cause the presence of the troops. The Shāhinshāh directed his attention in Agra towards the arrangements for this expedition and considered the improvement of the world as Divine worship.

At this time the writer of this glorious record, Abul Fazl, the son of Mubārak was, in accordance with a sublime indication and mysterious message, exalted by prostrating himself at the holy Court of the Shāhinshāh. By the Divine assistance there was a beginning
84 of the cure of his self-worshipping pride. The brief account of this matter is as follows. After[3] coming from the hidden chamber of the womb to the crowded inn of existence he (*i.e.* A. F.) in his fifth year attained to conventional discretion. Under the educating eye of his spiritual and physical father he in his fifteenth year became acquainted with the rational and the traditional sciences (*fanūn-i-*

1 Blochmann 370 and 476.

2 Shān. Cf. p. 71 of text, line 11. Shān should be *sān*. See Vullers II. 195a and Irvine, A. of M., p. 182.

3 Cf. Jarrett III. 443. It is interesting to compare A. F.'s account of his mental struggles with that given by the Rev. Imādu-d-dīn, a convert to Christianity, in his autobiography, English translation, London, Church Missionary House, 1885. Part of this is given by Garcin de Tassy in his History of Hindustāni Literature II, 14.

ḥikmī-u-a'lūm-i-naqlī). Though these opened the gate of knowledge and gave him the entry to wisdom's antechamber, yet by his ill-fortune he became egotistic and self-conceited. The foot [1] of his energy rested for a while in admiration of his own excellences, and the throng of students around him augmented his presumption. Their indiscriminate agitation and lack of judgment put into his head the thought of asceticism and retirement. Though during the day his cell was made bright by teaching science, yet at night he would take the path of the fields and approach the enthusiasts of the "Way of Search." He would implore inspiration from those treasure-holding paupers. I was kept [2] in the defiles of astonished perturbation by the contrary views of the superficially learned, and by the vogue of imitative formalists. I had neither power to be silent nor strength to cry out. Though the exhortations of my honoured father kept me from the desert of madness, yet no helpful remedy reached the troubled spot of my soul. Whiles my heart was drawn towards the sages of the country of Cathay (khiṭṭa-i-Khaṭā), whiles it felt inclined towards the ascetics of Mount Lebanon (the Druses) [3] (?). Sometimes a desire for conversation with the Lamas [4] of Thibet broke my peace,[5] and sometimes a sympathy with the *padres* of Portugal pulled at my skirt. Sometimes a conference with the *mubids* of Persia, and sometimes a knowledge of the secrets of the Zendavesta robbed me of

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[1] The meaning is that his success lessened the spirit of self-improvement as he halted in contemplation of his own abilities and acquirements.

[2] Here A. F. changes to the first person.

[3] Blochmann in his translation of this passage, biography of Abul Faẓl, p. xii, has "the hermits of Lebanon." The words in text are *murtāżān-i-Lubnān*, and perhaps the reference is to the Noṣairis or followers of 'Alī. Cf. mention of Noṣairīs in III. 271.

[4] The text has *jogiyān*, but there is the variant Lābhāī, which is a corruption of Lāmahā.

[5] A. F. begins his account of himself in the third person and then glides into the first. The best comment on the passage is to be found in the third book of his letters, under the head of "*Khuṭba-i-kajkāl buzurg*, i.e., "Discourses about the great beggar's bowl," p. 265 of Newal Kishor's lith. ed., where he gives a similar account of himself. There (p. 266) he says that contrary to the experience of most men he came to the years of discretion at five, and understood all the ordinary sciences by the time he was fifteen. He then spent ten years more in discussions and conferences. This only increased his self-conceit. But his soul turned away from the delight of teaching and the applause of his pupils, and he thought of

repose, for my soul was alienated from the society both of the sobered[1] and the (spiritually) drunken of my own land. Though the foodlessness of search was broken by the emporium (*miṣr-i-jām'a*) of outward and inward perfections, by which is meant my advantageous attendance on my honoured father, yet as that unique product of creation's workshop lived under the veil[2] of seclusion, there was no remedy for my distress. Owing to my own ignorance I thought that my outward[3] position was incompatible with the final state (*'uqbā*), and was much disturbed in consequence, and sought to be remote from the society around me. At last fortune favoured me, and mention was made in the holy assemblage (Akbar's religious meetings) of the acquirements of this one (himself) who was bewildered in life's society. My honoured brother,[4] my well-wishing friends, my loving relatives, and my disciples were unanimous in saying, "You should obtain the boon of serving the spiritual and temporal Khedive." I was not inclined to do this, and my atrabilious apprehensions of the social state disturbed my soul, which was inclined to solitude. For I had not opened a farseeing eye, and my genius was bent upon breaking the bonds of restraint. After the fashion of the ignorant and superficial I looked upon external circumstances as destructive of inwardness, and limitation as opposed to absoluteness. At length my father[5] withdrew the veil and guided me to truth. He made clear to me the

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pursuing a life of religious seclusion. He then goes on to describe his seven births somewhat as he does at p. 115 of A.N. III. (text). A. F. was born in the beginning of 958 A.H. or 14 January 1551, and he was introduced to Akbar for the second time in the 19th year (982) when he was in his 25th year. His first introduction occurred a few months previously.

[1] Arbāb-i-ṣaḥū-u-iṣaḥāb-i-sakr. "The masters of sobriety, and the lords of drunkenness," meaning the rationalists and the enthusiasts, *i.e.*, the Ṣūfīs. Cf. Dārā Shikoh's account in the Safīna-al-auliyā of the famous mystic Ḥusain b. Manṣūr, Ḥallāj, where he calls him a Ṣāḥib-i-sakr.

[2] Referring to his father's retirement from the world.

[3] I think the reference is to A. F.'s position, and not to that of his father.

[4] *Barādarān garāmī*. I think that this is a honorific plural and that the reference is only to Faiẓī, and Blochmann, p. xii, seems to have so taken it. But A. F. had other brothers than Faiẓī, though they were younger than himself, and they may be referred to here. Or the reference may be to brothers and cousins (brethren).

[5] *Khudāī mujāzī*. The visible God, *i.e.*, his father Mubārak.

wondrous working of the authors of destiny, and withdrew from my head the hood of self-conceit. By delightful discourses in private interviews and in judicious assemblies, he impressed upon me the spiritual perfections of the sitter on the throne of fortune (Akbar). By sage expositions he made it clear that "The piety and knowledge 85
of God possessed by this divinely born jewel are imperfectly known by any one. At this day he is the leader of the caravans both of Society and of Seclusion, the meeting of the oceans of Realm and Religion, the dawn of the lights of form and substance. The multiplicity of external associations does not withhold him from essential unity. Outwardly bound, he is inwardly free. From him comes the solution of spiritual and temporal matters." Of necessity I preferred the pleasing of him (his father) to my own desires, and as my heart's treasury, rich in spiritualities, was empty of the world's goods, I wrote a commentary on the verse of the Throne[1] as an offering to the sublime court, and I presented the writing as an excuse for my being empty-handed. The Shāhinshāh received it graciously. He cast special glances on me, and by the wealth of service which is indeed the elixir of worth, he calmed my troubled mind. Love for that holy personality took possession of my heart. At this time the expedition to the eastern provinces engaged his mind. My disposition did not permit me, the sitter in the dust, to seek association with the great ones of the court, and those who were attached to the threshold of honour had not, when engrossed by the affairs of the Sultanate, leisure to take notice of unknown and humble persons. I was debarred from entering the service. Though my old notions still lurked in my soul, yet the spiritual tie between me and that great one of realm and religion continued to bind me, and when the lord of the earth returned, after conquering the eastern provinces, to the capital of Fatḥpūr, he remembered me, the anchorite. I had the good fortune to kiss the threshold, and this bewildered one came to find his face on the path. A short account of this will be given in the account[2] of the events of that period.

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[1] "Name of the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qorān." (B. xii. note.) Badayūnī B. 168 says that people reported that this commentary was really written by Mubārak.

[2] See text, p. 114, where A. F.'s second interview and his presentation

One of the occurrences was that Shujā'at Khān came from the Khān-Khānān and did homage. It has already been mentioned that he had been sent in charge of Qāsim 'Alī Khān to the Khān-Khānān in order that he might punish him. The Khān-Khānān returned thanks for this great favour. He treated Shujā'āt with affection and respect and solicited his pardon. As it is the Shāhinshāh's nature to forgive, he granted the request and sent for Shujā'āt. On the day of Amurdād 7 Khurdād, Divine month, he produced nine choice elephants from among the spoils which Khān 'Ālam had taken from the enemy. Among them was Gaj Ratn which was a magnificent elephant and was entered among the special elephants. In a short time the arrangements for the expedition were made by the personal attention of H.M. Such wonderfully fashioned boats were made under his directions as to be beyond the powers of description. There were various delightful quarters and decks, and there were gardens such as clever craftsmen could not make on land, on the boats. The bows,[1] too, of every one of those waterhouses were made in the shape of animals, so as to astonish spectators. The clerks who were employed arranged large boats for every office which is required for administrative purposes, and all the courtiers had boats suitable to their degree. There were wonderful instances of architecture, and various canopies and extraordinary decorations, etc., so that if this writer should proceed to describe them he would be thought to be exaggerating.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. the Shāhinshāh appointed Muẓaffar Khān to the charge of the great camp in order to educate him and to bring him out of his seclusion. But he in his folly used improper language in regard to his acceptance of this great office and so again fell out of favour. The duty was therefore made over to M. Yūsuf[2] Khān Riẓavī.

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of a second treatise, viz., that on the chapter of victory, are described. See also Blochmann, pp. xi and xii, where this is noticed and where there is also a paraphrase of A. F.'s account of his early days. See also Jarrett III 443-5 for a more detailed account of A. F.'s early studies.

[1] See B. 279, where however the statement is that it was the sterns of the boats that were made in the shape of animals. The word in text is *sir*.

[2] Blochmann 345. Firishta mentions that he married a daughter of M. Askarī.

One of the occurrences was that as H.M. was proceeding towards the eastern provinces it came to his hearing that there was disorder in Gujrāt and that the sons of Ikhtiyār-al-Mulk had stirred up rebellion. M. Koka was distinguished by royal favours and received leave to go there.

CHAPTER XVII.

Expedition of the Shāhinshāh by Water to the Eastern Provinces.

The[1] canon of majestic sovereignty and the principles for just rulers, who have charge of spiritual and temporal affairs, require that just as contentment with their position is fitting for good subjects so that they should not be distracted by trying to grasp what they cannot get, and should not extend the foot of desire beyond their condition, so should justice-loving rulers not be satisfied with the countries of which they are in possession, but should set their hearts upon conquering other countries and regard this as a choice form of Divine worship. This is a very important point and one which the
87 far-sighted should keep before their vision. The wise and judicious who understand the spirit of the age have said that if this civilised world, which has been split up owing to the inattention of great souls, were under one able and just ruler of extensive capacity, the dust of dissension would assuredly be laid and mortals find repose. Hence it is that the Adorner of fortune's parterre in our age is continually engaged in the conquest of other countries.

When the arrangements for the expedition had taken shape, Shihābu-d dīn Aḥmad Khān who was the Vakīl of the Diwān-Khālṣa, and had full control of that department, was left in Agra. At the same time Ṭaiyīb Khān was set aside, and Rai Bhagwān Dās was made Mustaufī[2] of the whole of the imperial dominions and Rai Purukhotam[3] received a robe of honour and was made Bakhshī. On the day of Dībāzar 8 Tīr, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 20 Ṣafar (15 June 1574), H.M. embarked in company with the august princes and the veiled ladies.

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[1] A. F.'s defence of Akbar's restlessness and continual encroachment on the territories of others is interesting, but not convincing.

[2] Blochmann VI, where the Mustaufī is said to be the deputy-Diwān. Evidently this was not Rajah Bhagwān Dās Kachawaha.

[3] Blochmann 180 and 528.

Verse.

The skill of clever workmen
Made a house to go round the world
'Twas a wondrous device of the master-sage,
A moving house while the inmates stood still
All the travellers went on it
They journeyed with it, seated, while it travelled.

The names of the renowned companions who went with H.M. on this auspicious expedition are as follows:—

1. Rajah Bhagwant Dās.
2. Rajah Mān Singh.
3. Zain Khān Koka.
4. Shahbāz Khān.
5. Ṣādiq Khān.
6. Qāsim Khān Mīr Baḥr.
7. Rajah Bīr Bar.
8. Jalāl Khān.
9. Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān.
10. Saiyid 'Abdulla Khān.
11. Mādhū Singh.
12. Naqīb Khān.
13. Qamar Khān.
14. Mīr Sharīf.
15. Niyābat Khān.
16. Saiyid Muḥammad Khān Maujī.
17. Ḥakīm 'Ain-al-mulk.
18. Maliku-sh-shu'arā S. Faizī.
19. Peshrau Khān.

Of the *Ahl s'āādat* (the learned men) there were Shaikh 'Abdun-nabī the Ṣadr, Ḥakīm-al-mulk, Qāzī Y'aqūb[1] and other distinguished men.

One of the wonderful things was that H.M. took along with him two mountain-like, swift-as-the-wind elephants. The first one was Bāl Sundar, who was put into one boat with two female elephants.

[1] The Iqbālnāma adds the name of Faizī.

The merits of this elephant are beyond description. Together with rank-breaking might, and strength to cast down mountains he was perfectly sedate and quiet. He showed discretion even when in the height of being *mast*. He did nothing immoderate without the hint of his driver. The other elephant was called Saman and was a fit companion for the other. He was in another boat along with two females. The spectacle was an astonishing one. The numerous boats of various kinds, the hoisting of sky-high masts, the tumult of the waves of the river, the force of the wind, the rush of the clouds and the rain, the roar of the thunder, and the flashing of the
88 lightning produced a strange appearance. On the day of Mihr 16 Tīr, Divine month, when the fleet halted at Etawah there was a storm in the Jumna, and many of the river-houses were sunk by the waves. On the day of Rām a halt was made at Kālpī; on the day of Anīrān, the 30th Tīr, Divine month, in the village of Cakūr a wicked brahman,[1] who from excessive lust had intercourse with his own daughter, was capitally punished. On the day of Shab H.M. halted at Ilahābās (Allahabad). On the day of Ormuz, the 1st Amrdād, Divine month, when he left that pleasant station, the river was very boisterous. There blew a hurricane, and eleven boats were sunk. The orchestra too was damaged, but was saved by the Divine help. As H.M. wished that the baggage (*aghrūq*)[2] and the large camp should stay at Jaunpūr, Muḥasan Khān who had charge of that city in accordance with orders arranged equipages for a journey by land, but H.M. did not approve of the sacred pavilions being sent on from where he was. Near Ilahābas, Qāsim 'Alī Khān came from the Khān-Khānān and had the bliss of doing homage. He brought reports of the success of the army. On this day H.M. the Shāhinshāh remembered Ḥusain Khān and inquired why he was not in attendance during this auspicious expedition. It was represented to him that atrabiliousness (*sauda*) had overcome him, and that he was spending his days in attacking subject-people and in plundering the peasantry. H.M. was displeased on hearing this report, but as the grand expedition was going on, he did not send anyone to chastise him. On the day of Bahman 2 Amardād, Divine month, he set up his standards in Benares. On

[1] The case is more fully described in the T.A.

[2] It seems especially to mean the tents of the women.

this day, too, the river was boisterous. Especially this was the case near the fort of Cunār, so that the naval authorities were alarmed. A large number of persons left the boats and came on by the dry land. H.M. put his trust in God and went on by boat with the same open brow and cheerful heart, and he sent on Sher Beg Tawāčī-bāshī in a swift skiff to the Khān-Khānān to give him the news of his near approach. He remained three days in that pleasant city (Benares) and on the day of Khirdād cast anchor at the village of Godī which is a dependency of Saiyidpūr and where the river Godī [1] joins the Ganges. On that day the great camp arrived in the vicinity of the royal standards, and M. Yūsuf Khān and several officers paid their respects.

Though the Shāhinshāh was according to his custom always in appearance engrossed in the great matters of the state, yet by virtue of the principle of seclusion in the midst of society he ever kept up communion with the incomparable Deity, and never for a moment abandoned spiritual contemplation. In order to strengthen this connection and seclusion (*parda ārāī*), sweet, heart-entrancing minstrels **89** whispered in the precincts of his quarters strains of detachment and of increase in ecstacy. On many occasions of his presence Mīr Sharīf [2] the brother of Naqīb K. read with a beautiful [3] voice about spiritual love, and H.M. emerged many a time from behind the veil and showed tender-heartedness (*riqqat mīfarmūdand*) and had wetted eyelashes. O God! this sea of wisdom and ocean of enlightenment would let fall drops of sorrow on account of the blasts of the strong gales of ignorance, and of the deviations of men! Or perhaps it was to teach softness of heart and humility to stony-hearted worldlings that this rosewater of tears was poured forth. Or from the rush of

[1] Kūdī in text. It is the Gumtī. See Jarrett II. 171, 172. Saiyidpūr is the Saidpūr of I. G., xxi, 384, and is in the Ghāzīpūr district.

[2] He was a son of 'Abdul Laṭīf of Qasbīn, and he and his brethren were on this expedition. He was afterwards accidentally killed by his brother Naqīb while playing polo. A.N., iii, 173. Badāyūnī mentions his fine voice (ii, 230).

[3] Kitāb-i-'Ishqīya. There is the variant 'Ishīqa, which is supported by the Iqbālnāma. Probably it was some special book having this title. D' Herbelot mentions two Kitāb 'Ishq, one being attributed to Aristotle. Possibly the work meant is the *dīvān* of 'Ishqī K. See Badayūnī iii, 277.

spiritual things he felt cramped in the gilded parlours of externality and so expressed his sorrow. Or from his wide capacity and the shorelessness of the ocean of Divine excellence he regarded his spiritual treasures as of small amount, and while possessing a mine of wisdom let trickle forth the regret of non-attainment!

Verse.[1]

I call for a pilot in Noah's ark
I call for an acquaintance in a kinsman's house
I'm not Jacob, none of mine is in the well
Yet I'm wondering whom I should call (to help).

Before H.M. had left the capital, reports used to come from the Khān-Khānān and the other great officers to the effect that it would be well if H.M.'s army came as far as Jaunpūr, and that Dāūd would inevitably become a wanderer in the wilderness of ruin. The holy lips, which are interpreters of the Divine secrets, remarked thereon that such language was not good, and that the game would not be captured till the *humā* of his majesty had spread his shadow over the province, and the falcon of his might spread his wings in the atmosphere of that land. But his genius—from a regard to the education of his servants—was willing that the victory should be obtained by them. So by his order the boats were taken up the river Godī in order that they might stay for some time at Jaunpūr, and that what the officers had requested, and what the court had replied, might be impressed upon all high and low. Accordingly, on the day of Mirdād 7 Amardād, Divine month, the standards of fortune halted in the village of Bahirāj which is a dependency of the *paryana* of Karākat.[2] On the day of Dībāẓar when they were stationed at the village of Yaḥyāpūr[3], one of the dependencies of Jaunpūr, reports came from the officers to the effect that the difficult knot would be easily untied if H.M. would speedily cast his shadow over them.

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[1] The verse describes one who is discontented or sorrowful in the midst of abundance.

[2] J. ii. 154. It is in Sarkār Jaunpūr.

[3] Badayānī 179 say is at the junction of the Ganges and the Gumtī.

On the day of Āẕar the princes and the ladies were sent to Jaunpūr by the river Godī. Ḥakīm-ul-mulk, S. Aḥmad, Ikhlāṣ K. and others were left in charge of them and H.M. proceeded to Patna.

Good God! The Shāhinshāh of the age from consummate well- 90
wishing desired to magnify the work of the loyal, and the incomparable Deity willed that all great affairs and noble deeds should be accomplished by that mine of greatness, so that both his grandeur might be certified to all, and also that mercenary servants might have no claim upon him! Accordingly that easy task became difficult to the army, so that they had to ask for the royal expedition. H.M. asked for assistance from the hidden armies and addressed his mighty genius to the conquest of the countries of Bengal and Behar. At this time news came of the conquest of Bhakkar (Sciude). The secret intelligences at this time increased congratulation upon congratulation. First, there was the fact that the fort of Bhakkar, which world-conquerors could not have quickly taken, had been conquered by mediocre servants of the Khedive. Second, it was an omen for the victories of the imperial servants who had girt up their loins for the conquest of the eastern provinces.

Though able and zealous servants may exert themselves, yet the far-seeing sage knows that, as regards the unravelling of the difficulties of the world, and the attainment of great designs, the chief results are obtained by the right intentions and proper actions of world-rulers. And those who study the masterpieces of ancient times know that success does not come into the bosom without preliminary (unsuccessful) efforts. It is not till the second attempt that the object is obtained. Hence it is that the sitter on fortune's throne (Akbar) concentrates himself upon every work that he undertakes and brings to a conclusion everything that he has glanced at. This is perfectly clear to every one who knows the events of the reign. The taking of Bhakkar[1] is a conspicuous and new instance. The history of it is as follows: It has already been narrated that Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, and Mujāhid Khān had at the request of Nāhid Begam received permission to go to Tatta. Sulṭān Maḥmūd had shown hostility, but they had by virtue of mystic aid and by their energy done great deeds and engaged in the siege of Bhakkar. Sulṭan Maḥmūd

[1] B. 421.

occupied himself in defending the fort. By the good fortune of the Shâhinshâh a famine broke out in the fort and Sulṭan Maḥmûd from excess of caution, or from meanness and avarice distributed to his men grain that had been stored up for twenty or thirty years, though he had abundance of new supplies. The result was that there was a great deal of disease and swellings. God's anger sent a pestilence. A strange thing was when the swellings were prevalent in the country every one who boiled the bark of the *siris* tree (*acacia odoratissima*) and partook thereof recovered his health. Hence the bark was bought for its weight in gold.

91 When Sulṭan[1] Maḥmûd was nearing his end he petitioned the court, saying that he had always remained on the path of obedience and that it was his ill-fate that this distress had come upon him. Now he was presenting the fort to Sulṭân Selîm the noble prince. But as there was a cloud between him and Muḥibb 'Alî Khân he saw that if he made it over to him, he would only be rendered contemptible. Battles had taken place between them and he was not safe from being molested by him. He hoped that one of the servants of the court would be sent in order that he might make over the fort and district to him and might rub his forehead on the threshold of fortune. H.M. graciously accepted this petition and sent Mîr Gesû who was an old and able officer. Before he reached that country Sultan Maḥmûd had died and the garrison were waiting for him. When he arrived, Mujâhid Khân was besieging the fort of Ganjaba. Muḥibb 'Alî Khân's daughter Sâm'iah Begam who was the mother of Mujâhid Khân was angry on hearing of Mîr Gesû's coming, and in her wickedness fitted out some ships against him and brought him into difficulties. The Mîr was nearly captured. Khwâja Muqîm of Herat, the father of Khwâja Niẓâmu-d-dîn Aḥmad Bakhshî, who had gone to that country as Amîn, by wise counsels prevailed upon Muḥibb 'Alî Khân to abstain from misplaced strife and improper commotions. When Mîr Gesû came to the fort they delivered over the keys to him. Thus did a large an extent of cultivated country come into possession. Muḥibb 'Alî Khân and Mujâhid Khân from evilness of disposition and foolish greed did not uproot their

[1] Sultan Maḥmûd died in 980. See T. Ma'ṣûmî, Malet 146. This message was sent shortly before his death (1572-73).

hearts from that country. At the same time it was difficult for them to remain there without the holy order. Mūḥibb 'Alī Khān took the course of coming to terms, and at last Mīr Gesū settled that Mujāhid Khān should go to Patna,[1] and that Muḥibb 'Alī Khān with his wife and daughter should dwell in the town of Loharī. When the agreement had been carried out Mīr Gesū put a large force on board of boats and proceeded against Muḥibb 'Alī Khān. He could not resist, and went off to Mātīla. The assailants plundered the city (Loharī), and Sām'īah Begam fortified her house and took to fighting and resistance. For one night and a day she with supreme boldness and skill maintained her position within the four walls. When she was[2] at extremity Mujāhid Khan made a forced march and defeated the troops (Mīr Gesū). For three months longer he held possession of the country on this side (the east) of the river (the Indus). At length Bhakkar was conferred upon Tarson Khān. His brethren hastened to the province. Mir Gesū in his folly wished to hold the fort (of Bhakkar), but at last was guided by auspiciousness and gave up the seditious idea. A country which, when held for some time by a stranger increases presumption, must have some quality in it 92
which carries the obedient and submissive to the extreme of turbulence. Otherwise whence this sort of men? and whence this boasting and sedition?[3]

Now that an abridged account of the bestowal of this mystic favour (the conquest of Bhakkar) has been given, I return to the high road of my design. On the day of Abān 10 Amardād, Divine month, the royal barges entered the Ganges from the river Gūdī, and halted at the village of Cocakpūr. M. Yūsuf Khān here joined the cortège along with the main camp. After this the army encamped opposite whatever place the royal barges anchored at. Next day H.M. mounted the elephant Mubārak-Qadam and drove it in person?[4]

[1] Blochmann 421 and the Lucknow Edition have Tatta instead of Patna. See T. M'aṣūmī, Malet 146, for an account of the delivery of the fort of Bhakkar.

[2] The T. M'aṣumī, Malet 146, speaks of Sām'īah Begam's exercising great cruelty on the sick who came out of Bhakkar.

[3] See for an account of Mīr Gesū's proceedings, Elliot I, 241. He was a man of violent temper, and was afterwards killed by his soldiers at Mīrtha. See *infra*, p. 414. A similar fate befel a successor of his—'Itimād Khān.

[4] Perhaps it is only meant that he led the way.

About 500 elephants descended into the river in the wake of that tiger of the forest of war. The spectators were full of amazement. By the favour of God they were safe in those raging waters, but one elephant named Pūskū, which was about that time overflowingly *mast*, fell into the whirlpool of annihilation. While traversing the river and in the midst of the waves a large fish jumped up and rested in front of the Shāhinshāh. Soothsayers knew that this was a sign of success, and gave thanks to God. On the day of Mah, 12 Amardād, Divine month, the station of Ghāzīpur was reached.

From the day that H.M. set out on this expedition he left the boat every day and enjoyed himself in hunting deer with *cītas*. It was an occupation to the superficial, and those who were attached to this department had their desires gratified. The far-seeing prince ostensibly enjoyed himself in their company, but inwardly he was immersed in the rays of worship, and was also cultivating his spiritual kingdom. Judicious spectators had in this way an opportunity of beholding in this assemblage of the decrees of fate (Akbar) the indications of final success, and so gained courage. Among these there was this, that on one occasion of the usual daily hunt in this delightful spot a deer came in sight. H.M. ordered an eager leopard swift as the wind to be loosed. By vulpine tactics the deer escaped from his claws and went off swifter than the wind. Just then a second leopard came up and disposed of him. The far-seeing mystery-knowing prince said[1] to his courtiers: "At the beginning of this sport we took from the behaviour of this leopard an omen about
93 Dāūd. It flashed upon our soul that he would not, on this occasion, become the prisoner of the claws of the kingly wrath; but that the second time he would be caught by the exertions of the hunters of fortune (*iqbāl*)." The end was as had flashed on the mirror of his enlightened heart. Accordingly an account thereof (that is, of the success against Dāūd) will come from the tongue of the pen.

On the day of Tīr, Amardād, Divine month, the boats anchored at Dāspūr, which is on the bank of the Ganges. 'Itmād Khān, the

[1] Perhaps Akbar said this not then but at some subsequent time when surrounded by his courtiers. The story is also told in the T. A., where the name of the particular kind of deer is given, and Akbar is represented as mentioning the omen then and there.

Khwāja sarā (eunuch) came in a swift boat from the siege, and was exalted by doing homage. He gave the news of friends and foes, and represented that the enemy was very strong. The adorner of fortune's assembly in order to gladden hearts lifted the veil of mystery and made announcement of victory. For the sake of giving confidence to the disturbed hearts of the generality he sent for Saiyid Mīrakī,[1] the son of Mir 'Abdu-l Karīm Jafarī (diviner) of Ispahān, and bade him ascertain the result of the expedition and the character of the future. He, in accordance with the rules of the science, arranged and classified the letters and brought out this verse :—

Verse.

Akbar by auspicious fortune shall quickly
Take the country out of the hand of Dāūd.

The superficial and simple became tranquillised by this result, and the day of victory bedewed with the sweat of shame the countenances of the crafty seekers after interpretations. Also at the time when H.M. was at the capital and engaged in preparations for the expedition, the same Mīr had received orders to take an augury in order that the hearts of the superficial might be comforted, and he produced this verse :—

Verse.

Though there be a countless and victorious army
Yet conquest will come from the advent of the prince.

On the day of Gosh 14 Amardād, Divine month, while the ships were anchored at the ferry of Causa, a report of a new victory came from the Khān-Khānān. The detail of this is as follows: A body of Afghan vagabonds under the command of 'Isā Khān Niāzī, who was a distinguished soldier, fell upon the entrenchment of Qīyā Khān, and there was a great fight. The defenders behaved with valour. By the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, the staunchness of Qīyā Khān, and the arrival of Rajah Todar Mal, the enemy were repulsed. 'Isā Khān was killed by one of the slaves of Lashkar Khān, who did not know who he was. On hearing this good news, which

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[1] Cf. Lowe 179, where Badayūnī has a good deal to say about the soothsayer whom he calls Saiyid Mīrak Ispahānī.

was a fitting prelude to legions of victories, there was exultation in the army. H.M. in his graciousness sent the original of the Khān-
94 Khānān's report to the princes in order that their longing hearts might be comforted. On this day the main camp which was marching by land crossed the Karmnāsa which is an affluent of the Ganges. One of the special elephants was drowned. The river is regarded as unfortunate [1] by the people of India. Next day the encampment was on the banks of the Ganges which is fed by the fountains of the bounty of God. By the efforts of those in charge the whole army passed safely over. On the day of Mihr, when H.M. was encamped at the village of Domnī, which is a dependency of Bojpūr,[2] a report came from Mun'im Khān. The gist of it was that H.M. should come by water and that the main camp should come by land. It also represented that from the length of the siege and the constant rains, the army was deficient in equipments, and that if the Shāhinshāh would send help from his special armoury (*qūr-i-khāṣa*) it would be useful. The request was approved and armour and weapons of various sorts were sent. On the day of Rashn 18 Amardād, Divine month, Lodīpūr was reached. On this day too the river was boisterous. One of the boats which contained the *cītas* was sunk, and of the special *cītas* Daulat Khān and Dilrang were drowned. Also the boat of the army-qāẓī,[3] of Bhagwān Dās the treasurer and Sher Beg,[4] went down in the waves. On the day of Farwardīn 19 Amardād, Divine month, H.M. halted opposite the town of Maner. At this place [5] the river Sone joins the Ganges and loses its name. Next day the boats remained there at anchor and an order was given that Ṣādiq Khān and Shahbāz Khān should cross the main camp over the Sone. A large sum of money was made over to Mīr Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb Khān, and he was sent to the glorious shrine of Shaikh Yaḥiā [6] Manerī which is in Maner, to distribute it among those attached thereto and to ask for inspiration.

The Shaikh was the son of Shaikh Israel and one of the saints of Hindustan. He belonged to the Cishtī order, and also to the

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[1] Jarrett ii, 151, and note 1.

[2] The text has Barjpūr.

[3] B. 288. We learn from the T. A. that the Army-Qāzī (judge advocate) was named Y'aqūb.

[4] B. 515.

[5] Jarrett ii. 150 and note 1. The junction is now ten miles higher up.

[6] This is Shaikh Yahia the father of Sharafu-d-dīn. Cf. Jarrett iii. 370, where A.F. gives a short biography of Sharafu-d-din.

Firdūsī[1] order. Men put much reliance on the Shaikh. They say the father was extremely desirous of having a son, and went to wait upon S. Sharafu-d-dīn[2] of Pānīpat. The saint perceived his desire, foretold the birth of a son and bade him call him after himself. Though the Shaikh did not leave India, yet by the force of his genius he became saturated with the knowledge of the spiritual world and also fully understood the sins and deceptions of the carnal 95
spirit and then rested in firmness of soul. His words have great weight among the Sufistic sects. The Kitāb-i-ma'dan-al-ma'ānī (the book of the spiritual mine), the Ganj-i-lā ikhfā (the abiding treasure) and the Sharḥ-i-ādāb-al-murīdīn[3] (the exposition of the education of disciples) are among the jewels of his pen. There are also three collections of spiritual and theological truths which he sent to some of his followers in the shape of epistles. One contains 150 letters, the second has 100 letters of advice, while the third has 25 letters. The Shaikh lived in the time of Sultan Muḥammad[4] Tughlaq. In the beginning of his career he chose hills and deserts, and practised vigorous austerities. Afterwards he came to Delhi and paid his respects to Shaikh Niẓām.[5] At his instigation he entered the service of Shaikh Najmu-d-dīn Firdūsī.[6]

On the day of Rām 21 Amardād, Divine month, when the victorious standards were flying at Sherpūr, Rajah Todar Mal came and did homage. He reported on the state of the army. He asked for orders about the coming of Mun'im Khān as an *istiqbāl* (coming to welcome), and as to how far he should come. The order was that as the siege was going on, he should not come further than two *kos*, and that the other officers should remain at their posts in the entrenchments. On the same night the Rajah was encompassed with favours and received his dismissal. At this time 'Arab, the son of

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[1] The eighth of the orders of India. Jarrett iii. 354 and 356.

[2] Jarrett iii. 368.

[3] A. F. refers to this work in the beginning of the third volume of his Inshā, and it would appear that he edited the letters. Sharafu-d-dīn's writings were a favourite with Akbar. B. 48, 103, and Khazīna A. I. 291.

[4] The text has Sulṭān Mahmūd, but this is obviously incorrect if Maḥmūd Ghaznavī is meant. I therefore adopt the variant, Sharafu-d-dīn died in 781 or 2 A.H., 1379-80, and M. Tughlaq I. died in 1351.

[5] *i.e.*, Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliyā. Jarrett iii. 365.

[6] Jarrett iii. 356.

Hāshim Khān, who had entered into service, and who as deputy [1] for his father brought reports about the events of the eastern districts, was honoured by receiving the title of Nīyābat Khān.

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[1] *Niyābat.* Apparently this viceregency procured him his title.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The arrival of the holy cortège of the Shahinshah at the environs of Patna, and his addressing himself to the taking of the city.

The world-conqueror chose the river route, in this season full of turbulence, and with constant rain and tempest. With a tranquil heart he halted at the desired place on the day of Bād 22, Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 15 Rabī-us-sānī, 3 August, 1574. At a distance of two *kos* from this station the Khān-Khānān paid his respects, accompanied by boats containing various kinds of fireworks, and gunners and cannoneers. He was distinguished by favours, and in accordance with H.M.'s signal those in charge of the pyrotechnics fired the guns. The noise, the smoke, and the concussion shook the earth, and the neighbourhood for several *parasangs* became dark as the fortunes (*lit.* day) of the enemies of dominion. 96 The horrific noise wound its way into the brains of the darkened foe, and their gall-bladders became as water. Their liver-less souls were upset, and there was a loud sound of the tocsin of victory. Trumpets conveyed to men the news of victory. In an auspicious moment H.M. turned his face to the shore and mounted the steed of fortune. He alighted at the quarters of the Khān-Khānān, where lofty platforms had been erected, and there he received presents of jewels and other rarities, and also distributed them. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Birlās, Qīyā Khān, Ashraf Khān, Majnūn Khān, Khān 'Ālam, and other great officers who belonged to the army, paid their respects. After them other sirdars and noted men were exalted by the bliss of prostration. Each of them was distinguished by special favours.

Next day H.M. surveyed the fort, and as he perceived that the taking of Ḥājīpūr would be the means of subduing it he applied his genius to this enterprise. That fort is opposite Patna, and the river Ganges which is about two *kos* broad flows between the two cities with great force and turbulence. Next day M. 'Alī 'Alam Shāhī, Saiyid Shams Bokhārī and his sons, Rajah Gajpatī and an army of

brave men were appointed, under the command of Khān 'Ālam, to mount upon the river-traversing camels of boats, taking with them a suitable park of artillery, and to take that fort, which was a great support of sedition.

Also on this day Dāūd's ambassdor attained an interview through the intervention of the Khān-Khānān. Before the royal standards had been reared in those parts, the Khān-Khānān had sent Khāldīn Khān to Dāūd and given him good counsels: the gist of them was that the thread of affairs was still in his hand, that he should consider his position, and should look well to the might of fortune, and the daily-increasing dominion of the Shāhinshāh, and so be merciful to himself. He should not be the cause of the shedding the blood of so many men, and of the ruin of the property and honour of so many. There was a limit to the intoxicating power of the world. Why did he not come to himself, and why did he not attach himself to the saddlestraps of God-given fortune? He after much meditation, from feline treachery, sent one of his officers along with Khāldīn Khān, and made various supplications. He represented that he did not for himself approve of the title of sovereign. Lodī who
97 had brought him into this whirlpool of notions had received the punishment of his deeds. Now obedience to the Shāhinshāh had taken possession of his whole heart. Whatever extent of territory should be vouchsafed to him would be considered by him as a piece of good fortune. As owing to his youth and infatuation faults had been committed by him he could not agree to kiss the threshold until he had amended them by good service.

The wise sovereign understood his secret ambushes and answered as follows: "We, by virtue of our being the shadow of God, receive little and give much. Our forgiveness has no relish for vengeance, provided that Dāūd has, in this word-weaving, light from the torch of truth and will rub his forehead on the threshold of fortune, so that the hand of our grace may disperse the dust of destruction from the crown of his fortune. Otherwise let him do one of three things so that the lives and goods of so many thousands may not be an offering to ruin. First, let some one of his party come to our camp and be a spectator, and some one from our side go to his army and be a sentinel, so that no one on either side engage in war, and let us two come into the field of battle and fight with one another

with all the arms that he knows, so that whoever by the Divine decree, and the help of heaven, shall be the conqueror shall have the kingdom. If his courage be not equal to this, let him choose some one of his soldiers who is distinguished for valour and strength of arm, and skill in combat. We also shall send one of our strong-armed ones, whose countenance shall be decked with might, against him. These two combatants will contend in the arena. The army of whichever of them conquers shall be victorious. If in his army there be no such lion-heart, then let him choose one of his host of elephants, and we too shall produce an elephant majestic as heaven. Victory shall be on the side of whichever of them prevails." The gall-bladder of that son of an Afghan was rent by the majestic utterance of the tiger-hunter (Akbar), and his sense was destroyed. As his soul was rusted he did not grasp the bliss of obedience, and and as he had no spirit he did not accept any of these just propo sals!

One of the occurrences was that H.M. mounted an elephant and went to survey the height of the Panc-pahārī which is over against the fort. These are five solid[1] brick domes (mounds) (?) which ancient rulers have left as a memorial, and pahārī is the Hindī word for a little hill. That is to say, there are five mounds (*gūmbaz*) which resemble in height five hillocks. The black-hearted Afghans in their shamelessness and wickedness discharged cannon (at Akbar) and so worked their own eternal ruin. H.M. the Shāhinshāh was in the fort of 93
the divine protection and contemplated the wonders of creation. Friends and strangers recognised that he was guarded by God, and were impressed by the amount of his reliance upon Him.

One of the fortunate events was the falling into possession of Ḥājīpūr. The brief account of this is as follows: On the day of Arād 25 Amardād, Divine month, at breakfast-time, it appeared that the ocean of battle was in agitation in the direction of Ḥājīpur. The far-seeing prince went to the battery of Shāhām Khān, from where Ḥājīpūr was visible, and watched the victory of the imperial servants.

[1] If A.F.'s account is correct, the buildings were in a state of preservation at that time. There are only mounds of earth and brick now. Excavations have recently been made there under the superintendence of Dr. Waddell.

Though the efforts of the heroes could not be fully made out, yet so much was clear that the flames of war were blazing. While the result was in the balance, and a watch of the day remained, H.M. the Shâhinshâh sent some experienced troops in war-boats to help the army. The garrison of Patna on seeing this placed some *ghrâbs* (boats) on the route and prepared for battle. The imperial troops by God's help defeated them, and before they reached the besiegers the fort had been taken. The majesty of the Shâhinshâh's might turned to water the gall-bladders of the men of iron courage, and a large number of the wretches were slain.

The account of this is as follows: When the Khân 'Âlam was honoured by this service, a number of boatmen became his guides. At the end of the day of Dîn 24 Amardâd, Divine month, he embarked, and his guides took him up stream and at night brought him, in such manner that the enemy did not know of it, into the channel which separates from the Ganges and flows close by Ḥâjîpur. The presumptuous garrison fell into the whirlpool of anxiety but were compelled to fit out boats carrying guns. At first they fired guns and culverins. There was a tempest of fire, and it seemed to the spectators as if the garrison would have the best of it. Just then the ships[1] (*ghrâbhâ*) of the Shâhinshâh, which carried victory with them, cast a ray of conquest. At once the firmness of the wicked gave way. But, as owing to the force of the current, it was difficult for the boats to come up, the enemy could not be disposed of. Guides took the boats up towards the Gandak and then brought them to Ḥâjîpûr. Though there was a rain of cannon (balls) from
99 the top of the fort, yet what could the evil imaginings of the motes of contingent existence do against the Divine aid which was supporting dominion? The warriors came out of the boats and entered the arena. Fatḥ Khân the son of Ghâzî Khân, Ibrâhîm Khân and Ilhadiyah Sarwânî, who were the sirdars of the garrison, barricaded[2] the lane of access and made a hot resistance. Fatḥ Khân and many of the enemy fell in that fight, and many escaped as quickly as possible from that whirlpool of destruction. Sundry vagabonds set

[1] Apparently this means that the boats sent by Akbar came in sight and that the enemy's fleet thereupon fled.

[2] Perhaps Ghâzî Khân Tannûrî. [3] *Kocaband kurda.*

fire to the city and plundered it. By the help of the mystic hosts the fort came into the possession of the imperial servants. Rajah Gajpatī, Piyāda Rawān (?), the [1] gladiator, and M. 'Ali Beg [2] 'Alamshāhī, and Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn Bokhārī with his sons rendered valuable help to the Khān 'Ālm in this battle. All the heroes exerted themselves, and by celestial help a difficult task ended by becoming easy.

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[1] *Shamsherbāz*. B. 252. [2] B. 482.

CHAPTER XIX.

The capture of the fort of Patna, the flight of Dāūd, and H.M.'s flying march.

As the parterre-deckers of the new spring of existence had been continually, from the first break of the dawn of fortune till the present day, which is the beginning of the blooming morn of auspiciousness, rearing this fortunate nursling, and dressing the garden of his dominion, every rosebush of hope which sheltered itself under the shade of that celestial tree was ever irrigated by the streams of delight, and day by day its branches obtained the fruit of their desires. On the other hand, every sour and crooked growth which was rampant, and scattered thorns in the path of the flower-gatherers in this garden where Spring always reigned, was consumed by the lightning of destruction. Everyone who fastened himself to the cords of this glorious threshold obtained deliverance from the accidents of the age, and prospered day by day. Every one who from want of understanding, or from infatuation, indulged in thoughts of opposition was trodden down. Worldly wealth helped him not, nor did outward helpers profit him. Every enterprise that the sublime genius of the Shāhinshāh engaged in was accomplished with the greatest ease, however difficult it might appear to ordinary eyes. Accordingly, a few instances out of many have been shown, and will yet be shown in this noble record. Verily, these doings are of Grace and not manufactured. They are Fortune and not contrivance. A fresh instance appertaining to the personality of the Shāhinshāh is the flight of Dāūd without a battle, and the taking of the fort of Patna.

100 When the Divine glory from the crescent moon of the standards of fortune shone upon that country, the Afghans' presumption began to totter, and in their confusion they chose the path of error. When the Shāhinshāh's messages, which turned to water the courage of the iron-hearted, reached them, and when at about the same time the heroes conquered Ḥājīpūr, Dāūd, who was exhilarated by the wine of thoughtlessness, came to his senses, and began to consider

his situation. No light remained in the lamp of his contrivance, and the candle of his heart gave no illumination. In his ill-fatedness he left the path of auspiciousness, and at a time when he should have come shamefaced to kiss the threshold he went off to the desert of destruction. On the night of Ārād 25 Amardād, Divine month, he left by the wicket gate of the fort and embarked in a swift boat and proceeded to Bengal. Gūjar Khān, who was their chief swordsman, went off by the gate of the Deer-park (Āhūkhāna) with all the elephants and soldiers and fled by land. The pride and presumption of this crew were at once blown to the winds. They regarded their safety as consisting in [1] flight, and some lost their lives in the waves of the river; many perished in the intricacies of the roads, and others sank in the depths of the moat. Many perished from not being able to distinguish boat from water. Many were lost with their boats from making no distinction between a crowd and a small number (*i.e.*, from overcrowding). Many were trodden under foot in the press. The transit was closed to those behind. Heads, which were homes of folly, rubbed the feet of baseness, and haughty diadems (*afsarhā*) were fastened to the halters (*afsār*) of camels and mules. A number in fear of their lives regarded height and depth as alike and turned from the zenith of the Pleiades (*ṣuraiya*) to the dust (*ṣara*). The fort-moat was filled with various classes of beings (*viz.*, men and animals), and a large number of Gūjar's comrades were drowned. A number rashly threw themselves into a whirlpool of evils and were destroyed. On that night, which was linked with a victorious morning, there was great commotion in the fort. A number of inexperienced and intellectually deficient persons thought there was going to be a night-sally, but the skilful felt certain that the Afghans were in confusion and about to run away. At this same time H.M. called for Bāī Sundar which was conspicuous among many thousand elephants for beauty, good temper, height, swiftness, etc., and mounted him.

When H.M. became aware that the enemy was in flight he wished to make an expedition in the self-same dark night. The Khān-Khānān kissed the ground with the lip of respect and petitioned, saying, that H.M. should set out when the standard of light should be unfurled from the Eastern quarter. This would be in accord with

[1] The text has *fasād*, but I adopt the variant *farār*.

the rules of prudence, and also would admit of the condition of the
101 enemy's being fully ascertained. The wise prince approved of his representation, and accepted it. On the morning of the day of Ishtād 26 Amardād, Divine month, the victorious standards entered the city of Patna by the Delhi gate. The great officers and others offered up congratulations. Abundant booty in money and goods, and especially noted elephants, came into the hands of the imperial servants. Two astronomical hours of the day were spent in arranging the affairs of the city, and then the Khān-Khānān and many able servants were appointed to bring on slowly the main army. H.M. himself mounted Nūrbaizā (white-light), which was at the head of the special horses, and went off post with an army of loyal heroes, so that if Dāūd had hurried off towards destruction by the way of the river, he might catch Gūjar who had taken the flower of the elephants along with him. When they came to the river Pun-Pun, its waters were greatly agitated, but the Khedive of the world relied upon God and put his horse into the stream. His devoted followers also plunged into the waves, and by good fortune the sublime retinue crossed over. The dust of injury did not touch the skirt of those who belonged to this select station of the field of trust in God. The miraculous power of the King displayed itself, and there was the note of sanctity, for the sovereign and his whole army crossed in ease and comfort the river, while many of the swift enemy, with all their knowledge of the entries and exits, had not been able to make a passage for themselves to the shore of safety. H.M. went on rapidly to Daryāpūr which is about thirty *kos* distant. He made one march of it and then drew rein. As it was evening he halted on the bank of the Ganges. Majnūn Khān, Shāhbāz Khān and other active officers were sent in pursuit of the defeated troops. As the pen of fate had not decreed their capture, they did not come up with them. But many of that ill-fated crew went to their death in the rivulets and in the mud. In that victory, which may be regarded as the broidery of great victories, 265 elephants were part of the booty. If I were to detail the marvels of those mountain-like animals, this noble record, which is adorned with conciseness, would not contain the account. On this night, and while the royal standards were placed on the bank of the Ganges, many Afghan boats full of goods were carried by the wind towards the camp, and

immense plunder came into the possession of the warriors. On that fortunate day the general public of the camp-market gathered from the hollow of the moat, the river Pun-Pun, from a stream seven or eight *kos* from Daryāpūr, and from the bank of the Ganges purses 102
of gold and articles of armour. The common people of this great army gained their wishes. By the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh, such a well-equipped army which had been the cause of much foolish boasting on the part of Dāūd had the dust of destruction thrown on its head without a battle. Their secular and spiritual reputation was destroyed. Ḥusain, the son of Ādilī,[1] who from his bad fate and darkened understanding had fled and joined the enemy, was made prisoner, and at the instance of the Khān-Khānān was put to death. By the shining of heavenly lights and the aid of spiritual hosts such a great victoy, which even the far-sighted among the exoteric regarded as difficult, was displayed. It was all accomplished with ease in the time of the rains, which the enemy had regarded as their strong fortress.

When the Khān-Khānān arrived with the main army, a chamber was prepared, and there was a private assemblage, and a council was held. The various officers submitted their opinions. One set of them, whose vision did not extend beyond the surface of things, represented that until the end of the rains, Bihar, which had been newly acquired, should be cleared of the rubbish of opposition, and that H.M. should address himself to the conquest of Bengal at the time of the rising of Canopus. A large body of those officers who were prompt and courageous and skilful represented that Bengal should be attacked without delay, and that the enemy should not be given time to recuperate themselves. H.M. approved of this opinion and addressed himself to the conquest of Bengal. Though in his heart he wished to undertake in person the loosing of this difficult knot, yet as the balance of action was held in the hand of reason he regarded the orders of King Wisdom as the orders of God, and so adopted postponement. For the felicitous sages who have from their height of vision beheld the rose-garden of direction have decided that no service which can be performed by officers of 103
the lower class should be entrusted to those of the middle class, nor any which can be disposed of by the latter, be entrusted to the

[1] The last Afghan king of Delhi.

great officers. And what the latter can do should not be entrusted to the sons and relatives. And an enterprise which can be accomplished by those adorners of dominion should not be undertaken by himself, for he should conserve his own position which is one of the greatest gifts of God. For the maintenance of outward conditions, which is connected with discrimination, and the preservation of dignity and majesty, is in reality the guarding of the Divine gifts, and the praising of God by action. Good God! What eyes and what anxieties must belong to the far-sighted ones of actuality and to those who pay their devotions by deeds! This very conservation of dignity, and this trouble about glory are the worst qualities in the class of anchorites and ascetics, and the highest form of worship among the workers who have to do with social life! It was from the observance of this same lofty view that this victorious expedition was in the beginning kept under the veil of postponement, but as the officers were without genius, and as they begged for the presence of H.M., he was obliged to consider them and to take the field in person. Now that great victories had revealed themselves, and that the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh had again rubbed the rust off the superficial, and that the courage of the officers was increasing, that their intellects were becoming more exalted, and that they were becoming fond of work, Munʿīm Khān Khān-Khānān took responsibilty upon himself and asked to be entrusted with the service. His prayer was granted, and he was encompassed with princely favours. Many great officers, and other officials and cavaliers and an army of more than 20,000 men together with large equipments were sent with him. And in order to soothe him and to assist him in his work he was given a jāgīr in Bihār. Jaunpūr was included in the exchequer (*Khāliṣa-i-sharīfa*) lands. Raẓavī[1] Khān obtained the viziership of it, and Rajah Todar Mal, who was capable and trustworthy, was presented with a standard and drum. He too was the recipient of boundless favours and went with the army. So also were all the servants, who were nominated to this army, given high offices and jāgīrs and lofty rank. Valuable instructions too were given to them, which might be honest companions to them in times of success and prosperity, and prevent

[1] B. 438. A. F. says, later, that his misconduct was one of the causes of the Bengal Mutiny. He was Selima Begam's Atka (Bayāzīd 91a).

them from becoming in the end intoxicated thereby, or from breaking the thread of the perception of their duty. Thus, as their outward rank was enhanced, so did he increase their spiritual condition.

On the day of Ormazd 1 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, the Khān- 104
Khānān was sent off to Bengal, and H.M. returned to Jaunpūr where were the fortunate sons, and the chaste ladies. The chief officers who were sent to conquer Bengal were as follows:—

List.[1]

1. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās.
2. Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl.
3. Qīyā Khān.
4. Āshraf Khān.
5. Khān 'Ālam.
6. Shāham Khān.
7. Bāqī Khān.
8. Rajah Todar Mal.
9. Lashkar Khān.
10. Bābā Khān.
11. Ḥaidar Khān.
12. Mīrzā Qulī Khān.
13. L'āl Khān.
14. Payinda Muḥammad Khān.
15. M'uīn Khān.
16. Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān.
17. Naqīb Khān.
18. Ghāzī Khān Qazwīnī.
19. Mīrzā 'Alī 'Ālamshāhī.
20. Ṣāniḥ 'Āqil.
21. Wazīr Jamīl.

On that day the camp was pitched at the town of Ghīāṣpūr on the bank of the Ganges. H.M. halted there four days. Part of the

[1] The text makes 3 and 4 one man, and also unites Nos. 18 and 19. The Lucknow edition omits No. 19. This man is probably the cousin of the Naqib Khān mentioned by Blochmann 449, and who may be the No. 155 of Blochmann.

time was spent in reviewing Dāūd's elephants. M. Yūsuf Khān was directed, as formerly, to take charge of the main camp and proceed by land. On the night of Isfandārmuz 5 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, H.M. mounted an elephant and marched off. On the day of Khirdād he reached the environs of the pleasant city of Daryāpūr. There he engaged in the pastime of elephant-fights, using for this the elephants of Dāūd.

As according to the religion of sovereignty and the canons of world-conquest, contentment (or moderation) in regard to the subjugation of countries is blameworthy and disapproved of, just as covetousness is in ascetics, he addressed his energies to the taking of the fort of Rohtās.[1] This fort has no equal for strength and solidity. There are several villages (*dih*) on its plateau, and there are various kinds of cultivation, and these yield sufficient provisions for the garrison. There are abundant springs of good water, and though the fort is on the top of a hill which neighbours the sky, and on the sides of which well-water is found at a great depth, yet inside the fort sweet water pours out on a little digging. Haibat Khān Karārānī and his son Bahādur Khān had strengthened the fort, and then gone to sleep in insouciance. Farhat Khān was nominated for this enterprise, and Moẓaffar Khān, who on the day when the Bengal officers went off had in a shamefaced manner joined the main camp and had not had the bliss of doing homage, was appointed to accompany him. His pride and vanity were cured in this way. Hājī Khān Sīstānī, Fatḥ Khān Maīdānī, Khudādād Barlās, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khwāfī, Bāqī Khān Kūlābī and other warlike men were appointed to assist him. This army was sent off after it had received salutary counsels.

105 When H.M. was relieved of this business he on the day of Mirdād 7 Shahriyūr, Divine month, left Patna and encamped in the territory of Sherpūr. On that day M. Yūsuf Khān who had conducted the main camp by land was made blissful by the Shahinshāh's advent. Next day the camp reached Fatḥpūr-Patna which is a distance of 21 kos. On that day the Sone, which was in flood, was crossed and Ṣādiq Khān was given leave in order that he too might join the main camp, and might take special precautions that the

[1] *Cf.* Jarrett II. 152.

common people of the camp, and the household officers and especially the select (*khāṣa*) elephants should cross the river in a proper place. On the day of Āẕar 9 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, H.M. made a forced march and at the end of the day arrived at the Causa ferry. The Ganges was very broad and deep and its commotion was enough to frighten the brave. Under God's protection H.M. passed over, and left Mīr Khān Yesāwal and a number of capable and active men to assist in ferrying across the river. The cavalier of fortune went on so rapidly that many swift-goers were left behind. With a few fortunate companions of lightning-like speed he reached Jaunpūr on the day of Ābān 10 Shahrīyūr, Divine month. Men shouted for joy on beholding him so that their rejoicing reached the ears of the holy angels. The princes paid their repects, and the veiled ladies attended and partook of joy. The servants of the holy threshold and the officers of the province performed the *sijda* and contributed the brightness of two worlds. The world received the glory of springtime, and mortals got fresh life. H.M. was gracious to every one and gave his attention to the affairs of state and opened the gates of justice in the face of mankind. As thoughtfulness and prudence are the pillars of dominion H.M. remained in that city until the imperial servants had satisfactorily cleansed Bihār of the dust of the seditious. By his assistance the army which had gone towards Bengal had its wants provided for, and the conquest of that country speedily insured.

One of the occurrences was that Qāsim Khān, whom they called Kāsū, Maḥmūd Khān and a number of evil-disposed Afghans came to the borders of Bihar. The Khedive of the world sent off Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān, Shāh Ghāzī Khān of Tabrīz and many brave men, and an order was given that Muḥsin Khān and other fief-holders in that 106
country should assemble and should gird up their loins for the quieting of the province. When the abovementioned had received the order they ascended by the ladder of good service to the upper chamber of honour, while the disaffected were cast down into the pit of ruin. The dust of rebellion was entirely laid.

One of the occurrences was that it was brought to the august hearing that Khān 'Ālam in reliance on the royal favour and clemency had come to court without obtaining a written permission from the Khān-Khānān. As the observance of orders is a necessary part

of rule a rebuke was issued by the Shahinshah and he was ordered off. A number of right-thinking and adroitly-speaking persons represented that he had left his family in the camp, and that for urgent business he had come rapidly and humbly to court. H.M. received their explanations and allowed him an interview. He gained his wish and had permission to return.

Among the events which conveyed advice to the superficial and which augmented the enlightenment of the esoteric were H.M.'s teachings about the Divine mercy. The brief account of this instructive story is that for some time there had, by heaven's decree, failed to be a bountiful rain for the crops. The cultivators and the public in general were afraid of a famine and came with lamentations, and with one heart and tongue implored the Unique one of creation, who unites sanctity and inward splendour, that he would call upon the Almighty to open the doors of compassion so that by the intervention of his chosen intercession good might be bestowed upon mortals, and the knot of their difficulty loosed.

Verse.

Thou hast the power of fastening, O Eternal Wisdom.
Loose the knot from the fortune of Thy creatures.

The holy lips uttered, "Asking and praying belong to the external world. The beneficent Creator knows everything and it is written upon the tablet of fate before a wish is expressed. Apparently, the reason why saints have had recourse to prayer is that those who slumber in the dark night of ignorance may be awakened and enter on the path of submission which is the adornment of worship, and the material of bliss.

"The divine goodness towards His servants is greater than that His mercy should depend upon our appeals to Him, or upon our calling His attention to the matter, or that we should teach Him graciousness."

Verse.

Wilt thou teach God the path of mercy?

Just while this Divine wisdom was trickling from that reservoir
107 of the pearls of truth, the clouds of mercy appeared and there was

abundant and continuous rain for a week. The sown fields and the meadows became verdant and full of moisture. The thirsty-hearted were satiated, and the weak-souled gained conviction and certitude. They came to know the sublime rank of the Shāhinshāh and increased their worship and devotion.

One of the occurrences of this time was the censure passed upon Ṣādiq Khān. The brief account of this is that M. Yūsuf Khān and Ṣādiq Khān who had charge of the great camp, came on the day of Ābān 10 Mihr, Divine month, and it transpired that the special elephant Lāl Khān had been drowned at the Causa ferry. Ṣādiq Khān who had not used great care and intense exertion in crossing the elephants, fell out of the royal favour, and his fief was confiscated. He was not allowed to perform the *kornish* and was dismissed to Tatta, and an order was passed that until he produced a choice elephant which might compare with that incomparable one he would not be exalted by the performance of the *kornish*.

CHAPTER XX.

Departure of the Shâhinshâh's Cortège for the Capital, and the Arrival on the way of the News of the Victory of Bengal.

When the world-adorning mind of the Shâhinshâh had disposed of the affairs of this country, and had resolved upon proceeding to Fathpûr the capital, he on the day of Mâh 12 Mihr, Divine month (about 22nd September, 1574), moved from Jaunpûr at an auspicious hour. He encamped at the village of Khânpûr,[1] and he remained there in spite of his having scented victory, in order that he might quiet the minds of many of his servants who, on account of their superficiality, were in an anxious condition, and were wondering how the eastern officers were faring. Suddenly there arrived the good news of the victory of the Bengal army. Everybody recovered confidence, and the insight of the world's lord was impressed upon their hearts. The brief account is as follows: When the army went off to conquer Bengal, the first town to be taken was Sûrajgarh. Afghans could not withstand the victorious troops and fled without a battle. After that Monghyr was taken. Rajah[2] Sangrâm the zamîndâr of Kharakpûr, and Pûran Mal the rajah of Gîdhor[3] and many landholders of that part of the country bound themselves to the saddlestraps of eternal dominion. The Khân Khânân ably conveyed in such a rainy season a large army by land and water, and acted with prudence as well as success. As the
108 genius of the Shâhinshâh was guiding the troops, they were victorious wherever they came, Bhâgalpûr, Colgong (Khalganw) which was a rendezvous of the Afghans, came into possession without a battle.

When the army reached the village of Gûna[4] it became known that Ism'âîl Khân Silaḥdâr, whom Dâûd in his folly had styled Khân-

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[1] Jarrett II. 163.

[2] Blochmann 446 and n. 1.

[3] Blochmann 479 n. 3 and Jarrett II. 154.

[4] Kozrah of Jarrett II. 155? Or is it the Gûnasagar mentioned by Buchanan in his MS. account of Teliagharî? It is kûnc or konch in text.

Khānān, had strengthened that fort and was there with a large force. What increased the difficulty was that the country from the army's halting-place to Gaḍhī was under water. This would impede the encamping of the army. Let it not be concealed that Gaḍhī is the gate of Bengal. On one side is a sky-ascending mountain which is difficult to be surmounted on foot, and so there is no question of its being practicable for cavalry. From the side of this mountain several rivers join the Ganges and are torrential. Among them is a strong fort which was founded by the rulers of the country. A general council was held at this stage and the wise and experienced deliberated on what remedy should be chosen. All agreed that the problem demanded solution at this stage. The landholders of the country represented that there was a secret path through the territory of the Telī Rajah.[1] Although laden animals could not pass by that ravine (garīwa) yet light horsemen could do so with ease. The proper course would be for the main army to set itself to take Gaḍhī and to proceed thither by the high road (shāhrāh) while some bold warriors should go by the path.

Certainly the enemy would by this means come to waver and would take to flight. Accordingly Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl with a force

[1] Tibli in text, and there is the variant nili, but clearly the word is Telī, being the name of the Rajah or his caste who held Gaḍhī before the conquest by the Muḥammadans. See Jarrett II. 116 and n. 1, and the Buchanan MS. I.O. vol. for Bhagalpur, p. 230. An extract from Buchanan's account of Teliaghhrī was given by me in the National Magazine (Calcutta) for January, 1894, p. 2. The Rajah belonged to the oilman caste. Buchanan says *l. c.* in his account of thāna Faiẓullaganj in the Bhagalpur volume that he saw the ruins of a fort called Dharhara. The local tradition was that it belonged to a Khetauri Rajah called Gaurmardan who had a very clever daughter named Bidya-Bilās. She resolved not to marry any one who was not more learned than herself. At last a mendicant answered her questions and married her. But not long afterwards he and all the other inhabitants were killed by Kālī except one oilman to whom the goddess gave the property. Buchanan also mentions a deep tank in the neighbourhood known as Gūnā-sāgar. See also I.G. article Teliyagarhī. The Siyaru-l-mutākharīn has a note by the translator about Garhī, which tells how the fort was turned by the Mahrattas in 1740. Mīr Jumla had done the same thing in the previous century, and now we learn from A. F. that the pass was circumvented in the 16th century.

of heroes was sent by the path, and Qīyā Khān with a number of noted warriors was sent towards Gaḍhī. The other leaders were about to march when the prestige of the Shāhinshāh discomfited the foe. First a body of troops from the army of the Khān-Khānān made some commotion and inspired the enemy with fear, and when Qīyā Khān arrived at the place with a well-equipped force the thread of their plans was at once broken, and they fled in confusion. Thus, a place such that it could hardly have been gained by fighting came, by the Divine aid, easily into possession. Next morning after that day which was the emergence of the lights of fortune, the Khān-Khānan came and returned thanks to God. Majnūn Khān traversed the ravine and arrived the same day. The zamindars had acted with proper loyalty, and if the Afghans had esconced themselves in the fort they would have been dislodged by this force. But by God's favour a difficult task became easy without its assistance. On receiving the news of this victory H.M. ordered thanksgivings to God, and threw wide the halls of joy.

One of the occurrences was that at this station Ghāzi[1] Khān
109 Badakhshī, who had in Kabul donned the pilgrim's dress, came out and did obeisance. He ascended from the (*girīwa*) ravine of exoteric knowledge and came to the rose-bower of Truth, and had a scent of the flowers of fragrance. By the blessing of the holy attentions of the Shāhinshāh, and the felicity of becoming disciples of that Khedive of enlightenment, many emerged from the defiles of the path of Divine worship and attained to the upper chamber of verity. Fīrūza[2] Khās Khēl, who was a special favourite of M. Hakīm, and a number of others came from that country and rubbed the face of ashamedness on the threshold of fortune with the idea of entering the holy service. Every one of them was so fortunate as to receive proofs of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness above their merit. From thence H.M. proceeded on towards the capital. He passed from stage to stage, occupied in appearance with the service of administering justice, and the enjoyment of hunting, while in reality he was perpending the Divine mysteries, and imparting to society the gifts of seclusion. On the day of Dībādīn 23 Mihr, Divine month, when he was encamped

[1] Blochmann 440. He introduced the *sijda*.

[2] Blochmann 526.

at Iskandarpūr,[1] which is near Mānikpūr, a petition came from the Khān-Khānān. Its purport was that Dāūd had chosen the road of ruin and that the victorious army had arrived at Tānda the capital. The account of this Divine aid is that when Gaḍhī was taken, Dāūd could not withstand the shock of the victorious army. He took to flight and trod the desert of destruction. The river Ganges divides into two branches at Tānda.[2] One goes to the mart of Sātgām and ends in Orissa. The other goes towards Maḥmūdābād, Fatḥābad, Sonārgaon and Chātgaon (Chittagong). Dāūd went off quickly by the Sātgām river in the hope that he might stir up strife in the borders of Orissa. The Khān-Khānān entered the city of Tānda, which is the centre of Bengal, on the day of Gosh 14 Mihr, Divine month, and addressed himself to the spreading of the laws of justice which had been communicated to him from the court. The words of the world-cherishing prince came into operation. The Divine graciousness increased daily. The tongue of words and the tongue of acts joined in calling for thanksgiving. A rescript issued to the Khān-Khānān, and he was praised for his good services. H.M. then proceeded on from that place (Iskandarpūr) under the veil of the pleasure of hunting, with a heart of thanksgiving and with outward joy.

One of the occurrences of this time was the death of Khwāja Jahān. He, on account of illness, was in Jaunpūr, and by heaven's decree a *mast* elephant ran at him. His foot caught in a tent-rope and he fell. This ruined his health, and the cup of his life became full near Lucknow.[3] Fortunate was he in that the cup of his life ran over in the presence of his benefactor, and that he ended his days in good service, and fidelity, and in seeking to do his pleasure. On the 110
day of Ardī Bihisht 3 Abān, Divine month, the royal standards halted on the bank of the Ganges near Qanauj. When the august cortège

[1] Apparently the Sikandarpūr of Jarrett II. 164, and which is in Jaunpur Sarkār.

[2] Cf. Jarrett II. 120 where A.F. says that the division takes place at Qāẓīhattah in Sarkar Bārbakābad. See l.c. 133.

[3] Blochmann 424. The accident took place at Jaunpūr. Apparently he was travelling by water from Jaunpūr in company with Akbar to Lucknow when he died. The Iqbāl-nāma also says the accident was at Jaunpūr.

reached Patialī,[1] Ḥusain Khān who in this campaign had become mentally afflicted and been debarred from the bliss of service, presented himself, but had not the good fortune to perform the kornish.[2] When H.M. came to the third[3] stage from the capital he felt a desire to circumambulate the shrines of Delhi and Ajmere. In the early part of Abān (qu. Aẕar the 9th month), Divine month, he reached Delhi, and performed the duties of respect [illegible] reverence. The inhabitants of that country benefited by H.M.'s spiritual and temporal bounty.

One of the occurrences was that Ḥusain Khān became overcome by atrabiliousness (*saudā*), and putting away the things of fortune became a qalandar. The Shāhinshāh applied the remedy of kindness, and presented him with an arrow[4] from his special quiver in order that by help of it (*'itizād*) he might get possession of his jāgīr which had been confiscated, and that he might apply himself to the recruiting of soldiers. I laud the genius and wise capacity which are lavish of benefits in proportion to offences, and are bountiful towards the disobedient. From this pleasant stage (Delhi) he proceeded by way of Nārnol to Ajmir. At Nārnol at the hunting rendezvous, the Khān Jahān, who had put on the pilgrim-dress[5] at Lahore,

[1] In the Etah district. It was Ḥusain K.'s home and *jāgīr*. The text has Betālī, but the variant Patīālī, which, of course, is a quite different place from Patīāla, is right.

[2] See the account in Badayūnī 187 who says that Ḥusain K. came in the neighbourhood of Patīālī and Bhongāon to do homage, but that he was not admitted, and that Shahbāz K. the Mīr Bakhshī was ordered to put him outside of the rope that ran round the audience-hall. Upon this Ḥusain resolved to become a Qalandar, and gave away all his property. Akbar thereupon took pity upon him and sent him a shawl, an arrow, etc., but to no purpose.

[3] The text has *sirmanzil*, station or place where one changes his course. But the true reading is *sihmanzil* 2 "the third stage," as shown by the Iqbalnāma and also by Badayūnī 187 where for 3 cosses read three stages. The Iqbālnāma says Akbar left Agra on the left and went on to Delhi.

[4] Evidently the arrow was given as a symbol of authority and as an evidence of the order in his favour. Cf. Badayūnī 188 where the statement that a quiver was given is a mistranslation. Cf. the account in Bayley's Gujrat 389 of Humāyūn's binding his quiver round the body of the minstrel Bacū in order that he might obtain the release of his friends.

[5] Not to go to Mecca, but to appear before Akbar.

suddenly appeared. This was a pleasure to H.M., and he rewarded him with royal favours. Also in the neighbourhood of Nārnol, Khān A'zim M. Koka came a long journey from Gujrat on the wings of affection and did homage. He was exalted by glorious favours from the Shāhinshāh. In the beginning of Dai, Divine month, the delightful spot of Ajmīr was visited by H.M., and he circumambulated the shrine. Justice and liberality were dispensed, and night and day there were glorious festivals in that Martyr's plot. All classes of men experienced his bounty. The chief philosophers and the leading men of learning sought enlightenment from the holy words of H.M., and seekers after the spiritual and temporal kingdom gained their desires. May the world-adorning Creator long preserve his holy frame so that he may complete the defective and exalt those who are perfect in faith!

At the time when Ajmīr was blessed by the presence of H.M., Rai Rai Singh came in haste from Fort Siwāna and reported that Candar Sen, the son of Māldeo, was making a disturbance in Jodhpūr, and that the army which had gone to take Siwāna had not been able to put him down. If an army of the combatants of fortune were sent against him, things would have a happy termination. His representa- 111
tion was approved of, and he was treated with favour and sent back to his work. Ṭaiyīb Khān, Saiyid Beg Toqbāī, Subḥān Qulī Turk Kharram, 'Aẓmat Khān, Sewa Dās, and many able servants were sent against Candar Sen. That ill-fated one withdrew from Rāmpūr to the steep mountains. The victorious army, knowing that the daily-increasing fortune of the world's Khedive made difficulties easy, proceeded to the hill-country. They were partially successful, and many of the guilty were trodden under foot. The wretch (Candar) could not withstand them and became a vagabond in the desert of destruction. The *ghāzīs* from inexperience and shortsightedness regarded his flight as the end of the task and returned to court without being summoned. When H.M. heard of this, he, in order to give a lesson in the laws of service, degraded those astrayed ones from the position of trust.

In a short time H.M. had disposed of the affairs of that part of the country, and on the day of Rām 21 Dai, Divine month, he distinguished the Khān A'zim with great favours, and sent him away to manage the affairs of Gujrat. He himself proceeded towards the

capital. One of the occurrences was that for the comfort of travellers he issued an order that at every kos of the way from Agra to Ajmīr a pillar[1] (*minār*) should be set up, and be adorned with deer horns so that those who had lost their way might have a mark, and that strength might be given to the fatigued.

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[1] Some of these pillars still exist. Badāyūnī is sarcastic about the benefit of them.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Arrival of H.M. at the Capital (and building of a House of Worship).

H.M. had in the course of seven months done the work of many years in conquering new countries, administering the old, in favouring the sincere and serviceable, and o'erthrowing the ungrateful, in extending justice, in general benevolence, and in advancing the science of worship. On the day of Ardībihisht (18 January 1575) 3 Bahman, Divine month, he illuminated Fatḥpūr by his presence.

Quātrain.

What ray is it that fortune sheds upon the earth?
What commotion is it that dominion casts into the sky?
Is it the dust of the cortège or the breeze of success
Which sends a fragrance of peace and repose to the nostrils of my soul?

The degrees of sovereignty and the stages of world conquest, **112**
which are based upon increase of wisdom, and on perception, went on augmenting, and that which is apt to become in mortals, whether in former or in present times, a source of insouciance, only increased his circumspection. Although Almighty God raised the pure-dispositioned one to lofty heights, *viz.*, to increased territory, abundance of devotees, the overthrow of enemies, the gaining possession of the wonders of the world, and the opening of the doors of knowledge, and lofty perception, yet this suppliant of Deity increased his supplications, and the thirst for inquiry augmented.

At this[1] time when the capital (Fatḥpūr Sikrī) was illuminated by his glorious advent, H.M. ordered that a house of worship ('Ibādatkhāna) should be built in order to the adornment of the spiritual kingdom, and that it should have four verandahs (aiwān).

[1] The order for the building of the 'Ibādatkhāna was given in Ẓī-lqāda 982, February-March, 1575.

Though the Divine bounty always has an open door and searches for the fit person, and the inquirer, yet as the lord of the universe, from his general benevolence, conducts his measures according to the rules of the superficial, he chose the eve of Friday,[1] which bears on its face the colouring (*ghāza*) of the announcement of auspiciousness, for the out-pouring (*ifāzat*). A general proclamation was issued that, on that night of illumination, all orders and sects of mankind—those who searched after spiritual and physical truth, and those of the common public who sought for an awakening, and the inquirers[2] of every sect—should assemble in the precincts of the holy edifice, and bring forward their spiritual experiences, and their degrees of knowledge of the truth in various and contradictory forms in the bridal chamber of manifestation.

Wisdom and deeds would be tested, and the essence of manhood would be exhibited. Those who were founded on truth entered the hall of acceptance, while those who were only veneered with gold went hastily to the pit of base metal. There was a feast of theology and worship. The vogue of creature-worship[3] was reduced. The dust-stained ones of the pit of contempt became adorners of dominion, and the smooth-tongued, empty-headed rhetoricians lost their rank. To the delightful precincts of that mansion founded upon Truth, thousands upon thousands of inquirers from the seven climes came with heartfelt respect and waited for the advent of the Shāhinshah. The world's lord would, with open brow, a cheerful countenance, a capacious heart and an understanding soul, pour the limpid waters of graciousness on those thirsty-lipped ones of expectation's desert, and act as a refiner. He put them into currency, sect by sect, and tested them company by company. He got hold of every one of the miserable and dust-stained ones, and made them successful in their desires,—to say nothing of the be-cloaked[4] and the be-turbaned. From that general assemblage H.M. selected by his far-reaching eye a chosen

[1] Shab-i-jum'a, which, as B. points out, 173 n. 3, means Thursday night, as the Muḥammadans commence the day at sunset.

[2] Text *muḥtājān* "the necessitous." I. O. M.S. 235 had this reading, but the copyist has erased it and substituted *murtāżān*, which seems a better reading.

[3] Khalqparastī, *i.e.*, authority.

[4] *lit.*, the wearers of large turbans, and the hangers-down of scarves. The Maulvis and learned doctors are meant. A. F.'s account

band from each class, and established a feast of truth. Occasionally he, in order to instruct the courtiers, sent perspicuous servants who could discriminate among men, and these reflective and keen-sighted men brought every description of person to perform the *kornish*. Then that cambist and tester of worth examined them anew and invited some of them. There were always four noble sections in that spiritual and temporal assemblage. In the eastern chamber of worship (*'Ibādatkada*) were the great leaders and high officers who were conspicuous, in the courts[1] of society, for enlightenment. In the southern compartment the keen-sighted investigators, both those who gathered the light of day (*i.e.* the Illuminati) and those who chose the repose of the night-halls of contemplation, sate in the school of instruction. In the western compartment those of lofty[2] lineage practised auspicious arts. In the northern compartment were the Ṣūfīs of clear heart who were absorbed in beatific visions. A few of felicitous and wide comprehensiveness which they had attained to by the bliss of H.M.'s holy instructions—lighted the torch of knowledge in all four compartments. Lofty points and subtle words passed from the holy lips, and physical and Divine truths trickled from that soothsayer of the court of variety, so that the leaders of the arena of manifestation, and the swift coursers on the mountains of contemplation burned[3] with shame. It is of this condition that Ẓahīr[4] sings. 113

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of the 'Ibādatkhāna may be compared with Badayūnī's, B. 170 and 171, Lowe 203, and the T. A. Elliot V. 390. Badayūnī states that the 'Ibādatkhāna was erected on the site of a cell once occupied by Shaikh 'Abdullah Niyāzī of Sarhind (for an account of whom see the Darbār Akbarī 81 and Badayūnī III. 45). The original building must surely have been much larger than what is now pointed out as the 'Ibādatkhāna.

[1] *Hijābstān-i-t'aalluq*, meaning "in social life."

[2] *i.e.*, the Saiyids, see Elliot V. 391. I.O. 235 has *Muhaimnan parastān* "worshippers of God."

[3] It is *ātish* "fire" in text, but I.O. 235, and apparently I.O. 236, has *ans* and the meaning seems to be "they associated in grief" (*i.e.*, were ashamed).

[4] Ẓahīru-d-dīn Faryābī, a Persian poet, who died at Tabrīz in 1201 A.D. See Browne's Daulat Shāh, p. 109 *et seq.* Some preferred him to Anwarī. The variant *ab-kār* is more poetical than the *afkār* of the text and it has the support of both the I.O. MSS. The word *m'araẓ* معرض might then be taken as *m'iraẓ* and the lines translated, "Before the robes of the daughters of his fancy, shame befalls the roses and the rose-garden."

Verse.

In the glorious assemblage of his thoughts
Shame befalls the rose and the rosarium.

A set of wisdom-hiving, judicious men were in readiness to propound questions and to record views. The difficulties of the various classes of men were fittingly resolved. The mirrors of the inquirers of the Age were polished. The whole of that night was kept alive by discussions which approved themselves to one and all. The degrees of reason and the stages of vision were tested, and all the heights and depths of intelligence were traversed, and the lamp of perception was brightened. By the blessedness of the holy examination, the real was separated from the fictitious, and the uncurrency of those who were only coated with wisdom was brought to light.

Verse.

The fictitious (*lit.*, copper-cored) Ḥâfiẓ [1] did not pass with him.
For the expert sees all the hidden faults.

The various forms of ability came from the darkness of concealment to the hall of manifestation. Rather they came from the abyss of non-existence and were resplendent on the height of existence. If I were to record in detail the illustrious events of these glorious assemblages, and describe the attainments in learning of this school of truth, a separate volume would be required.

During this spring-time of enlightenment, the writer of this noble volume presented himself a second time, and had the glory of a second birth. The brief account of the instructive story is that in the beginning of this year he brightened his forehead by performing the prostration in Agra, the capital. As he had the pride of common place knowledge in his head he delayed in proceeding to the eastern provinces in spite of the spirit of sincerity and loyalty which he had borrowed from his honoured father. Though he had not the equipment for a journey yet there was also in his idolatrous and conceited soul no aspiration for such an expedition. Also
114 there was pride in the idol-temple of his knowledge. A desire for physical retirement and for contemplating the world was seething in his soul. But he did not think it proper to traverse

[1] One who knows the Qoran by heart, also, a singer or musician.

the world without the permission of his honoured father. That mine of kindness could not bring himself to bid me adieu. At last a gracious letter came from my most excellent of brothers from the eastern provinces to the effect that the prince of the world had remembered me. As his (A. F.'s) means were insufficient, his design of entering into service was not carried out.

One of the wonderful things was that at the time when the predominance of the Afghans was bruited abroad, and there were praters in the city, one night of nights when my soul had been freed from the connections of existence, and had gone to the world of dreams, a window suddenly opened into the mystic world. The victory of the eastern provinces with all the circumstances which actually occurred, from the beginning of the siege to the time when Dāūd went to annihilation, and also the attainment, by this confused one of Creation's contingent, of the bliss of service and the degrees of favour from H. M.—which came to be realised—became visible before his astonished eyes. And in that long night, whenever he awoke from dreams, he contrary to custom immediately fell asleep again, and what was still more strange, whenever he began again to dream he commenced where he had left off. At dawn he went to his honoured father's chamber and described to him what had happened. He displayed great joy, and congratulated him. A desire to serve arose in his heart's core, and he wrote out the draft of a commentary on the beginning of the *Sūra* (chapter) of Victory in order that he might offer it as a present to the holy assembly. When the royal standards came to Ajmīr and H. M. in the banquet of wisdom again remembered this disturbed one of the desert of existence, and when by the great kindness of the (A. F's) noble brother this was revealed, the longing to kiss the threshold increased. All my aspiration was that I might behold for some days the world-adorning beauty of the world's lord, and then retire to the corner of obscurity and enter into a contest with myself. The sole desire of my troubled mind was that the horrid desert of hermitage might be trodden by the feet of my energy, for my heart was aweary of beholding the men of my own land, and I had no inclination for society. Thousands of thoughts careered in my mind. I had not the detaching reason to enable me to dispense with plans and to make the thorn-brake

of solitude the mantle (*purnyān*) of repose, and when it chanced to me to be in that emporium, there was no gracious one to help me, and pride did not suffer me to search for an introduction (to Akbar). Nor had I a place where for a time I might burn the lamp of privacy. My brother, greater in years and in wisdom than I, guided me to his own cell (*zāwiya*), and as he was one of the feeders on spiritual food I of necessity conceived a longing for the Spiritual chief (Akbar). Next day I happened to go to the chief mosque, which is one of the grand edifices of the Shāhinshāh, and suddenly, on that great assemblage, the world's lord cast the shadow of kindness (*i.e.* Akbar came into the mosque). I had the bliss of performing the prostration from afar off. I had the sense to be entrusted with the thought "If the Shāhinshāh
115 does not see you, yet you are seeing that holy light, and if I be not favoured by a glance from the Shāhinshāh I have attained vision and understanding by beholding that holy one." In this thought I was absorbed in the contemplation of Divine power, when the appreciative sovereign cast an educating glance upon me and summoned me. Inasmuch as there were present to my mind the circumstances of the time and the nature of mankind, and there was added to the fact of my being a long way off from H. M., I regarded my sight of him as the consummation of my wishes. But at length it appeared from the glorious interest which the Shāhinshāh took in me, that my good fortune was powerful, and that the star of my destiny had emerged from its obscurity. I approached him and rubbed my forehead on the sublime threshold. On one occasion he accosted me in that assemblage of realm and religion, where hundreds of thousands of sects and schools were gathered together, and described my condition beyond what I myself was conscious of, to the special guests at the sacred festival. Many lassoes fell on my soul's neck and drew my heart towards the slavery (*giraugāni*) of the hall of dependence. Though for two more years a longing, which nearly came to action, held my heart so that in the recesses of soul there rose the strain "Ho, come out from among citizens and men of the world and indulge your idiosyncrasy in the ample abode of uniqueness, and the pleasant place of singularity," yet the Shāhinshāh's graciousness was daily lifting me from the floor of

grovelling (*khasī*) to the summit of personality (*kasī*) and was elevating me, degree by degree, on the steps of education. Accordingly the key of the temple (*Bait-al-maqaddas*) of Attainment fell into my hand, and Truth, spiritual and temporal, removed the veil from my eyes. In the first place I emerged from the tumult of Desire, and my second birth began. By my good fortune I reached the lofty chamber of discipleship to the sublime Director and so turned my face towards the border of my third birth. I came from the womb of conceit to the land of supplication and became a front-sitter in the reposeful hall of universal peace. By the blessing of the Divine aids and from the light-shedding of the sitter on the throne of fortune I came from the thorny ground of "Peace with all" to the ever-vernal rose-garden of Love, and became a gatherer of the flowers of joy. A fourth child was born to my mother-nature. At this stage my endeavour is to obtain a lofty-chambered dwelling in this thornless garden and autumnless spring, so that by the blissful ray of the Shâhinshâh's glance and by perseverance, a fifth child may glorify my mother-nature and I be exalted to the exceeding bliss of absolute Resignation, and so the cheating commotion of Desire may sink her face in annihilation. When I shall have obtained in this holy heaven a heart-pleasing abode, may I, by the guidance of the Foreseer of Creation's banquet obtain the fresh honour of a sixth birth and enter the glorious ocean and sit[1] at ease in the four-arched portico of Surrender, and abode of enlightenment, where the feet of Desire have been amputated, until at the seventh birth—which is the time of loosening the links of the elements—I may cast off from the shoulder of my nature the burden of social life, and arrive at the privy-chamber, which appears as non-existence, but which is full of joy. In that holy shrine there will be bestowed, together with an easy mind and an open brow, leisure for denudation and permission for separation, till at the eighth birth—either in the abode of metempsychosis or in the cessation of resurrection—I 116
shall not be within the circle of Desire.[2]

[1] *marabbʿa-nighīn*, *lit.* sitting squarely, i.e., with the legs folded under one, as in the statues of Buddha.

[2] Cf. the third book of the Inshā, pp. 266-67 of the Nīwal Kishor edition. Seven births are there described.

One of the occurrences was that Mu'nim K. Khân-Khânân had his fief in Bengal. When H. M. went to the eastern provinces, his estate had been allotted to him in Bihar. When the rebels of Bengal sustained defeat after defeat, and that country became an abode of peace, he sent Khwâjah Shâh Manṣûr of Shîrâz to court and asked for a *jâgîr* in Bengal. The Shâhinshâh's graciousness granted his request.

One of the occurrences was that in the country round Agra things like spiders' webs, but several degrees thicker than they, fell upon the fields and pastures. In some places they were half a *jarîb*[1] in length and breadth, and in others they were smaller than this in length and breadth. Apparently, the sublime Divine Wisdom devised such a remedy for the corruption of the air, and so made a special display of His benevolence towards mankind.

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[1] The *jarîb* was according to Wilson originally a measure of capacity. Jarrett II. 61, n. 2. Afterwards it came to be synonymous with a bîgha or about five-eighths of an acre, *id.* 62 n. But the word is Arabic, and Lane gives *jirba* as a place of seed-produce. The word jarîb is also used in Timur's Institutes, White and Davey 365, to mean a division of land.

CHAPTER XXII.

Introduction of the law about Branding,[1] and the guiding of men to truth and fidelity.

The adorner of the throne of sovereignty never passes a year or a month without devising good institutions or without tranquillising and decorating the world by the gleams of his far-seeing wisdom, which is the mirror of things earthly and Divine. At this time he cast far-reaching glances and established great principles for the regulation of the army and the peasantry and for the prosperity of the country; among them was the institution of Branding (*Dāgh*). It is not hid under the veil of concealment from judicious observers that man is continually dominated by cupidity and anger. The power of lust or wrath covers with dust the bright lamp of the understanding of the wise and mature, whenever there comes a little carelessness or neglect, so what can happen in the case of those who are sunk in folly? When too justice and humanity are rare, or rather are non-existent, and when the lord of horizons (Akbar or other sovereign) is behind the veil of inattention, assuredly there will be the commotion of avarice and the typhoon of faithlessness among many of the masters and servants. The commander[2] (*tākīn bāghī*) withholds from the followers what he has received from the court, and becomes more greedy, and the follower sprinkles the dust of disloyalty on his head and acts on all occasions as if he were his own master (?).

[1] In spite of the heading of this chapter, no description of branding is given. There is an account of it in the 7th Ain, B. 255. It was introduced by Shahbāz K. in the 20th year, B. 326. The corresponding chapter of the Iqbālnāma is fuller than the A. N., for the author has added some particulars taken from the Ain.

[2] Text *badīn-i-imdād* بامداد بائین But a note states that several MSS. read tābīnbāghī, and the two I. O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have this reading, and it is probably the right one. For *tābīnbāghī* see B. 242 and 265.

Whoever turns away from such wickedness and from the crowd of the unjust and from such improper courses and out of self-respect
117 and observance of equity takes the path of just dealing, and chooses contentment and honesty, becomes stained with the dust of suspicion. Though in the beginning of this year, before the commotion in the eastern provinces, H. M. had applied his mind to this subject, and his officers had begun to work, yet the organisation of this great task took shape while the standards of fortune were at the capital. The inquiry was made then, and the grades of offices were settled. The Shâhinshâh in order to arrange the foundations of the kingdom, and for the peace of the subjects, made the imperial territories crown-lands. At the time when the sovereign was under the veil and was testing men, the imperial clerks increased immoderately the assessments on the territories, cities, towns and villages and opened the hand of embezzlement in raising and diminishing them. Whoever acquired their good graces gained his ends, and whoever's heart was not in the quarter of giving became a loser. Also whoever was well-treated, was from his unfairness and avarice, ungrateful, and whoever was less successful was on account of his discontent and disloyalty a grumbler. At the time when the beams of fortune's morning were brightening, and the throne-adorner was engaged in casting away the veil, he gave some of his attention to this subject and began by making the imperial territories crown-lands. The officers and other servants received money-salaries and their ranks were determined in accordance with their merit and the extent of their commands.

Able and trustworthy men were appointed to survey the spacious territories of India and to determine the amount of production and to substitute payments[1] in cash so that the market of the embezzlers might fall flat. The provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Gujrât were from foresight and appreciation left as they were; Kabul, Qandahâr, Ghaznî, Kashmîr, Tatta, the tracts of Bajaur

[1] I think this must be the meaning of the phrase *baqaid-i-zabt darâwarda* بقید ضبط در آورده

See Ain text, p. 296, line 6, where the phrase bazabt âmad is used to express the fact that Sher Shah and his son substituted cash for payment in kind. In Timur's Institutes, p. 364, the phrase arâzî mazbût is used, and the translators render it "restricted land." Apparently it means lands in occupation.

and Tirā, and Bangash, and Sorath and Orissa had not been conquered. 182 collectors (*'āmil*) were sent off to take care of the crown-lands (Khāliṣāt), and as every collector was appointed over an extent of territory which yielded a kror of *tangas*,[1] they were popularly known by the name of *krorī*. At this time the head-officers were Shahbāz Khān, Khwāja Ghiāṣud-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khan, Rai Parakhotam and Rai Rām Dās. By these measures the equipment of the army was provided for, and the country was well governed, while at the same time there was a safe-guard against trickery and embezzlement. H.M. also gave his attention to the regulation of measurements in order that cultivation might be increased. In former times measurements were made by a rope, and thus a difference arose according as the rope was wet or dry. This gave an opportunity for dishonesty. The Shāhinshāh introduced poles[2] made of a reed which in Hindi is called 118
bāns (bamboo)—and which poles were joined by iron rings. By this device men's minds were quieted and also the cultivation increased, and the path of fraud and falsehood was closed.

One of the great institutions was that of a Record-office.[3] It was at this time of smiling fortune that the idea occurred to H.M. An order was issued and it was decreed that whatever proceeded from the court should be recorded so that the officers might have a valuable assistance, and that the administrative orders might be preserved. God be praised! for that what was formed in the hidden chamber of the holy heart was carried into effect. By this excellent device the religious service suitable to the condition of society was performed! The details of these great laws are given in the concluding volume.[4]

One of the occurrences was that the cupola of chastity Qasīma[5] Bānū, the daughter of 'Arab Shāh, entered the royal harem. A

[1] Or *tankas*. Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 192, and Elliot V. 383. At B. 13 A. F. speaks of officers being appointed over a kror of *dāms*. Does this mean that *tanka* and *dām* are synonymous?

[2] Cf. Jarrett II. 62.

[3] See account of this office in Blochmann 258.

[4] The reference is to the Ain, Blochmann 258, etc.

[5] Qīma in text, but there is the variant Qasīma (beautiful) which I adopt in preference to Blochmann's Qismīyah, Blochmann 618.

great feast was given, and the high officers and other pillars of the State were present at it and rejoiced.

Verse.

Gardens on gardens (of flowers) were scattered in joy.
Caps were flung to sky upon sky.

This is an important chapter, but as usual, A. F. is unduly concise when he ought to be explanatory. The measure of making the whole of the dominions crown-land seems very revolutionary. The office of 'Āmil or collector is described in Jarrett II. 43.

There is also a reference to the krorīs in Blochmann 13. A.F. there states that it was the Khwājahsarā Iti'mād Khān who set Akbar upon making his reforms in the administration of the land. See Blochmann's note 1, p. 13. The chapter on Sayurghals, Blochmann 268, should be studied. See also Elliot V. 343.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān's wars in Bengal, the defeat of Dāūd, and other events.

When by the Divine aid Bengal had been conquered, Dāūd went off to Sātgāon and Orissa. Kālā Pahār, Sulaimān, Bābū Mankalī and some other Afghans went off to Ghorāghāt. Wherever they went, they raised disturbances. The Khān-Khānān in concert with Rajah Todar Mal took up his quarters in Tānda which is the capital of that country, and engaged in arranging matters, political and financial. Owing to the just constitutions of the Shāhinshāh the distracted condition of Bengal was cured. Victorious armies were stationed in the vicinity of and on all sides of that city in order that that delightful country might be wholly purged of the weeds and rubbish of opposition. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Tokbāī, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Niyābat Khān, Qamar Khān, Maqbūl Khān, Ṭālib Beg, Nāṣir Beg and a set of brave and active men were sent towards Sātgāon under the command of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās in order that they might give Dāūd no time to make preparations and that they might seize him. Majnūn Khān, Bābā Khān, Jabbārī, M. Beg, Khāldīn and another set were sent 119
to Ghorāghat [1] in order to put down the disturbances there. Murād Khān and a chosen force of brave men were sent towards Fatḥābad [2] and Baglā [3] in order to make that territory an abode of peace. Ṭtimād Khān and a number of strenuous combatants were sent to Sonārganw (Sonārgāon) in order that they might stay the hands of the oppressors.

When the cure of the calamities of the people of that country had been arranged for, it was announced that Junaid Kararānī—who had fled from the sublime court—had cast the dust of failure on his

[1] Blochmann 434.
[2] Jarrett II. 123.
[3] Jarrett II. 132. Baglā is Bakla and is part of the modern district of Backergunge. Pargana Candradwīp belongs to it. See Jarrett II. 123.

head and had come from Gujrat and the Deccan to Jharkhand, and was meditating a disturbance. Rajah Todar Mal, Qiyā Khān, Naẓr Bahādur, Abul Qāsim Namakīn and a number of holy warriors set themselves to suppress him. By heaven's help they did good service, and the enemy suffered loss and turned their faces to the desert of destruction. The Qāqshāls displayed valour in the country of Ghorāghāt, and the discomfited enemy fled towards Kūc (Kūc Bihar). Sulaimān Mankalī was killed, and the victors obtained much booty, and made the families of the Afghans prisoners. That extensive country came into the possession of the imperial servants. Junaid, who had come out from Jhārkhand, turned away before the might of the brave ghāzīs, and hid himself in the hills. The victorious army returned and came to Bardwan.

At this time Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sikandar Khān, Muḥammad Khān and some other presumptuous rebels stirred up strife in the town of Selīmpūr.[1] The Rajah sent a suitable force against them, and there was an engagement. Muḥammad Khān was killed, and Sikandar's son fled. Just then news came that Junaid had emerged from the abyss of contempt and was stirring up strife. The Rajah went off to that quarter. Junaid had gone off from Jhārkhand to Dāūd with the idea that perhaps he might play the game of deceit with him and collect materials for disturbance. Owing to his self-opiniatedness, and excessive demands he did not get his companionship, and was returning when he was astonished by hearing the sound of the victorious army. Naẓr Bahādur, Abul Qāsim Namakīn, Muḥammad Khān son of Sulṭan Ādam Gakhar, Imām Qulī Cūlak, Bihārhamal Khetrī, and some brave men who were marching in front of the victorious army, had from inexperience advanced too far, and had not behaved with prudence.
120 Junaid fell upon them. Muḥammad Khān, Bihārhamal and some others behaved bravely and sacrificed their lives. When this news came to Rajah Todar Mal he proceeded with prudence to chastise the wretch, and Junaid was unable to stand his ground and fled quickly to Jhārkhand. By the daily-increasing favour of God the dust of disturbance was laid.

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[1] In Sarkār Maḥmūdābād. Jarrett II. 133.

One of the occurrences was that Yār Muḥammad Arghūn Qarāwal proceeded to near Mūlhair[1] and plundered that country and got hold of a great deal of property. The elephant Apār, which is one of the noted elephants of that region, was one of the things he got. Though Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān summoned[2] him, he made excuses, and hastened to the borders of Jhārkhand and set about collecting property. The vagabonds of the country gathered round him. Thence he plundered up to the city of Belghatha, and came to the jungles of Lūnī[3] and Kankar, which were the asylum of the Afghan families. There too he stretched out the hand of power and got possession of much property. His whole design was that he might hasten by way of Jhārkhand to the sublime court, and in this way bring into safety his collections. When he came to Tāra,[4] Bhūpat Cohān and Shihāb the son of Dhanjī arrived in the jungle. The victorious army addressed itself to pursue them. Bhūpat from trickery came and paid his respects (to Yār Muḥammad). He learnt the state of affairs and in the guise of friendship acted as an enemy. By his guidance Junaid made a night attack, and got hold of everything that he (Yār M.) had collected, and of all the goods of the merchants and of that great caravan. The slumbrous one awoke from the sleep of negligence, and was fortunate enough to join the Rajah's army. Before the might of the latter Junaid again took shelter in the hills.

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās proceeded against Dāūd with the army which was aided by heaven, and conducted it with prudence. When he came within twenty *kos* of Sātgāon, the enemy began to waver. They threw the dust of ruin on their heads and

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[1] In Baglāna S. of Gujrat. Mulhair is now in the Nausārī district of Baroda. Jarrett II. 251, n. 2, where it is spelt Muler. But it is doubtful if this can be the place meant. Muher on the borders of Behar and Jhārkand may be the place meant. See text, p. 127.

[2] It appears from the sequel that it was rather the elephant that was sent for, than the qarāwal himself! Yār Muḥ. was shortly afterwards put to death, text p. 127.

[3] This can hardly be the Lūnī in Jodhpūr, B. 398, n. 1. Belghatta may be the place in Ghoraghāt. J. 136.

[4] Perhaps Du Tara or Dunārā in Jodhpur. Jarrett II. 276.

went off towards Orissa. The victorious army encamped at the port of Sātgāon. The gates of justice were thrown open and measures were taken for soothing the distracted inhabitants. At this time, scouts brought the news that Sirharī who was Dāūd's rational soul was going off rapidly to the country of Catar.[1] Though Muhammad Qulī Khān made all speed, he was not successful, and that alert trickster got off in safety. All the thoughts of the leaders of the army were about taking their ease in that country. Meanwhile
121 Rajah Todar Mal joined them, and spoke severely and honestly to them about proceeding towards Orissa and extirpating Dāūd. By the vigour of his intelligence and his endurance of burdens he cured the babblers and he supported Muhammad Qūlī Khān Barlās. While they were at the town of Mandalpūr[2] Muḥammad Qulī Khān died in the middle of Dai, Divine month. Except that at the time of breaking his fast he ate *pān* and then got fever (*harārati*), no other cause of death appeared. Some farseeing ones ascribed this result to the evil designs of one of the slaves of the Khwāja Sarā.[3] This unavoidable event caused disorder in the camp, and the market of the opportunists became brisk. A number of men made Qiya Khān, who was the head of the babblers and was at enmity with the Khān-Khānān, their leader, and resolved to proceed to court by way of Jhārkhand. They proposed to make the discomfiture of Junaid a trophy for the *kornish*. Though Rajah Todar Mal used his reason and his loyalty, he

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[1] *Catar* ( ) in text: see Blochmann 341 who calls Sirharī Sarmadī. Perhaps Chittuī is the place meant. See Blochmann 375, 376. Chittuī is N. of Midnapore. Apparently this is the Chatwā in Madāran of Jarrett II. 141. There is the variant Jessore.

[2] B. says 342 Mednīpūr and so does the T. A. But Mednīpūr was then in Orissa, which perhaps the imperialists had not entered. The Maagir III. 206 has Mandalpūr, as in the A. N. There is no Mandalpur in the 'Ain, but there is a Mandalghāt mentioned in Sarkār Madāran, J. II. 141, which is perhaps the same as Mandalpūr. B.J.A.S.B. XLII, 223, says it is at the mouth of the Rūpnarain. Perhaps by Mednīpūr B. only means that the place is now in the Midnapore district. See also Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 107.

[3] Blochmann 341, 342. I take the Khwāja Sarā to be I'timād Khān, but perhaps all that is meant is that Muhammad Qulī was poisoned by one of his own eunuchs. This is Blochmann's view.

was not successful. He sent couriers to the Khān-Khānān to inform him, and represented that the method to restrain the faction was to send money by one who was loyal and smooth-tongued. Mun'im Khān sent a large sum by Lashkar Khān, and held out both threats and hopes. In accordance with the Rajah's advice the envoy in a manner quieted the slaves to gold. By the foresight and efforts of Mun'im Khān, Shāham Khān, Khwāja 'Abdullah, and a body of brave and loyal men joined the army, and by their arrival order was restored. Their hesitating and discontented hearts resolved upon extirpating Dāūd, and they marched off.

Dāūd had hurried off to the extremities of Hindustan and was anxious to spend his days in the corner of obscurity, but when he heard of the dissensions in the victorious army, and got encouragement from Khān Jahān (Lodī) who governed Orissa for him, he returned to do battle. The officers left Bardwan and came by Madāran[1] to Citua.[2] As the foreheads of many of the officers were still stained with disaffection the Rajah (Todar Mal) considered that if this was their condition how would things go on the day of battle, which is the time for the seething of devotion and courage. It was clear that if the Khān-Khānān arrived, no mischief would happen from the evil-heartedness of some of the misguided ones. Acting on this idea he wrote to him. The Khān-Khānān was spending his time in the far-off thoughts (*i.e.* apprehensions) of old men, and he did not consider sufficiently that if a misfortune happened to the army, things would become difficult. At this time the prescience of the world's lord took matters into its 122
hands. The brief account of this story is that the alert *sazāwals* brought the holy order. Its gist was that as by heaven's help that fine country had come into the possession of the imperial servants, and the inhabitants had obtained justice, he was not to consider the discomfiture of the enemy a light matter, but address his energies to his extirpation so that the inhabitants might once for all be at rest about his commotions. The Khān-Khānān was

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[1] Identified by B. with Bhitargarh in Hugli district, J.A.S.B. vol. 42, 223, n. See also Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 106.

[2] In Sarkar Madāran, the Catwa of J. II. 141. It is in Midnapore, near Ghattāl, Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 106.

obliged to conform to the order and to undertake the task. He joined the army at Cittūā. Dāūd was with a large army in Harpūr,[1] which is intermediate between Bengal and Orissa, and was taking special care to strengthen the approaches. Many of the officers, and the common soldiers, were from folly and cowardice, and bad intentions, disinclined to serve, and wanted that there should be some kind of agreement made (with the enemy). The Khān-Khānān convened a council of enlightened men and in the first place read chapters from the Shāhinshāh's book[2] of fortune (his rescript), and exerted himself to encourage them. After this he spoke about loosing the knots of difficulty, and about their preserving their reputation. Each officer answered according to his knowledge and courage, and the degree of his devotion. Some preferred peace to war, and sought for safety. Some set their hearts upon fighting, but reflected upon the difficulties of the roads. Others from excess of courage did not distinguish between what was easy and what was difficult and rejoiced in the giving of battle. At last by the exertions of Rajah Todar Mal and the firmness of Munʿīm Khān Khān-Khānān, all agreed to fight. But search was made for another road, for it was difficult to go straight forward. Ilyās (Elias) Khān Langā and a number who knew the difficulties of the country pointed out an easier way and did good service. The strenuous and laborious were sent off to smooth and make easy that route. They with agility and dexterity crossed by that path into Orissa. All Dāūd's plans for fortifying the roads were made vain. With a distracted heart he turned back and resolved upon giving battle. The two armies came face to face in Tukaroī,[3] and that battlefield was adorned by the flashings of the heroes' swords. The brave men on both sides distinguished themselves, and presented the coin of valour to a crucial test. At last by the blessing of the Shāhinshāh's fortune,

[1] Or Harīpūr, B. 375. Perhaps the Harpat of J. II. 125. However I. O. MS. 236 has Dharpār, which is given as a variant in Bib. Ind. The word recurs at p. 435, and perhaps Dharmpūr is the correct reading. See Elliot VI. 75.

[2] Perhaps this only means that he recalled to their recollection various successes of Akbar.

[3] See Blochmann's valuable note 375.

on the day of Dīn 24 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 20 Ẕīlq'aada (3 March 1575), Dāūd was defeated, and a large number were killed. The account of this great boon is that when the Khān-Khānān determined on this engagement, the troops were drawn up as follows: He commanded the centre, and Lashkar Khān, Hāshim Khān, Maḥasan Khān and many strenuous men supported him. The *Altamsh* was commanded by Qīyā Khan, Khānzāda Muḥammad Khan, son of Kocak 'Alī Khān Badakhshī, and others. The *harāwal* (vanguard) was composed of 'Ālam Khān, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Shīroya Khan, Saiyid 'Abdullah, M. 'Alī 'Alamshāhī, Shāh Ṭāhir, Shāh Khalīl, Ṭalīb Khān, Nīyābat Khān, M. Muḥammad Jalāīr, Khan Qulī Dīwāna, Ḥāfiẓ Kosa, Shujā' Beg, and others. The right wing was ordered by the strength and wisdom of Shāham Khān Jalāīr, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Tokbāī, Payinda Muḥammad Khān, I'timād Khān, Qatlaq Qadam Khān and Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn Bokhārī. In the left wing were Āshraf Khān, Rajah Todar Mal, Moẓaffar Moghal, Yār Muḥammad Qarāwal, Abūl Qāsim Namakīn, and others. When the enemy came in front of the victorious army, courage was tested each day, and brave actions were performed on both sides. 123

Verse.

From the amount of blood sprinkled everywhere
The ground was like a lacerated face.
Three days was blood thus spilt;
The valiant did not cease from fighting.

On that day, in consequence of oppositions of the planets they did not intend to engage, and the brave men combated according to the daily practice. All at once the enemy came up in battle-array. In the centre Dāūd heaped up materials for his ruin with his own hands. The right wing was dark with the gloom[1] of Sikandar, the brother of Khān Jahān. The left was oppressed by the evil thoughts of Ism'ail Khān. The van was commanded by Gūjar Khān. All at once the commotion began. The Khān-Khānān was

[1] Ẓomī, referring to Alexander's failure to find the water of life.

compelled to draw up his forces and was supported by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh. The Khān ʿĀlam from his noble disposition and excessive courage broke the thread of discretion, and galloped too far. The archers[1] applied their hand to the work and there was a hot fight. The Khān-Khānān was vexed at this mistake and sent an angry message to him and brought him back. The imperial army had not yet been properly arranged when Gūjar Khān advanced with a formidable line of active elephants in front and his presumptuous and daring troops behind. As the tusks and heads and necks of the elephants were covered with black yak-tails and the skins of the animals, they produced horror and dismay; the horses of the imperial van were frightened on seeing these extraordinary forms, and hearing the terrible cries, and turned back. Though the riders exerted themselves, they were not
124 successful and the troops lost their formation. Khān ʿĀlam, who was mounted on a tried and fearless steed, remained firm and displayed courage, and slew many of the Afghans. Suddenly his horse got a sword-cut and reared, and he fell off. But with consummate agility he mounted again, and again adorned the fight. Just then a misfortune befel him, *viz.*, he was overthrown by an elephant. The Afghans crowded on, and he yielded up his life after the manner of the loyal and the famous of the visible and invisible world. By this profitable trafficking (*az saudāī pūr sūd*) an everlasting good name revealed itself. Before the dust of war had risen he had said to some of the servants of the fortunate threshold that he had a presentiment that he would fall in this banquet of battle and that he trusted that they would mention his devotion at the sacred court and tell the great assemblage that the well-pleasing of the lord of horizons is the material of salvation and the adornment of eternal life. What is there improbable in such intimations to the pure hearts of the sincere?

When this happened to the leader, Gūjar Khān drove off the whole force and proceeded against the *altamsh*. As soon as he reached it, it broke. Khānzāda Muḥammad Khān bravely sacrificed his life and went to the eternal land. Then that presumptuous and daring one routed the troops (the *altamsh*) and proceeded to

[1] *girih-i-tīgčī*.

attack the centre. The courage of the latter (the centre) was shaken, and the men received the retribution of their feelings. Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān with Lashkar Khān, Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī, Hāshim Khān and some others stood their ground and fought bravely. Though the Khān-Khānān's servants did not behave well, he manfully received wounds. Though he had many wounds on the head, neck and shoulder he did not give way, but took his whip.[1] Lashkar Khān, Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī and Hāshim Khān were also wounded. The Khān-Khānān used always to say that though the wound on the head healed, his eyesight remained injured, and that though the wound on the neck got better, yet he had not the power to look well behind, and that owing to the wound on the shoulder, he could not properly raise his hand to his head. In spite of all these severe wounds, no idea of retreating entered his mind. At this time a number of his well-wishing servants seized his rein and turned him round. Gūjar was just then driving the people before him, till at last he came to the imperial camp. That orderly place was plundered, and this increased his pride and presumption. In his intoxication and haughtiness he in order to encourage his men cried out with a loud voice, "I have inflicted severe wounds on the Khān-Khānan, what is the good of prolonging the fight, make efforts, and 125
bring the thing to an end." But to his confidants he, being frightened at the uncertainties of fortune, was saying, "In spite of the signs of victory my soul does not rejoice, and from time to time my sadness increases. I know not what will appear from the veil of fate, and how the affair will end." When he passed beyond the camp many of his men dispersed in order to plunder. At this time Qiyā Khān and his son turned some of the fugitives and proceeded to fight. Khwāja 'Abdullah, Shīroya Khān, Selīm, Khān, Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān, Shujā' Beg, Jabbār Qulī Dīwāna, Ḥāfiẓ Kosa and others *brought the escaped water back to its channel*, and the Divine favour, which is surety for the hopes of this great

[1] Cf. Elliot V. 387 where it is said that Gūjar K. personally wounded the Khān-Khānān and that as the latter had no sword, he returned the cuts with slashes of his whip. The statement that he had no sword is not in the Lucknow ed. of the T.A., p. 325, though it mentions the use of the whip.

dominion, shone forth. The power of the Shāhinshāh's favour took the upper hand. At this time when the brave and loyal advanced and renewed the battle, an arrow from the quiver of fate conveyed the order of annihilation to Gūjar. When he was destroyed, his comrades became disheartened and fled, and besides those who were killed, there were many who lost their honour. The Khān-Khānān who had hurried off three *kos* beyond the camp, returned and set his face to the battlefield. During the uproar when the heroes of the right and left wings were drawn up and engaged, the right wing of the enemy came in front. Apparently they had heard of Gūjar's success and wished to join him, when what was decreed (his death) occurred. They fled without coming to blows. The state of matters was that Dāūd came in front of the imperial left wing. Rajah Todar Mal by the vigour of his understanding kept his ground and held his troops in readiness. Just then one of the babblers brought bad news of the Khān-Khānān and Khān 'Ālam. He remained steadfast and replied, "The ray of the Shāhinshāh's fortune is shedding light on the heads of the courageous and loyal servants, if the days of one are ended, and if the feet of another have slipped, what injury has happened to fortune's countenance, and why should the strenuous supporters of dominion be dismayed. Don't prate, and don't say such things. The breeze of victory is about to blow, and the light of success is emerging from the horizon of hope." With heartening words he put the seal of silence on the lips of that ill-conditioned one, and hung in the ears of his understanding the jewels of instruction. He himself became the leader of the loyal. Bābāī Kūlābī, Maqṣūd 'Alī, Mīr Yūsuf Ābbārānī (of the river Bārān in Afghanistan), Ḥusain Beg Gūrd, and a number of other active men went forward to
126 fight. Shāham Khān Jalair lost firmness on hearing of the boldness of Gūjar and of the confusion of the army and was turning back. Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn Bokhārī, and a number of brave and devoted men who were in unison with him, spoke bitter-sweet words to comfort his soul and increase his activity, and so remedied matters. By the November-clouds of these ocean-hearted men of war and lovers of honour the dust of apprehension was laid, and the brave men of the right wing became of one heart and soul, and turned towards the left wing of the enemy. A battle ensued

and in a short space of time the enemy was driven off, and the victors proceeded against the centre. At this time, when the battle hung in the balance between the Rajah and Dāūd, the right wing of the imperial army appeared, and the enemy became disconcerted. Though Dāūd had heard of the defeat of the vanguard, *altamsh* and centre of the imperialists, the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune made him regard this as a trick of experienced soldiers, and so he abode in the stony place of cowardice till this army (the imperial right wing) arrived. The ingrate became shameless and fled to the desert of destruction. Just then news came of the fall of Gūjar, and there was hastiness in flight. The victorious soldiers followed with drawn swords. Many of the wretches slept the sleep of annihilation, and the plain became a tulip-garden from the blood of the slain.

Verse.

In every corner there fell a drunkard,
Such a drunkard as ne'r became sober.
You'd say 'twas a banquet, not a battle—
A banquet in which the brave were the wine-drinkers.

Abundant plunder was obtained, and there was physical and spiritual good fortune. Visible and invisible felicity was attained. The imperial servants had their wishes gratified, and offered up their thanksgivings.

Oh seeker after enlightenment, open the eye of edification and regard with an instructed eye the marvels of the Divine aid! Advance from denial to confession, from confession to trust, and from trust to the lofty stage of devotion, and rejoice in the truth!

Verse.

Wisdom keeps not pace with his lofty fortune.
Hail, O power of fortune, Allah Akbar.

After such an unexpected victory, obtained by the Divine aid, the Khān-Khānān's bodily wounds, and inward lacerations, were healed by the balm of conquest. Though before this, Bengal had come into possession, yet in the estimation of acute observers this day was the day of the conquest of that wide territory. A great

boon came from the abodes of secrecy to the bright halls of manifestation. The pillar of fortune was upreared. The Khān-
127 Khānān chose a camping-ground near the battlefield, and expanded in thanksgivings. Next day, owing to the abundant wickedness of the crew of ingrates, and to the o'ermastering power of wrath, he exerted himself in gathering together the prisoners. Their souls and bodies were separated, and eight sky-high minarets were made of their brainless heads, as a warning to spectators. When the news of this great victory reached the august hearing, there was an increase of awakening, and thanksgivings were made. Rescripts of great graciousness were issued, and the honours of the loyal and serviceable were increased. Their outward rank was exalted, and so also was their spiritual dignity.

One of the occurrences of these days was that the cup of life of Lashkar Khān became brimful. He was recovering from the severe wound which had disabled him on the day of the battle, but he died from carelessness and disregard during the days of convalescence.

One of the occurrences was the death of Yār Muhammad Arghūn. He was one of the royal hunters, and was a prominent servant. His good service in Bengal carried him into the thornbrake of presumption. By searching and striving he gathered secret treasures[1] and he behaved presumptuously as if he were chief of the army. Although Mun'im K. sent for the elephant Apār, which had come into his possession, he did not forward it. Advice did him no good. In this battle too he had a dispute with some of his servants about the plunder. When they demanded justice, the old enmity blazed forth. Without inquiring fully into the matter, or looking closely into it, he (Mun'im) opened the hand of wrath and condemned him to capital punishment. They beat him so severely that the woof and warp of his existence came to pieces. Though he was tyrannously dealt with, yet many evil-minded and presumptuous persons were guided to the happy land of obedience.

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[1] *Asbāb-i-Makāsnat* apparently means "hidden properties." Balashkar begī dam-i-istikbār zad. "He breathed the breath of pride as if he were Commander-in-Chief." But it may also mean that he behaved presumptuously to the head of the army. He was a scout (qārawal) as well as a hunter.

CHAPTER XXIV.[1]

BEGINNING OF THE 20TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH, TO WIT, THE YEAR ĀBĀN OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

At this time of the increase of justice, and of world-adornment, the harbingers of good tidings arrived, bringing the news of Spring, and conferred world-wide joy.

Verse.

This day is the day of joy, and this year the year of the rose;
Good is the heart's state, for good is that of the rose.
What is the rose? 'Tis a messenger from the garden of joy.
What is the rose? 'Tis a letter telling of universal[2] glory.

On the day of Friday 27 Zīl-'qaada 982 (11 March 1575), after the passing of 7 hours, 35 minutes, the world-adorner (the sun) cast **128** his rays on the mansion of Aries.

Verse.

They tied a picture on the arm of morning,
They gave it the embellishment of early spring.
Time gave colour and fragrance to spring,
It put a nosegay in the hand of wish.

The twentieth year, which belonged to the second cycle, began. There were rejoicings, and universal joy. Just as the physical Spring year by year increases the beauty of young growths of vegetation and augments the joy of the spectators of material flashes so does the springtide of the fortune of the enthroned one adorn the parterre of sovereignty with the development of the virgins of the spirit, and increase the glory of the veiled ones who fashion existence and Divinity? There is joy to those who delight in the mystic garden such as does not come to the lovers of physical flowers in the material spring. In this book of Divine praise, although the foundation of the work is laid on a description

[1] This chapter is much shortened in the Lucknow edition.

[2] Text has *gul* at the end of the fourth line, but I think it should be *kull*.

of the wondrous workings of external fortune, and it is this which colours its words and makes them picturesque, yet as a comprehensive, much-knowing soul even with hundreds of torches of Divine aid cannot compound the collyrium for fully perceiving the limitless, spiritual ruler, how can the hand, the pen, the paper, the ink have the brightness to succeed in the mighty task? But inasmuch as genius helps, fortune is auspicious, and disposition consonant therewith, I let a little trickle out from the abounding river and so water the adust souls of the desert of inquiry, and light up a part of that hall of brilliance with the rays of the lamp of vision, and so illuminate the darkened ones of Use and Wont. O thou of somnolent fortune, if thou feelest that the opening of thy inward eye is a task beyond thy capacity, yet the opening of thy external eye is a thing dependent on thy will, why dost thou not open thy vision and cast a glance at the journal of the deeds of the Khedive of the world? If thou hast not power to contemplate the spectacle of that Manifester of holiness, why dost thou abandon the perusal of the ways of those attached to the sublime court? If from evil fortune and from wisdom's being overlaid with self-interest thou hast not the felicity to do this, contemplate to-day this work of fortune (iqbâlnâma, *i.e.*, the A. N.) so that the holy blessings of the Unique and Incomparable One may vouchsafe an illuminating ray. If inward darkness let fall a veil over thy outer eye, take instruction from the condition of those attached to this Fortune, and from the wondrous marks therein acknowledge the sublime state of the world's lord! Deeds which in former times were with difficulty executed by magnanimous princes, are now easily exhibited by H M.'s servants. Then turning from the
129 external to the internal infer what is the felicity of the holy spirit (of Akbar), and prostrate the forehead of the heart as well as the outward brow before the celestial threshold, so that, like those who are auspicious, thou mayest first bring thy external state into proper condition, and also enter upon the ever-verdant rose-garden of the inner life!

A fresh instance of fortune which adorned the opening of this year was that Dâûd, who wore upon his head the tiara of rule, made it a foot-rest in the court of the Shâhinshah's fortune and became a servant of the threshold of fortune.

CHAPTER XXV.

Dāūd's coming to see Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, and the Adorning of the Feast of Concord.

When by the help of the heavenly armies, which are ever engaged in heightening the fortune of the world's lord and in elevating the standards of his fortune, Dāūd had cast the dust of disgrace on his fortune's head, and had taken to flight, and when Gūjar and many of the proud had gone down to the pit of annihilation, as has already been briefly related, the Khān-Khānān, acting in accordance with the advice of experienced men, sent Shāham Khān Jalāīr, and Rajah Todar Mal to pursue the wretch. Qabūl Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī, S'aīd Badakhshī, Qamar Khān, Shāh Ṭāhir, Shāh Khalīl, Ṭālib Bakhshī and many other active men had impressed upon their minds the canons of warfare and went forward on this duty. The infatuated Dāūd hastened to the corner of contempt. When the imperial troops reached the town of Bhadrak, it was ascertained that Jahān Khān had quickly joined him, and given him encouragement and taken him towards the fort of Katak (Cuttack) which is one of the strong forts of the province. The vagabonds of the country had gathered round him, and the sole thought of the presumptuous ones was that if the victorious army should come there, they might give battle, as the sudden defeat (*i.e.*, the battle of Tukaroi) had been the result of want of caution. If there was delay in their coming, they would make arrangements for a contest, and on a proper opportunity obtain their revenge. On hearing this news the old servants, whose fortunes were somnolent, were dismayed. The sedition-mongers became active in their machinations. Though Rajah Todar Mal brought his wisdom and fidelity to bear, and addressed himself to the soothing and quieting this crew, he was not successful. He was obliged to ask for the presence of the Khān-Khānān, and plainly wrote that a difficult business had been made easy by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh. If reliance were placed on con-

ceited[1] men who were inefficient and heedless of the day of reckoning, things would again become difficult. It was fitting that the Khān-Khānān should take the matter into his own hands, and
130 come hither without delay. Though the Khān-Khānān's wounds were not yet healed he set off in a litter[2] and speedily arrived at the spot. He soothed the empty-headed and reproved the self-conceited, and so brought them back from their evil thoughts, and then pushed forward. He came near to that strong fort which the foolish Afghans had thought to be their refuge. Their confidence began to abate. They had no equipment for the defence of the fort, no means of fighting, and no way of fleeing, and the victorious army was numerous. Dāūd at the advice of tricksters adopted feline stratagems. He turned to entreaties and abjectness and knocked at the door of peace. He sent Fattū, Shaikh Niẓām and some other officers, and these tricksters by gold and words induced the leaders of the army to come to terms. The old servants whose fortune was somnolent exerted[3] themselves to magnify by finesses the enemy's position, and regarding this a means of increasing their reputation considered the proposition of a settlement as an advantage. Though Rajah Todar Mal, who knew the real state of the case, exerted himself hand and foot, it was of no use. In that abode of darkness the torch of his monition could not give light! The Khān-Khānān sent Hāshim Khān and Qutluq Qadam Khān, and expounded the conditions of peace. The gist of the compact was that in the first place Dāūd should come and accept the service of the holy court, and send noted elephants and other choice presents. After some time, when he had done good service, he was to convey his ashamed face to the holy threshold of the Shāhinshāh, and have it coloured with

[1] Perhaps the Rajah was referring especially to Qiyā K. See text. p. 121, l. 7.

[2] *Sūkdasan*. See J. II. 122 for description of this kind of litter.

[3] I presume that the meaning is that the old servants represented the position and resources of the enemy to be more than they were. "They regarded this as a means of increasing their reputation." I suppose this means that they now magnified the enemy's position, thinking that they would thereby make people believe that their former views about the difficulty of the imperialists' enterprise were correct.

fidelity. At present he was to send one of his confidential relations to court to act there as his representative.

Dāūd, whose affairs were *in extremis*, gladly accepted every thing. On 8 Ardībihisht, Divine month, corresponding to 1 Muḥarram 983 (12 April 1575), there was a celebration. The banquet of reconciliation was prepared. Previous to this a pleasant spot had been chosen outside of the camp, and been adorned to the admiration of beholders. The Khān-Khānān came into the hall of joy on the above mentioned date, and there was a festival. Ashraf Khān, and Hājī Khān Sīstānī hasted and brought Dāūd and his nobles. The Khān-Khānān went to the edge of the carpet to welcome him, and displayed warm affection. Dāūd loosed his sword and left it behind him, implying that he had left off soldiering and had made himself over to the sublime court, and would do whatever the pillars of empire thought it right for him to do. The Khān-Khānān made him over to his servants, and after a time a splendid *Khilát* was given to him on the part of the threshold of the Caliphate, and a sword and embroidered belt were 131
bound upon his waist. Dāūd with the humblest loyalty turned towards the quarter of the capital and made the prostration of service. He presented noted elephants, the rarities of the country, and abundant money, and made over Shaikh Muḥammad, the son of Bāyazīd who was his own nephew, that he might accompany Mun'im Khān to court. Much of that day was devoted to feasting and rejoicing, and when Dāūd received leave to depart, some[1] estates in Orissa were given in fief to him. When Mun'im Khān had dismissed him from the defile of difficulty to the wide expanse of joy he himself returned (to the camp). The generality showed joy, with the exception of Rajah Todar Mal, who from his far-seeingness kept his head in the fold of thought, and who was not present in that banqueting hall, nor put his seal to the document of that peace. Inasmuch as the world is a place of retribution, every one of them very quickly had the recompense[2] of his actions.

[1] According to Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 390 and Stewart 161, the whole of Orissa was conferred upon Dāūd. Perhaps the phrase "*ẓ'aṣi maḥāl*" used in text has the technical sense of miscellaneous revenues.

[2] Alluding apparently to the deaths of the officers shortly afterwards in the pestilence at Gaur.

One of the occurrences was the disturbance in Ghorāghāt. The brief account of this is that when the Khān-Khānān with most of the troops proceeded to Katak; Kālā Pahār, and Bābūī Mankalī and a number of Afghans raised a commotion and fell upon the Qāqshāls. The latter made a little resistance and then covered their honour with the dust of disgrace! The Afghans took possession of Ghorāghāt, and pursued the Qāqshāls. The latter could find no place in which to plant the foot of firmness and came to Tānda. The Khān-Khānān swiftly returned, and without entering into the city of Tānda hastened off from its neighbourhood to encounter the enemy. The enemy was indulging in confidence on the other side of the Ganges. The able leaders of the imperial army proceeded up stream to a place where the Ganges forms two branches, and had bridged one, and were preparing to bridge the other when the enemy lost courage. They stained themselves with the dust of defeat and took to flight. The Khān-Khānān hastened with his army to the borders of Tānda and from there despatched a force under Majnūn Khān to Ghorāghāt. The strenuous fighters reconquered that country and the sedition-mongers descended to the corner of contempt. The Khān-Khānān returned thanks to God and to the Shāhinshāh's fortune and returned (to Tānda).

CHAPTER XXVI.

AFFAIRS OF THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR, INCREASING PERFORMANCES OF MOZAFFAR KHÁN, AND HIS RETURN TO FAVOUR.

The benefactions[1] which the Shāhinshāh bestows on mankind in general are beyond the region of computation, and the public are obliged to confess their inability to requite them. How then can those who are attached to the court, and are prominent sitters in the assemblage of justice, discharge the burden of their gratitude? In truth who has the courage, and where is the capacity that can 132
indulge in the thought of recompense? Devotion throughout long lives by single-hearted, efficient men cannot make requital for one of a hundred thousand favours! But the first stage of making up the account is, after perceiving the degrees of favour, not to forget to make a list of the register of reverence, and to attach the cincture of strenuous effort to one's service and to reckon whatever of good deeds has been done as one of a thousand acts of thanksgiving. So that one may always be abashed and ashamed, nor loose the thread of calculation, nor allow the contemplation of the imperfect service of all and of one's own good deeds to become the material of insolence. May one by this life of praise attain to the stage of limpid sincerity (*ikhlās*), and become a fixture at the threshold of obedience! May he pass the stage of selling his service and place the seal of silence on his lips. Hail to the fortunate one in whose journey through the ups and downs of service the dust of shame has not settled on the face of his fortune. Or if, from his inauspicious star, the dust of shame may have touched him, he has washed it away by the clear water of understanding, and he has with an open brow and cheerful countenance carried out what was in his destiny. How shall I write that there can be no change (for the better) in such obedience? On the contrary, even to wearied souls there comes, from long habits of obedience and service, a ray of the Presence,

[1] This introduction is bombastic and obscure and is wanting in the Lucknow edition.

and from time to time an increase of light. The case of Moẓaffar Khān is a clear illustration of this fact.

It has already been related how H. M. as a means of producing discretion and enlightenment in him, had, without permitting him to do homage, appointed him, at the time of returning from the conquest of Patna, to assist Farhat Khān, and had sent him to perform the service of taking the fort of Rohtās; so that if he could not recognise the favour and the educating power of the Shāhinshāh in the manner of the truly loyal, he still might not abandon mercantile considerations and the sense of favours received, and might in return for glorious benefactions exhibit the thanksgiving of good service. For some time he was in the thornbrake of failure and was with the hand of presumption poinarding his heart and liver. As felicity was implanted in his nature he emerged from his mental disturbance at the wise words of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī, and applied himself to service. He brought out some of his accumulations of wealth and prepared the equipment of an army. By his courage he took possession of Caund and Shahsarām (Sasseram) which on account of the multiplicity of the affairs of State had not been given in *jāgīr* to any one, and then set himself to get things in readiness (for an expedition). He was in a position to do good service when Farhat Khān and the other officers came to besiege the fort. In the course of a few days he showed his quality. The brief account of this is
133 that one day Bahādur, the son of Haibat Khān, came out of the fort of Rohtās and made a disturbance. Moẓaffar Khān behaved with activity and inflicted suitable punishment on him. His elephants, etc., were captured. Merely in consequence of that happy thought (of Moẓaffar) his wandering waters were brought back into the channel. Immediately the standards of trustworthiness were upreared in that quarter. About the same time the officers arrived for the siege. Moẓaffar frankly took part with Farhat Khān and assisted in carrying out the plan. In a short time a ray of the royal favour visited him, and an order was issued to the effect that if he and the other officers could fix a time within which the fort would be taken, he should exert himself in that great service. If he could not fix a time and if the capture would be a work of time, he was to suspend operations, and turn his attention

to the punishment of the turbulent Afghans who were making a commotion in Bihar. If they were willing to submit they would be pardoned. Otherwise he was to inflict chastisement on them in order that it might be a lesson to others.

Moẓaffar Khān performed the prostration on receipt of the order and represented that he had not a siege-train with him, and that a period for the taking of the fort could not be fixed. The first business was to clear the country of the rubbish of rebels. This he proceeded to do in company with the imperial troops. Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān and many of the strenuous workers whom the Shāhinshāh had left in the country went with him. Muḥasan Khān, Āfāq, 'Arab Bahādur and a number of soldiers who were engaged in looking after Mun'im Khān's *jāgīr* also joined him and did good service. Moẓaffar's ability was tested, and the dust of rebellion was laid throughout the whole province. Ādam Khān Bataṇī fled from Ibrāhīmpūr without fighting and so did Daryā Khān Kāshī from Carkān,[1] and both of them fled to Jhārkhand.

When nothing more remained to do there, the agents of Mun'im Khān grew envious of Moẓaffar Khān's success and in a shameless manner sent him away. As he had no fief assigned to him, he was forced to return to Caund and Sasseram, taking help from Khudādād Barlās and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn. On the way he learnt that the insolent garrison of Rohtās had taken possession of those two towns. As his fortune helped him, and his star was favourable, the dust of apprehension did not rest on the skirt of his courage, and he went with a stout heart to that quarter. By the glitter of the sword, and the strength of contrivance he freed those two places. By the help of far-seeing reason he 134
suppressed his own wishes and waited for a mystic revelation. He employed a portion of his accumulations in the work, and took pleasure in attacking and plundering. Suddenly a commotion arose in Bihar. The managers of the country coolly (*ba firāghat-i-tamām*) asked for the assistance of his presence. Moẓaffar Khān disregarded their previous behaviour and hastened to do his master's work. He rendered good service. The brief account of this is that Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān had left 'Arab Bahādur

[1] Chārgaon in Sarkār Bihar. J. II. 154.

in Maher[1] which lies between Behar and Jharkhand. At this time Hājī and Ghāzī two brothers came out of Jharkhand with some turbulent Afghans and gained possession of the fort. Many of the garrison were slain, but 'Arab succeeded in escaping. The officers of the province gathered together and asked for assistance to put down the disturbance. The Afghans went off to the mountain-defiles and swaggered there. The officers went there and then displayed hesitation. They could neither determine to turn back nor to advance. One day about 300 Rajputs from among the servants of Rajah Bhagwant Dās, but without him, entered boldly into the defiles, but as they did not behave rationally they were defeated. Jīā Kor, Kān Kachwāha, Dīdā Cohān and about one hundred brave men gave their lives to be plundered (were killed). When this disastrous affair occurred the officers lost firmness. They were ashamed of their former behaviour and were compelled to send able envoys to ask help from Moẓaffar Khān. He quickly joined them. At this time when the vanguard of victory was rising from the orient of fortune, the officers of the army were slackening in their energy. It seems that the reason of this was a letter from the Khān-Khānān. Its purport was that Junaid was hastening to Behar from Jhārkhand, and that Tengrī Bardī had been appointed with a large force of courageous men. It was not advisable to give battle hastily before the succour arrived. The letter also referred to the catastrophes of the death of Muḥammad K. Gakhar and of Yār Muḥammad Qarāwal's having been plundered, of which events a brief account has already been given.

Muẓaffar Khān stood firm and replied that the rational course was to make this circumstance (the advance of Junaid) a motive for greater courage and alacrity in fighting, so that the audacious rebels might be disposed of before Junaid's arrival. It was not known if that villain would arrive for ten days yet, and there was hope that the rebels would be dispersed in the course of one day. By the daily-increasing good fortune (of Akbar) the spirit which
135 had left the leaders returned to them and they all made promises of acting in harmony, and prepared for battle. By celestial aid a

[1] J. II. 154. In Sarkār Bihar.

party of men who knew the country pointed out another road, and it was determined that the army should proceed straight against the enemy, but should do so with sufficient slowness to allow the other force to come behind the enemy by the path mentioned. All agreed to this course and the army was arranged as follows. Mozaffar Khān commanded the centre, Fatḥ Khān Maidānī commanded the right wing, Farḥat Khān commanded the left wing. In the vanguard were Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān, Qarāṭāq Khān, Ḥusain Khān, Ākhta, Āfāq, Bāqī Kūlābī, Sohrāb Turkamān, 'Arab Bahādur, Sher Muhammad Dīwāna, Kūcak Qandūzī and many other brave and strenuous men. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was appointed, along with some brave and experienced men, to go by the other path and take the enemy in the rear. The enemy were full of confidence owing to the strength of their position and their numbers, when suddenly the victorious army arrived in front and at the same time the force in the rear came up. Their firmness of foot gave way, and their courage hid under a veil. There was a grand victory, and a large amount of plunder. The officers took steps to pursue the enemy. The latter drew up their forces in the hilly country of Rāmpūr which belongs to Jhārkhand, and faced their pursuers. The best of the gang were Ādam Batanī the son of Fatḥ Khān, Daryā Khān Kākar, Jalāl Khān Sūr, Ḥusain Khān, Ghāzī Khān, Yūsuf Batanī, 'Umar Khān Kākar and Maḥmūd Kāsū. Mozaffar Khān made a skilful arrangement of his forces.

Verse.

The drums beat and the battalions deployed,
Swords flashed and dust raged,
The horsemen were intermingled in one place,
The infantry engaged in another.[1]
From the blood of the brave and the dust of the troops
The earth became a ruby, and the atmosphere black.

The combatants were hotly engaged when Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and a party of active men took the enemy in the rear as on the former occasion and did valiantly. Ḥusain Khān, Ghāzī Khān, Jalāl Khān Sūr, who were among the brave men of note,

[1] *Judā.* Lucknow edition has *hama.*

fell into the dust of destruction. When the hands of the enemy grew weary of the contest they took to flight, and by the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh a great victory showed her countenance. Thanksgivings were offered up, and from cautious motives the army did not judge it advisable to remain there, and victoriously returned. Every one then went to his own place and sought repose.

When Junaid, who meditated an attack upon Bihar, heard
136 of this dominion-increasing event he ceased to advance and sought for his opportunity. Many days had not elapsed when Junaid thought he had his opportunity and proceeded to stir up a commotion in Bihar. The officers of the province gathered together in Patna and considered how they should remedy matters. They wrote to Muẓaffar Khān and asked for his help. He in reliance on the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh proceeded towards them. As he had shown resolution, good service and loyalty, a sacred rescript reached him before his arrival, and it appeared from it that a silent tongue had enlightened H. M.'s heart about his excellent performances, and that the Sarkār of Hajīpūr, which had been assigned in fief to Muḥammad Qulī Khān[1] Birlās, had been conferred upon him. On receiving this good news, he became a flower-gatherer in the garden of devotion, and the shoot of his spirit came to maturity. His heart expanded and his intent spread her wings. With a wide capacity he joined the officers, and exerted himself to uproot the evil and seditious. He bridged the Pun-pun and crossed it.

At this time urgent messages arrived from the Khān-Khānān to the effect that they should not be hasty in engaging Junaid as he himself had decided to come there quickly. The officers gave up their intentions and chose delay. Though Muẓaffar Khān gave them salutary counsels it was of no effect. His heart was troubled by thus coming and then turning back, and his zeal was such that he was prepared to encounter Junaid alone, when there arose a great commotion at Ḥajīpūr. He was compelled to turn aside to that quarter. The brief account of this affair is that Tāj Khān Panwār, Fatḥ Khān Mūsāzai, Shahbāz Khān 'Arabī, Sulaimān Panwār, and Thān Rai came and put to death Mīr

[1] Who had lately died.

Maḥmūd Shaukatī, who was in Ḥajīpūr on behalf of Mozaffar Khān, and killed about a hundred more. Of necessity Mozaffar withdrew his hand from Junaid and went off to Ḥājīpūr along with Khudādād Barlās, 'Arab, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and a few other lovers of service. In spite of the large number of the enemy he, with the help of the fortune which is conjoined with eternity, addressed himself to battle. As it was difficult to cross over in front of the enemy he crossed the Ganges and came to the town of Siwāna. The river Gandak was running boisterously between him and Ḥājīpūr, and the Afghans were exultant on account of their numbers and the smallness of the imperial forces. As he had with him zeal which is the key of enterprise, and fortune and a right intention, he put into order the means of success. In the first place Udai Karn, the zamindar of Jītāran,[1] became one of the single-minded, and, at a time when there was a crowd of the vagabonds on the other side, while on this side the chosen combatants were on the eve of crossing, and apparently the 137
execution of the design was difficult, the said landholder became the guide of the march and said that it occurred to him that a number of his relations lived up the stream, and that this would be a means of conducting the affair to a successful issue. Also that there were strong boats to be had there. The proper course was for the victorious army to parade itself in front of the enemy and to raise a song of triumph, and that a party of alert and brave men should be nominated whom he would cross over the river during the night. When the latter had nearly arrived the army should cross over in front of the enemy, and while the contest was at its height the detachment should appear and throw the enemy into dismay. In accordance with this choice plan 300 warlike men under the command of Qāsim 'Alī Sīstānī and 'Arab Bahādur proceeded by the desert of auspiciousness. Swift-swimming couriers were appointed to convey one after the other the news of the crossing of the detachment and of its near approach. When the world became illuminated by the effulgence of the light of Akbar (*naiyir-i-akbar*) and by the great luminary (*naiyir-i-a'zam, i.e.*, the sun), and it was known that that band of heroes had crossed

[1] The variant Champaran is probably correct.

the river and were near at hand, Moẓaffar Khān filled the boats with brave and experienced men and sent them across in front of the enemy under the command of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and Khudādād Barlās. The slumbrous-fated Afghans plyed guns and bows and made a commotion. Just then the sound of the kettle-drums and big drums (kurāka)[1] of the detachment struck upon their ear. They were forced to take to flight. A large number of these were killed, and Ḥājīpūr was delivered. A large amount of booty fell into the hands of the soldiers. The rulers of Patna who from their evil nature had been spectators and not given assistance, felt ashamed. Had this gang regarded the world-adorning beauty of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, or possessed a share of practical wisdom, or picked up a crumb from the banquet of those who are faithful to their salt, they would not have gone counter to the business of their benefactor, nor have been involved in so much shame!

One of the instructive events is as follows. When by the might of eternal fortune Ḥājīpūr had been conquered, and the dignity of Moẓaffar Khān had been exalted, it was reported by trustworthy scouts that Fatḥ Khān Mūsāzai, Jalāl Khān 'Arabī, Selīm Khān Barmīh, Satrī and Catrī and many presumptuous Afghans were assembled on the other side of the Madahā[2] Gandak. Moẓaffar Khān set out to quell them. When he had encamped near the river he went off with a few of his staff to examine the river and to find a place for crossing. Though the breadth of the channel is less than the cast of a dart,[3] it is very deep. While he was looking for a ford, about 200 horse were seen on the other side, and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, 'Arab Bahādur and a body of brave men were ordered to cross at a distance and to
138 chastise that insolent and negligent troop. They went off, and the enemy becoming aware of this sent off for assistance. When the detachment showed itself the horse turned their reins and retreated to their camp. Moẓaffar Khān swiftly crossed the river

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[1] *Kurka*, P. de Courteille "espece de timbale."

[2] The Lucknow edition has Badh Gandak, and so have the Iqbālnāma and the I. O. MSS. There is also the Little Gandak which is called Marha Gandak. See Beames' map, A. S. B. for 1885, p. 182.

[3] Gazandāz. *Ayaz* is a dart or arrow.

and joined his detachment. His sole thought was that he would not be under obligations to those who made a traffic of their service. Just then, the enemy who were retreating were reinforced and came forward to do battle. From the numbers of the enemy and the paucity of the imperial troops, and from ill-fate and the cowardice of the soldiers, the troops dispersed. Many of them in their confusion fell into the water and were drowned. Mozaffar Khān was nearly throwing himself into the waves. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn seized his rein and went off towards the hill-country,[1] and he sent a swift messenger to the camp, thinking that perhaps the strenuous heroes might come up. The enemy set themselves to pursue, and made a tumult. Ḥājī Pahlwān, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, 'Arab and some more companions—about fifty in number—continually turned round and used their bows. In this way they made the enemy slacken in their pursuit. When day was far advanced (*lit.* put her head in her skirt) and Mozaffar Khān's position became more critical, the fortune of the Shāhinshāh shone forth, and victory showed itself.

The detail of this Divine aid is as follows. There was a noise in the camp that Mozaffar Khān was killed, and every one was about to fly into the country, when the messenger arrived. They plucked up courage and set about remedying the state of things. Khudādād Barlās, Mihr 'Alī and many other brave lovers of battle to the number of about 300 crossed the river and went forward. The same messenger conveyed the news of their approach. They[2] scented the breeze of success, tightened their rein, and raised the dust of battle.

Verse.

Such fight and struggle were waged till night,
There was no hand which did not inflict a wound.
You'd say all the Age had come out (to fight),
That hill and plain had commingled.

At this time of life-shedding when the enemy in spite of victory were becoming feeble on account of the heat of their cuirasses and their great exertions, there was heard the noise of the

[1] *Kohistān.* Perhaps here the word means forest.

[2] Mozaffar and his few companions.

drums of the victorious army, and this at once robbed them of their courage. They fled together with their evil fortune that night, and by the celestial assistance the breeze of victory blew on the rose-garden of the imperial servants' hopes. Such a victory showed itself after such a defeat! Joy after pain painted the eyes with collyrium. There was fresh life and salvation and abundant booty, and great rejoicing.

One of the instructive occurrences was that Shaikh Jamāl of Parsarūr[1] was one of those who warred against the carnal soul.
139 While the contest was going on he fell on the ground and became insensible. When he fell in with Mozaffar Khān he performed the prostration towards the Shāhinshāh, and guided men to the recognition of this teacher of horizons. When they inquired what had happened, he explained that when he was in a trance he had a vision of the world's lord (Akbar) being mounted on the steed of fortune and equipped for battle, and bringing the good news of victory. The courage of the enemy had been scattered by the majesty of that cavalier of the field of glory. "With the hand of kindness he raised me from the dust of unconsciousness, and encouraged me, and I came to myself. I became possessed of great power and I flew with the wings of (mystic) assistance and bought as a gift the news of fortune. He turned their rein and made them seized of victory." When had those hirelings[2] of defeat the heart or the ear to listen to this celestial intimation? They regarded this demonstration of truth as a fabrication, or an imagination, and considered that it was impossible for them to escape from their terrible position. What question then could there be of victory? Suddenly the victorious army arrived and gave news of fresh life to the despairing, and the delight of new honour to those who had given way. By the shining of the Divine aid a lamp of vision was kindled for the superficial. Those who by good fortune and farsightedness were, without having seen miracles, acquainted with the majestic qualities of the adorner of truth's assemblage (Akbar), and were worshippers of the wonders of power, returned

[1] J. II. 320. It is in Siālkot in the Panjab and is the Pasrūr of the I. G. Mozaffar was once collector of this pargana.

[2] *Rasmīān-i-hazīmatī*. Rasmī, a pensioner or domestic, perhaps "those accustomed to defeat."

thanksgiving to the Creator on beholding these lights of direction. The faction who were wrapped in the veil of self-conceit and were sitting in darkness on the hill of presumption had a window of illumination opened for them. Next day they went to the Afghans' village and plundered it. They got immense booty, and the tumult of the wicked was at once quelled.

Among the occurrences was that the Afghans aforesaid took refuge with Tāj Khān Panwār and recruited themselves. By his evil-planning the dust of sedition rose again, and abundance of wealth, want of wisdom, and a plethora of scoundrels led to a seeking for battle. Moẓaffar Khān exercised caution and recrossed the Madaha-Gandak. He established himself in a place surrounded on three sides by that river, and on the fourth by a large tank. He engaged in collecting soldiers and munitions of war. The presumptuous gang waxed bolder from this retreat. They pitched their camp (*dāīra*) in front of the imperial camp, but owing to the ruggedness of the ground nothing resulted except impotent longing, and the more they tried, the deeper did the thorn of disappointment pierce the foot of their desire. When for some days the fortune of the Shāhinshāh had sported in this manner, it again put on beauty. Soldiers assembled and many of the landholders set their hearts on rendering assistance. The construction of a bridge was rightly considered to be a means of victory, and so was put in hand. Inasmuch as prudence is the ornament of good fortune it was considered that perhaps something bad might happen when the troops were crossing the river and were not in battle-array. So it was thought that during the night some active men should dig a trench in front of the bridge, and make a bulwark with 140
the excavated earth so that the soldiers might have time to deploy. No one was inclined heartily to engage in this enterprise. When Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī perceived that the Turks were irresolute, and that the commander of the army was at a loss, he in his courage and efficiency took the task upon himself. He carried it through in a short time. The Afghans from feline craftiness left their camp empty and retired to a corner[1] with the idea that when the imperial army

[1] گرنج gurinj, a wrinkle, a corner. There is the variant برغنجه and the Lucknow ed. has in margin برغ barag̱h weir. Gurinj seems right, the

crossed they would think that the enemy had run away and so proceed to plunder the camp. Perhaps at this time of negligence they would be able to prevail. Mozaffar Khān practised caution and appointed a large number of soldiers and camp-followers (*urdu-bāzāri rā*, men of the camp-bazar) to provide for safety under the circumstances which the black-hearted wretches had arranged for. The Afghans became aware of what he had done and did not put their stratagem into execution. When a large force (of Afghans) attacked those who had crossed, the infantry lost heart and fled. Their cowardice weakened the spirit of the cavalry and they too broke. The rush of the flyers broke the bridge, and they fell into the river. About 300 horse and foot were drowned. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Khudādād Barlās and other brave men who were ambitious of honour shot arrows and twice turned back the enemy. The third time, when the zealous had come to be perturbed, an arrow struck the horse of Ḥusain Khān, the leader of the enemy, and he fell to the ground. His men became confused, and no harm came to the tiger-hearted defenders. After much exertion the bridge was repaired, and the imperial servants crossed the river in a majestic manner. The Afghans gave way and retired to Tāj Khān's strong position. Mozaffar Khān pursued them, and when the victorious army had nearly arrived, scouts reported that many of the Afghan officers were superintending in the neighbourhood the construction of a moat and did not imagine that the imperial army could march such a distance so quickly. Mozaffar Khān left Khudādād Barlās and some other strenuous men to protect the camp, and set about capturing those wicked and presumptuous men. Suddenly he fell upon them, and after a brief engagement the breeze of Divine aid arose. The enemy thought it best to fly and many of them were sent to annihilation. Ḥājī Khān Pahlwān cut off the head of Tāj Khān Panwār without knowing who he was, and brought it in. Jamāl Khān
141 Ghilzī, who was one of their noted men, was brought in alive and many were made prisoners[1] of the sword and caught in the noose. A great boon of fortune was vouchsafed. The darkness of night and the density of the forest prevented the commanders from laying

fact being that the Afghans hid themselves in an ambuscade.

[1] Perhaps this means that some were beheaded and some hanged.

hands on the abodes of the enemy. But many brave men reached the spot and obtained much booty. Next morning the army proceeded against the Afghan camp, and before it arrived the enemy fled in confusion and threw themselves into the river. What they thought to be their safety was the cause of their destruction. A number escaped with a hundred pangs from the whirlpool to the shore of safety, and the foundation of the scoundrels was devastated.

One of the occurrences was that when this disturbance was quelled, Satrī and Catrī joined with some of the Afghans and took possession of the country of Tegra.[1] That is a cultivated district thirty *kos* long and twenty *kos* broad, which lies opposite Monghyr from which it is separated by the Ganges. On Moẓaffar Khān's hearing of this commotion he took with him Wazīr Jamīl, Khudā dād Barlās, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, M. Jalālu-d-dīn, Bunyād Beg Khan, Tengri Qulī and many other combative lovers of service and went off to extirpate this gang. When he arrived there, the audacious ones prepared for battle. A great fight took place, and Fatḥ Khān, who was the head of those men, fell bravely together with 79 leading men, and that territory also came into possession.

When the flag of Moẓaffar Khān's fortune was waving high from his devotion and exertions, Mun'im Khān did not desire that he should remain in the province. He sent an urgent message to him to the effect that he should immediately proceed towards the threshold of the Cāliphate. This order for leaving that fertile country came to him at a time when the period of labour and unsuccess had been put an end to and that of enjoyment had arrived.

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[1] I am indebted to the Collector of Monghyr, Mr. Adam, for the identification of this name. The text has Magra مگرا, but there is the variant Tegra تگرا and this occurs also in one I. O. MS. I. O. MS. 235 has ٹگرا without any dots. It is clear then, I think, that the place meant is thāna Tegra on the N. bank of the Ganges and on the N.-W. bank of the Ganges and in the N.-W. part of the Begum Serai Sub-division. In the Āin it is entered as in Sarkār Ḥājīpūr, and under the form of Patkehra, J. II. 155. But there is the variant Tekhra or Tegra, and Mr. Beames has identified Patkehra as "the old pargana of Tegharā lying along the left bank of the Ganges," and which he states is now known as Mulkī, though the town of Tegharā still retains its old name. Tegra is west of Monghyr town, and nearly opposite Sūrajgarh.

He was embarassed by this letter, for the sacred order was that whenever the Khān-Khānān gave him leave he was to hasten to the imperial court. While he was in this state of inward disturbance, a gracious order arrived to the effect that the sole intention of H.M.'s apparent neglect was to guide him aright. Let him not be troubled in his mind, and let him feel that he was regarded with real favour and be zealous in the performance of his services in that country. If the Khan-Khānān gave him leave he should not come to court till he received an order summoning him. On receipt of this revelation Mozaffar Khān's devotion rose high and a spiritual window was opened for the superficial. After rendering of thanks publicly and privately, he came to Ḥājīpūr and spread the carpet of enjoyment. The pleasant paths of joy were trod anew. As the jewel of his fidelity sparkled, and as he came from the arid desert of misunderstanding to the garden of appreciation, in a short time the day of his fortune appeared. He became ardent in
142 good service. The farsighted Khedive recognised his services, and his confidence in him increased. He made over to him the guarding of that wide province from the ferry of Causa to Garhī. An order was issued that the soldiers of that province, great and small, should act according to his advice. He from his devotion and wisdom observed the canons of sovereignty and the laws of the Caliphate, and became an adorner of justice.

One of the occurrences was H.M.'s showing graciousness to the officers of Gujrat. The praiseworthy nature of the prince of horizons has flashes which assist those who are distant members of the court of realm and religion. He also exalts those who strive for sincerity to higher degrees of trust. He continually by the elixir of his glance of favour extracts the gold from the earth, and the pearl from the mud, and regards the commingling of spiritual and material feasts as his duty. Especially does he do so to those whose proper actions are a mirror of their heart's mysteries. In a short space of time the faces of those who sit secluded are unveiled and clothed with beauty. His increasing the dignity of the officers of Gujrat was a new instance of this.

When in the first expedition the standards of fortune had cast the shade of justice over that country, this set of men had by the

guidance of their good fortune rubbed the foreheads of supplication. But from the downfall of fortune and innate wickedness, as they had not loyalty in the core of their hearts, and their interior and exterior were not knit together and mutually supporting, many of them from short-sightedness ran away, and others were on the point of doing so. The Khedive of the Universe from his abundant graciousness, and his gift of appreciation, made allowance for the common nature of humanity, and for the special circumstance of the education of those darkened intellects, and for some time withheld them from employment. In this august year he perceived in them signs of repentance and cast a special glance upon them. He distinguished 'Itimād Khān, who was conspicuous for prudence and gravity, by special favours and committed to him the charge of the Darbār [1] (*darbār-i-mu‡ikoī*) in order that he might minutely supervise that great place which is an ensample of heavenly things. Especially he had the charge of the jewels and decorated utensils. Ulugh [2] Khān Ḥabshī was caressed and exalted by a suitable fief, and Malik [3] Ashraf was appointed to the governorship of the city of Thānesar, and Wajīh-al-mulk was sent to superintend certain crown-estates in Gujrat.

One of the occurrences was that Ṣādiq Khān came and did homage at court. The Shāhinshāh's kindness accepted his excuses and encompassed him with favours. In the expedition to the eastern provinces he had been punished for bad service and sent into the desert of exile so that he might learn wisdom by punish- 143
ment, and know that in the service of kings no distinction should be made between little and great employments, and that obedience must be paid with one's whole heart and energy. Although the sacred order ostensibly was that he should travel about in the desert of search and seek for a choice elephant, and that if he could not find one which could equal that incomparable one, he should

[1] The epithet *ma‡ikoī* might seem to imply that 'Itimād was put in charge of the female apartments, but this 'Itimād was not 'Itimād the eunuch, and the context as well as the Iqbālnāma show that what 'Itimād was put in charge of was the receptions and the jewels, etc. See also B. 386 and the Maasir I. 97.

[2] B. 497.

[3] Ashraf in text, but the name has occurred before, and is Ashraq, and the variants show this.

pay the penalty,[1] yet in reality he dismissed him to the school for learning devotion and knowledge of service, so that the pride of skill might depart from him, and that he might always choose supplication. He in that time measured the heights and depths of fortune and then turned the face of discipleship to the holy court. By the prostration of repentance the rust was cleared from the jewel of his sincerity and he produced one hundred elephants as a fine. As he clearly had marks of truthfulness he was received with forgiveness and favour. Who strove and did not obtain! Who made his heart clean, and did not get his heart's desire! He hath opened the door of bounty and given an invitation to all! One of the occurrences was that Ḥusain Khān showed ingratitude and received the recompense thereof. To whomsoever comes a day of destruction and a time of affliction, there comes first a darkening of the reason. His thoughts go to ruin and he thinks his loss his gain, and remains afar off from good actions, and turns aside from the highway of auspiciousness!

Verse:

When a man's fortune is bad
Nothing that he does succeeds.

A fresh proof of this is afforded by the commotion of this simpleton. He was formerly with Bairām K. After that when he became a servant of the court, because the ocean of graciousness was commoved and the market of appreciation was brisk, his rashness was purchased at the rate of courage, and his election of service was taken to be sincerity, and he was encompassed by favours. And though he did not know how to keep numbers[2] in order (had not administrative skill), still, in the hope that he would learn (or perhaps be grateful), he was given the lofty position of an Amir. At the time when the august standards were about to proceed to the eastern provinces, his evil fate withheld him from that service, and when he brought an abashed countenance to

[1] Jarimāna "Fine." See B. 131.

[2] Intiẓām-i-kaṣrat namī dānist. "Did not know how to arrange multiplicities." Probably the meaning is that he was an ascetic or recluse and not fit for social functions. This Ḥusain K. is Badaẏūnī's friend the Tukriya (Patcher).

court, the Khedive of the world, in punishment for his offence, refused him the bliss of paying his respects. This was a time when he should have increased the zeal of his service, but from excessive atrabiliousness and inverted fortune, he broke the thread of consideration, and from abundant wilfulness he let the things of the world and the materials of fortune go to wreck and ruin, and took the path of solitude (tajarrad). The wise prince on beholding such lack of wisdom had compassion on his condition and bestowed favours on him, and released his *Jāgīr*, and sent him to arrange about "the branding." When he got further away from the carpet of intimacy he in the darkness of his understanding set about attacking and plundering the country. From madness or from craft he would say that all his activity in this respect was in order to carry out the business of the branding! Plundering as he went, he hastened to Basantpūr, which belongs to Sarkār Kumāon, 144
as the rumour of mines and of abundance in that country had raised a tumult in his mind. Inasmuch as the stewards of creation have so ordained that the evil-doers and evil-devisers against the Calphate should be strenuously active in procuring their own punishment so that they may get their retribution by their own instrumentality, this infatuated man hurried on his own ruin. He lost the thread of plan and made war in that country without system and was defeated. He was wounded by arrow and bullet, and had met with his retribution before the circumstances of his position were made known to the royal hearing. When the news of his commotion arrived, Ṣādiq Khān together with some of the Saiyids of Bārha and Amroha and others were sent to him. Though owing to his severe wound he was somewhat cured of his infatuation and vain thoughts, he became still wiser on hearing of the victorious force (of Akbar). The wicked vagabonds fled away from him, and by the exertions of his well-wishers he saw fit to get into a boat and be conveyed to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān. Perhaps by the intervention of the Commander-in-Chief his offences would be clothed with the scarf of pardon! He got into a boat in the confines of Garh[1] muktesar and went on quickly. Alert

[1] Gadha muknessar in text. It is an ancient town in the Meerut district and is situated on the Ganges, S. I. G. XII. 162.

men arrested him in the neighbourhood of the town of Mārhara,[1] and under orders from H.M. brought him to Agra, and left him in his quarters[2] there and then hastened to court. In a short time he from his mortal wound put his face under the veil of concealment (i.e., died). Apparently the Shāhinshāh was aware of his condition and out of respect did not wish him to be ashamed on his last journey.[3]

One of the occurrences was that Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ, Ḥakīm Hamām and Ḥakīm Nūru-d dīn[4] the sons of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzāq Gīlanī, who was eminently skilled in the arts of observation (*nazr*) and of drawing horoscopes, came to court in the middle of Amardād, Divine month, and were exalted by daily-increasing favours. When Gīlān came into the possession[5] of the rulers of Irān and Khān Aḥmad the ruler thereof fell into prison from not understanding matters, Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzāq[6] owing to his right thinking and true religion died under the pain of confinement, and these young men took refuge at this court. Their wisdom and felicity increased under the patronage of H.M. Though all three brothers were the distinguished of the age for the customary excellencies, yet Ḥakīm 'Abu-l-fatḥ was specially remarkable for his tact, his knowledge of the world, and for his power to read the lines of the forehead and many other liberal qualities.

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[1] In the Etah district, N. W. P., I. G. XVII. 204, where it is called Mārahra.

[2] i.e., in Ṣādiq K's house. See Badayūnī, Lowe, 224.

[3] See my wife's article in Calcutta Review for January 1894. According to A. F., Ḥusain K. was on his way to Mun'im K. (in Bengal) when he was arrested, but according to Badayūnī he was going to his home in Patiālī which is in the Etah district and not very far from Mārhara. Both statements may be correct. The meaning seems to be that Akbar, who was then at Fatḥpūr Sikrī, did not insist on Ḥusain's being brought there, but allowed him to stay at Agra.

[4] He was a poet and wrote under the name of Qarārī. He was killed in the Bengal mutiny about the same time as Mozaffar.

[5] This was in 974 (1567).

[6] B. 424.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Visit to the Ḥijāz by some of the Veiled Ladies of the Caliphate. 145

That veil of chastity, etc., Gulbadan Begam the paternal aunt of H.M. the Shāhinshāh had long ago made a vow to visit the holy places, but on account of the insecurity of the ways, and of the affairs of the world, she had not been able to accomplish her intention. At this time when the delightsome country of India was an abode of peace, and the vagabonds' abode of Gujrat had become inhabited by right-thinking lovers of justice, and the masters[1] of the European islands, who were a stumbling-block in the way of travellers to the Ḥijāz, had become submissive and obedient, and the renown of the justice and piety of the world's lord had spread from Qāf to Qāf, and the classes of mankind had, owing to H.M.'s constant care and dispensing of justice, come into the reposeful home of peace, the luminary of longing arose in the orient of the heart of that shining chaste one and broke the repose of her noble mind. As the rays of truth impinged upon the antechamber of the celestial soul (of Akbar), he, in spite of his close union with her, did not prefer his wishes to hers. Moreover all his desire is that every class of mankind may become religious and worship God in accordance with the measure of their faith. He sent with her a large amount of money and goods and gave her permission to depart. In connection with this opportunity a number of inmates of the harem of fortune were also excited by the same longing, and the sovereign poured into the lap of each the money that they wanted and so made the burden of their desires light. The names of the chaste ones who went in attendance upon that unique one of the field of spirituality are as follows: 1st—The veiled one of the curtains of fortune, Selīma Sulṭān Begam; 2nd—and 3rd—Ḥājī Begam and Gul'azār Begam[2] the daughters of M.

[1] *Amīrān-i-jazāīr-i-firang. Jazāīr* perhaps here means peninsulas or countries.

[2] Kāmrān had three daughters, and Ferishta after mentioning Kāmrān's death tells us whom they married.

Kāmrān; 4th—Sulṭān Begam the wife of M. 'Askarī; 5th—Ūmm Kulṣūm Khānam the grand-daughter of H. H. Gulbadan Begam; 6th—Gulnār Āghā, who was one of the wives of H.M. Firdūs Makānī (Bābar); 7th, 8th and 9th—Bībī Ṣafīya, and Bībī Sarw Sahī, and Shāham Āghā, who were among the servants of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī; 10th—Salīma Khānam, daughter of Khizr Khwāja Khān. In the end of Mihr, Divine month, 8 or 9 October 1575, this auspicious party fastened the litters on the camels of joy, and a great number of men who had received food and travelling expenses followed in their wake. Out of respect to the head of the travellers (*i.e.*, Gulbadan B.), that nosegay of fortune Prince Sulṭān Murād was directed to attend upon her up to the shore of the southern ocean. The first day they halted at Dābar,[1] and at that place the pearl of the diadem of sovereignty and the heir-apparent of the Caliphate Prince Sulṭān Selim arrived
146 with many nobles and paid his respects. Inasmuch as the far-seeing heart of the leader of the caravan (*i.e.*, Gulbadan B.) considered that harm might possibly happen to the new fruit of the Caliphate (Prince Murād) on such a long journey, on account of his tender age she expressed a wish that he might be kept back. Her suggestion was approved, and by H.M.'s orders Bāqī Khān, Rūmī Khān,[2] 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Beg[3] and some other vigilant servants of the court were sent along with her, and an order was given that the great Amirs, the officers of every territory, the guardians of the passes, the watchmen of the borders, the river-police, and the harbour-masters should perform good service for the travellers.[4]

One was Gulrukh; she married Ibrāhīm H.M. and was alive in 1614. Another married M. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, who was a brother's son of Ḥaidar M.; and the third married Shāh Fakhīru-d-dīn of Mashhad.

[1] Apparently should be Dāīr, four *kos* from Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. See Badayūnī, Lowe, 174.

[2] Rūmi K. Ustād Jalabī, B. 441. Perhaps the word is Ḥalabī, *i.e.*, of Aleppo. Or he may be the Jalā of A. N. III. 390, who is called Jalābī in the Iqbālnāma. Jalābī might mean horse-dealer, and A. F. tells us that this was Jalā's original occupation. He may have gone with Gulbadan B. as an interpreter.

[3] Perhaps the nephew of Ḥaidar M. who married one of Kāmrān's daughters.

[4] See my wife's "History of

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Ḥājī Ḥabību-llah Kāshī[1] (*i.e.*, of Kashan in Persia) to Goa. At the time when the country of Gujrat became included among the imperial dominions, and when many of the ports of the country came into possession, and the governors of the European ports became submissive (*lit.*, shakers of the chain of supplication), many of the curiosities and rarities of the skilled craftsmen of that country became known to H.M. Accordingly the Ḥāji, who for his skill, right thinking and powers of observation was one of the good servants of the court, was appointed to take with him a large sum of money, and the choice articles of India to Goa, and to bring for H.M.'s delectation the wonderful things of that country. There were sent along with him many clever craftsmen, who to ability and skill added industry, in order that just as the wonderful productions of that country (Goa and Europe) were being brought away, so also might rare crafts be imported (into Akbar's dominions).

One of the occurrences was the establishment of seven watches[2] (*caukīs*). Though the servants of the threshold of fortune were always on guard, and were continually rendering service, and were always awaiting the sacred command and regarded their constant attendance as Divine worship, yet there was no fixed system Those who bound the girdle of devotion on the waist of their hearts and were pure from any thought of profit or loss, and also that body of energetic men of a mercantile disposition who knew their profit to consist in the traffic of service, paid no attention to times and seasons, but regarded all of them as opportunities of attaining their object. They sought to be continually in the

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Humāyūn." O. T. F. 1902 for an account of Gulbadan B. Three of the ladies who accompanied her were her nieces, Salīma being her sister's child (and Akbar's wife) and Ḥājī B. and Gul'azār being daughters of her half-brother Kāmrān. Bāqī Khān was apparently the elder brother of Adham Khān. The 10th lady Salīma Khānān was apparently Gulbadan Begam's step-daughter. The fact of her being styled Khānām seems to show that her father was the Khizr Khwāja who was said to be a descendant of the kings of Kashghar or of Moghalistan.

[1] One of the things he brought back was an organ. See Badāyūnī, Lowe, 299, and also *infra* 228 of text.

[2] See Ain 8, p. 257 of B., where details are given about the distribution of the watches. See also B. 48, end of Ain 17.

Presence. But those who did not belong to these two classes did not render hearty service, but from folly and conceit, and lethargy, thought that loss was gain and indulged in vain thoughts. They took the path of sloth and accumulated eternal chastisement. At this time, which was the smiling commencement of the springtide of dominion, the institution of the seven watches shed a ray on the antechamber of the holy soul. All the servants who held office in the court were distributed into seven divisions, each of which was on guard for twenty-four hours. One of the grandees was appointed to command each division so that he might superintend everything during that period, and arrange the diversity of affairs. Also an accomplished courtier was made Mīr 'Arẓī (master of petitions) so that he might during the time of his watch represent
147 the petitions and request of mankind without reference to his own ease, and also the public be freed from the pain of waiting and from various troubles. By this act of graciousness the classes of mankind attained their objects, and the wishes of the people which might have remained unspoken owing to the greatness of the Sultanate were brought before H.M. The rank of the loyal was exalted, the market of the talented became brisk, and there was a day of testing for the servants. The slothful were guided to the domain of activity, and the ignorant and the speakers out of season emerged from their folly. Fresh lustre was given to the court, and things were knit together.

One of the occurrences was the decline[1] of the fortunate star of Mirzā Koka. Inasmuch as the royal graciousness had raised him from nothingness to the zenith of dignity, and had made him during long service a partaker in the secrets of the holy banquet, he was summoned from Gujrāt, post haste,[2] in order that the business of the branding might be begun with the leaders. Another reason for summoning him was that M. Sulaimān was preparing to come to court, and it was desired that M. Koka should be present at the

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[1] B. 326, top lines; *cf.* Elliot V. 393.

Bādayūnī says he was punished for speaking the truth about the branding, the *Krors*, etc.

[2] The text has *bā aspān* with horses, but the variant *ba aspbām* is probably correct, for Bādāyūnī II. 214 has *bā ilghār*.

entertainment. He arrived on the day of Ashtād 26 Mihr, Divine month, and was received with boundless favours. As the ebullition of the favour of kings does not agree with every disposition, he from the wine of success, from his distance from the carpet of honour, and the crowd of flatterers, let his foot slip in the path of prudence. In the first place he used language about the affair of the branding—which is the disciplinary ornament of mankind, and the mode of guidance to the right path—which men of ordinary prudence would not use, and was still less becoming in pure loyalists. As the gracious sovereign had educated him like his obedient children he made as if he did not hear what he had said. When good counsel was of no avail, H.M., fearing in his love that he might fall into irreparable mischief, and might also lead others astray, joined the laws of supremacy with kindness and for a time degraded him from the position of an Amīr. From extreme caution he excluded him from his society and assigned him a place in his own [1] garden (*i.e.*, M. Koka's) where he might abide in comfort with all his property, take a warning, and appreciate H.M.'s kindness and teaching.

One of the occurrences was that some persons from lack of understanding, and imitativeness, became senseless from wine drinking. The royal clemency cured them. When the institution of the branding became current the petty shop of fraud lost its custom. The opportunity of service fell into the hands of the energetic whilst the slothful were depressed. Those who had a warlike spirit and who from being honourable and fond of reputation looked after their servants had an opportunity of showing their talents. From keen-sightedness they performed the branding and so heightened their own fortune. The worthless who were slaves to self and collected gold instead of troops fell into evil **148** case. Among them, Shujāāt Khān, M. 'Abdu-l-lah, Mīr M'uizzu-l-Mulk, Qāsim Khān Kohbar, Dost Muḥammad Bābā Dost, Muḥammad Amīn the accountant (*ṣāḥib tauji*), were excluded from the Presence and sent to Bengal to Mun'im Khān Khānān in order that they might get fiefs there suitable to their condition. For the sublime nature deals thus with criminals, and clothes with the scarf of

[1] He was sent from Fatḥpūr to Agra and there kept under surveillance in his own garden.

beneficence the torn honour of such people. Though superficialists thought this to be favour and a mark [1] of grace, yet those who had inward vision knew this to be great disfavour and a heavy punishment inflicted by displeasure. For the pure-hearted and devoted know no more excruciating torment than that of being excluded from the visible Presence, when this is the result of wrath. Though the far-seeing ones of the spiritual world regarded this treatment of a faction who had not reached the high rank of pure devotion as a kind of graciousness, yet in the eyes of the masters of investigation, who are the special of the special in the symposium of wisdom, it is certain that to leave a mistaken crew to their own devices and to treat them as cured and so not administer medicine to them, but to abandon them to their own ideas, is one of the greatest methods of displeasure.

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[1] Perhaps this is allegorical. The wine was the wine of infatuation. The word *canīn* (this kind of) seems to refer to M. Koka's obstinacy.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

M. Sulaimān's proceeding towards the Shāhinshāh's Court.

(This chapter begins with some reflections upon the final prosperity of the good, and the final ruin of the wicked which marked Akbar's reign. The author then proceeds to state that the adventures of M. Sulaimān are an instance of these things. It is noteworthy that these reflections do not occur in the Lucknow edition. They occupy over eleven lines).

From the time that H.M. Firdūs Makānī conferred upon M. Sulaimān the government of Badakhshān, he used to be obedient and did good service, but inasmuch as outward prosperity, evil company and the friendship of flat erers lower the lamp of wisdom 149
and dim the eye of counsel, wholesome truth-speakers had no honour in his presence, and empty, evil-disposed encomiasts were in great request. He did not understand his own good, nor did he allow another to show it to him. If any one from intensity of goodwill became his own enemy and uttered words of truth, he was obliged, on account of the prince's unwillingness to listen, to place his head in the collar of grief. Accordingly as the Mirzā found the defiles of the hill-country of Badakhshān too straitened for his desires, he dropped from his hand the thread of obedience. From darkness of intellect and perversity of fortune he in the beginning of this reign raised the head of presumption, and gave himself the name of majesty (called himself king?) and formed the design of taking Kabul, as has already been briefly narrated. Though the Khedive of the universe, owing to his being behind the veil, paid no attention to this, and the imperial servants, on account of the multiplicity of the affairs of the extensive country of India, did not regard it, yet the stewards of fate were there and, according to the measure of his deeds, gave him to drink of the wine of misfortune. In order to complete retribution, and to illustrate the sublime graciousness of the Shāhinshāh, they caused him to visit as a pilgrim and a supplicant the gate of princes. Inasmuch as I desire to water the garden of speech, I proceed to give some account of these calamities according as one after the other emerged

from the privy-chamber of destiny. The first was the arrival of the Khānim.[1] The dust of contention between her and Ḥaram Begam rose high, and the seed of savagery was sown in the land. Ḥaram Begam was the daughter of Sulṭan Wais of Kūlāb of the Qibcāq tribe and who rose[2] high by the patronage of Sulṭān Maḥmūd M. When they married her to M. Sulaimān she showed dexterity and skill in the administration of the country, and the management of the army, and her influence came to such a height that the Mirzā made over to her even the infliction of punishments (sīāsathā), from the obligation of which he could not free himself.[3] Khānim Muḥtarima had the name of Khānim and was the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sultan Kāshgharī. She was married to M. Kāmrān, and from Kabul was proceeding to Kāshghar. On the way she passed through Badakhshān. M. Sulaimān's passions became roused and he sought her in marriage. Ḥaram Begam became jealous of her, and anticipated matters by giving her in marriage to her own son M. Ibrāhīm. From this time evil thoughts took possession of them (both). A brief account of these will be given. Another thing which disorganized Badakhshān was that this faction (the Khānim's) stained the skirt of Ḥaram Begam's chastity by insinuations about her and Ḥaidar 'Alī Beg who was her beloved brother. The Begam's great attention and kindness to him emboldened them to make such frivolous remarks. M. Ibrāhīm from the intoxication of youth put that innocent man (Ḥaidar) to death merely on account of those scandal-mongers, and became subjected to eternal contri-
150 tion. Another cause of injury to the Badakhshīs was the Begam's predominance. She acted without consideration or appreciativeness, and quitting altogether the path of policy—which is the foundation of social matters—paid no attention in her punishments to time and place, or to propriety. When the dust of the

[1] The Khānim was the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad by Khadīja Sulṭān Khānim the fourth daughter of Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān, Bābar's uncle (Mrs. Beveridge's History of Humāyūn, p. 247, and T. R., Ross, 330). Her father was killed (T. R., Ross, p. 452) and her mother had to leave Kāshghar. She died on the way to Badakhshān, and her children went on to Kabul where by Ḥaidar's influence Muḥtarima was married to Kāmrān. (T. R., 451.)

[2] I think this clause refers to the father and not the daughter.

[3] Apparently the meaning is that he could not or should not have delegated such duty.

fabricators of lies had been laid, the Begam mingled revenge with stratagem and exerted herself to destroy the officers of the kingdom who had spread the calumnious reports. Among the things which caused loss to the inhabitants of the country was the fatal calamity of M. Ibrāhīm, of which a short account has already been given. When she heard of this heart-breaking sorrow the Begam became indignant with all the Badakhshians who were in the expedition. She abused the Khānim, and treated her advent as a bad omen, and often said to her in private and public conversations, "You were a traveller, I picked you up, intending to do you good, and I cherished you. I did not know your qualities." Such was the language she used, and which only the foolish indulge in. Her sole idea was that the Khānim would be disgusted by such treatment and would go to Kāshghar, and that she herself would bring up Shāhrukh. The Khānim from apprehensions of being separated from Shāhrukh cast aside all other considerations and treated those cutting reproaches as if she heard them not. But she always indulged in the luxury of the thoughts of revenge. Another thing which increased the internal dissensions (*nifāq*) of the people of Badakhshān was the arrival of Cūcak Khānim the wife of 'Abdu r-Rashīd Khān of Kāshghar with her two sons Ṣūfī Sulṭān[1] and Abū S'aīd Sulṭān for the purpose of mourning for M. Ibrāhīm. After her condolences and sympathy were offered, Ḥaram Begam's mourning was taken off, but when the ceremony was over she from excessive grief resumed it. Cūcak Khānim was displeased at this, and set herself to blaming her, and being nearly related to the Khānim she espoused her cause. She often said that Ḥaram Begam should not abandon ancestral customs (tora[2]), and should not abate one tittle of the respect due to the Khānim, and should take a lower seat in assemblies.

[1] This chapter adds something to the information given in T. R., Ross and Elias, p. 120. Ṣūfī Sulṭān's proper name according to Mr. Elias was Adham Sultan, and he was the fifth son of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd. Cūcak must have come to Badakhshān during her husband's life if she came to condole with M. Sulaimān and Ḥaram for their son's death, for he was killed in 967 and according to Mr. Elias 'Abdu-r-Rashīd did not die till 973. The name of Abu S'aīd as a son is not mentioned by Mr. Elias, but Raḥīm is.

[2] Pustī-batalabad. The I. O. MSS. have peshī naṭalabad, "should not demand the chief place."

Another thing which rekindled the fire of dissension among the Badakhshians was that Mīr Niẓāmī[1] Atālīq of M. Shāhrukh, and a large number of the nobles of Badakhshān, and Shaikh Bābāī Wālī—who craftily made the garb of a dervish the tongue of his mendacity—raised up Ṣūfī Sulṭān the son of Cūcak B. the wife of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Khān of Kāshghar, and in the abode of trickery of the said dervish, which they called a hospice (*khānqāh*), took an oath together that they would erase the entry of Ḥaram Begam's life from the book of the world (would kill her) and would consign M. Sulaimān to the corner of contempt. At this time one of the conspirators disclosed the plot to the Mīrzā (Sulaimān). Immediate-
151 ly the latter hastened off to Farkhār[2] along with Waqqāṣ Sulṭān who was an excellent hostage, and Ḥaram Begam went off to Kūlāb in order that she might prepare for war and obtain a remedy against the intrigues of the Kāshgharians. When the Khānim (Cūcak apparently) heard of this crime (the conspiracy) she felt ashamed and sent for the presumptuous intriguer (Ṣūfī Sulṭān) and reproached him. The misguided young man answered that his foot had slipped on account of the evil imaginations of Mīr Niẓāmī and some of the evil-disposed Badakhshīs and of that fair-seeming but inwardly bad dervish. Cūcak Khānim was ashamed and went off with her sons to Kāshghar. She wrote a letter of excuse in which she narrated her own innocence and the evil thoughts of that stirrer up of strife (Mīr Niẓāmī ?). When M. Sulaimān learnt the real facts he sent prudent men and made his apologies (for suspecting Cūcak B.) and asked for an interview. Cūcak Khānim sent Ṣūfī Sulṭān and her people to Kāshghar, and for purposes of union halted with 'Abu S'aīd Sulṭān and Raḥīm Khān. The Mīrzā and Ḥaram Begam came there and held a friendly banquet. In order to strengthen the foundations of concord the Khānim[3] married her eldest daughter to Abu S'aīd

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[1] Called Mir N'ẓā ai at A. N. III. 267, and described as husband of Muḥtarima's daughter Mihmān B.

[2] Described in the Ghiās-al-loghāt as a town in Turkestan celebrated for the beauty of its inhabitants.

[3] Sic in text, but clearly Khānim is a mistake here for Ḥaram. The Khānim (Muḥarima) had not Rustāq in her gift. However, it would appear from the sequel that the term Khānim is also applied to Ḥaram.

Sulṭān and gave Rustâq as her dowry. When the friendship had been cemented, Cūcak Khānim made over her son (Abu S'aīd) to the Mirzā and went off to Kāshghār. The Mirzā set himself to punish the sedition-mongers. He sent many to the pit of annihilation and imprisoned others. The dervish and his crew he pilloried (tashhīr) and expelled from the country. A number fled with great quickness out of the country.

Another thing that increased the distress of the Badakhshīāns was Ḥaram Begam's bestowing the government of Kūlāb on Nadīm Qabbūzī. This caused a disturbance in that country, and was disagreeable to the army of Kūlāb. From the want of true affection and respect they raised up 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr the son of Jahāngīr 'Ali Beg the brother's[1] son of the Begam, who was in Qarātagīn, and put Nadīm to death. Ḥaram Begam took M. Shāhrukh from Qandūz, and Ābū S'aīd Sulṭān from Rustāq, with her, and marched against Kūlāb. The rebels fortified themselves in Qarātagīn, and the Begam set herself to besiege it. Mīr Aflāṭūn, who was her general, crossed the river and blockaded the country. 'Abdu l-Ghaffūr and some of the garrison fell upon him, and he was killed. Just then the Kūlābīs in the Begam's army cast the dust of faithlessness on their heads by deserting to the enemy. The Begam was compelled to make a rapid retreat, and 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr was wicked enough to pursue her. He came up with the Khānim (*i.e.*, Ḥaram) and M. Shahrukh, but as there was some good in his disposition he only plundered her property and honourably released her. She was in consternation at her misfortunes when suddenly M. Shahrukh appeared and drove away her grief. She said to him, "My husband left your father among the enemy and hurried off, and I left you among the rebel-crew and ignorantly 152
fled in haste. May God forgive me for it!" In a short space of time she joined M. Sulaimān and his army and proceeded against Kūlāb. 'Abdu-l-lah took refuge in Qīrghīz, but his goods and chattels fell into the hands of his enemies.

Another cause of mischief in Badakhshān was when by the exertions of M. Ḥakim and the leaders of that country the servants of M. Sulaimān were turned out in a wretched condition from

[1] The meaning is apparently that 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr was the Begam's nephew.

Afghanistan, as has already been described. M. Sulaimān came to Kabul, and when he did not succeed, he turned back. He imprisoned Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī and some others who had shown slackness in their service. Some of them he caused to be beaten, and some he censured, and he took away from Muḥammad Qulī the governorship of Qunduz and gave it to Ḥājī Taman Beg. Qanghar Bāī, Yūsuf Qulī, Bīr Kacī Khāksār, S'aīd Beg his son, Ḥājī Fakhrgī, Bāqī Beg and a number of others fled to Ḥājī Taman Beg, and that wretch joined in with those ungrateful and evil servants. They also in collusion with the Khānim put forward the seven years old M. Shāhrukh, and raised the dust of sedition. Their sole thought was to obtain for M. Shāhrukh the country which had belonged to M. Ibrāhīm, so that another shop (of intrigue) might be established, and that there might be a splendid asylum for the ill-conditioned. When M. Sulaimān heard of the sedition-mongering of this crew he proceeded against them. They shut the door of the fort and took steps to defend themselves. The siege (of Qunduz) lasted for about forty days. By the strenuous exertions of M. Sulaimān, and the efforts of some right-thinking persons, M. Shāhrukh waited upon the Mīrzā, and the whole of that iniquitous crew were seized. The Mīrzā bound these wicked, fly-like men and sent them to Qarātagīn. There they colluded with the garrison and brought Mihr 'Alī, who was governor of Qarātagīn, to disgrace. No one had yet been appointed as chief when the officers of Qarātagīn said to those presumptuous and evil-disposed men, "Neither we nor you have any one who is fit to be chief; one of two things must be done; either do you bring M. Shahrukh in order that we may elect our service in his presence, or you must depart from this country and manage your affairs yourselves." The matter came so far that they sought to seize the faction. They became helpless and hurried off to Balkh as supplicants. Ḥaram Begam sent presents to the governor there and requested him to punish them. The gang escaped by the intervention of Shaikh Ḥusain of Khwārizm and came to Kabul. Owing to discord, and vacillation of opinions Ḥājī Taman Beg and some others turned back and hastened to Badakhshān. S'aīd Badakhshī, Tengrī Bardī Qūshbegī, Ḥājī Beg, Bāqī Beg and some others turned towards the world-protecting court. When this commotion subsided,

Muḥammad Qulī's favour was increased, and Qundūz was given to him. Shāh Ṭayib, who was nearly related to Ḥaram Begam, was made atālīq (guardian) to the Mīrzā (Shāhrukh).

One of the occurrences which might prove the retribution of M. Sulaimān for his ingratitude was this that the sedition-mongers again made M. Shāhrukh a pretext for commotion. The brief account of this is that 'Abdullah Khān the ruler of part of Tūrān set about seizing Ḥiṣār. The people of Ḥiṣār asked help from M. Sulaimān. The Mīrzā, in order to keep up the tie of relationship which he had recently formed, and also from consideration of the opinions of farsighted persons who thought that if the country were absorbed by 'Abdullah Khān, the war would reach him, determined to collect the Badakhshān army and proceed thither. He was engaged in the work of administration and in putting his army into order and had made over the Passes to experienced men, when owing to the quarrelsomeness and evil nature of Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī, who was the prime minister, words were uttered by him which were unfitted for the occasion. At such a time when Muḥammad Qūlī should have supported him, he in his wickedness preferred all sorts of demands, as is the way of the empty headed. When the Mīrzā saw this bad behaviour, he was at first amazed and then reproached him for his improper language. In the same assembly he sent trustworthy men to summon Ḥaram Begam in order that he might make him over to her for punishment. Muḥammad Qūlī became confused and came away from the meeting, pretending that he had a pain in his belly. He went off to Qundūz in order that he might fortify it and engage in strife. He sent his younger brother Khwāja Beg to Ṭāliqān in order that he might renew the old compact with the Khānim and get hold of M. Shahrukh, and stir up the dust of strife. That strife-monger combined with Mullā 'Alī and Mast 'Alī, who were in the Khānim's service, and plotted evil things. The Khānim and M. Shahrukh, who was now fifteen years of age, left Ṭāliqān on the pretext of going for an excursion. Shāh Ṭayib became suspicious at this departure, and quickly arrived and kept a look-out. Mullā 'Alī, Mast 'Alī, Jahāngīr Beg, Muḥarram Beg, Pīr Qulī, Khākī Khānazād and some other wicked men represented to the Khānim that Shāh Ṭayib was alone and that they ought to finish him. But from fear M. 153

of Ḥaram Begam no one had the courage to do this. At last, after much talk, M. Shahrukh at the instigation of those perverted ones shot an arrow at him and the persons above mentioned killed him[1] with their knives. The Mīrzā did this improper act from simplicity and from the infatuation produced by the bad teaching of those darkened intellects!

When the Mīrzā heard of the flight of Muḥammad Qūlī he came quickly to Qundūz. As Muḥammad Qūlī had not had time to strengthen the fort he fled, and the Mīrzā came into possession of
154 Qundūz. When the catastrophe of Shāh Ṭayīb and the rebellion of Shahrukh became known, he went off to put down the rebels. At the same time the Khānim, when such errors were being committed, took M. Shahrukh and went off with him to the Hindu Koh in order that if she could get help from the Aimāqs, and Muḥammad Qūlī joined her, she might return to Badakhshān. Otherwise she would go to the sublime court and rub her forehead on the threshold of glory. For the Khānim had from old times the connection of service and devotion with H. M. the Shāhinshāh, and his kindness was a great support to her. When they came to the Hindu Koh the Aimāqs collected in crowds. Muḥammad Qūlī also joined them. M. Shahrukh returned and with little trouble took possession of Andarāb. From there they went to Kahmard. Sabz Tūlakcī the governor of that place came and paid his respects. The Khānim left M. Shahrukh there and went on to Ghorī. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who was related to M. Sulaimān, fortified Ghorī. Though they brought forward his son and threatened that if he did not surrender the fort they would slaughter his darling (his liver lobe), he replied, "It is better that whoever spills his honour and fidelity should have his blood spilled." And like a faithful servant he was firm in holding the fort. When M. Sulaimān heard of this commotion, and was meditating marching thither, Ḥaram Begam yielded up her life. He went off to Kishm for the mourning. From there he proceeded towards Ghorī. M. Shahrukh was unsuccessful and hurried to Andarāb. The Mīrzā resolved to go to the Hindu Koh in order to get hold of the families and property of the Aimāqs, and that he might scatter M. Shahrukh's forces. Just then M. Shāhrukh, at the instigation of evil-disposed persons petitioned

[1] The Lucknow ed. has *tezdes* but probably this should be *tīrdes*.

that the estates which had belonged to M. Ibrāhīm might be surrendered to him, and represented that in this way commotion might cease, and unity and concord result. M. Sulaimān made no reply. When the Aimāqs' property came into his hands and M. Shāhrukh's position became insecure, the latter was obliged to go to Sirāb. From there he hastened to Khost in order that he might make the defiles of Badakhshān his protection. M. Sulaimān proceeded towards that country by the way of the plain, and when M. Shāhrukh came to the parting of the ways for Ghorī and Qundūz and was in doubt as to which route he should take, there suddenly arrived the vanguard of M. Sulaimān's army under the command of Mihr 'Alī. The Mirza's (Shāhrukh) troops broke. He himself, Muḥammad Qūlī, Nūr Beg his brother, Sabz Tūlakcī and Qullj turned against their evil fortune, and fighting bravely drove off the enemy. They went off to the mountains towards the district of Anjuman.[1] M. Sulaimān plundered M. Shāhrukh's camp and went off to Ḥarm. M. Shāhrukh after traversing mountains, and much unsuccess, got possession of Qundūz owing to the negligence of the watchmen. As many of the Badakhshān families were there, M. Sulaimān's men left him and 155
took to coming in (to Shāhrukh). Many of them behaved in an unmanly manner and incurred eternal disgrace. Muḥammad Qūlī Shighālī and many other officers of Badakhshān were of opinion that the Mīrzā (Sulaimān) should be pursued and put to death. M. Shahrukh, from innate goodness and reverence, did not, in that strong blast of indiscretion and stony ways of unloveliness, listen to the words of those wretches, and trod the rose-garden of rectitude. He fixed himself in Qundūz. M. Sulaimān sent him a friendly letter and made over to him Ibrāhīm's territories. Many days had not elapsed when the evil-disposed of that country suggested that Kulāb was a nursery of soldiers and also an inaccessible place, and that M. Sulaimān wished to fortify it. It would be well to extirpate him by taking possession of it. M. Shāhrukh was confused by the preambles of those black-hearted,

[1] See T. R. 189. It is entered as a place in the Index to Bib. Ind. Anjuman is marked in Govt. map of Afghanistan. It lies S. E. Badakhshān.

fly-like men and went off to Ṭāliqān. When he came there every one who was with M. Sulaimān wickedly took the path of faithlessness and went over to M. Shāhrukh. Those wicked men got their opportunity and exerted themselves to utter gold-incrusted words and to lead that simple-minded one astray. In spite of their urgency the Mīrzā did not drop the thread of righteousness, and begged permission to wait upon M. Sulaimān. He replied, "Let the Khānim come first and solace my heart. After that come you and be the light of my eyes." M. Shāhrukh agreed to the wish. He hastened to pay his respects, and waited upon M. Sulaimān. While they were in Ṭāliqān, M. Sulaimān, from excessive suspicion, would not for some time allow the Khānim to depart from his presence. Muḥammad Qūlī and his brethren out of wickedness behaved harshly to the Mīrzā's (Sulaimān's) men, and M. Shāhrukh suitably rebuked some of them. He also gave a great banquet, and in the banqueting-hall promises and oaths were interchanged. It was determined that Shāhrukh M. would never leave the highway of doing what was well-pleasing to M. Sulaimān.

When solemn oaths had been taken, M. Sulaimān said that during the lifetime of M. Ibrāhīm he had a desire to visit the Ḥijāz and to circumambulate the holy places, and that now the same desire was disturbing his soul. His wish was that they should part on good terms, and that the division (of territory) which had been made should be adhered to. M. Shāhrukh from goodness and reverence hesitated to grant this request. And as imagination—the sovereign—had great predominance, every supplication which M. Shāhrukh made was regarded by M. Sulaimān as something different and sinister. When nothing could pacify M. Sulaimān, M. Shāhrukh was compelled to take leave of him with all reverence and to
156 allow him to depart with his property. From there M. Sulaimān came to Kabul, and his whole idea was to form some alliance and so take revenge on M. Shāhrukh. If Ḥakīm M. would help him, he would return and exact vengeance, and if he could stir up strife in Kabul, he would attempt to do so, and make this a help towards his recovering Badakhshān. Otherwise he would go to the Shāhinshāh's court and there try to carry out the secret objects of his heart. When M. Ḥakīm perceived the

notes of commotion on his brow he sent him to India along with trusty[1] men. From Bikram the Mīrzā sent a petition to the court, which contained thousands of regrets and apologies. The broad-minded and tolerant sovereign accepted his excuses and sent an order to the Panjab officers to go out to meet the Mīrzā and to show him all respect. He also sent off Khwāja ʿĀqā Jān with the rarities of India that he might hasten forward to gladden the exile's heart. He met the Mīrzā on the banks of the Indus, and comforted him, and made his sorrow-laden soul embrace joy. The stewards of fate in this old caravanserai of the world, which is a place for the retribution of actions, brought him, on account of his old trespasses, into the dust-bin of adversity and marked him with the dust of catastrophe. As his fortune had something of auspiciousness in it, he carried the countenance of supplication to the sacred court. Inasmuch as the threshold of the fortune of the world's lord is a fount of benevolence and respect, he was encompassed with favours. The envoys met the Mīrzā, some in the borders of Scinde, and some in Bhīra, and showed him respect. The officers went out to welcome him near their fiefs and paid him reverence. When he arrived near the capital, the high dignitaries and the great officers assembled in crowds, in accordance with the orders of H.M., and received him with ceremony. When the procession came within three kos of the capital the appreciative world's-lord mounted his horse and rode thither. The superintendents of the palace decked out the hall of audience and the whole of the city, and made them resemble the picture-gallery of China. From the front of the palace to the end of the stage, mountain-like elephants wearing chains of gold and silver, and golden and bejewelled housings, were drawn up in two rows. The foot of the glance moved from its place, and the eye of the heart was amazed. Between every two elephants there was a *cīta* attired in costly clothing. The conspicuous places on the route and the city-streets were also adorned. H.M. mounted his horse on the 157

[1] The T. A. and Badāyūnī give a different account. They say that M. Ḥakīm supplied worthless guides who ran away at the first stage, and that Sulaimān, who had his daughter with him, had great difficulty in making his way to the Indus. A. F.'s account reads as if it had been inspired by Shāhrukh.

day of Amardād 7 Ābān, Divine month (middle of October 1575), and all the insignia of royalty appeared before the Mīrzā. He dismounted and came hastily forward. The illustrious Shāhinshāh who made the increase of worldly dignities a motive for increased humility and friendliness dismounted and performed the *kornish*. The Mīrzā performed the prostration (*sijda*), and was exalted by favours. All at once, the grief of former wanderings, the sorrows caused by the recalcitrance of Shāhrukh M., the bad behaviour of Ḥakīm M. and the distracting influences of exile were erased from his heart. From that place he returned with a heart full of thankfulness, and a tongue full of praise. The Mīrzā had the bliss of being nearly associated with H.M., and became enrolled among his followers. The sovereign returned to his palace, and there was a great banquet.

Verse.

They prepared a wondrous banquet hall
In it was an abundant feast
In every corner were the beauties of China and Chigal[1]
They robbed the senses and seduced the soul.

(*six lines of rhetoric*).

In that feast the Shāhinshāh opened the hand of liberality and conferred boundless favours on the Mīrzā and on all the visitors. Inasmuch as the whole idea of the Mīrzā was to get the government of that hilly country—Badakhshān—he was gladdened by the news that this desire of his would be gratified. He was informed that the armies of the Panjab would shortly be despatched under the command of Khān Jahān, and that they would soon bring Badakhshān into the Mīrzā's possession. The Mīrzā performed the prostration and became partaker of perpetual joy.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal came and performed the prostration on the day of Debādīn 23 Ābān, Divine month. He brought as a present fifty-four noted elephants, and rarities from Bengal, which had been obtained in the battle of
158 Takaroī and at the time of the peace. He described the events of the country in accordance with what has already been related. He

[1] A town in Turkestan famous for the beauty of its youth.

was the recipient of various favours. Financial and territorial matters were entrusted to him, and he was made Mashrif-i-dīwān.[1] He served with honesty and the absence of avarice. There was no cupidity in his administration. Would that he had not been spiteful and revengeful so that a little opposition [2] would cause dislike to spring up in the field of his heart and acquire strength and substance. Such a quality is considered by the wise to be one of the worst qualities in a man, especially in an administrator to whom men's affairs are entrusted, and who has been selected as the vakīl of such a world-lord. If bigotry in religion had not coloured his nature he would not have had so many bad qualities. But in spite of these defects, if we look to the nature of men in general, in fulness of courage (*serdilī*), absence of avarice—that market was always flat with him—in the performance of service, in diligence and skill he was a man such as is seldom seen, or rather he was incomparable.[3]

One of the occurrences was that the territory of Gaḍha was taken from Rai Sarjan [4] and given in fief to Ṣādiq Khān who was sent there to take charge of it. To Rai Sarjan was given the fief of Cunār.

Another occurrence was that M'aṣūm Khān [5] came from Afghanistan and entered into service. He was given high rank and sent to Bihār. He belonged to the Saiyids of Turbat in Khurāsān. His paternal uncle Mīr 'Azīz [6] had been in the service of H.M. Jahānbānī and had attained to the rank of vizier. He stood to M. Ḥakīm in the relation of *Kokaltāsh* (foster-brother). He was renowned for bravery and thoroughness. Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī, from a

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[1] B. VII.

[2] Bayāzīd Bīyat M. S. I. O. 132a mentions an instance of Todar Mal's religious feelings when he punished Bayāzīd, with justice apparently, for breaking down a temple at Benares and converting it into a Madrasa. Afterwards when Bayazīd on his return from Mecca got a pargana, Todar Mal rack-rented him. Perhaps A. F. was thinking of Todar Mal's conduct to Shāh Manṣūr. He put him in prison and in chains, and afterwards reported him to Akbar. He also perhaps had to do with his murder.

[3] See B. 431, n. 1.

A. F. also represents Todar Mal as prejudiced against Qāẓī 'Alī Baghdadī.

[4] B. 409. Gaḍha is Gaḍha-Katanga, *i.e.*, Jabalpūr.

[5] B. 143, n. 1.

[6] The Mīr 'Azīz-Ullah Turbatī of B. 527.

cloud on his mind which happens to worldlings, on a slight suspicion endeavoured to destroy him. From far-sightedness he came to court, and was received with the glance of favour.

In the same year Mīr Saiyid[1] Muḥammad Mir ʿĀdil was given the government of Bhakar.

One of the occurrences was that Jalāl Khan[2] quaffed his last draught. It has already been mentioned that he was sent to assist the army of Siwāna. When he came to Mīrtha, Sulṭān Singh and Rām Singh the brothers of Rai Rai Singh, and ʿAlī Qulī the relation of Shāh Qūlī Khan Maḥram, sent a message that they had in accordance with H.M.'s orders addressed themselves to the uprooting of Candar Sen, but that owing to the hilliness of the country, the difficulties of the roads, and the crowd of audacious men, he was making great resistance, and that it was time for help to arrive. Jalāl Khān marched quickly to that quarter. Candar Sen took to vulpine tricks on the arrival of this army, and had recourse to stratagem. The imperialists saw through his design and marched against him, and he took refuge in the mountain of Kanūja (?)[3] and came forward to fight. A large number were killed, and when his glory was discomfited, he of necessity retreated to the folds of the hills.
159 The officers entered victoriously into the fort of Rāmgarh.[4] At this time one of the crafty spirits represented that he was Debī Dās. Vagabonds gathered round him. Many were certain that Debī Dās was killed at Mīrtha in the battle with M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain. At this time the claimant gave out that he was wounded in that engagement, and had lain on the ground nearly dead. A benevolent hermit had taken him on his shoulders and conveyed him to his cell, and had there applied plasters to his wounds and had healed them. He had then gone in attendance on the hermit to visit holy shrines. Now the hermit had given him leave, and he had again put upon his shoulders the scarf of social life. Some believed his story and some repudiated it. He joined Jalāl Khān in order that he might do good service and his name be reported to the Shāhinshāh. Suddenly fortune, the juggler, played another trick.

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[1] B. 438.
[2] B. 475.
[3] In some MSS. it is Kanūca. Qu. Is it the hill near Gūndoj mentioned in Rajputana Gazetteer II. 223?
[4] In Jaipūr 100 m. N. W. Jaipūr.

The short account of this is as follows: When they were in hot pursuit of Candar Sen, that fabricator represented that the ruined wanderer (Candar Sen) was in the fief of Kalā the son of Rām Rai, his (Candar's) own brother's son, and that his face was turned towards the wall of contempt (*i.e.*, was in a wretched condition). The victorious army hastened to the spot. Kalā from ill-fatedness maintained that Candar Sen was not there; and by fraud and deception won over Shimāl Khān to his side and set about ruining Debī Dās. Shimāl one day brought him to his house and was about to seize him, but he bravely got out of that whirlpool. As he had come to despair of the imperial troops, he craftily went to Kalā and became his companion. On the day of Shahriyūr 4 Āẕar, Divine month, November 1575, when the imperial soldiers had gone off in various directions, the lamp of the vision of Debī Dās and some other daring and presumptuous ones was extinguished while they were seeking to glut their vengeance. They took Jalāl Khān's quarters to be Shimāl Khan's and attacked them. He fought bravely but without arrangement, and yielded up the coin of his life. The evil-doers went from there to Shimāl Khān's tent, and just then Jaimal came up with many combatants and quelled the disturbance. When this catastrophe was reported to H.M., he appointed Saiyid Aḥmad, Saiyid Hāshim and a number more of the Saiyids of Bārha to chastise the presumptuous men of that region. They did good service, and put down the rebels.[1]

[1] This chapter is chiefly taken up with the affairs of Badakhshān, and it gives many interesting details about the history of that country. There is an amount of feminine gossip in it which makes one think that A. F. is here copying from some lady's memoirs. Perhaps it represents a missing part of Gulbadan Begam's memoirs! Presumably Muḥtarima did not marry Ibrāhīm M. till after the death of her first husband M. Kāmrān. This occurred in the end of 964 (1557). Two periods are referred to in the chapter, one when Shāhrukh was 7 years old, and the other when he was fifteen. Ibrāhīm his father was killed in 967, and apparently Shāhrukh was born in that or the following year. The character given of him by A. F. corresponds with that given him by Jahāngīr in his memoirs. He married Shukranisa, a daughter of Akbar. His mother died in 993.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Entrusting of the Government of Bengal to Khān Jahān.

On the day of Mārisfand 29 Ābān, Divine month, reports came
160 from Bengal to the effect that Mun'im Khān had died on the day of Khūr 15 Ābān, Divine month (23 October 1575),[1] and that Dāūd had wickedly broken his oath and taken to rebellion, and that the officers from want of wisdom and envy had not stood their ground, but had abandoned that fine country without a battle. They were now, it was said, at the parting of the ways, and in confusion in the desert of bewilderment. They neither thought of staying where they were, nor had the courage to proceed to the holy threshold.

The brief account of this instructive occurrence is that when Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān had made peace he hastened to Ghorāghāt, and quelled the disturbance there. From there he returned, and made habitable the city of Gaur which formerly was the capital. This he did both that the army might be near Ghorāghāt, which was a fountain of sedition, and might entirely put down commotion there, and also that he might restore this delightful place, which had a noble fort, and magnificent buildings. He did not notice that the atmosphere of the place had acquired poisonous[2] qualities in consequence of the vicissitudes of time and of the decay of the buildings, especially at the time of the end of the rains, when there is a change of climate (*ābgardish*) in most of the districts of Bengal. Though those acquainted with the character of the country stated the facts, their remarks were not listened to. He adopted the ordinary kind of resignation and so kept a world in the whirlpool of annihilation. The resignation which is practised by the elect of the palace of inquiry consists in observing the dictates of deliberation, and the glory of wisdom—which are the sentinels of the mate-

[1] The date given in Bayāzīd Biyāt's Memoirs is the night of Monday, 18 Rajab, 983, which is equal to 23 October, 1575; 15 Ābān should be 25 or 26 October. The M'aasir I. 644 does not give the full date.

[2] Cf. Jarrett II, 120.

rial world—and then leaving the result of their skill to the incomparable Deity, and not to reason and outward causes. On this account[1] Ashraf Khān, Ḥaidar Khān, M'ūnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farankhūdī, Lāl Khān, Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī, Hāshim Khān, Muḥsin Khān, Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān, Qandūz Khān, Mīrzā Qulī Khān, Abu-l-hasan, Shāh Ṭāhir, Shāh Khalīl, and many other officers, each of whom was a proper soldier and a world-conqueror, fell asleep on the bed of annihilation; and the thought of death took hold of everyone. Though in that year there was a strong wind of destruction in all the eastern provinces, which shook the pillars of life, in that city it amounted to a typhoon.

As the Khān-Khānān had acted contrary to the opinion of many, he stuck to what he had said and did not take warning. But when the mortality exceeded calculation, and he perceived the wretched state of affairs, he applied himself to remedy matters. At this time the news came that Junaid was beginning to raise a disturbance in Bihār, so that a motive of coming away from that valley of annihilation presented itself. He left that city of calamities with the intention of crossing over to Bihār. It was a still more extraordinary thing that he did not suffer in that typhoon of plague which was fraught with evil to the generality, but as soon as he came to Tānda he died after a little illness.[2] On account of this there was great

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[1] See list in B. 376. Ashraf Khān was a noted calligrapher and is mentioned in A. F.'s Inshā; cf. B. 101 and n. 6 and p. 389.

[2] Mun'im Khān was over eighty when he died (Badayūnī 221). It will be seen that he died at Tānda and not, as commonly stated, at Gaur. There is some account of the plague at Gaur in Bāyazīd Bīyat, p. 147a. He says the pestilence was aggravated by the intemperance of the army.

There is a long and good account of Mun'im Khān in the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 229 *et seq.* His son died before him, and according to Badayūnī all his wealth went into the exchequer. The Maasir I. 635 has a long account of Mun'im and says, p. 645, that the enduring offspring of Mun'im is the bridge he built at Jaunpūr over the Gūmtī in 981 (1573). The bridge is still standing. Stewart in his history of Bengal, 162 note, mentions the interesting fact that in 1773 a brigade of British troops sailed over the bridge which suffered no damage from the violence of the current. See also an account of the building of the bridge, etc., in the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 250, etc.

The exact date of Mun'im's death seems uncertain. A. F. only gives

uneasiness in the army. Although the officers appointed Shāham Khān as commander, and the eunuch I'timād Khān, who was dis-
161 tinguished for sense and judgment, put upon his shoulder the scarf of dexterity, yet on account of the want of harmony among the leaders, and the imaginations of the generality, and the small capacity of most of the advisers, and the flames of the dissentients, there was no unity in the deliberations. Dāūd's evil spirit was aroused by hearing of these quarrels, and he snatched the veil of honour from his face and broke his engagements. He besieged Nazr Bahādur in the town of Bhadrak, and after inducing him by promises to surrender, he put him to death. Murād Khān let the foot of his courage slip from the city of Jalesar (Jellasor) and came to Tānda without fighting a battle. At this time of confusion 'Isā Zamīndār fell upon Shāh Bardī, who had charge of the boats and the artillery of the province. Though he put forth the foot of courage and raised the standard of victory, yet out of excessive apprehension he left that country and joined the officers with the artillery and the flotilla. The chiefs of the victorious army on account of their being disgusted with the country, and the want of right thinking, dropped from their hands the thread of work. They crossed the Ganges and came towards Gaur. The whole soul of those paltry-minded men was engaged in carrying their acquisitions out of that country (Bengal), while outwardly they said, "When we have put the river between us and the enemy, we shall give our minds to fighting, and then the Qāqshāls from Ghorāghāt will join us." When they had crossed the river, Qutlaq Qadam produced a lying[1] letter (*muzauwir nāma*) and spread unpleasing reports about the world's lord. Those friends of self, foes of fame (āzdostān, nāmūs dushman) used this false statement as their credentials and went off towards Bihār by

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the date according to the Persian Calendar. Elliot V. 395 wrongly has Safar instead of Rajab. The T. A. and also apparently Badayūnī (who copies the T. A.) only gives the month, for the ten days are those of the illness and not of the month. Bayāzīd has the night of Monday 18 Rajab (983).

The Iqbālnāma says distinctly that he was ill for ten days and died on the eleventh day. It also gives Tānda as the place of death.

1 The Iqbālnāma calls it *Kitāb jālī*, a forged book or letter.

way of Purniya and Tirhut. They gave up such a fine country without regarding it. Still stranger! Adam Tājband, who at this time had brought firmāns from H.M. to the Khān-Khānān and the Bengal officers, from wickedness and the instigation of evil men appropriated to himself the elephants and other property of Mun'im Khān. He opened a thousand doors of plundering and gave out that he was by orders of the Shāhinshāh taking measures for the preservation of the goods. In reality he was sunk in cupidity and was enriching his house for his own harm and by his own efforts arranging for himself the materials of eternal ruin.[1]

When these occurrences came to the royal hearing he thought that he might entrust Bengal to M. Sulaimān, so that he might in that fine country amend his misfortunes, and accumulate happiness of life. Should he, under those circumstances, wish for the headship (*sirdārī*) of Badakhshān, and if the being in that Highland country had taken possession of his mind, that desire would be easily gratified. The high wind of M. Sulaimān's passion for revenging himself on M. Shāhrukh, and of his overweening affection for the stony land of his birth, extinguished the lamp of plan and deliberation. The notes of joy did not appear on his forehead when 162
he heard of this great boon. The world's lord pardoned the simpleton and gave him the glad tidings of the gratification of his petty wishes. But inasmuch as it is inscribed on the portico of world-rule that urgent enterprises should be preferred to ordinary ones, and that the principles of sovereignty must not be abandoned, H.M. directed Khān Jahān, who was prepared with a victorious army to proceed to the conquest of Badakhshān, to march to Bengal and to conquer and clear that country. He imparted to him instructions which were calculated to soothe mankind and to be well pleasing to God. On the night of Isfandarmaz 5 Āzar,[2] Divine month, about 15 November, 1575, he was dismissed to that country after his dignity had been increased by great favours. Rajah Todar Mal, who was an able and experienced man, was appointed to accompany him,

[1] Bayāzīd Biyāt, Mem. 147*a*, describes how he went to Gaur after Mun'im's death, and the difficulty he had in securing the property.

[2] This must be the date of issuing the order of appointment. The news of Mun'im's death only came on the 29th of the previous month (Ābān), and Akbar's first thought was to appoint Sulaimān.

and an order was given that all the Bengal officers and land-holders should regard Khān Jahān as the executor of the orders of the Caliphate and should consider his will and pleasure as those of the sovereign, and should properly exert themselves for the conquest and civilisation of the country. The government of the Panjab was taken from him and given to Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram who was renowned among the brave and right-thinking.

Khān Jahān addressed himself to service according to the rules of the loyal and fortunate. The Bengal officers had reached the neighbourhood of Bhagalpur when the victorious army arrived there. The bewilderment of those self-interested men increased. They were not inclined to turn back and co-operate (with Khān Jahān) and they could not venture to proceed to court. Most of them threw off the veil of shame, and eloquently discoursed upon the refractoriness of the people, the pestilential atmosphere of the country, and the large mortality, and objected to go back. Some from evil disposition and strife-mongering brought forward the affair of religion,[1] and began to chatter foolishly about the headship of Khān Jahān. By the halo of the Shāhinshāh's majesty, the politic conduct of Rajah Todar Mal, and the wide capacity and toleration of Khān Jahān, the seal of silence was impressed on the lips of every one, and they elected to accompany him. Ism'aīl Qulī Khān took his place in the army with a band of active and courageous men, and by the Divine aid, and their skill and loyality, Garhī, which is the gate of Bengal, was recovered with little difficulty. Ayāz Khāṣa Khail, who had charge of that place, fell alive into their hands and was put to death. Dāūd in his pride never imagined that the imperial army would come so soon. On hearing the reverberation of its approach he suddenly proceeded to take defensive measures. By alertness and dexterity Khān Jahān chose for his camp Āk Maḥal[2] which is fortified on one side by the river,

[1] Khān Jahān was Bairām's sister's son and a Persian and a Sh'ia. The Bengal officers were, many of them, Turks and Sunnīs.

[2] Rājmaḥal. Perhaps Āk is Turkish and the name means White House. B. however reads Ag Maḥall. See his Errata. But see Jarrett II. 129. The name Rajmaḥal was given to it in consequence of Rajah Mān Singh's choosing it for his residence. The Turkish word for white is properly آق āq. The text is wrongly punctuated, and makes it appear as

while on the other side access is impeded by lofty mountains, while in front the tracks were effaced by a large marsh. Apart from its being a strong refuge, Āk Maḥal is in the forefront of Bengal. Accordingly the occupants of this strong position were saved from the effects of accidents, and the inhabitants of the country remained 163
in security as soon as the armies of fortune had come there. Khān Jahān drew up in battle-array, but owing to the difficulties of the country and the time there was no engagement. The gallant warriors came out on every side and displayed devotion, and there was abundant testing of men's mettle.

One of the occurrences was that Mīr Muḥammad Khān Khān Kilān died in Pattan Gujarat on the day of Farwardīn 19 Dai, Divine month (December, 1575). The appreciative sovereign begged[1] forgiveness of his sins and assuaged the grief of those he had left behind by princely favours.

Among the occurrences was that M. Sulaimān obtained leave to travel to Ḥijāz. From the time that the Mirzā obtained the bliss of doing homage, he was continually encompassed by the favours of the Shāhinghāh, and was distinguished by great honours in the holy assemblies. As his whole soul was intent upon chastising M. Shāhrukh, and upon obtaining the government of the mountains of Badakhshān, the knot on his heart was not loosed. When Khān Jahān went off to the province of Bengal, and there became a little delay in the fulfilment of his wishes, he from his ill-fortune and haste did not understand the real state of affairs and applied for leave to go to the Ḥijāz. He thought that perhaps by this route he might reach that country (Badakhshān), and obtain his ends by feline tricks. H.M. acceded to his wishes and bade him adieu, and sent Qulīj Khān and Rūpsī to accompany him and to wait upon him, and to see him through the difficult parts up to the Gujarat ports. Subsistence for several years and a well-found ship were bestowed on him. The above-mentioned officers conveyed him peacefully and with comfort to the port of Surat and sent him off to the Ḥijāz.

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if it was Dāūd who encamped at Āk Maḥall.

[1] i.e., repeated the *fātiḥa*.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Royal Cortège proceeds to Ajmere.

The parterre-adorner of the Caliphate in his plenitude of Divine worship and his keen quest of truth conducts himself with a regard to the feelings of the superficial majority. In consequence of his vast comprehensiveness, and his thorough knowledge of the pulse of the age, he seldom promulgates the luminous conceptions which cast rays on his heart from the sky of genius. For the food of forest-lions is not adapted to sparrows of the house-gable, nor are the rations of mountain-like elephants expended upon feeble gnats! Nor is the diet of the spiritually strong beneficial to the mentally sick. Accordingly the enthroned one of the Sultanate allows for the condition of the classes of humanity and regulates his effulgence in accordance therewith. From his observing this course, there arises no dust of
164 unsoundness in the inner chamber of his spirit. Though he sit upon the throne of the spiritual kingdom and of a world illuminated by the rays of true light, he regards the worship of the True God to be also accomplished by external forms, and worships the very God as superficialists do, and is a spiritual worshipper according to the formulas of ordinary followers of the world's customs. From this idea, the circumambulation of the sepulchres of the leaders of the caravan of existence (*i.e.*, saints, or perhaps it only means those who have gone before)—which is regarded by some as the essence of the worship of the Creator, and of the acknowledgment of Divinity, while others look upon it as a pious act and a contemplation of the Divine mercy—was rigorously practised by him, just as if he were a mere formalist. By this excellent plan he introduced worshippers of externals to the feast of practical wisdom and guided them to the highway of Truth. And when he who understood the pulse of the age, devised such a cure for those sick persons, there came no dust

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[1] This exordium does not occur in the Lucknow ed., nor do Akbar's remarks occur in the collection of his sayings at the end of the Ain.

from such earth-questing (*khāk-parasi*) to sully the skirt of his grandeur. Many a time there rose to his lips, in his sacred privy-chamber, the words, "Seeing that the note of man's greatness, which consists of knowing the truth and the performance of good actions, is not visible in the elemental house—which is an abode of lust and affections and is in the world's language called Body—how can it be sought for in an earthly prison (the grave)? Moreover, when the cavalier of Purpose (*maqṣūd*) gets lost in the equable mansions of Time, that is, the bodily frames, what hope is there that he will be found after the web and woof of the constitution have been dissolved in the prison-house of death, which is a boisterous ferry (or perhaps bleaching-ground, *i.e.*, graveyard) of the Divine wrath? When he cannot be found in his own house, why drive a mine into the house of the dust? If the matter were rightly considered, men would not conserve the house of a ruined home, which they call the grave. But this language may not enter into every ear, nor can impress itself on every heart. Hence it follows that those who understand institutions and are widely tolerant do not on beholding this springless autumn surrender the flower-garden of their soul to the winds of disturbance, but contemplate the ideas of those who regard the practice (of pilgrimages) as Divine worship, and enjoy an autumnless Spring."

On account of such views H.M. left the capital of Fatḥpūr on the night of Zamīyād[1] 28 Bahman, Divine month, and proceeded towards Ajmere. He passed along, stage by stage, dispensing justice and increasing joy, and by the guidance of the Divine aid he encamped on the day of Aṣhtād 26 Isfandārmaz, Divine month (18 March 1576), in the bounteous district of Ajmere. In accordance with prescribed customs he performed the last stage to the shrine on foot, and making external things a means of increase to internal light, he came as the flower-gatherer of the garden of truth. He divided a large sum of money among those who sate at the threshold of the shrine, and fixed splendid salaries for the expectants. He made strong the souls of the wishful, and caused the depressed of heart to be chief sitters in the hall of acceptation. By the blessed influence of the setting up of the sublime standards, the country acquired fresh prosperity. At once, outward customs were observed, and likewise was 165

[1] T.A. says 7 Ẓul q'ada, *i.e.*, 9 March, 1576.

the spiritual world decked out. The dignity of the clay was exalted, and illumination was bestowed on the heart. In this dust-bin of externalities (the world) it is an approved principle to honour saints and to ask inspiration from them, and to magnify those who are connected with this chosen class, especially when this is done by majestic Kings. God be praised! This noble temper as well as other grand qualities have been implanted in the holy personality of the Shāhinghāh. And inasmuch as this laudable quality holds high rank among the outwardly great, how can the majesty thereof be reckoned when it occurs in the highflyers of the spiritual world, and the high-thoughted and wide of capacity who have combined the leadership of both conditions—as is the case revealed by the lustrous brow of the world's lord!

Verse.

My words have risen high; me fears
A portion[1] of them may leap from my mouth.
The roadster of discourse is grown impetuous;
Me fears, the reins may spring from my hand.

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[1] Possibly, instead of *jastī* we should read *jazda*, a cricket, and also a whisper.

CHAPTER XXXI.

BEGINNING OF THE 21ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION OF THE ŠHĀHINŠHĀH, VIZ., THE YEAR ĀZAR OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

In this spring-time of increasing justice the equable vernal breeze began to blow. The outer world acquired freshness just as did the city of the soul of the Khusrū of horizons.

Verse.

The zephyr adorned the garden of the world with verdure,
The earth appeared a model of the meadows of the other world.
Where is Majnūn that he may petition and see
The beauteous hall, and the loveliness of Laila?

On the night of Sunday 9 Ẕīlḥajja (11 March 1576), after passing of one hour and nineteen minutes, the physical and spiritual illuminator cast his glance on the Sign of Aries, and the 21st year of the second cycle began. At the banquet of sovereignty a spring-time without autumn showed its face from the picture-gallery of truth.

Verse.

God be praised for this movement of the zephyr.
What limits are there to His gracious works?
They send gifts to eye and heart,
They are protagonists of life and growth.

In the beginning of this year H.M. gave his attention to the augmentation of the repose of the inhabitants of Gujarat. From the time when M. Koka had from inauspicious fortune gone astray, and the physician of the horizons (Akbar) had restrained him from office and sent him to the school for learning wisdom, it had been in the secret chambers of his heart that if the Mirzā awoke from his somnolence and took the path of bliss he would send him away to protect that country. As the time for that had not arrived, M. Khān, Wazir

166 Khān, Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daula, Saiyid Mozaffar, and Bipāk[1] Dās, each of whom was distinguished in his own line, were sent to protect property, life, honour and religion—which sum up the possessions of mortals—and to compose the distractions of the country. Their external rank was exalted by glorious favours, and they were also the recipients of precious jewels of instruction. The government of the province was entrusted to Mīrzā Khān, while the administration was committed to the weighty judgment of Wazīr Khān. Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daula was made Amīn, and Bipāk Dās was appointed Dīwān. Mīr Mozaffar was made Bakhshī of the armies. The above-mentioned officers went there, and in a short space of time the country became peaceful.

Among the occurrences was the despatch of an army against the Rānā.

The choicest worship for the social state, from which the lamp of recluses gets light—is when majestic rulers obliterate the darkness of the desert of presumption by the effulgence of farseeing wisdom and the flashes of the world-adorning sword, and cause the stiff-necked wayfarers of the lanes of pride to journey to the city of supplication. And if the ill-fate of men of this class have been confirmed, great rulers cleanse the earth from the rubbish of their existence, for most evil-doers are of a wicked nature, though some are only foolish, so that they may obtain their deserts, and mortals their repose, and that every one may, under the shade of peace, make his own fashion of Divine worship, and his customs a means of thanksgiving; thus may the outer world acquire repose and adornment, and the spiritual world set its face towards increase and development.

In accordance with these views, as the disobedience and presumption of the Rānā, as well as his deceit and dissimulation had exceeded all bounds, H.M. addressed himself to his overthrow. Kuar Mān Singh, who was among the first in the court for wisdom, loyalty and bravery, and who, among other favours, had been granted the lofty title of *farzand* (child), was nominated for this service. On the day

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[1] The Lucknow edition has Pīyāg Dās. The Iqbālnāma has Pāk Dās, and it appears that this is the real name and that the 'b' is the preposition.

of Dībādīn 23 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to 2 Muharram 984 (3 April 1576), he left Ajmere. Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, Khwāja Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī, 'Aṣaf Khān, Saiyid Aḥmad, Saiyid Hāshim Bārha, Jagannāth, Saiyid Rājū, Mihtar Khān, Mādhū Singh, Mujāhid Beg, Khankār, Rai Lonkarn, and many other brave officers went with him. From abundant graciousness H.M. briefly 167
and comprehensively reduced into writing instructions as to what was proper with respect to temporal and spiritual matters.

Among the occurrences was that at this time M. Yūsuf Khān, Masnad 'Ālī Fath Khān, Saiyid Umr Bokhārī, Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaznavī, and Saiyid Qāsim were sent to the Panjab so that that province might become a place of increasing peace and tranquillity.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Siwāna,[1] one of the forts of Ajmere, and which was in possession of Candar Sen, and was held for him by Patā Rāthor. As Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and Rai Rai Singh did not conduct the army properly, the horses became weak, and the want of barley and forage distressed the soldiers. In the first place Saiyid Aḥmad Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Hāshim, Jalāl Khān, Shimāl Khān, and many other distinguished combatants were appointed to endeavour to take the fort, while the former were to hasten to court. The officers proceeded to their fiefs and set about collecting equipments. Meanwhile the catastrophe of Jalāl Khān occurred, and the stubborn ones of the country raised the head of commotion. Especially did Kalā, the son of Rām Rai and grandson of Rai Māldeo, and many of the disaffected assemble in the fort of Deokūr.[2] The Saiyids of Bārha and other leaders exerted themselves to put down those wicked men, and so the business of Siwāna dragged on. Accordingly Shahbāz[3] Khān was appointed from the court to bring the thing to an end, and then to return to court. When he came near the spot he learnt that the army were perplexed about the siege of the fort, and that the affair was difficult on account of a succession of troubles and great fights. Shahbāz Khān arrived, and immediately set about taking the fort. By the celestial help which befriends the strenuous and the pure of

[1] J. II, 276. It is there entered as in Sarkār Jodhpūr.

[2] B. 399, n. 1. Perhaps the Deogāon of J. II, 273.

[3] His real name was Shāh Ullah. See Badāyūni II, 171. Lowe 174. This explains the pun at p. 333 of Lowe.

heart, victory showed herself, and a large number of the enemy were annihilated, and the fort was taken. The rebels were caught, and Shahbāz Khān having left some of the Saiyids of Bārha in the place (*thāna*), addressed himself to the conquest of Siwāna. Seven kos from that fort there was a stone fort called Dūnāra.[1] When the army was crossing (the Lūnī) near it, the Rajputs of the Rāthor clan assembled and displayed haughtiness. Though the highway of obedience was indicated to them, it was of no avail, and it was necessary to take the fort. *Sābāṭs* were made, and in a short time that strong fort was taken. The blood of many of the audacious ones was spilt on the dust of disgrace, and this great success was a preamble to the conquest of Siwāna, and was a cause of increasing the dismay of the wicked. From there Shāhbāz Khān proceeded to take Siwāna, while
168 he sent the former army (lashkar-pesh, *i.e.*, the army that had failed) to court. In making *sābāṭs* and in the disposition of materials for the untying of this apparently difficult knot hand and heart were combined, and skill joined with valour. In a short space of time the garrison sought protection and made over the fort to the loyal and hastened to prostrate themselves at the threshold of fortune. They did this while the imperial standards were at Ajmere, and were received with royal favours. When the affairs of this province had been completed H. M. proceeded on the day of Khūr 15 Ardībihisht from Ajmere to the capital, and on the day of Bād 22 Ardībihisht he reached Fatḥpūr. He applied himself more than ever to affairs which brightened the world, and the rose-garden of the world attained fresh verdure.

One of the events was the appointment of the army of Bihar to the province of Bengal. It has already been mentioned that the world-subduing armies had, after the taking of Garhī, confronted the enemy at Ākmaḥal. From that time news was continually conveyed backwards and forwards by relays of mounted couriers. At this time news was brought that the rainy season, which is tempestuous in that province, had arrived, and that if a fresh army were appointed, the conquest of Bengal would be easily effected. Accordingly an order was issued to Mozaffar Khān and the other officers of Bihar that they should put their army in order and proceed to Bengal.

[1] The text has Dūbāna, but there is the variant Dunār. It lies on the right bank Lūnī, S.W. Jodhpūr.

Also at this time, as the privations and the shortness of supplies for the army had impressed themselves on H.M.'s mind, boats laden with money and goods were despatched, and the anxiety of the timid was remedied, while the hearts of the enemy were filled with trepidation. Also during this time, the news came from the army that one day Khwāja 'Abdullah[1] Naqshbandī, who was full of the light of loyalty, was in his entrenchment and had gone with some of his men and sought battle. A large number of the enemy came forward, and the Khwāja's companions became stained with the dust of disgrace and took to flight. The Khwāja stood firm and slew many of the enemy. At last he played away the coin of his life and ascended to the sky of fame. H.M. the Shāhinshāh was grieved at this occurrence and bound up the hearts of his children and dependants by various acts of kindness.

One of the events was the sending of Shahbāz Khān against Gājpatī.[2] The brief account of this affair is that Gajpatī was one of

[1] Badāyūnī II. 240, says he was a descendant of Khwāja Aḥrār.

[2] Called Kajī in Lucknow ed. See B. 399, n. 2. Bayāzīd, I.O. MS. 135a, says Gajpatī held Bhojpūr and Bihiya, and he calls him the Ujjainiya Rajah. The word is badly written in the MS., but I am convinced that my friend Mr. Irvine is right in suggesting that Ujjainiya is what is meant. See B. 513, n. 1. Blochmann adds that the Bhojpūr Rajahs called themselves Ujjainiahs because they claimed descent from the Rajahs of Ujjain in Malwa. Maulwi Abdul Haq Abid has favoured me with a genealogical tree, procured from the office of the Rāī of Dumrāon, showing that Rajah Gajpatī, commonly known as Rajah Gujan Shah, of the village of Dawa, Pargana Bihiya, Zillah Shahabad, was the 73rd in succession from Rajah Vikramāditya of Ujjain. He was the son of Badal Shāh. The Dalpat Ujjainiah of B. 513, n. 1, and his successor Pratāp, were also members of the Dumrāon family, but it appears from the genealogical tree that Dalpat, called there Dulīp Shāh and Dalpatī Shāh, was not Gajpatī's son, but his uncle (?). He is said to have reigned from 1577-1601 and to have been succeeded by Muluk Mān Shāh of Bihta. Pratāp is called in the tree Rudra Pratāb Narain Singh and is said to be the 77th in succession from the Rajah Vikramāditya. I have also received an official letter from the Shahābad Collectorate to the effect that Gajpatī is commonly known as Gujunsāhī, and that his palace was at Jagdīspūr. The account of the jungles near Gajpatī's palace recalls the events of the mutiny and of the fights with Koer Singh who was also connected with the Dumrāon family.

Badayūnī calls Gajpatī, II. 227, zamīndar of the country about Hājipūr

the noted landholders of the province of Bihar. He used always to be associated with the warriors of the threshold of the Caliphate, and
169 he had rendered good services in the conquest of Bengal. For some insufficient reasons he took a sort of leave and went off to his own country. At the time of the Bengal rebellion he sought help from (*panáh áward*) Khán Jahán, but when the latter passed with his army through his premises (*yúrat*), Gajpatí, from an inverted fate and evil nature, went aside and had not the felicity of accompanying him. As the army of fortune was for a long time stationary in front of the enemy, the ill-conditioned strifemonger became increasingly addicted to highway robberies and to oppressing the weak. Evil-disposed and self-interested men gathered round him, and his seditiousness became more and more pronounced. In his folly and shortsightedness he extended his robberies to towns [1] and cities. When he raised the dust of predominance in the vicinity of the town of Arrah, Farhat Khán, the jágírdár thereof, did not deem it expedient to engage in battle with him and shut himself up in the fort. In his wickedness Gajpatí entered into negotiations with Dáúd and exerted himself to close the lines of march. He also seized and imprisoned Peshrau Khán who was proceeding [2] post-haste by boat from the capital towards Bengal. In his blindness and ill-fatedness he stretched his foot beyond the measure of his blanket, and, as it is a rule of the organizers of fate to draw up some ingrates and evil-doers so that they may have the heavier fall, and be broken to pieces, they let this black-hearted man blaze forth for some days like a fire of straw, on the heights of error. Farhat Khán, his son, and Qarátáq fell in battle against him. The brief account of this is that Farhang Khán,[3] the son of Farhat Khán, on hearing of the siege of

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and Patna. Nizámu-d-dín says Gajpatí rebelled when Mogaffar K. went off towards Rajmahal to help the Khán Jahán, and so left Bihar without troops. Perhaps the variant Kajatí is really Gajaní. The Iqbálnáma has Kajaní or Kajatí.

Jahángír in his Memoirs, Elliot VI. 321, speaks of the territory of Ujjainiya as lying near Patna. Evidently he means the Bhojpúr Rajah's country.

[1] The Lucknow ed. has *banáhíb* "for plundering" here.

[2] *ba tarz ílghár*. Lucknow ed. has *ba tarz ashkbár*, *lit.*, like a quantity of tears, and has a note explaining the idiom.

[3] Apparently Farhang's fief lay east of the Sone. He crossed it in

Arrah, came there from his fief and was joined by Qarāṭāq Khān who was in the neighbourhood. Near the fort they engaged the fleet of that devastator of the general weal and defeated it, and then gallantly crossed the Sone. The presumptuous and brainless man was emboldened by the number of his reckless bravoes to give them battle. At first Farhang Khān distinguished himself in hand-to-hand encounters, and twice brought his sword to bear upon Gajpatī, and that spark of sedition was nearly put out, when his swordsmen hamstrung Farhang's horse. He fought valiantly on foot and journeyed to the desert of annihilation. After that Qarāṭāq also gallantly tied up the chattel of existence. When Farhat Khān heard of the fatal catastrophe he came out of the fort from his abundant paternal affection and, after the manner of life-sacrificing lovers, chose the route of the blessed land.

When the news of the rebellion of this evil-doer reached the august hearing, H.M., on the day of Rām 21 Khurdād (beginning of June 1576), Divine month, sent off Shahbāz Khān, who was distinguished for fidelity and good service, to punish the wretch. An order was also issued that S'aid Khān, Makhṣūṣ Khān, and other servants who were in that part of the country, should join him with a suitable equipment and should unite in putting an end to him. Shahbāz K. on receiving the order hastened to the spot, and the officers above mentioned joined him with all celerity. Gajpatī was heedless of the end of things, and thinking that what was the depth of down- 170
fall was the height of exaltation, he increased in arrogance and brought many towns and villages into his possession. He was about to proceed against Ghāzīpūr where the family and dependants of Khān Jahān were. Just then the victorious army arrived, and he in his pride turned back and drew up for battle. By the blessing of the Shāhinshāh's fortune he soon received fitting punishment as shall briefly be described.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān to Malwa. The lofty genius which was always attending to

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order to relieve Arrah. Badayūnī calls him, II. 227, Mīrak Radāī, but perhaps Radāī is a mistake for Razavi. See B. 381 and 438. Nigāmu-d-dīn calls him Mīrak Rawānī; according to the Lucknow lithograph, Elliot V. 399 has Mīrak Rāwī.

the civilization of countries, the cultivation of hearts and the distribution of justice to the oppressed, took care of the bringing into repose of the inhabitants of that country, which is an extensive and delightful region. He increased the rank of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, who was distinguished for ability and cherishing of the peasantry, and conferred on him a *manṣab* of 5000 and despatched him to the province on the day of Dībādīn the 23rd Khurdād, Divine month. He loaded the cars of his fortune with the weighty jewels of admonition, and so increased his wisdom.

[Here follows 2½ pages—from the middle of p. 170 to the bottom of p. 172—of a dissertation about the different (six) classes of men, and about the duties of an administrator. It may be compared with the chapter at p. 37 of Jarrett II, and that on the currency of the means of subsistence at p. 50 *id.* The dissertation does not exist in the Lucknow edition, and there is nothing informing or characteristic of Akbar in it except a remark at the end about the expediency of increasing the numbers of elephants, and caring for horses, oxen, asses, etc. I have not thought it necessary to translate the dissertation. The dissertation purports to be an abstract of Akbar's instructions to Shihabu-d-dīn on his being sent to govern Malwa.]

173 One of the occurrences was the death of Mīr Sharīf Qazwīnī. Inasmuch as in the game of *Caugān*, which strengthens onsets and hand-to-hand encounters, there is education for the strenuous, and improvement for horses—which is the most choice part of soldiering—H.M. regards the pastime as worship under the guise of sport. From this view a game was held on the day of Ārād the 25th Khurdād, Divine month. Mīr Ghīāṣu-d-dīn Naqīb-Khān and Mīr Sharīf, the sons of Mīr 'Abdu-l-laṭīf Qazwīnī, in consequence of the favour of the Shāhinshāh, took a distinguished part in the play. In the heat of the onsets the horses of the two brothers collided. The young novice was thrown to the ground, and became senseless, and blood flowed from his ear. H.M. dismounted in that plain, which was a world-spectacle, and cast the shadow of compassion (on Sharif). The spectators, when they did not see the world's lord on horseback, became confused and uttered cries and lamentations. Evil-minded strife-mongers took advantage of the opportunity. A moment had not elapsed when that composer of the world's distractions mounted his

horse at the entreaty of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān and rode over the plain. The consternation ceased. In a short space of time the combination of the elements in the fallen man was dissolved. H.M. distributed at the tomb large sums to the family of the deceased, so that their heart-shoulders were lightened of the load of debt, and there came a time of good fortune. May the satisfaction of the heart (at his debts being paid) support him in his awful journey!

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE BRIGHTENING OF THE LAMP OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S FORTUNE, AND THE SINKING OF THE RĀNĀ INTO THE DARKNESS OF FLIGHT.

It has already been mentioned that the Rānā's arrogance was swollen by the fact of the glory of his line of ancestors who were in ancient times rulers of India. The strength of his position, the extent of his territory, and the large number of his Rajputs who would sacrifice life for honour, cast a veil over his vision. He did not perceive the marvels of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, and abandoned obedience and went astray. The parterre-adorner of the world ordered Kuar Mān Singh to go with a number of loyal men and arouse him from his infatuated slumbers and guide him to the school of auspiciousness. But to him who is unfortunate (*lit.* has a black blanket) the motives of awakening only bring increase of somnolence. The imperial forces remained for some time in the town of Mandalgarh, waiting for their officers and the gathering of the camp. The Rānā during this time of awakening ignorantly increased his obstinacy and came forth to make commotion. He paid no heed to the fortune which was conjoined with eternity, and regarded the leader[2] of the victorious army as a landholder subordinate to himself. His whole idea was that he should come to the town above mentioned and fight a battle. But his well-wishers did not suffer him to increase his loss (*khasārat*) by this act of daring (*jasārat*).

174 When the imperial army had been collected, Kuar Mān Singh, relying upon daily-increasing fortune, drew up his forces and marched towards Goganda,[3] which was the native country of him of somnolent fortune (the Rānā). He himself was in the centre, the Saiyids of Bārha were on the right wing; Ghāzi Khān Badakhshī, Rai Lonkarn, were on the left; Jagannath and Khwāja Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī, Āṣaf Khān were in the van; Mādhū Singh and other distinguished men were in the *altamsh*; Mihtar Khān and others were in the rear. On the side of the enemy the Rānā was in the centre; Rām

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[1] About 100 m. N. E. Udaipur. I. G. It is described by Tod.

[2] i.e., Mān Singh. The Iqbālnāma says this had been the position of the Amber family.

[3] B. 418, n. 2, Tod calls it Gogoonda.

Shāh [1] Rajah of Gwaliar had the right wing; the left was commanded by Bedāmāta of the Jhāla tribe; Rām Dās, son of Jaimal, was in the van. The Rānā, owing to the darkness of his presumption, had not the head for arranging his forces in battle-array, but by the efforts of far-sighted men various arrangements were made, and he displayed alacrity. On the day of Amardād 7 Tīr, Divine month [2] (18th ? June 1576), when a watch of the day had passed, the two armies met in the village of Khamnūr,[3] which is the mouth of the Haldī defile and is a dependency of Goganda. They strove together valiantly. The price of life was low, that of honour high.

Verse.

When army commingled with army
They stirred up the resurrection-day upon earth.
Two oceans of blood shocked together:
The soil became tulip-coloured from the burning waves.

The enemy's right wing drove off the left wing of the imperialists, and their vanguard also prevailed. Many of the imperialists gave way. Jagannāth behaved bravely, and was about to sacrifice his life when the *altamsá* arrived, and Kuar Mān Singh in person joined in the fight. The enemy's left wing also prevailed over the imperial right. Sāiyid Hāshim fell from his horse, but Saiyid Rājū rehorsed him. Ghāzi Khān Badakhshi advanced and joined the van. There was a market of life-taking and life-surrendering. The warriors on either side yielded their lives and preserved their honour. And as the men did wonders, so did the elephants perform marvels. On the side of the enemy was the rank-breaking Lonā. Jamāl Khān Faujdār brought the elephant Gajmukta [4] to encounter him. The 175

[1] B. Ram Sāh.

[2] 21 Rabi, I. B. 418 n. Badayānī has the beginning of Rabi I.

[3] Tod's map shows a village Kamner to the north of Goganda. The battle is usually called that of Haldīghāt. Elliot V. 398. Badayānī says it was 7 kos from Goganda. The text has the word *berūn* instead of Haldī, but the reading of the Cawnpur ed. Hardī, *i.e.*, Haldī is preferable and is supported by the Iqbālnāma. The best account of the battle is that given by Badayānī, Lowe 236, etc. See also Noer's Akbar translation I. 247, etc. Kavirāj Shymal Dās says the place is called Haldī because the soil there is yellow, like turmeric.

[4] B. 121.

shock of these two mountain-like forms threw the soldiers into trepidation, and the imperial elephant was wounded and about to fly when by the help of daily-increasing fortune a bullet struck the driver of the enemy's elephant, and he turned back. Just then Pertāb,[1] a relation of the Rānā, brought forward Rām Pershād which was the head of their elephants, and threw down many gallant men. At the time of wavering Kamāl Khān brought up the elephant Gajrāj and took part in the fight. Panjū brought the elephant Ran Madār opposite Rām Pershād and did excellently well. This elephant too was nearly letting the foot of his courage slip. By the might of fortune the driver of Rām Pershād was killed by an arrow, and that noted elephant—which had often been a subject of conversation in the sacred assemblies—became entered among the spoils. Up to midday the contest continued.

Verse.

Many a one engaged with another,
Much blood was poured out on the battle-field,
Livers grew hot, cries resounded,
Necks were throttled by nooses.

Rām Dās, son of Jaimal, went to the sorry abode of annihilation from a stroke by the hand of Jagannāth. Rajah Rām Shāh with his three sons Sālbahān, Bhān Singh and Pertāb Singh fell, fighting bravely. During these blazing sparks of commotion and contest, and the heat of the fires of fortune, Kuar Mān Singh and the Rānā approached one another; and did valiant deeds. In the opinion of the superficial the foe was prevailing, when all at once the lightning of the Divine aid—which supports the eternal fortune—flashed out victory. One of the external causes of this was that during the tumult the vanguard arrived equipped for battle. A report circulated that the world's lord had come on his steed swift as the wind and had cast the shadow of his might on the battle-field. A cry went up from the combatants, and the enemy who were continually becoming more and more predominant, lost heart. The breeze of victory began to blow upon the rose-bush of the hopes of the devoted

[1] The Rajah is also called Pertāb though generally spoken of as Rānā Kikā.

from the quarter of celestial help, and the rose-bud of success of those loyal expenders of their lives bloomed forth. Vanity and conceit were changed into disgrace. There was a new testing of the fortune conjoined with eternity. The devotion of the sincere was increased, and sincerity was imparted to the simple. The auspicious morning-breeze of confession and belief blew for the sceptics; to the enemy came the thick darkness of the night of destruction. About 150 *ghāzīs* died on the field, and of the enemy more than 500 distinguished men were stained with the dust of annihilation. On account of the excessive heat and the fatigue of the battle the imperialists did not set their hearts on pursuing the enemy, and the Kuar proceeded next day to Goganda after offering thanksgivings. The wretch fled 176
and hastened to the defiles of the hill-country. The imperial army encamped in that city, and a report of the battle mentioning the services of the heroes and the bravery of the enemy was sent to court along with splendid articles of booty, especially the elephant Rām Pershād, in company with Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī, who had obtained leave from among the group of learned men (*ahl-sa'ādat*) for this expedition. On the day of Māh the 12th Tīr, Divine month, the news of victory reached the august hearing. He returned thanks to God, and raised the rank of the loyal and devoted. On the same day Saiyid 'Abdullah Khān[1] was sent to the eastern provinces by post-horses to convey to the officers the news of the approach of the world-conquering standards. He was both to convey the news of the glorious victory and also, if the soldiers of the province of Bihar had not marched to assist Khān Jahān, he was to insist upon their doing so.[2] At the time of sending him off H.M. said that a ray of inspiration had fallen on the portico of his heart which announced to him that, as he was taking to that country the news of this celestial victory, so would he in a similar manner bring to court the news of the conquest of Bengal.

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[1] B. 465.

[2] *Sazāwalī namāīd*, lit. "*display sazāwalī*." A. F. does not explain in the Ain the word *sazāwal*. Here it seems to be used in the sense of dunning or urging, and may be compared with the *tāk̲īdgīr* which used to denote in Bengal a man employed by zamindars and indigo-planters to urge on the peasants to pay their rents and sow indigo. *Cf.* text 178, 11 lines from foot, and p. 177, l. 14.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

EXPEDITION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO BENGAL AND HIS RETURNING FROM THE FIRST STAGE.

(The chapter begins with some unmeaning praises of Akbar, which do not occur in the Lucknow edition.)

The account of this is briefly as follows: Some trustworthy
177 people arrived from the eastern provinces and announced that the light of daily-increasing fortune was continually shining in the victorious camp, and that Ism'āīl by name, an Afghan, to whom Dāūd had given the title of Khān Jahān, had been killed at the entrenchments of the Qāqshāls. They also reported that the leaders of the army were of opinion that without the arrival of the standards of world-conquest the lights of victory would not fully shine forth, but that out of respect they could not freely state this. H.M. ordered that preparations for an expedition should be made, and that the army should go thither by land and water. Qāsim Khān was sent to Agra to arrange for the stations on the river. In a short time the managers of the business accomplished the work of several years.

As the pillars of knowledge and the Sultans of wisdom never approve of the work of to-day's being postponed to the morrow, and think this especially bad in the matters of administration, the Shāhinshāh, in reliance upon the Divine bounty, left Fathpūr in the height of the rains,—a season when many energetic men refrain from exertion,—starting on the day of Ābān 10 Amardād, Divine month—corresponding to Sunday 25 Rabī'-al-akhir (22 July 1576).

Verse.

The Shāh rode off from the abode of glory,
Bakhtiyār (his elephant ?) became the abode of glory (?).
The standards (*Kaukaba*) were of heavenly splendour,
The moon of his ensign rose to heaven,
The forms of the elephants bent the earth,
There was a shaking in the universe.

His sublime intention was that he should proceed by the river with a few of his courtiers, while the army should go by land.

Though the season was not suitable for the movements of an army, yet as the world's Khedive was looking to the settlement of a country, he considered that the repose of the soldiers would consist in the quelling of the enemy. On the way he said to some of his intimates, "Last night a window opened into the mystic world while I was in a state of dream, and I learnt that in a short space of time news would come of the conquest of the eastern provinces, and that the inhabitants thereof would enjoy repose and daily-increasing justice." On that day, when he had reached the village of Birār, which is a dependency of the district of Agra, at the beginning of night, Saiyid 'Abdullah Khān, having accomplished a long journey in eleven[1] days, brought news of the victory of the imperial servants, the discomfiture of the haughty rebels, and the conquest of the country of Bengal. And in order to teach mankind he threw down in the *jilaukhāna* 178
(shed) of the courtyard the head of Dāūd. A cry arose from the spectators, and mankind rejoiced. Though in the eyes of the superficial, a great victory had occurred in the outer world, yet in the eyes of those of profound vision it was the spiritual world which had been conquered. Guidance was furnished to the weary of foot in the wilderness of search. Seekers who had lost their way and who used to search for the night-illuminating lamp (of direction) in the dark abode of covetous wearers of raga (*i.e.*, from the ascetics and beggars) obtained the prince of the horizons for their guide, and commenced work anew, and had the candle of their vision lighted by two great marvels—to which intelligence had no access, and for which conjecture and reasoning had no capacity. The blind of the rose-garden of existence were made joyful by the fountain of vision and the acquisition of thousands of eyes of awakening and partook of the feast of witnessing (*shuhūd*). The lame of the field of recognition had the foot of knowledge restored. The blear-eyed obtained the antimony of vision. Those who were tottering on the highway of search received into their hands a staff[2] of firmness. The first (of the two marvels) was that at the time of giving Saiyid

[1] The battle was fought on Thursday, 12 July, 1576, and 'Abdullah arrived on the night of Sunday, the 22nd id. From the T. A. Elliot V. 400 it appears that Birār is 10 m. from Fathpūr.

[2] The text has 'aṣā "members," but the variant 'aṣā "staff" seems preferable.

'Abdullah his dismission there had come from the lips of that cream of creation (Akbar) the words "You will bring news of victory and conquest." The second was that on that same day H.M. had while *en route* given the interpretation of his dream and conveyed the tidings of victory and conquest.

H.M. the Shāhinshāh returned thanks to God for the two glorious victories. Though the untying of this hard knot (the conquest of Bengal) was in reality the result of the blessing of the holy influence of the world's lord, yet the external cause was the wide capacity, skill, and continuous efforts of Khān Jahān and Rajah Todar Mal, and the exertions of the irrepressible (be ru?) *sazāwals*.[1] When the heaven-aided army was in Ākmahal opposed to Dāūd there could be no pitched battle on account of the rugged nature of the ground, and the brave men on both sides were continually coming out and making trial of their courage. The whole idea of the presumptuous wretches was that when the rainy season set in, the camp would be broken up. The officers of the victorious army were for the most part Caghatāīs, and did not wish that so great an enterprise should be headed by the Khān Jahān, who was a Qizilbāsh. They had not such fidelity as to disregard, on account of their master's work, differences in religion and custom, and to endeavour for carrying out his objects. Necessarily such unrighteous thoughts were an obstacle in the path of the auspiciousness of this faction. Also the Bengal army had their hearts turned against the country on account of the prevalence of the plague, and their whole energy was devoted to prevent the prosecution of the work. Where is that splendour of wisdom which can comprehend that time and place do neither good nor ill towards filling the measure of life? That amount will appear which is in the Divine knowledge, whether one spends one's days in a tiger-
179 jungle or on the verges of the fountain of life! And where is that

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[1] *Sazāwalān*. This word is used here as in pp. 176 and 178 to signify special messengers or officers who were deputed by Akbar to urge on and quicken the movements of his generals. They are called *be rū*, lit. without face, because their business was to be importunate and troublesome and to have no respect of persons. Cf. English word effrontery.

A. F. dwells with some justice on Akbar's and the sazāwals' exertions, for apparently Khān Jahān would not otherwise have fought during the rains.

loyalty which asks for the sacrifice of life in the service of his lord? And also they were disinclined to combat, because in the eyes of the superficial the enemy was increasing in quality and quantity. They did not possess the far-sightedness which could see the armies of the daily-increasing fortune of the Shahinshah. Also they did not like the prospect of fighting on account of the strength of the enemy's position. They had not the magnanimity to find the equivalent of the strength of position in the might of H.M.'s fortune. Also the vehemence of the rains and the violence of the rivers withheld them from engaging. From total irrecognition of the Truth, they did not weigh spiritual aids against the calamities of the skies, and also the difficulty about grain and the high rates of articles caused weakness in their ardour. From want of trust, and from self-conceit they did not regard the Causer of Causes, and occupied themselves with secondary matters.

Khān Jahān and Rajah Todar Mal from their loyalty and knowledge of the world did not listen to men's idle talk, but exerted themselves greatly to hearten and encourage them. They bought over at a high price the disaffection of their companions, and submitted the jewel of service to exquisite tests. As they could not read the letters of the word of conquest in the forehead of these men's dispositions they set themselves to the bringing down the army of Bihar, and wrote letters to this effect. They besought the help of the sublime court in this matter. Mozaffar Khān was spending his time in the petty anxieties of men of small minds, but when the strenuous and irrepressible (*be rū*) sazāwals[1] came from the court, he was obliged to act, and together with Shujāʿat Khān, Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān, Mʿāṣūm Khān Kabulī, Mīr Mʿuizzu-l-mulk, Samānjī Khān, Mīrzāda ʿAlī Khān, Tarkhān Diwāna, he put the army in order and set his face to service. In the territory of Bhagalpur[2] Mozaffar Khān returned to his first opinion, and after eloquent discussions with his officers he decided that "The rains were a season of commotion, and that to go at this time to Bengal and fail was to ruin oneself. The proper thing to do was to remain where he was till the end of the rains. Khān Jahān, who was distressed from his long facing of the enemy, and

[1] *Sazāwalān be rū* shameless importuners. Apparently the principal person referred to is Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān Rohtāsī; cf. p. 179, 15 from foot.

[2] Kākalpūr in text, but the variant Bhāgalpūr is probably correct.

excessive hardships, must return; when the star Canopus arises, the rivers begin to fall, and the air to be pleasant, the imperial servants shall proceed with unanimity to the conquest of Bengal and the extirpation of the Afghans." At this time Muḥibb 'Ali Khān[1] arrived, and replied to this commotion by saying, "This idea cannot be weighed in the balance of loyalty or even of practical wisdom. When the wise ruler has sent a decisive order that we should hasten to Bengal and deliver battle, it is improper to think of any other plan or to indulge in delay. Let us hold fast to the command and go forward with our heart and soul to perform our service, and let us bring this long business to an end by the help of God and the fortune of
180 the Shāhinshāh." Inasmuch as this encouraging idea came from the fount of devotion and loyalty, it appealed to every one. Willingly or unwillingly, the crew of slingers of stones of delay assented to the proposition and suggested that before they joined the army (of Khān Jahān) trustworthy messengers should be sent to assure it that when the two forces were amalgamated the battle would not be delayed, and that they would bring the great work to a termination; for they feared lest the officers of the advanced force (K. Jahān's) should not be inclined to fight and would wish to wait for the arrival of the Shāhinshāh's cortégé, and that their camp might in such a season become broken up. Accordingly Mīr Mu'izzu-d-dīn and Wazīr Jamil were sent to reassure them.

When the writing of delay had been thus erased they were obliged to move towards the province. On the day of Mārisfand 29 Tīr, Divine month (10 July), the armies of Bihar and Bengal joined. The Khān Jahān met the chief officers (of the Bihar force) and treated them with honour. He brought them into his quarters and gave them a great feast. Next day he went to the quarters of Moẓaffar Khān and had a private interview with him. After much talk of little moment he (Moẓaffar) set his heart on fighting and they proceeded to draw up their forces. Khān Jahān commanded in the centre; the Bihar army had the right wing; in the left wing were Rajah Todar Mal, Jabbāri, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, I'tmād Khān Khwājasarā, Rajah Gopāl, and others. In the van were Shāham Khān, Murād Khān, Jān Muḥammad Bahsūdī, Isma'īl Beg Uzbeg, and

[1] This is Muḥibb 'Alī Rohtāsī and not Muḥibb 'Alī, the Mīr Khalīfa's son. See B. 422.

others. In the *altamsh* were Ism'aīl Qulī Khān, Qiyā Khān, and others. The enemy's forces were arranged as follows: in the centre was Dāūd; Kālā Pahār had the right wing, Junaid the left; in the van were Khān Jahān the ruler of Orissa, and Qatlū. On the 31st Tīr, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 15 Rabī-'aṣ-ṣānī (12 July) the battle took place. Though the whole country was under water and there was no way of crossing it by a bridge, the gallant men of the victorious army kept the slope of the hill before them and made, by the help of daily-increasing fortune, efforts to gain fame and jeopardised their lives. A suitable path was found, and when the news of this success arrived they raised the pæan of joy. They arranged themselves in order and sought for victory. When they had gone some distance there appeared before them a deep, black stream. There was no way of crossing it, and they could not think of turning back. A flood of apprehension seized the superficial and shortsighted whilst the profound of vision opened the eye of instruction and waited for some wonderful effect of Fortune. In a short space of time the mystic rays lighted up their faces with joy and that difficult stream became fordable. The able and intelligent took this as a pre- 181
sage of victory. When the enemy perceived what had happened they prepared for battle. Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and all the heroes of the left wing crossed the stream and behaved with activity. Kālā Pahār and the other brave men among the enemy stood firm and brought the jewel of courage to the bazaar of battle. The battle-field became glorious.

Verse.

Spears (*sinān*) smote upon breasts (*sīnahā*),
The world became like the day of the resurrection.
So much blood flowed stream on stream
That it carried away heads like polo-balls.

Owing to his ill-fatedness Bābā Khān turned his rein. Just then Jabbārī and some other brave men came up and attacked. Severe fightings polished the jewel of courage. The strenuous were nearly wavering when Rajah Todar Mal came bravely forward. The devoted renewed the attack, and making skill the ornament of energy they engaged in wondrous hand-to-hand encounters and drove off the foe. Kālā Pahār was wounded and saw that his safety was in flight. The courageous heroes did not think it advisable to pursue him as

there were great marshes in front, and also they had no news about the rest of the troops. They were obliged to draw rein and to behold the wonders of fortune. The holy warriors of the right wing were about to prove their courage when the enemy became stained with the dust of ruin, and no engagement worthy of description took place. Junaid, who was the sword of the Afghans, and who had military skill, measured the ground of baseness (was killed). The cause of this was that on the night which was pregnant with the morn of victory, a cannon-ball reached Junaid, who was sleeping on a *cār-pai* (bed), and broke his leg. Murād Khān and others of the van crossed the stream and advanced. The enemy gave proof of courage and drove them off. Just then other *ghāzis* of the van and the *altamgā* came up and turned back those who had been defeated. They stood firm and gave proof of devotion.

Maṣnavī.

Two armies came together seeking for vengeance
The brave came to the battle-field
The day of battle rose and fell
The dew of blood (descended) to the Fish, the dust (rose) to the moon
The swords of the heroes were red with blood
One gave his life, and another fled
Armour was broken, and loins unloosed
There was neither strength of hand nor of head.

Khān Jahān, who was at the head of the enemy, went to annihilation, and disorder took possession of the foe. The battle had not
182 yet reached the centre when the light of the crescent of Divine favour illuminated the world, and the luminary of the Shāhinshāh's fortune increased in brilliancy. The victorious soldiers pursued the fugitives on every side, and the hostile troops gave their honour to be consumed by the sparks from the fiery swords and went in confusion to the desert of bewilderment. Many of them in their confusion entered the rivers and streams, and so lost their lives. Khān Jahān had gone off in search of the foe when the battle-field became full of the noise of victory. His ears were delighted by the sound of rejoicing. On every side were heard the notes of the drums of joy. In the midst of this joyous confusion they brought in as a prisoner the

foolish Dāūd. It seems that his horse stuck in a quagmire. Ṭālib Badakhshī, a son of the Khwāja Ibrāhīm, who had been a confidential servant of M. Hindāl, had wickedly given him a horse and allowed him to depart. Suddenly an unknown person (*ikī as nā shināsān*) reported the facts to Murād Sīstānī and Ḥusain Beg Gurd, and they seized him and brought him in. At this time too that ill-intentioned one (Ṭalib) came with them and claimed a share (in the capture). On seeing what had occurred he went off ashamed. Khān Jahān asked the strife-monger (Dāūd) what had become of his compact and oaths. He removed the veil of shame from his face and said, "That engagement was with the Khān-Khānān. The time has now come to make friends and to enter into a new treaty." [1] Inasmuch as elegance of speech does not light up the darkness of the ruin of action, the Khān-Khānān wisely stopped the wiles and story-weaving of the wicked one and ordered [2] that he should be relieved of the burden of his head of contentious brains. Immediately afterwards he sent the head along with Saiyid 'Abdullah, and reported the fortunate facts. The body of the treaty-breaker was affixed to a gibbet at Tānda, which is the capital of that country.

Verse.

Great God! who has such fortune
That he takes a world with little trouble.
Hail to his lofty jewelled umbrella
The shadow of God shades his throne.
As yet his sharp sword is hidden.
As yet one rose of a hundred has not bloomed,
As yet mystic victories are in store,
As yet there are good news beyond thought.

When the facts of this great victory became known, fresh thanks were offered to God, the Giver of kingdoms. The market of giving and of increase of dignities became active. Saiyid 'Abdullah was distinguished by liberal gifts of money, etc., and so much red and white coin was poured into the skirt of his hopes that he could not carry it away. Bulletins of victory were sent to rulers and 183

[1] This refers to Khān Jahān's making no answer to Dāūd.

[2] Badayūnī says K. J. did not want to kill Dāūd as he was very beautiful, but the officers persuaded him to do so.

governors. Hail to the Fortune which in the course of 25 days displayed two great victories, such as have seldom appeared to mighty princes of old times. The first was the dispersal of the Rānā's pride, the second the conquest of Bengal, and the execution of Dāūd. Although the superficial were astonished at these results, yet those who know the glorious qualities and actions of the sovereign—his wisdom, his recognition of truth, and his purity—considered them but as one out of thousands of blessings, and bowed the forehead of adoration!

As the general public were troubled by so distant an expedition at such an unpropitious season H.M. recognised the fact that a speedy return was the forerunner of thanksgiving, and turned back on the morn of victory, and spread the shade of justice over Fathpūr the capital. Great feasts were given, and there was much rejoicing. The spiritual market acquired fresh activity, and waves of largesse quenched the thirst of the needy.

Verse.

Like an ocean which casts up waves,
Pours out pearls and then retires,
The subject-cherisher in his universal bounty
Was like a rain that rains in due season.

By the glory of the justice of the world's lord, and the splendid exertions of Khān Jahān and Rajah Todar Mal, that wide country came anew into possession, and became an abode of peace. A people of opposed nations and habits arrived at repose and the holy heart became entirely at rest about a country which from old times was called a house of contention (*bulghāk-khāna*).[1] That is to say, the dust of commotion was always being stirred up in that country by wicked men. Whilst the wise throne-occupant on beholding the tokens of right-thinking and right-acting implored the Divine aid and prayed for increased energy, mankind in general returned thanks for their lucky stars, in having bestowed on them such a wise, loving, pious and subject-guarding ruler. They bound the knot of obligation (*'aqd-i-luzūm*) on their mental skirt and made auspiciousness the face-brightener of their lives.

[1] B. 331, where the epithet is especially applied to Sātgāon.

Verse.

May his reign endure as long as Time.
May the cachet of cycles appear on his decrees!

One of the occurrences was the election of Qutbu-d-din Khān 184
to the rank of a commander of 5000. What day was there when that appreciator of the temporal and spiritual kingdoms did not raise officers, wherever stationed, to high rank? Inasmuch as the arrangement of the outer world is implicated with the increase of degrees of rank he made the canons of justice and equity the blazon of the portico of intelligence and used to augment the grades of the servants of the court. At once men's qualities were tested, and the world's market was kept alive. If an account of these measures were written, this sublime volume would not contain it. I am constrained to attend to great matters and to refrain from touching details. No, No! every detail of the sublime court is the totality of the upper world. But the complete description of the events of ever adorned dominion is beyond the capacity of the human intelligence, then what can be done by one a bewildered soul of the fraternity of contingent existence (*anjuman-i-imkān*). Especially when I have taken on the shoulder of objective the burdens of the social state, would the attempt at real asceticism, and at sitting in the ravine of obscurity, and at breaking the connection of materiality, with a weak heart and a distracted soul, be destructive of peace of mind. In writing the tale of enlightenment I have, contrary to followers of the commonplace, made Divine worship and thanksgivings for favours received my guide in truth's wilderness, and have in spite of the distraction of conflicting motives applied myself with an honest intent and truth-choosing disposition to the accomplishment of this great task. The holy order which bears the signature of Wisdom is that if the hand does not reach the body of the skirt, one should not try to seize its hem by a corner, and if there is no path to the garden-alley one should not contort the face by trying to smell the flowers. Consequently by mentioning some leading articles of the court of fortune I in the first place collect materials for my own bliss, and secondly I prepare a fresh gift for inquirers both present and future. Perhaps by means of this I may have a place in their hearts and may become one of the front-sitters of acceptance.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army to punish Daudā,[1] the son of Rai Sarjan, the ruler of Ranthambor. That evil-disposed one went off without leave to his native country of Būndī, and opened the hand of oppression. The just sovereign appointed Safdar Khān, Bahādur Khān, Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh, Kāndar Rai, Jāndūn Sultan, Jaimal and other warriors to make that infatuated one who did not see the end of things, crapulous with failure and to give protection to the inhabitants, and the shadiness of repose.

[1] B. 410.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Expedition to Ajmere, etc.

The pious sovereign proceeded to the shrine of Khwāja M'uīnu- 185
d-dīn Sanjarī on the day of Isfandārmaz 5 Mihr, Divine month, 15 September 1576. He went on horseback and was accompanied by some of his servants and a number of loyal amīrs. At the first stage Mīrzā K. met him, having come by order from Gujarāt, and had the glory of doing homage. The wise king made plurality [1] the veil of unity and alighted at Ajmere on the night of Mihr 16 [2] Mihr, Divine month, 26 September, and performed the ceremonies of visiting the shrine of the holy sepulchre. The troops of men who had gathered from the various parts of the earth to offer up their vows, became possessed of joy. Mankind in general carried off abundant store from the table of bounty. Masters of joy dispelled grief by dancing and clapping of hands.

Verse.

The vocalist ministered wine, but 'twas by the way of the ear.

Outwardly, the city of custom was in fête, inwardly, fresh verdure was given to the rose-garden of Truth by irrigation.

One of the occurrences was that Kūār Mān Singh and the other officers of the province came out and did homage. This faithful band had, on the rising of the light of H.M.'s fortune and the setting of the Rānā's star behind the hills of defeat, encamped in Goganda. The outcast from the Divine precincts (*daryāh*) had carried the face of disgrace to these mountain-defiles. The officers from prudential motives did not go in quest of him, and on account of the difficulty in

[1] That is, made society, or perhaps business, a veil for solitary contemplation.

[2] The T. A. says Akbar arrived at Ajmere on Thursday 5 Rajab, and Badayūnī says he arrived on 6 Rajab, which was the anniversary of the saint (29 September 1576). The anniversary (*'urs*) nearly coincided with the date of Akbar's birthday. Indeed it may have completely done so, for the Rajputana Gazetteer, p. 63, says that the day of the saint's death is uncertain, and so the festival lasts from 1 to 6 Rajab.

transporting provisions they came out of that stony land and reared the standards of victory in the open plain. Tricksters[1] and time-servers suggested to the royal ear that there had been slackness in extirpating the wretch, and the officers were nearly incurring the king's displeasure. But by the might and profundity of examination, which are the glorious characteristics of the world's lord, the veil was removed from the painted countenance of those evil-inclined word-spinners. One of the joyous occurrences was that on the day of Bād 22 Mihr, 2 October 1576, which contained the auspiciousness of time and displayed the rays of the glory of the age, the coin of Creation's Treasury (Akbar's body) was weighed[2] according to fixed rule against glorious objects, and there was an assayment of gifts.

One of the occurrences was the coming to court of Peshrau K.[3] and his bringing the good news of the last victory, *viz.*, of the defeat of Gajpatī and of his having met with his deserts. The brief account of this is that he from topsy-turviness of fortune and from the inaccessibility of his country transgressed the path of obedience and became presumptuous, as has already been briefly narrated. He was meditating the plundering of Ghāzīpūr, when Shahbāz K. arrived with the army of fortune, and his confidence was shaken. He saw it was best to seek safety in flight and hastened off to the ferry of Causa. He crossed the Ganges and stood ready for the battle. The heroes by exertions collected boats and proceeded to cross. By

[1] It is stated by B. 340 that Akbar was displeased because Mān Singh did not follow up his victory and so he recalled him. In this B. is supported by Badayūnī. Another thing which annoyed Akbar was that Mān Singh let his army suffer want in Goganda rather than plunder the country of the Rānā, who was a Rajpūt like himself. Badayūnī, Lowe 247, says Mān Singh and Āṣaf K. were for a time not allowed to pay their respects.

[2] The weighing took place twice a year. This was the lunar weighment, and it took place on this occasion on the 8th or 9th Rajab 984. But it nearly coincided with the solar anniversary. Perhaps the two weighments were amalgamated.

[3] B. 498, but Peshrau seems to have been sent in the 21st year, and not the 19th. See supra 169. Peshrau lived to be 90 years of age and died in the 3rd year of Jahangir, Tūzuk 71. For his biography see the Maasir, and B. 497. He was called Peshrau (forerunner) because he was in charge of the *peshraukhāna* and so had to go with the Advance Camp, Tūzuk J. 23.

their vigorous action the enemy was driven into the desert of defeat. 186
They got possession of guns and boats and other goods of his. On the march they came to the fort of[1] Mahad and set themselves to besiege it. Sangrām[2] the governor of the fort made the delivery of the keys the proof of his own success. Shahbāz K. made over the fort to skilful men and pressed forward to punish Gajpatī. The wretch sought shelter in the forests of Bhojpūr, where there are many heights and hollows. Though the devoted warriors trod the soil of effort, they were not successful, for the slumbrous-fated one, on account of the majestic "Avaunt" (*dūrbāsh*)of Prestige (*iqbāl*), did not see it good to give battle. The victorious army returned and took another route. Next day the tyrant[3] who was looking for his opportunity came to the bank of the river in order that he might at night stir up the dust of battle. On account of the broken nature of the ground, and the ravines, prudence did not permit the courageous heroes to cross over in front of the enemy. By the guidance of Sangrām they marched rapidly to devastate his home. In several places there were great contests, and glorious victories were gained. As the inwardly darkened one was made hopeless by the orb[4] of day he made a night-attack, and by his own efforts fell headlong into the gloomy abode of destruction. Covered with the dust of shame he hastened to Jagdispūr, which was the strongest of his places. The strenuous soldiers were for nearly two months engaged in cutting down the trees round the dwelling, but by the might of the Shāhinshāh's prestige the fort was (at last) taken, and the evil-doer's family and belongings were imprisoned in the noose of the Divine wrath, while he himself was stained with the dust of dishonour and brought into contempt.

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[1] Variant Mahds, as in B. 446 n. 1. In J. II. 154 it appears as Masodha in Sarkar Bihar, and he gives the variant Modha which Gladwin and Tiefenthaler have.

[2] B. 446 n. 1 and his Erratum to p. 340, l. 19. He was Rajah of Kharakpūr, id. 446.

[3] *qāpūchī*, a Turkish word literally meaning gate-keeper or door-keeper. The epithet is used apparently because Gajpatī ensconced himself in his forests and would not admit the imperialists. The word is properly *qāpūchī*, from *qāpū* a gate. Meninski s.v. *qāpūchī*, ed. 1780, has a long note.

[4] *nūristan-i-roz*. Gajpatī is represented by A.F. as a sort of night bird who could not endure the light. There is an allusion to Akbar who was the orb of day.

Peshrau Khán also related how on that night, which was big with a great victory, the Divine protection became his fortress owing to his turning himself towards the Shâhinshâh, so that he was delivered from his deadly peril. The story of that great deliverance is briefly as follows: "From the time[1] that I fell into the custody of that insolent and presumptuous one there was not a day which I did not expect to be my last. But by the blessing of my remembrance of the world-lord, I was kept scatheless. Especially was this so when there was a fight with the army of fortune. And the worst time of all was the night when that slumberer in misfortune trod the desert of defeat. About seventy prisoners showed (me) the path to annihilation (*i.e.*, they were killed). Among them were four of my companions. Every one was made over to a scoundrel that he might be slain in the forest, and he who was told off to take the life of this hopeless one (himself) took me apart, and set himself to cut the woof and warp of my existence. I made the holy personality of the Shâhinshâh the medium for drawing nigh to God, and turned the face of supplication to the Source of bounties. Sinking my head into my collar I became absorbed in meditating that if this osseous tower (*kâkhh-i-istakhwâni*, *i.e.*, his body) did not protect me I might obtain a
187 lofty chamber in the blessed abode of joy. When a long time elapsed, and there was no sign of the iron-livered executioner, I raised my head, and he came forward with supplications and entreaties, and said, "Art thou one of the guests of the banquet of vision, or a chosen one of the workshop of mystery, for however much I tried, my arm refused to act?" In reply I expounded to him fidelity and the wonders of the Shâhinshâh's fortune, and became his teacher (guide of the path). This discourse concerning the truth had not ended when Gajpatí passed by us. As he was in the slumber of failure, and his evil destiny hung down a veil over the eye of enlightenment, he regarded this warning exposition as trickery and made me over to another murderer. He too made great efforts to throw down my elemental structure, and I meditated as before on the holy personality of the spiritual and temporal Khedive, and making him my fortress I turned towards the Divine[2] Court. Though that strong man used

[1] See text, p. 169.

[2] Perhaps meaning that he turned his face towards Fathpûr as Daniel did towards Jerusalem. Dan. vi. 10 and Tobit 3. 11.

all his might, his sword would not come out of the sheath. Suddenly that vagabond (Gajpatī) of the desert of destruction again passed us. Seeing what had taken place he grew wrathful and he scowled. As he was in great confusion, for, on the one hand he was in fear of his life, and of being captured, and on the other was the thought of how he could convey his family into safety, he lost the path of suspiciousness. At a signal from him the same executioner took me on an elephant and went off in order that he might dispose of me in a safe place and at his ease. The elephant was newly caught and vicious. The man got hurt and flung himself down, and in so doing he got kicked and swooned away. Just then the elephant made a fearful noise, and ran off, and on hearing the terrible sound all the other elephants stampeded. Soon I came to a desert where there was no sign of man. During this rapid career I flung my arms, which were tied, round the driver's neck in order that I might squeeze his throat, and that when he was done for, I might convey myself to a place of safety. The driver thought "he's trying to make fast to me." At last he perceived my object and contrived to fling himself off. The elephant continued to rush on. At break of day he halted, and I flung myself off and fell on my face and became insensible. I recovered my senses at midday. In a very weak state I managed to come to the road. A horseman came in sight, and hurried on, thinking me a stranger. I thought he was a person I knew and called out. He recognised me and made the prostration of thanksgiving. He was one of the attendants who were making a keen search for me. I returned thanks for the glorious results of my meditation on the holy personality and for the marvellous Divine aid, and got on the saddle and became joyous and thankful. Just then I heard a kettledrum. I hastened in its direction and saw 'Arab Bahādur and a party of soldiers who were looking for me. I came with him to Shahbāz K. and told him the tale of how I had been succoured by the spiritual and temporal King of Kings. All bowed their heads on witnessing this great miracle.

I magnify the multiplex, sublime influences which yield such 188
rays of guardianship for the protection and guidance of those who may be far away from the precincts of the carpet of honour, and which brighten the eyes of the hearts of the auspicious ones who are

in the court of the Presence. Accordingly,[1] many a time during this august campaign did he cause the children who had come to despair of him to be filled with joy by the good news of his being alive and of his returning. Some of those who were sunk in the whirlpool of ignorance and who regarded the tricklings of truth as merely conventional comfortings, arose from their negligent somnolence, bedewed with shame.[2]

God be praised for that the throne-occupier of Unity in Multiplicity continually raises by wonderful contrivances the sincere to increased light, and kindles a lamp of guidance for the unfortunate who are in the gloomy abode of ignorance, and makes them acquainted with illumination. What marvel is it if the holy spirits of highly-favoured God-knowers have such wondrous power? Or how is it strange if those who rub their foreheads on the thresholds of holy souls have such joy after agony? But petty-spirited formalists from smallness of understanding imagine real excellence and spiritual eminence to exist among the rag-wearers of the desert of asceticism, and on beholding such miracles as these (in Akbar) bind thousands of loads of astonishment on the heavy-footed porters of their hearts.

Amongst the wonderful things which he (Peshrau K.) related was this: "While I was hastening along I fell in with a man in chains.[3] He took pity on my loneliness[4] and made his servant go with me. In return for his kindness I released him. On that very day just as he[5]

[1] It is not clear whether this is a general statement or refers only to the children of Peshrau K.

[2] Meaning that when Akbar told friends or relations that some absent one would return, they thought it was merely "vacant chaff well meant for grain." This sentence seems to show that the previous sentence is a general statement and does not refer merely to Peshrau.

[3] Masalsal. Perhaps this was a revenue-defaulter. See the word used with reference to Shāh Mansūr. A. N. III. 193. Apparently he was accompanied by his servant.

[4] This seems to refer to the time when he was travelling post and by land. If he had been in the boat (see text, p. 162) he would have had his boatmen, and perhaps the four companions whom he alludes to at p. 186. Perhaps the loneliness refers to his being in a foreign country and ignorant of the language. He had been brought up in Tabriz.

[5] The sentence is obscure, but I think the "he" in this place must refer to the servant and not to the man in chains. It looks almost as if the latter had been chained up in some place in the jungle, but allowed

by being separated from the unfortunate one emerged from the defile of the wilds, so did I by the unluckiness of his coming fall into prison. In the beginning of that night which was followed by the dawn which released me from my deadly captivity he, with many other prisoners, was sent to the pit of annihilation. Just as I by the misfortune of his company was seized by evil, so was I by the blessing of his departure made the attainer of happiness."

One of the occurrences was the erasure of the writing of the life of Bīrī Sāl. When the light of the celestial rays, which is the shining lamp of daily-increasing fortune, made Gajpatī a vagabond of the desert of ruin, and when, though Shergarh[1] was a strong refuge, he from confusion and mortal fear and with the thorn of failure in his foot hastened to the hill-country of Rohtās, and put upon his shoulder the mantle of ignominy, his brother Bīrī Sāl and many others of the rebels put their trust in the hills and glades of the forest. Brave and active men followed and suddenly fell upon them, and he and many others were slain. Much booty was obtained.

Another event of increasing fortune was the taking of the fort of Rohtās. Whereas loyalty, laboriousness, and the non-selling[2] of service are the keys of success, and the untiers of the knots of deeds and of glorious enterprises—which worldlings regard as difficult—this fort, the taking of which by physical means was an arduous task, was easily gained and with little effort. When Gajpatī was trodden under foot by misfortune, his son Srī Rāu[3] and a number

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to have his servant. He gave his servant to Peshrau and presumably departed to his home. The servant went with Peshrau. Peshrau's coming freed the servant from the necessity of staying on in the jungle, but the ill-luck of his company led to Peshrau's being seized. Then the servant was led off to execution, and Peshrau says his departure saved him. Peshrau's story does not occur in the Lucknow edition. It is an interesting tale, but A. F. has done his best to spoil it by his turgid and staccato mode of writing. Peshrau was a title, and was apparently given on account of the courier's activity. His real name, or at least another name, was Mihtar Sāādat. See B. 497, and Jahāngīr's Memoirs.

[1] Ruined village in Shahabad district 20 miles S.W. Sāsarām. Sher Shāh built a strong fortress here which is described in the Archæological Survey. I. G. XXII. 272.

[2] *Khidmat nafaroshī*. A. F. reflects on those who, as he expresses it, sell their services, *i.e.*, do not act from loyalty but from greed.

[3] This name does not occur in the

189 of audacious rebels collected materials of defence and established themselves in Shergarh. Shahbāz K. set himself to besiege it, and commenced to construct *sabāt* (covered ways), etc. Most of the rebels in the country took the highway of submission. During this interval, by the wondrous working of prestige, a fresh flower adorned the garden of wishes. The brief account of this is that when the country was without any great officer, Rohtās fell into the hands of Junaid. He made it over to one of his trusted followers named Saiyid Muḥammad. When Junaid was killed, Saiyid Muḥammad for some time guarded the fort with evil intentions. But as he had no proper backing, he thought to himself that he might, by the mediation of some influential person at the imperial court, use the fort as an offering and so become one of the imperial servants. But from abundant shrewdness he did not openly say anything. At this time the bandits of the neighbourhood of the fort, without whose concurrence it was difficult to get near the hill, were influenced by dread of the imperial army and elected to become loyal. Mozaffar Khān also marched with the army of Bihar to take the fort. The garrison lost endurance, and they opened up a correspondence with Shahbāz K. by sending trusty men to him and making proposals for obtaining quarter. He readily acceded to their wishes, and went there rapidly with some brave men. He made the bewildered garrison joyful and returned thanks to God. Mozaffar Khān on hearing of this delightsome conquest sorrowfully retraced his steps.

One of the occurrences was the taking of Shergarh. When, owing to daily increasing fortune, Rohtās had come into possession, the inhabitants of this mountainous tract (koh-pāya) lost confidence. Before the veil had been removed from the face of their actions, Srī Rām, their head, wisely recognised the majesty of the imperial fortune, and paid his repects to Shahbāz K. He delivered over the keys of the fort to him and amended his evil fortune.

One of the occurrences was the despatch of victorious troops to the province of Jālor and Sirohī and their being successful. When it came to the august hearing that Tāj Khān Jālorī had twisted his head away from obedience, and that Deora Rai of Sirohī was also, from ignorance, not observing the rules of servitude, Tarson Khān,

genealogical tree which I have received from the office of the Rāni of Dumraon.

Rai Rai Singh, Saiyid Hāshim Bārha, and many skilful fighters were appointed. They were to begin by using soothing and admonitory language in order that they might guide the recalcitrants into the highway of obedience. If the object could be effected by these means, which are approved by the wise, they were not to take the path of battle, but to assure them of the reward of the Divine favour. Otherwise, they were to put down their feet firmly on the field of effort, and to regard the Divine Will as involved in the cutting of the warp and woof of the existence of such turbulent spirits. The warriors soon reached Jālor, and Tāj Khān bound himself to the sad- 190
dle-straps of enduring dominion by proofs of repentance. When this business had been easily disposed of, they addressed themselves to proceed to Sirohi. The Rai of that place also awoke from his somnolent fortune, and came with an ashamed countenance to the servants of dominion. He, together with Tāj Khān, set off to perform the worship of prostration at the holy threshold. By orders from H.M. Tarson K. hastened to the government of Pattan-Gujrāt. Saiyid Hāshim and Rai Rai Singh took up their quarters in the town of Nādot[1] and made the strife-mongers of that country obedient. The roads of ingress and egress from the Rānā's country were closed.

One of the occurrences was the directing of the standards of world-conquest towards Goganda. The holy heart meditated the administration of the country by hunting in that direction, so that the disobedient there might once for all be made wanderers in the desert of failure, and also that by the blessing of the advent of the king of kings the inhabitants might choose the light of auspiciousness. In this way the spectacle of the Divine marvels would increase the enlightenment of the skilful, and the casting down of the evil, and the cherishing of the good—which are the most choice form of Divine worship, and the fountain of spiritual and secular excellences—would be accomplished on a proper scale and without the admixture caused by the courting of sellers of their services, and without the introduction of the artifices of mischief-makers. Also outward matters would be disposed of according to spiritual considerations. What a fine work this is which both bears on its face the colour of devotion, and also is a powerful help to the development of training!

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[1] B. 367, J. II. 254. It is in Gujrāt.

Though at first sight well-wishing has reference to the good, yet on profound inspection it is clear that there may be well-wishing with reference to the evil. And though at first sight it is reproof which is addressed to the disobedient and turbulent, yet in reality it is a source of bliss for such as are pure. For by the vigour of a proper investigation, the testing of the essential substance is brought to the touchstone of the balance, so that the cherishing of the first class (*i.e.* the good) and the source of exaltation may be impressed on the mind of the superficial followers of custom. And it is clear that the assemblage of the duties of sovereignty reposes primarily on the responsibility of throne-occupiers of wide capacity who belong to the palace of Sultan Wisdom. From this view the pious King of Kings applies his own holy spirit to the disposal of matters which cannot be managed in the most excellent way by his servants. Accordingly at this time, which was the beginning of the radiation of the luminary of prestige, when a ray showed that the Rānā had lifted up his head for sedition in the southern hill country, and that Rai Narayan Dās [1] was rearing the standard of presumption in Idar, and also that the heads of another faction were itching with pride, he resolved to go hunting [2] in that country. On the day of Mārisfand 29 Mihr, Divine month, the different grades of officers and a number of servants who had the bliss of being at court came forward in troops, adorned with steel, and presented themselves for inspection.

Verse.

The heroes were sunk in iron from head to foot,
Their appearance was like that of a mirror.
A man so encased himself in iron
That his eyelashes took the shape of needles.[3]

191 On that day the royal cavalier chiefly rode upon the elephant Bālsundar, and though the pretext of the ride was a joyous hunting-party, and only some servants of the Presence were in attendance, a

[1] J. II, 241, where it is said that Narayan Dās was of such austere life that he lived on the grain voided by cattle.

[2] *lit.* to hunt that country as his game.

[3] *Sosan.* It also means the instrument used to clean the touch-hole of a gun.

great army made its appearance. On 31 Mihr, Divine month (about 11 October 1576), after Divine worship—which consisted in the arrangement of outward affairs—he marched from the pleasant spot of Ajmere towards Goganda. A sublime order was given that the officers of the guard (*umrā-i-Ḳishik*)[1] should every day after performing their service hasten forward and become the watchmen of the processes of enlightenment, and also that they should when entering on their duties of serving in the fore-court of the Presence perform the kornish. When the standards of fortune approached their destination many of the presumptuous ones of that country rubbed the forehead of obedience. The Rānā went into the hill country of contempt before the majesty of the Shāhinshāh. Out of precaution and farsightedness Quṭbu-d-dīn Ḳhān, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and Kūar Mān Singh with sundry of the imperial servants were sent off in order that they might go into the hollows of the hills and lay hands on the villainous dweller in ravines. Qulīj Ḳhān, Ḳhwāja Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Ḳhān, Mīr Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb Ḳhān, Timūr Badakhshī, Mīr Abulghais, Nūram Qulīj and many other strenuous men were sent on that day to Īdar in order that they might clear that country of the weeds of the ungrateful.

One of the occurrences was H.M.'s inclination towards the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz. But on the petition of the officers of dominion he abandoned his intention. The world's lord in his abundant piety and recognition of the truth is ever strenuous in doing the will of God. And in spite of all his treasures, material and spiritual, he,

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[1] *Kishik* is a Turkish word, meaning a baton. This obscure sentence does not occur in the Lucknow ed. Some light is thrown on it by the 9th Ain of the 2nd Book, Blochmann 257. In the Ain text this Ain is called the *Āin-i-Kishik*, and Blochmann has translated that as "Rules about mounting guard." It would seem from this chapter that guards were relieved and inspected in the evening, and the order of Akbar seems to have been that the officers should perform the kornish or the taslīm both when going off duty, and when coming on duty. The kornish and taslīm were ordinary salutes and different from the *sijda* or prostration which was only allowed to the followers of the Divine Faith, and then only in private assemblies. The phrase "become the watchmen of the processes of enlightenment" seems to mean that after and before performing their ministerial duties of watching they became by appearing before Akbar guardians of enlightenment or spiritual awakening.

owing to his wide capacity and ample talents, does not regard what he has attained to as the satisfaction (*lit.* breakfast) of his desires. And because the world-illuminating light has taken possession of his vision, he looks not at his own daily-increasing beauty, and the glance of search is ever beaming from the eastern horizon of his soul. The foot of his genius is ever in quest of the sign of the signless One (God). At this time a set of persons without ties[1] (*lawandān*) who hailed from the land of simplicity perceived the royal cavalier's eagerness for bodily acts of devotion and especially for visiting distant shrines of martyrs,[2] and suggested again to this keen traveller of the wilderness of search the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz. Though from the plenitude of his wisdom it was clear to him that pilgrimage[3] was the first step (only) for truth-seeking ascetics, and that those who had gone upon such journeys, and still more those who had reached the fountain-head of their desires, had gathered up their skirts from such earthly and formal worship and given their energies to other things. There were other tasks for the great ones of the social world, and their worship was of another character. Especially was this so in the case of justice-administering rulers, and most of all was it so in the case of such a world-Adorner who had taken the burden of mankind on his shoulders, and who, by his skilful projects, and flashing scimitar, had converted the territories of so many great princes into an abode of peace. How could such a form of worship be deemed suitable for him? Nevertheless the God-loving sovereign felt constrained to
192 fulfil every condition of solidarity, and so grasped this journey in the skirt of his energies. The Court-favourites and the sages of the holy assemblages described the devotions of the social and the recluse-state—they were already clear to his truthful mind—and represented—in the manner in which the honest and upright make remonstrances—that some of the great geniuses who had garnered truth, and who had held such journeys to be legitimate for his holy class, had made it conditional upon no dust of failure entering thereby the

[1] Lawand is a name applied to faqirs and other religious devotees.

[2] *Mashāhad* sepulchres of martyrs, but the word martyr does not necessarily mean in Muḥammadan hagiography one who has witnessed with his blood. M'uīnu-d-dīn, for instance, died a natural death.

[3] Perhaps the meaning rather is that the first step for ascetics is the search for truth.

pleasant abode of the cherishing of their subjects. The just sovereign, in accordance with his own lofty understanding, and for the sake of guarding the hearts of the sincere and single-minded, erased the characters of his desire from his heart-tablet.

As there [1] was a necessity for making some arrangement, his right-judging mind determined that an upright and experienced man should be sent to that country in order that, whilst the precious jewel of truth became polished by the spiritual retractation (of purpose), so also might outward performance be effected by means of this deputation. Sultan Khwāja Naqshbandī—who had an abundant portion of the above qualities—was on the day mentioned [2] appointed "Amīr-i-Ḥāj" and dispatched. He was given six lakhs of rupees and 12,000 khil'ats in order that he might distribute presents in accordance with the rules of propriety, and also might bestow gifts on those who chose to exile themselves for this long journey. An order was also given that inquiries should be undertaken and a clear list made of the recluses of that country, who from being occupied in looking after their souls, had not leisure to follow professions or handicrafts, and of the other patient paupers of the land. The object of his holy thought was that an enlightened person of the court might be sent every year to that country so that abundant provision might be made from the table of the Shāhinshāh's bounty for the needy of that country as for the necessitous of other climes. There were various classes of men in this auspicious caravan, and especially those connected with the family of contemplation and enlightenment, and those associated

[1] The sentence is obscure, and perhaps the meaning is that as external circumstances prevented Akbar from going in person, a deputy was appointed. The "spiritual retractation" mentioned in the same sentence is in the original *bāzgasht-i-ma'ānavī*, and seems to mean the return of Akbar's spirit from the Ḥijāz. Though he did not actually go there, his spirit went, or was going, and then, after the expostulations of his courtiers, his spirit returned.

[2] No day is expressly mentioned. Perhaps the date in question is that on which Akbar left Ajmere, which was 31 Mihr, or 11th October 1576. The Iqbālnāma however gives the date of Sultan Khwāja's departure as Thursday 2 Sh'ābān or 25th October 1576. Perhaps however this is the date on which the caravan and the army parted company. The Iqbālnāma adds that Akbar put on the pilgrim's dress and that he took S. Khwāja by the hand and made him his deputy.

with demonstration and testimony (*shahūd*). Never before had there been such a coming of seekers of blessing from India to that country.

S'aādat[1] Yār Koka, Shāh Khwāja, Malik Maḥmūd, Qāzi 'Imādu-l-mulk, Maulanā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Wā'iẓ[2] (preacher) Mullā 'Abdullāh Wafādār, Khwāja Ashraf, Khwāja Ḥusain 'Alī Farkhārī, Maulānā Faẓlī Naushād, Shāh Mīrzā, Jamāl Khān Bilūc were among the pilgrims. In his great kindness H.M. ordered that the officers who had been dispatched to Goganda and Īdar should act as escort. The large caravan went by the way of the Haldī pass, and proceeded with the victorious army to Goganda. They passed through the defiles and ridges and reached Panwāra. From that place Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān and Rajah Bhagwān Dās and the other soldiers who had been appointed to extirpate the Rānā, turned back and went off to Goganda. When they reached the native country of that ill-fated one, he went off to the pit of contempt and placed the mantle of
193 concealment on his head. The troops which had been sent off to march to Īdar escorted the pilgrims stage by stage and arrived there on the day of Amardād 7 Abān, Divine month. The haughty ones of that country went off to the defiles of the hill-country, but a number of Rājpūts took post in temples and houses and resolved to die. A number of heroes such as Hīra Bhān, 'Umr[3] Khān Afghan, and Ḥasan Bahādur hastened to extirpate them. The ill-fated ones unsheathed their swords and made ready their spears and came forward to the scene of life-sacrifice. Many of the imperial soldiers turned back, but those above named brought the jewel of firmness to the magnificent market and behaved marvellously. Umr Khān and Ḥasan Bahādur drank the last wholesome draught and went to the paradise of repose. The stiff-necked and ignorant ones fell headlong into the pit of annihilation, and the city together with abundant plunder fell into the hands of the imperial servants, and they occupied themselves in keeping order and in administering justice. From thence

[1] Possibly this is the son or step-son of Gulbadan Begam. See Blochmann 443. Gulbadan B. speaks in her Memoirs of her son S'aādat Yār. If it was he, he died in 1003. A.H. A.N. III. 656. He had a sister Ḥājī Koka and a brother, whose daughter married A. F's son 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, A. N. III 579.

[2] This is the Transoxiana priest mentioned at p. 74 of text.

[3] It seems probable that this is the father of Daulat K. and grandfather of Khān Jahān Lodī. See Abū Turāb's "History of Gujarat," p. 84

the pilgrim-caravan moved towards Gujarat, and Timur Badakhshī and a number of officers escorted it. On account of the periods being unseasonable for the sea-journey the caravan halted in Ahmadabad.

One of the occurrences was that the far-seeing prince raised Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr Shīrāzī, who was an adept at the mysteries of accounts, to the high office of Vizier. He had formerly been appointed one of the head-officers[1] of the Perfumery department, but owing to his quickness and zeal (*josh-i-rashd*) he had disputes with Mozaffar Khān and was dismissed. After much ill-success he joined Mun'im Khān, and when he came to court about the affairs of Bengal his abilities became conspicuous. When Mun'im Khān died, Rajah Todar Mal on account of questions about accounts imprisoned him and put chains on him. H.M. from his great appreciation of merit sent an order, summoning him to court. At this time, which was the beginning of the smiling of the Spring of dominion, Shāh Manṣūr glorified the forehead of his fortune by prostration on the holy threshold, and without the recommendation of courtiers—which is what helps most men—and without experience—which the experts regard as the evidence for promoting servants—the weight and influence of the Khwāja increased. Though the wide capacity and abounding knowledge of H.M. are independent of the help of a minister (*Dastūr*), and though the brilliance of the wisdom of this unique one of creation puts the ordinary servants of the Sultanate into the straits of inactivity yet from his appreciative power, and 194
from his shutting his eyes to the shining of his own God-given beauty, he is ever searching for a good man (*saru-i-adam*) and continually expresses by words and acts his wish for such a choice man, and assigns to him the office of a living second soul and a third eye (to Akbar's own). But it is apparent that the incomparable Deity wills that the holy personality of the Shahinshah should come forth from retirement and seclusion, and that the disciplinary laws of mortals—which are fitted to be universal regulations, should come forth from him whom He himself hath made great, and that the world-illuminating beauty of the lord of the earth should be

[1] *I'shrāf-i-Iṭrīyāt.* Apparently his appointment was that of accountant to the department (Mushrif). See Blochmann 430.

impressed on the hearts of small and great. If such a wise man of wide capacity and the unique of the unequalled court—such as H.M. is looking for—were found, a number of short-sighted persons belonging to the world of formalism would adopt the injurious idea that those great laws emanated from this man's wisdom! Though the wise of the age do not see the propriety of the Unique one of God's having a Vizier, yet as H.M. observes the connection between spiritual and temporal things and preserves both of these high matters, he on the day of Gosh 14 Abān, Divine month, appointed the Khwāja to this high office. Although he possessed no share of the current sciences, yet he was at the head of the first-rate men of the age for excellence in speech and in action, and together with these qualities he had a wide capacity.

One of the occurrences was that when he encamped at the town of Mohī[1] Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn Mashhadī, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Muṭṭalib Khān and the officers of the province of Mālwa came and did observance. Each of them was the recipient of favours in accordance with the degree of his loyalty. For some days that spot was made illustrious by the Shāhinshāh, and the condition of the inhabitants was properly supervised. Bahādurs such as Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, Sharīf K. Atka, Mujāhid K. and Subḥān Qulī Turk were left in Mohī, and 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān son of Muyīd Beg, and 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān the son of Jalālu-d-dīn Beg, and others were left in Madāriya.[2] Similarly, brave men were appointed to other places in order that whenever that wicked strife-monger (Rānā Partāb) should come out of the ravines of disgrace he might suffer retribution. When the holy mind had disposed of the affairs of that region, he on the day of Mihr 16 Āẕār, Divine month, proceeded by way of Bānswāla (Bānswara) towards Mālwa. His whole wish was that the country might obtain justice by the blessing of his advent, and that the general community might, under the shadow of his graciousness, obtain rest and repose.

195 One of the occurrences was that Quṭbu-d-dīn K. and Rajah Bhagwant Dās were censured. The brief account of this is that the leaders of the army of fortune had reached the abode of the Rānā. As no trace could be found of that turbulent one, they hastily, and

[1] Mohanī of Badayūnī. [2] J. II. 274. It was in Sarkār Citor.

without orders, came to court on hearing of the approach of the royal standards. As the observance of the orders of the Sultanate rests, in the first place, on great commanders, and in the second on the inferior servants, they were excluded from the bliss of doing homage and were reproved. When they showed signs of penitence (lit. when the characters of repentance were clear in the lines of their foreheads to correct readers of such marks), and had made confession of their shortcomings, they were permitted to present themselves.

One of the occurrences was that while the sublime cortège was passing through Udaipūr, reports came from Gujarat to the effect that a set of ignorant persons had vexed the pilgrims by frightening them about the officers of the Feringhi ports. Though their pure highnesses[1] were addressing them with words of wisdom, and the

[1] *Ḥaẓrāt Qadsī*, lit. holy Presences: cf. Ḥaẓrāt Begamān A.N. 66, l. 5. I think this expression must refer to Gulbadan Begam and the ladies who accompanied her on pilgrimage. If it does not refer to them it must mean either the holy persons such as Sulṭān Khwājah and the Maulvis who were with the pilgrims, or some other noble ladies who were in the caravan. But I am doubtful if the phrase "holy Presences" would be applied to Sultan K. and the Maulvis, and we do not hear that any ladies of high rank, except Gulbadan B. and her party, went on pilgrimage at this time. Then also there were two ships engaged, and one, the Selīmī, was only for the ladies. Surely only ladies of Gulbadan B. and other Begams' rank would be allowed the privilege of a separate ship. The difficulty is that Gulbadan and her party left Fatḥpūr long before the caravan, but then Badayūnī tells us that they were detained for a year in Gujarat. This would give time for the caravan to come up with them. According to Badayūnī, text II. 213, Gulbadan B. and her party left Agra in 982, and he also seems to say that they reached Mecca in Sh'abān, 983. But what I think he means is that they sailed from Surat in Sh'abān, and also I think there must be a mistake in his dates and that 982 and 983 should be 983 and 984, unless indeed his 982 only refers to the end of that year and to the journey from Agra to Fatḥpūr. Certainly A. F. says, III. 145, that Gulbadan B. and her party left Fatḥpūr in the end of Mihr of the 20th year, i.e., about the middle of October 1575 or Sh'abān 983. Niẓāmu-d-dīn also, Elliot V. 391, puts the departure into the 20th year, and he seems to connect it with the appointment of a Mīr Ḥāj. If then, as Badayūnī says, Gulbadan B. and her party had to wait a year in Gujarat, they would not sail till October 1576 or Sh'abān 984. Badayūnī says that they performed four

imperial officers were encouraging them, the generality refused to be comforted. In his great kindness H.M.[1] could not allow this company of voluntary exiles to be left in distress. Accordingly he summoned Qulij Khān, who held several of the parts of Gujarat, to come to him by relays[2] of horses from the camp at Īdar, and then he sent him off to Gujarat in order that he might go as far as the seashore and soothe and assist the pilgrims.

[The Iqbālnāma seems to clear up the difficulty about the ladies having started long before the caravan, for it says expressly that Qulij K. arranged for the departure in the ship Selīmī of "the chaste ladies of the harem who had started before" (the caravan).]

By the might of the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh he in a short space of time performed that excellent service. The secluded ladies[3] of the court of chastity sailed in the ship Selīmī, and Sultan

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ḥajas or pilgrimages, and that they spent a year at Aden on account of their having been shipwrecked, and returned in 992 (1584). A. F. says, III. 385, that they spent 3½ years in the Ḥijāz and were detained for seven months, on the return voyage, at Aden. If they left Surat in Sha'bān 984 they probably would be in time for the Ḥaj which took place in the last month of that year. The other three ḥajas would be those of 985-87. 988 began in February 1580, and this might bring them to Aden in April of that year where Bayāzīd found them. (A. S. B. J., vol. 66, Part I, for 1898).

[1] Possibly the meaning is that the ladies could not leave the other pilgrims behind.

[2] *basp-yām*. The text wrongly has bām. See P. de Courteille's Dict. Seeing that Qulij K. was at Īdar in Aḥmadabād Sarkār, J. II. 252, and only 40 kos from Aḥmadabād (Badayūnī II. 341), and that Akbar was at Udaipār, one might have expected that the order would have directed Qulij K. to proceed direct from Īdar to Surāt. But it appears from Nizāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 403 and 404, that Qulij was brought to Akbar by the messenger, who was 'Alī Murād Uzbeg (Badayūnī II. 243), and that the meeting took place in Banswāra. From there Qulij K. went to Surat and with the assistance of a Cambay merchant named Kalyān Rai got passes for the ships and had them dispatched.

[3] I think this must be Gulbadan and the other ladies. It appears, Elliot V. 402, that the vessels sailed from Surat. According to Nizāmu-d-dīn 336 and Badāyūnī II. 242 the difficulty was about getting passports (qaul) from the Portuguese. Qulij K. with the help of Kalyān Rai arranged matters. Badāyūnī says, II. 242, that Kalyān Rai was a *baqāl* (shop-keeper) of Cambay.

Khwāja and the other officers made the voyage in the ship Ilāhi. The Christian rulers and the chiefs of every country regarded the advent (of the pilgrims) as an honour and gathered the materials of eternal bliss.

One of the occurrences was that while the splendour of the august standards was casting glorious rays on the territory of Bānswāra, Rāūl Pertāp the head of that district—who was always stubborn—and Rāūl Askaran ruler of Dūngarpūr and other turbulent spirits of that country came and paid the prostration of repentance. Inasmuch as H.M.'s nature is to accept excuses, and to cherish the humble, he accepted the shame of their having rendered little service, at the rate of good service, and took the life, the honour and the country of this faction under the protection of his justice and kindness. They were exalted by special favours.

One of the occurrences was that the Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān[1] came and did homage. He brought 65 elephants out of the spoils of the 196
eastern provinces, and gave wonderful accounts of those regions and of the good services of the devotees of their lives. There was cause for thanksgiving to the unequalled Creator.

One of the occurrence was that troops were appointed to Goganda. At this time it came to the august hearing that the Rānā had again made the hills and defiles means for turbulence and was engaged in evil thoughts. On the day of Dībmihr 15 Dai, Divine month, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Kūār Mān Singh, M. Khān the son of Bairām K., Qāsim K. Mīrbahar, and a number of experienced men went off to that country. By the great attention of the Shāhinshāh that country was cleared from the thorn-brake of rebellion, and adorned by just subjects.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal and 'Itmād K. Khwājasarā arrived in Bānswāra from Bengal and did homage. They presented glorious spoils of that county—among them were 304 noted elephants—and praised the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune as shown in the success of the imperial servants, the failure of foes, the cleansing of the country from ingrates, and the repose of the inhabitants.

[1] B. 443.

One of the occurrences was that in Dīpālpūr, Raḥmān Qulī K. Qūshbegī (falconer) arrived from the Ḥijāz and did homage. He produced before H.M. the petitions of the *Sharīfs* and other officers of that country. H.M. stayed some days in that neighbourhood for disposing of various matters of administration.

One of the occurrences was the mission of Rajah Bīrbar and Rai Lankaran to Dūngarpūr. The brief account of this is that the Rajah of that place had from his good fortune petitioned through some intimates of the court that his daughter—who was one of the distinguished of the age for chastity and wisdom—might be included among the palatial servants (*i.e.*, might be married to Akbar). In this way a rare jewel would find its proper place, and also a great help would be given to his (the Rajah's) relations. H.M. had regard to his loyalty and granted his request. Those two confidential servants were given leave in order that they might convey in a choice manner the secluded one to the harem of fortune.

One of the occurrences was that on the day of Farwardīn 19 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, a report came from Rai Rai Singh, announcing the conquest of Sirohī and the taking of Abūgarh.[1] The brief account of this is that the Rai of Sirohī Sultan Deorah from his ill-fate, and native savagery, came to his own country with
197 an evil intention. At a signal from H.M., Rai Rai Singh, Saiyid Hāshim and other servants went to conquer that country, and to punish that evil-disposed person. They began by entering the country and by besieging him. As the fort was strong, and he was without calculating reason, he thought that the lofty hills would protect him, and his arrogance increased. The warriors took up their abode there and proceeded to act leisurely instead of rapidly. Rai Rai Singh sent for his family from his home. He whose fortune was slumbrous (the Rai of Sirohī) attacked the caravan on the road with a number of determined men. Many Rajputs who were with the convoy and under the leadership of Raimal fought bravely and there was a great fight. Many fell on both sides, but by the blessing of daily-increasing fortune that audacious highlander was defeated and became a vagabond in the desert of failure. He abandoned Sirōhī and went off to Abūgarh. That country (Sirōhī) came, by the excellent conduct of the servants, to be in-

cluded in the imperial dominions, and they hastened towards Abūgarh.[1] The real name of this place is Arbūdā Acal (here A. F. spells the words), and it had been converted by men's tongues and by time into Abūgarh. They say that Arbuda is the name of a spirit who comes in a female form to guide those who have gone astray in the desert of search. Acal means a hill, and the idea is that that pure form is specially associated with the place. Abūgarh is near Sirōhī, and on the borders of Ajmere towards Gujarat. Its extent is about seven kos. On the top of the hill the Rānā built in former times a sky-high fortress. The road to it is very difficult. There are springs of good water, and sweet-water wells, and there is sufficient cultivation to support the garrison. There are various flowers and odoriferous plants, and the air is very pleasant. Wealthy people have for the sake of spiritual welfare erected temples and shrines there. The victorious bands came to the fort by the aid of daily-increasing fortune, and so strong a fortress, such as great princes would have found it difficult to conquer, came into the hands of this party of loyalists with little effort. S. Deorah was bewildered by the majesty of the Sultanate of the Shāhinshāh and fell to supplications. He took refuge with the auspicious servants, and made the key of the fort the means of opening the knot of his fortune, by delivering it to them. Rai Rai Singh left the fort in charge of able men, and proceeded to court along with the Rai of Sirohī.

One of the occurrences was the sending the army of fortune to Khāndesh. Rajah 'Alī Khān, the ruler of that country, being backed up by the other rulers of the Deccan, was remiss in his obedience and service. The world's lord, in his abundant graciousness which shows itself to high and low, appointed on the day of **198** Bahrām 20 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, a suitable army under the charge of Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān, to proceed to that province. Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān, Shuj'āat, Bāqī K., Naurang K., M. Nijāt K., 'Alī Dost K. and many others were appointed to this service. The order given was that they were in the first instance to address awakening words to the slumbrous in the desert of folly and to bring them to the city of truth, and make them flower-

[1] B. 358, n. 1, and J. II. 251. It is Mount Abu.

gatherers in the garden of good service. If from an evil star they remained in slumber, the troops were to exert themselves to clear off the rust from those darkened ones by the flashings of Indian swords. They were to make over the country to just and disinterested men, and to protect the subjects generally, who are a trust from God.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal was dispatched to the province of Gujarat. When it came to the august hearing that that territory was in a disturbed state owing to the carelessness of Wazīr K., he bade skilful and trusty men to go there quickly and endeavour to put it into order with the aid of the officers of the country. He hastened there and showed the jewel of his abilities to mankind. The inhabitants and the visitors to the province enjoyed prosperity.

One of the occurrences was that Shāhbāz K. came to Dīpālpūr from the eastern provinces with the success due to his good services, and did homage. When the capture of Rohtās, his victory over Gajpatī and his other good services became known to H.M., an order was issued that he should make over Rohtās to Muḥibb 'Alī K., and come to court. On the day of Ashtād 26 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, he rubbed the forehead of devotion on the threshold of fortune, and was exalted and encompassed by royal favours. As H.M. was desirous that the world-conquering armies should proceed with all expedition to the Deccan, and make that land a station of peace and a centre of justice, he signified to him that he should see to the equipment of the army and put it on a proper footing. He performed this service in accordance with the order and made the kornish when H.M. was at the capital.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Īdar. It has already been mentioned that when the star of the Rai of that country sank into the horizon of ruin, H.M., by constraint of the principle that just princes are the physicians of the world, and the *ḥakīms* of horizons, sent thither an army of strenuous men. If conciliatory language had no effect they were to erase the picture of his existence from the page of creation. The ignorant man in his baseness and wickedness made the admonitions a cause of obstinacy. When Qulij Khān was called away to the ports of Gujrat, he (the Rai of Īdar) indulged in worse thoughts, and by his own efforts became stained with the dust of dishonour. The brief account of

this heavenly aid is as follows. The Rai made those two things 199
(the admonitions and departure of Qulīj K.) a cause of increased presumption, and let a veil fall over his vision. In a short time his senselessness became intoxication, and from his not seeing the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune (of Akbar), Āsā Rāwal collected some daring men, and came out of the defiles to deliver battle. The imperial servants went to meet him. On the night of Gosh 14 Isfandarmaz, Divine month, they left Sher K. with a body of troops to guard the camp and proceeded to the field of battle. Khwāja Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Aṣaf K. commanded in the centre. Timur Badakhshī commanded the right wing, and Mīr Abu-l-laiṣ the left wing. M. Muqīm Naqshbandī, Nūr Qulīj, Dhīra Parmān, Mīr Ghiāṣu-d-dīn and others were in the van. Shimāl K., Gadā Alī and others formed an ambush (kamīn-gāh). The enemy formed two bands and came on quickly. M. Muqīm and some of the *āzīs* of the van displayed activity, and Moẓaffar advanced from the centre. The brave men of the victorious army loosed their rein and rushed to do battle. The daring Rajpūts made ready their spears and encountered them. There were wondrous hand-to-hand combats. The jewel of courage was brought to the test and acquired fresh brilliancy.

Verse.

Drums thundered, the battle began,
Swords were drawn, heroes strove.
Blood flowed like wine, their cries were the orchestra,
Daggerhilts were the cups, arrows the dessert (naql).

In spite of being wounded in the arm Nūr Qulīj did not restrain his hand from battle. Moẓaffar fell to the ground from the onset of the Rajpūts, but was rehorsed by brave men. Dhīra Parmān behaved courageously. During this contest the van was put into disorder, but the abovenamed preserved their honour and stood, sacrificing their lives. M. Muqīm drank the wholesome sherbet of death, and Quṭb K. one of his companions also played away the coin of his life. At the time when the van was discomfited the victorious troops pressed forward. The foe did what they could, but had to fly. The imperial servants, by the blessing of daily-increasing aids, 200
became successful in the midday of despair, and exulted joyfully.

When the news of victory reached the august ear he returned thanks to God. The courageous servants were distinguished by royal favours.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Beginning of the 22nd Divine year, viz. the year Dal of the second cycle.

The justice-loving sovereign performed the devotions of the solitary and the social state in the vicinity of Dipālpūr under the veil of hunting, and produced harmony between the material and the spiritual life. He gave inward rank to what was external. The joyousness of the equable spring disclosed the face of delight, and the court's of bliss were thrown open. The time of largesses received new lustre. On the night of Monday 20 Zī-l-ḥaja (11 March 1577) after seven hours, twelve minutes, the sun cast his rays upon Aries .....

Verse.

By the writing of power the world became like the picture gallery of Mānī,[1]
The garden by wisdom's light became like the thought of Avicenna,
You'd say the earth from joy was like the sky,
You'd say the sky bloomed like a garden.

One of the occurrences was the departure of Māhī[2] Begam to the spiritual world. That nursling of the rose garden of the Caliphate was the grand-child of Rāwal Harrāj the ruler of Jaisalmīr. Regarding the dust-bin of the earth as a granary of grief, she on 18 Farwardīn, Divine month (28 March 1577), turned her face from the outer world, and did not gather flowers in a fading garden for a 201
longer space than a year.

[1] The painter and heretic. There is an account of him, taken from Khwandamīr, in Meninski pref., p. 57, ed. 1780.

[2] This was a daughter of Akbar. There is no mention of her in the T. A. Nor is the name of her mother known.

Verse.

Deep is the ocean round this isle,
Black the earth and dark the water:
By the departure of that flower of paradise,
The boat was broke in the wave of the heart.

The ladies displayed much grief and shed many tears. How shall I write of the state of the world's lord? It comes not within the mould of description! From the grief which that fountain of graciousness used to feel for the deaths of the children of his servants, the acute may in some measure conjecture what he felt for the death of his own child. But he infolded himself with patience, and chose the pleasant abode of composure.

Verse.

May the King live for ever in good fortune.
May there be to him the freshness of tiara and throne.

In the beginning of this glorious year the fortress of Būndi[1] was taken, and Daudā the son of Rai Surjan received his deserts. Previously an army had been sent against him, but as it appeared that this force did not act honestly, Zain Khān Kokāltāsh was sent off on this service from Rāmpūr on the day of Bahrām, 20 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to 10 Muharram 985 (30 March 1577). There were sent with him Rai Surjan the father of Daudā, Bhoj his brother, Rām Cand, Karm Sai, and others. An order was also given that the officers formerly employed in this service should co-operate and exert themselves in carrying out the work. In a short time the fortress of Būndī was taken, and Daudā betook himself to the ravines of the hill-country. When the country had obtained repose, Zain K. Koka, by H.M.'s orders, left Bhōj and other warriors to protect it, and proceeded to court in company with Rai Surjan. At the first stage he heard that there were disturbances in the country and was obliged to return. The brief account of this is as follows: Many of the soldiers had fallen into poverty from staying long in that hill country, and when the Koka went off, the evil-disposed portion of the army raised a report that Daudā was coming, and

[1] Rajputana Gazetteer, I. 203.

set about plundering. The Urdū bazār (camp-market) and much of the city were sacked. The officers out of fear and ignorance were on the point of coming away. The Kokaltāsh returned and took up his quarters there. By the Divine help and by wisdom he got the upper hand over pleasure and preferred hidden service 202
to personally waiting upon H.M. He despatched Rai Surjan to court with some spices[1] (*maṣālih*) and set about putting the country into order. Neither outward want of equipment nor the general want of heart affected him, and the dust of dissension was at once laid. Joy returned to the despondent, and the wicked gossips sunk into contempt, while the rebellious received proper punishment. On the day of Gosh, 14 Ardībihisht, Divine month, the fort of Ranthanbhor became the seat of the tents of victory. The world's lord ascended the castle and reposed for a time in the palace of Rai Surjan. From thence he proceeded to Fathpūr, and when he arrived there the high officers did homage, and every one was the recipient of favours. On the night of 31 Ardībihisht, Divine month, the city received glory from his advent.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Zain K. Koka at court, and his communicating to H.M. the account of his victory. It has already been mentioned that he took up his quarters in Būndī and applied himself to clearing out the places in that country. Many of the soldiers had from the deficiency of means of livelihood taken to evil courses. That turbulent one (Daudā) whose fortune was somnolent did not pay attention to the wondrous fortune of the Shāhinshāh, and did not take into account the victorious troops, and grew presumptuous. He collected some vagabonds and raised the standard of insolence on the top of the hill of Untgardan (camel's neck). That is a lofty hill and one difficult to surmount. His sole idea was that he might take advantage of an opportunity and do some damage to the victorious camp. Zain K. Koka arranged his warriors in three bands and pushed forward. He inspired many warriors to advance to the heights, and he himself

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[1] *Maṣālih* means spices, but its occurrence is somewhat curious. The word also means employments, and the meaning here may be that Surjan was sent on some business to court. Or perhaps the word is used instead of *maṣalihgugār* and means peace-makers.

together with Rai Bhôj and with the assistance of the mountaineers fared bravely forward. They had passed through the defiles and come near the summit, when the enemy became aware of them and made an advance. There was a fire of musketry, and by the blessing of the daily-increasing fortune three noted men among the foe were slain. The others gave way. On seeing the glory of the Divine aid the Koka pressed on still more, and when the base
203 one (Daudâ) was with a party of audacious ones making a disturbance, he arrived at the spot, and there was a hot engagement.

Verse.

From the arrows and shields that were displayed,
No longer a desert, it became a flower-garden.
The violet-swords gleamed,
The ensigns robbed the eye of sight.

By good fortune and a happy star the foe became blistered of foot in the stony tract of failure. A hundred and twenty of their noted men fell in that engagement. The haughty and presumptuous mountaineer was defeated. When the country was cleared of the dust of rebellion it was given in charge to Rai Bhôj. Zain Khân did homage and was encompassed with royal favours.

Among the occurrences was the revision[1] of the management of the treasury. By the orders of King Wisdom, the care of property, and the increase of finances are, in the code of princes, a choice form of the Divine worship of the capital of the social state. Though the sublime genius of the world's lord addresses itself, in consequence of his position as caravan-leader of the spiritual world, to the true object of worship, and has erased fictitious pictures from the portico of his vision, yet he regards the observance of the rules of the outer world—which are the adornment of lofty minds—as right and proper, just as secular princes do. From such practice no dust settles upon his holy environment, nor does any mist arise in the rose-garden of his One-ness. Hence it is that the religion of this unique one of creation, unlike the devotion of worldly contemplators, needs no

[1] The first examination of the treasuries was made by I'timâd K., B. 13 and n. There were no less than twelve treasuries, id. 14.

supplementing.[1] Every portion of the time of this celestial walker runs over with supplications and peculiar devotions, and produces in the outer world without the veil of hesitation or delay, the calm which is the proper condition of the social state. Ṣādiq K., Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr and some other honest and able men—who were abodes of trust, and balances (*qisṭās*) of knowledge—were sent from Fatḥpūr to Agra in order that they might inspect the public treasuries and test the treasurers and accountants, and custodians. On thorough inquiry the officials were found to be upright and were rewarded by favours and confidence.

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[1] *Qaẓa nādarad*. For Qaẓā see Hughes' Dict. of Islam. It is praying or fasting to make up for omissions.

CHAPTER XXXV.

(This chapter begins with the account of the appointment of S'aīd Khān[1] to be atāliq or tutor to Sulṭan Daniel. The author indulges in a page of rhetoric about the qualifications necessary for such an office. He then proceeds to say, "S'āīd K. accepted with thanksgiving this great boon, and made great feasts, and tendered suitable presents. His quarters were made glorious by the advent of the prince.")

One of the occurrences was an outbreak of pimples in the body
205 of Prince Sulṭan Selīm. This began on 12 Khurdād, Divine month, and was accompanied by fever. The loving lord bent in meditation over the pillow of the nurseling of fortune's garden and read in the pages of fate that he would be cured. So also did the ascetics, the astrologers, and the soothsayers, give tidings of joy. But as skilful physicians were not confident in diagnosing the disease, the ladies of the harem and the servants in general were not reassured. During this state of suspense an eruption (*judarī*) showed itself, and the physicians also now said that he would recover. In a short time it dried up, and a feast was held in honour of his recovery. The world rejoiced, and the auspicious gained knowledge about H.M.'s acquaintance with hidden things, and made the prostration of benediction.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of letters from the Niẓām-al-mulk of the Deccan along with presents from that country. Bāqī[2] K. had been sent to him as the bearer of valuable counsels, and he on receiving the orders of the imperial court sent his trusty servant Wafā K. along with Bāqī K. On the day of Dai ba mihr, 15 Khurdād, Divine month, they performed the kornish, and noted elephants and rarities of the country were produced before H.M.

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[1] B. 331.

[2] So in text, but I. O. MSS. and the Iqbālnāma have Ṣānī Khān, and this is probably right. Ṣānī K. was a Persian and a Shi'a, and so likely to be acceptable to the Aḥmadnagar court, see B. 476, whereas Bāqī K. was a Sunnī.

One of the occurrences was that Shaikh[1] Jamāl Bakhtiyār was saved from danger of his life by the blessing of the holy spirit of H.M. In this saltpit of a world it has long been usual that when a ruler admits some favourite to his intimacy, his real friends and well-wishers assist in his advancement, while a number of ill-conditioned servants, and enemies in the guise of friends, are, owing to the disease of envy, ever striving to throw down the chosen one. He, however, by the blessing of his special connection (with the ruler) rejoices in the Divine protection. In accordance with this blameworthy custom many narrow-minded and envious ones were annoyed by the elevation of the Shaikh and took advantage of the carelessness of the butler to poison his drink. As soon as he swallowed it, there was a change in his condition. Dārāb,[2] who was one of H.M.'s prominent servants, out of friendship drank some of the same fluid, and he too at once fell into a confused state. They remained for a day and night in a dangerous condition. When H.M. heard of this he employed medical remedies, and also somewhat of spiritual medicines, and by the blessing of his **206** attentions they recovered.

One of the occurrences was an increase of the disturbance of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. When the world-conquering standards displayed the conquest of Gujarāt, each of the Mīrzās received his punishment and was an outcast in the desert of ruin. Gulrukh Sulṭan Begam, the mother of Moẓaffar Ḥusain, by skill and strenuous exertions, carried off the inexperienced boy to the Deccan, as has already been related. As he had turned away his face from the altar of fortune, the stewards of fate stained him with the dust of despair. As in that country (the Deccan) the thorn of unsuccess entered the foot of his desires, he, at the instigation of some evil-

[1] B. 425. B. says his sister was superintendent of Akbar's Harem but the Maasir II. 564 says that she was one of Akbar's wives. At p. 266 it says she was *sar-āmad maḥalāt*, which probably means that she was chief wife, or favourite. Her name was Gohara-n-nisā.

[2] There is the variant Rūp, and this is the name given in Maasir, II. 566, and in both the I. O. MSS., Dārāb looks like a title and an inversion of ābdār. He is perhaps the Rūp Khwāṣ of Jahangir's Mem. (Price's translation), p. 35. He is there mentioned as a man of great courage, but an incorrigible drunkard. He was a Muḥammadan.

disposed persons, perceived Gujarat to be vacant and proceeded thither. The tongues of the praters of futilities in the by-lanes waxed long. When H.M. heard of this occurrence, he, on the day of Mihr,[1] 16 Khurdād, Divine month, issued an order that the high officers should regard the suppression of the disturbances in Gujarāt as of more importance than the conquest of Khāndes, and should proceed to the former place That crew from their being unable to comprehend the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh, considered that the performance of the service (of conquering Khāndes) was beyond their capacity and so were procrastinating. Moreover, the ebullition of cupidity had come to such a pitch that they thought that they could by talking largely get money from the rulers of the country and lay foundations of a peace. By such political treachery, which in fact was the digging up the foundation of their own happiness, they thought to gild the palace-roof[2] of their fortunes.

Verse.

Aha for the vain thought, Aha for the impossible fancy!

They were whispering such disloyal things in Bijāgarh when the holy mandate arrived. They blessed their good luck a thousand times at having gained their object, and every one of the crew went off to his fief. As their intent was polluted, the work which they had rejected[3] was successfully carried out without their assistance. Why did they grieve[4] and lose courage? If grief had seized those

[1] The two I. O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. have "Zamīyād, the 28th Khurdād."

[2] Referring to the proverb about destroying the foundation and ornamenting the roof.

[3] The expression *khidmat-i-marjū*, lit. "the returned service," is obscure. Perhaps it means the service in Gujarāt, and the sense is that this work was after all done without their help. It might also possibly mean that the service of returning from Bijāgarh was successfully accomplished without the assistance of Qutbu-d-dīn and the others who had gone off hastily to their fiefs in Gujarat.

[4] Apparently the officers were distressed about the disturbances in Gujarat. A. F. asks why were they distressed? They had gained their object, viz. to get money from the rulers of the Deccan, and there was no time for lamenting that they had not conquered the country as they could not do so then, and the opportunity for the conquest had not come. Moreover the failure had been

shortsighted shopkeepers because they had let drop from their hands the guiding-thread of their trade, it would have been intelligible. But where at that moment was the time or the opportunity for this? The rulers of the Deccan, who had been made uneasy by the approach of the world-conquering troops, obtained repose, and from far-sightedness they did not content themselves with what they had given to the officers, but also sent the rarities of the country along with diplomatic men to the sovereign court.

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the result of their own misconduct. A. F. seems to be referring especially to Qutbu-d-dīn K. who, according to the T. A. Elliot, V. 406, left the other Amirs and went off to his *jāgīrs* of Broach and Baroda on account of the inroad of Mozaffar Ḥusain. See also Badayūnī, Lowe, 257. The expression "Where at that moment was the time or opportunity for sorrow?" perhaps means that the officers had got what they wanted, viz. bribes.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE GLORIFICATION OF THE BATTLEFIELD BY THE SWORDS OF WAZĪR K. AND RAJAH TODAR MAL, AND THE DEFEAT OF MOZAFFAR ḤUSAIN M.

(This chapter begins with the usual reflections about the misery of every one who dared to oppose Akbar. The author then proceeds to mention the case of Mozaffar Ḥusain as a fresh instance of this).

The brief account of this event is as follows: Wazīr K. was
207 not efficient in the matters of organizing the soldiers, comforting the weak, and extirpating evil-doers. Before this catastrophe (of Mozaffar H.) occurred, H.M. had sent to this province Rajah Todar Mal who was one of the unique of the world for ability, service and courage. He was to exert himself in the task and was to compose the distractions of the province. The Rajah quickly arrived there and strove in a laudable manner to give the country repose. He first went to Sultānpūr and Nadurbār and made proper arrangements. After that he settled the affairs of Surat. Then he transacted the affairs of Broach, Baroda and Campanīr and came to Aḥmadabad. He was, in conjunction with Wazīr K., engaged in administering justice there when the tumult of disaffection rose high. Mihr Alī Kūlābī, who was a servant of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, joined with some other evil-disposed persons like himself and brought that inexperienced youth from the Deccan to Gujarāt. They kindled the spark of sedition in the neighbourhood of Sultānpūr. Some of the comrades of 'Ārif and Zāhid, the sons of Sharīf,[1] K., placed the stain of infidelity on their foreheads and joined Mihr 'Alī. When he came to the neighbourhood of Baroda, the *dārogha* (police-officer) of the city lost courage and left the place, and that great city was lost without a battle. Bāz Bahādur came out with a force, but owing to the baseness of his servants he could effect nothing. Wazīr K. was preparing to shut himself up in Aḥmadābād, but

[1] B. 383 Bāz Bahādur is the only son of Sharīf mentioned by B.

[2] B. 465.

Rajah Todar Mal with the help of the Shāhinshāh's fortune exerted himself to clear up affairs. He came out of the walls and prepared 208
for battle. He marched towards Baroda, and when he encamped within four kos of the town (*qaṣba*), the enemy lost heart and went off towards Cambay without giving battle The victorious army slowly followed them. The enemy learned the state of affairs and recovered courage and halted near Cambay and raised a disturbance. Saiyid Hāshim[1] the Khālṣa 'āmil came out at first and showed praiseworthy vigour; but on account of the great number of the enemy he had to take shelter When the imperial forces approached, the enemy abandoned the siege and hastened to Jūnagarh. On the day of Zamiyād, 28 Khurdād, Divine month, the officers arrived in the territory of Dūlaqa and adorned the battlefield. Wazīr K. commanded the centre; Khwāja Yaḥyā Naqshbandī, Wajīha-ul-mulk, and others ornamented the right wing; Rajah Todar Mal, Rūp Rai Gujrātī, Shaikh Walī, Bipāk Dās, and some brave men were on the left wing. As cowardice and double-facedness darkened the condition of the army, the enemy turned, and planted the foot of courage. Their whole idea was that as soon as the forces were face to face, most of the imperialists would join them, while some would take to flight, and that Wazīr K., and the Rajah, and some others would be killed. Their great endeavour was to dispose of (*dar cāra-garī*) the Rajah, for they knew that in his force there were men who were enemies of their own lives, but friends of their honour. Accordingly the Mīrzā proceeded in a languid manner against Wazīr K., while Mihr 'Alī, who was the substance of the sedition, went against the Rajah with the cream of his troops.

Verse.

When army encountered army,
The combatants advanced on each side.
So hot was the fire of battle
That sparks came from the horses' hoofs.

The Rajah stood firm and showed the countenance of victory. The heroes displayed devotion and thanksgiving to God. Eighteen

[1] B. 419.

noted men among the foe went to annihilation, and after much fighting the enemy cast away his honour at the "Avaunt" of the Shāhinshāh's fortune. He was defeated in the most shameful manner. The soldiers of the right wing had fled without making a proper fight. Most of the centre behaved in the same way. Wazīr K. with a few loyalists exhibited devotion, and his life was
209 nearly ended in good service. Suddenly Rajah Todar Mal arrived with a thousand hearts after having defeated his opponents. All at once the woof and web of the presumptuous evil-doers were severed. Many were killed and many were caught by the lasso of disgrace. Mozaffar Ḥusain M. hastened away to Jūnagarh with a few men of ruined fortunes.

Verse.

Whoever survived retired in such fashion
That he must needs be sorry that he lived.

There was a great victory, and much plunder fell into the hands of the victorious officers. (Here follow some twelve lines of rhetoric about the advantages of fidelity). They sent reports to H.M. together with choice elephants along with Dhārū.[1] There was much thanksgiving to God after receiving the news of this great boon, and there was general rejoicing. At this time also there arrived the ambassador of Sultan[2] Ḥusain M. from Qandahar. They performed the prostration. The gist of the embassy was the renewal of the bonds of friendship and service. The appreciative sovereign granted the desires of the ambassadors and gave them leave to return.

One of the occurrences was the sending of soldiers to guide aright Rajah Madhūkar.[3] It is a rule of administration and world-government that the infatuated and presumptuous should be brought to their senses by reproof and chastisement, and be guided to the path of service, and that the garden of sovereignty should be made

[1] Todar Mal's son, B. 352 and 465.

[2] Son of Bahrām M. and nephew of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. B. 313, who says he died in 984. Apparently this should be 985. 984 is the date given in the Maaṣir, III. 296.

[3] B. 356 and 488. R. Maḍhūkar was a Bundela and chief of Undcah (Orcha). He was the father of Bir Singh, the murderer of A. F.

verdant by increasing the honour and dignity of the awakened-hearted, so that both the obedient and the recalcitrant may receive their deserts, and that supplication and thanksgiving to God may 210
be properly performed. Accordingly, as at this time the aforesaid zamindar had, owing to the extent of his country, the number of evil and daring dependants, the inaccessibility of his territory, the want of wisdom and the friendship of flatterers, deserted the highway of obedience, and become a traverser of the desert of destruction, Ṣādiq K., Rajah Askaran,[1] the Motha Rajah,[2] Ulugh K.[3] Ḥabshī and other heroes were, on the day of Ormuzd, 1 Tīr, Divine month, nominated to arouse that haughty highlander from the sleep of ignorance.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Dastam K. to the government of Ajmere. H.M. perceived in him the indications of subject-cherishing and justice, and so increased his dignity. He assigned the Sarkār of Ranthambor to him as his fief, and sent him away to protect the province.

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One of the occurrences was the arrival of Rai Lonkaran[4] and Rajah Bīrbar. It has been mentioned that these two trustworthy servants had been sent from Dībālpūr to do honour to the Rai of Dūngarpūr. On the day of Rām 21 Tīr, Divine month, they returned and conveyed the chaste pearl to the holy harem. Society was adorned, and the spiritual world ornamented. The unique pearl arrived at the treasury of truth, and a great support was provided for the family.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassadors of Shahrukh M. That cupola of chastity the Khānim, who was the Mīrzā's mother, had from farsightedness and intelligence perceived

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[1] B. 458. He was an uncle of Bhagwān Dās.

[2] The "fat Rajah." His name was Udai Singh and he was a son of Māldeo. B. 429.

[3] B. 437.

[4] This is a nickname meaning the salt-maker because he was Rajah of the Sāmbhar lake. They had gone to bring the Rajah of Dūngarpūr's daughter to Akbar to become his wife.

the characters of spiritual rule, and the letter of the enlightenment of the outer world on the holy forehead of the Shāhinshāh, and had formed a close intimacy with him from her early years. But she was terrified on account of the proceedings of M. Sulaimān, and did not know what impression he might have made on H.M. or what representations word-spinners might have made to him. She thought that anything which had displeased that material
211 and spiritual ruler would injure the honour and life of Shahrukh M. She thought also that if H.M. considered her to be the cause of the disturbance she would be disgraced for ever. In the bottom of her heart too was the idea that the world's lord might take the Mīrzā for his son[1] and exalt him. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Beg and M. 'Ashaq conveyed her and her son's petitions on 1 Amardād, Divine month, and H.M. in his abundant gentleness and old affection graciously received her excuses. He made the envoys joyful and then dismissed them. Also at this time Ḥakīm 'Ain-al-mulk arrived from the Deccan. He had been sent to guide 'Ādil Khān of Bījāpūr. He performed that service and tendered 'Ādil Khān's supplication. Rashīd-al-mulk, who brought the petitions and the rarities of that country, was duly honoured.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of 'Abdullah K. the ruler of Tūrān with a friendly letter and noble presents. On account of the daily-increasing fortune of H.M. there had previously been an endeavour (on 'Abdullah's part) to establish friendship (lit. there had been a shaking of the chain of friendship) but because H.M. had thoughts of conquering his ancestral[2] territories, and on account of the revelation of his ('Abdullah's) proposals, H.M. had not paid much attention to the ambassador. For a long time he was busy[3] in camp. For instance, there was the turmoil of the victorious army during the first expedition to Gujarat. The masterpiece of Sarnāl astonished the ambassador, and when H.M. returned victorious, he, at the request of the officers of state,

[1] *Farzandī* sonship. Her idea was that he might make him his son-in-law, as indeed afterwards happened for Akbar married him to his daughter Shukru nisā.

[2] This refers to Akbar's idea of reconquering the countries which had belonged to his grandfather.

[3] *Takāpūī dāshī*. Possibly this means that the ambassador had gone about with Akbar in his expedition.

wrote a reply and sent him off. In order that the correspondence might be severed, no one was sent from the court along with him. When he returned to his country, he reported the wondrous fortune of the spiritual and temporal king of kings. The ruler of that country had regard to final consequences and had recourse to entreaties, and wrote warmer expressions of supplication, and exhibited the appearances of sincerity. The gist of his language was that the world-conquering sovereign should make an expedition from India to Persia in order that they might by united efforts release 'Irāq, Khurāsān and Fārs from the throne occupant thereof. The world's Khedive in his liberality and gentleness received the envoy graciously and dismissed him after making him happy. He sent M. Fūlād[1] with him, along with some of the rarities of India, and so soothed the Turanians. The reply he wrote was that the dynasty in question (the Persian dynasty) was specially connected with the family of the Prophet, and that on this account he could not regard a difference[2] in law and religion as a ground for conquest. He was also withheld from such an enterprise by old and valued friendships. As in the (i.e. 'Abdullah K's) letters (lit. nosegay) of friendship the 212
ruler of Iran had not been mentioned with honour, H. M. conveyed to him valuable admonitions in reproof thereof.

[1] This is the M. Fūlād who was afterwards put to death for murdering Mullā Aḥmad of Tatta, a Shia and one of the authors of the T. Alfī. B. 206. See the account of the murder in the A.N. III, 527. Badayūnī, Lowe 278, mentions M. Fūlād Barlās being sent on an embassy to 'Abdullah K. along with Khwāja Khāfī, but he puts it into the year 987, i.e. the 24th year of the reign. Perhaps this was a second embassy. See also Elliot v, 413, who puts the embassy into the 25th year. Elliot has here a reference to A. F.'s letters, Daftar iv, but there is no Daftar iv, and the letter conveyed by M. Fulad does not occur in A. F.'s correspondence. The remark however about the king of Persia's being connected with the family of the Prophet occurs also in the letter conveyed by Ḥakīm Hamām in the 31st year, A.N. III, 499.

[2] From the tenor of 'Abdullah's proposals it looks as if he had been under the impression then that Akbar was a good Sunnī. Probably Akbar did not undeceive him.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ANOTHER VISIT OF AKBAR TO AJMERE.

As the expeditions of just rulers are a source of soothment to mortals, and are market-days of justice, H.M. always was disposed to travelling and hunting (*sair u shikār*), especially when in this way he could make a pilgrimage to the shrine of some great ascetic. Hence he every year visited Ajmere. On the night of Bād 22 Shahriyūr[1] (about 2nd September 1577), Divine month, he mounted his horse and proceeded to the holy place. On the day that he halted at the stage of Karoha[2] he calmly mounted the elephant Ran Sangār, whom experienced men would not approach on account of his being violently *mast*. That riotous one submitted to the might of H.M's fortune, and the spectators were filled with astonishment. The superficial were astonished, but the farsighted and clear of heart rejoiced in accordance with their knowledge. Some learnt one of the thousand laudable qualities of H.M., and some emerged from the ravine of denial and entered the rose-garden of devotion. Wonderful acts were always oozing forth from the great man. Among them was that during this campaign Fatḥ[3] K. the leopard keeper was in despair about an illness of his eyes. Becoming hopeless about physicians he had recourse to supplications, and H.M. cured him by breathing on him with his Messiah-like breath. Ostensibly he cured him by using the lancet, but the physicians did

[1] Niẓāmu-d-dīn says Akbar started at this time as the month of Rajab was at hand, in which was the anniversary of the saint's death. In 985, Rajab began on 14 September 1577. A. F. states below that Akbar reached Ajmere on 4 Mihr, which about corresponds to 14 September.

[2] Badayūnī text, ii, 243, calls it Maḥal Karoha and a dependency of Basāwar. It was here that a theft of books, described by Badayūnī, occurred. In A.N. II, 350, Karoha is mentioned as the 2nd stage from Fatḥpūr and before Basāwar.

[3] B. 523.

not set up their acquired knowledge against the wisdom that was the gift of God, and performed the prostration of supplication.

One of the occurrences was the coming to an end of the life of Shaikh Aḥmad[1] the second son of S. Selīm of Fatḥpūr. He was distinguished among the men of the world for many exquisite qualities. He did not speak ill of people, nor was he made melancholy by beholding so much improper conduct. His walk and conversation were modest and sedate. From his fidelity and good service he was ranked among the Amirs, and was appointed guardian of the eldest prince. He caught a chill in the Mālwa campaign. Owing to carelessness and not listening to advice he came to the capital, and there his illness ended in paralysis. In this year, when the world-conquering standards were proceeding towards Ajmere he was brought before the world's lord, and after making the prostration he took his final leave. When he arrived at his house he expired. Hurrah for the fortunate one who 213
rendered up his unstable life at the feet of his teacher and king! If he had staked that precious coin (his life) in carrying out the service of dominion he would have brought the jewel of manhood and right thinking to the court of manifestation. At any rate the veil over his reputation for good service would have been rent. Inasmuch as the prosperity of double-faced ones and of fair-weather friends is great, this positive statement does not suit every ear. But that great knower of unity, the fortunate one and appreciative of fidelity—whose name forms the title of this book—has gathered up the tricklings from his clear soul and expressed his approval.[2]

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[1] B. 475.

[2] A. F. became more and more tortuous and enigmatical as he revised his history. These reflections do not occur in the Cawnpore edition and so, I presume, they were added in one of the revisions. I am doubtful if I have understood the paragraph, and I think the text must be corrupt. In one place I have followed the I.O. MSS. and deserted the text. This is at the sentence beginning *u garna* "otherwise" and which I have taken along with *bārī* and rendered "At any rate." The text has *darīda ʿamīda* as if the meaning were that if S. Aḥmad had lived, the veil of his honour might have been rent, i.e. he might have behaved badly or been disgraced. But both the I.O. MSS. have a negative *nadīda*, and I think the meaning is that whatever happened, Aḥmad would never have behaved badly, or been exposed. Then I think A. F. goes on to say, this is

One of the occurrences was the elevation of Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī to the government of Multan. H.M. gave him leave after communicating to him valuable instructions about protecting the helpless and punishing the wicked. He on receiving these exerted himself to carry them into practice.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Rajah Todar Mal from Gujarat, and his being received with royal favours. When the royal cortège was at Bāsāwar[1] the Rajah and many of the chief officers kissed the threshold. The Rajah told a thousand stories of the wondrous fortune of the Shāhinshāh, and produced many of the evil-doers—of whom Dauda Beg was the ringleader—in chains. As they were not worthy of life, they were capitally punished. In accordance with former arrangements the settlement of the affairs of the Viziership was made by him (Todar Mal). Good laws were introduced by the blessing of H.M.'s paying attention to the subject.[2]

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a bold statement to make when there are so many two-faced people about, but I am supported by the approval of Akbar. In this paragraph there occurs the curious phrase *ashnāyān-i-sirpūl* which I have translated as fair-weather friends. It literally means acquaintances of the Bridge-end (or head).' *Sirpal* means to "stumble" but the Bib. Ind. points the word as *sirpūl*. *Sirpal* also means "faithless."

[1] This was on Akbar's way to Ajmere. According to the T.A. Abū Turāb came there too.

[2] Though the chapter ends here, the arrival of Akbar at Ajmere is described in the next chapter. A great part of chapter 38 is a parenthesis about the affairs of Gujarat occasioned by the arrival of Todar Mal when Akbar was on his way to Ajmere.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The stirring up of strife by Mozaffar Ḥusain M. for the second time, and his failure.

May Almighty God not bestow a depraved intellect, for a thousand evils are engendered by it, and the ruin of the world results from it! And if one would be protected from this evil, he must abstain from the society of the wicked, for many who are sensible and far-sighted are changed from good to evil by the companionship of those disordered ones, so that peace ends in discord. The wise have called the nature of man "A robber in secret." Involuntarily he assumes the character of his companions, and approves in himself what has excited disgust when seen by 214
him in his contemporaries. The case of Mozaffar Ḥusain M. is a new instance of this as he, though of noble nature and clear soul, wrought his own downfall by association with the wicked. Inasmuch as there was something auspicious in his constitution, he saved his life, while the evil-thoughted went to the pit of destruction. At the time when that happened to his father and grandsire, which has been described, it was fitting that he should not slumber in the hot abode of insouciance. But from the pressure of turbulent and unwise men, among whom Mihr 'Alī was the ringleader, he dropped the reins of good guidance, and stirred up the dust of strife. By the Divine help this was laid in a short space of time. When Rajah Todar Mal went to the threshold of fortune from Gujarat, those evil-disposed men did not take a warning but again made the Mīrzā a pretext for wickedness. First, they opened the hand of oppression against the traders of Cambay, and got possession of a great deal of property. Wazīr K.[1] in reliance on the Divine power marched out of Aḥmādābad and hastened to that district. In Pīrpūr[2] his confidence was shaken by the disgraceful conduct of

[1] B. 353 (Vair K.).

[2] There is the variant Bīrpār, and apparently this is correct. J. II, 253.

the comrades of Bāz Bahādur. He marched out of Sarnāl in order to fight. Most of his base servants were slaves of gold and left him and joined the enemy. Wazīr K. on seeing this became very meditative, and as the notes of disloyalty appeared on the forehead of his servants he turned back and shut himself up in Aḥmadābād. On the day of Dībāẓar 8 Shahriyūr, Divine month, the illfated scoundrels commenced the siege. Many of the waiters upon events joined the enemy and eagerly prosecuted wicked ideas. The condition too of the fly-natured garrison was also perverted. Wazīr K. with distinguished loyalty endeavoured at an improvement in the position. He put some into chains, and others he encouraged to do battle. When he despaired of visible help, he resolved upon dicing and awaited the wondrous fortune (of H.M.). As he was apprehensive about the two-facedness of the garrison he changed the guards of the bastions every day. At the time when things had become difficult on account of attacks by day and night, the light of heavenly aids shone forth, and the enemy became stained by the dust of failure. The brief account of this is that on 15 Shahriyūr, Divine month, the enemy plotted with the men inside and made an assault. They placed ladders and were about to succeed. Many of the self-opinionated obtained (they thought) their desires and opened the hand of plunder, and others were on the point of doing so. A musket-ball from the house of fate reached Mihr 'Alī, and all at once that ringleader of the turbulent passed to the silent abode of annihilation. On beholding this wonder of the daily-increasing fortune that dishonourable crew lost courage at the very crisis of their activity. In great confusion they fled to
215 Nadarbār. But none of the garrison came out as they feared that there was some stratagem. When a watch of the following day had passed, the truth of the world's lord's good fortune was impressed upon all, far and near. Mankind hastened to supplicate the Almighty, and prayed for the eternity of the unequalled dominion.

Verse.

For ever, whilst by the influences of sun and rain,
The zephyr causes the mouth of the rosebud to smile:

May the lips of thy desire ne'er be closed against smiling,
May thy fortune bring thy adversary to punishment.

Two things are the source of prosperity and auspiciousness. One is a wise heart, and the other an eye which accepts warning. Whoever from an inverted fortune is void of those two precious things will soon descend into the pit of annihilation, and become disgraced for ever and ever. The case of Mihr 'Alī shows this. He did not perceive the glories of the Shāhinshāh's fortune and stirred up a disturbance. In a short space of time he was smitten by the archers of destiny, and took his place in eternal destruction. If he who is in reality of auspicious mind fall for some days into the desert of wandering owing to bad companionship, he is melted in the crucible of failure so that the evil alloy may be removed and he be tested. Accordingly the adventures of Mozaffar Ḥusain M. illustrate this. At the instigation of small-minded, evil persons he went a wrong course, and blistered his feet in the stony tracts of despair. But as he was constitutionally good the Divine protection took charge of him and made him the subject of princely favours—as will be related in its place.

One of the occurrences was that Mozaffar K. was exalted by prostrating himself at the holy threshold. It has been stated that as a retribution for his actions he had been kept at a distance. Owing to his happy star he in the dreadful wilderness of disappointment addressed prayers to H.M., and with energy, service and obedience united intellect and valour.....When the jewel of his good service had been submitted to the assayers of the Caliphate, a ray of kindness fell upon him and he was summoned to court. On 29 Shahriyūr, Divine month, he came from the province of Bihar, and did homage at Hāns Mahal. He presented as peshkash the rarities of that region, and distributed four lacs of rupees. The throne-occupant exalted him by kindness and increased his dignity, and issued an order that he should minutely inquire into the affairs of the empire, and observe the rules of justice. Rajah Todar Mal and Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr were to perform their duties in consulta- 216
tion with him. On 4 Mihr, Divine month, the delightful city of Ajmere was brightened by the arrival of the royal standards. H.M. hastened to the holy shrine and worshipped the incomparable Deity. Those who waited for his holy advent gained their wishes.

Also at this auspicious time the officers of the court weighed[1] the sovereign against gold and other articles, and satisfied men by abundant gifts. First that river of bounty distributed heaps of gold and silver, and afterwards the officers in accordance with an intimation from him made donations of money. Also at this time on account of the enlightenment and truthfulness of Muḥibb Ālī K., the son of the Mīr Khalīfa, he bestowed on him a glorious robe of honour, and gave him permission always to present the petitions of the people and also to communicate what occurred to his reflection as proper to be done.

Although the constant alertness of mind of the world's lord is such that he transacts all the business of the empire with the same completeness and efficiency, that lofty geniuses and farseeing and laborious men carry out one item of work, yet he from abundance of wisdom and knowledge of mankind and for behoof of the general public walks warily in this fashion. Seemingly it is an injunction of King Wisdom that just rulers and other great ones who have a multiplicity of engagements should not be contented with their own acumen and ability, but should also permit some prudent and well-conditioned man to make representations to them, so that at a time when there is press of work, or when wrath is in the ascendant—which sometimes causes the foot of the wise to slip—he may lay before them suitable considerations. O God, grant that while sun and shade exist, and while there are rain and verdure, this chief of Solitude and Society may shed his light on the spirits of men and on the horizons!

Verse.

O God, while the heavens exist,
Do not empty the world of this king,
Let the spheres be as the seal of his ring,
Let the key of the universe be in his sleeve.

One of the occurrences was the death of Mujāhid Beg the grandson of Khwāja Kalān Beg. He had been appointed to be

[1] This was the weighing which took place on 5 Rajab, the anniversary of Akbar's birth according to the lunar calendar. B. 266. It nearly coincided with the *'urs* or anniversary of the death of the Ajmere saint which occurred on 6 Rajab, J. III. 362.

thāna dār of Mohī in the province of Ajmere. Kuar Mān Singh and many brave men had gone into the defiles of the hills. In the beginning of Mihr, Divine month, the Rajputs of that quarter had come and plundered some of the protected[1] settlers on the newly cultivated lands. On hearing of this insolence he had become vexed and gone out rapidly and without sufficient equipment. After behaving with Rustam-like courage he travelled to his final bourne, and gained an everlasting name.

On 17 Mihr, Divine month, H.M. ascended to the summit of the fort of Ajmere and dispensed his graciousness to the sleepers 217
there.[2] Near the tomb of Saiyid Ḥusain Khangsawār he halted and paid his devotions. On that night, he, until sunrise, kindled the lamp of truth and guided the auspicious ones of the holy throng. The fortunate and enlightened listened to many physical and spiritual truths. As the architecture-loving heart of the Shāhinshāh perceived substantive defects in that celestial fortress he directed the officers to exert themselves to repair it. In a short time the work was completed in a most excellent manner. On 22 Mihr he left that bounteous place and proceeded towards Mirtha. Ostensibly he was recreating himself with hunting, but in reality he was dispensing justice and acting according to the Divine Will.

While there he considered the appointment of a caravan-leader for the pilgrims, and on 2 Ābān he appointed Mīr Abū Turāb to that select service. He belonged to the Salāmī Saiyids of Shīrāz. His grandfather Mīr Ghiāṣū-d-dīn—May God establish him—who was known as Saiyid Shāh Mīr, and who was fully possessed of the acquired sciences, came (to Gujarat) in the time of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn the grandson of the Sulṭān Aḥmad after whom Aḥmadābād is named, and then returned to his own native land.[3] He came again to Gujarat to the dominions of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begarha at the time of the commotion of Shāh Ismā'il (Ismā'īl I). He was accompanied by his two sons Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn and Mīr Quṭbu-d-dīn, and

[1] *Zinhārīān*, "Persons under protection." But there is also the reading *dīhahā* "villages."

[2] Apparently what is meant is that he said prayers (fātiḥa) for the repose of the souls of departed men. It was Tāragarh that he visited. The shrine of the martyred Saiyid Ḥusain is still there. See Rajputana G. II, 16.

[3] Blochmann 506.

settled there and died there, after leaving a good name. Mīr Abū Turāb the son of Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn[1] obtained reputation in that country, and when Gujarat came into the possession of the imperial servants he was distinguished by favours from the shadow of God (Akbar), and had the bliss of becoming a disciple. When he obtained this service (that of Mīr Ḥāj) five lacs of rupees and 10,000 *Khilāts* were made over to him for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Ḥijāz. I'tmād K. Gujrati, who had for years desired to visit those shrines, also got permission to depart. Owing to the outpourings of the river of kindness large numbers of men joined the pilgrimage with proper equipment. To the *sharīfs* of that land—who had always sent representations, and the rarities of the country—there were sent a lac of rupees and splendid goods.[2]

One of the occurrences was the committing the government of Gujarat to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. As it became known that Wazīr K. did not observe the laws of equity, and that the country was suffering in consequence, he was superseded, and the post was
218 conferred on the aforesaid Khān who was distinguished for his knowledge of affairs, industry, justice, and tenderness to the subjects, and he was transferred to this great office from Mālwa. A rescript was issued, and it was accompanied by sage instructions. Qāsim K., Ṭāhir K., Saif-al-mulk, Mīr Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb K., Qamar K., Fīrūz, Shaikh M'uāẓẓam, Shaikh Junaid and other servants of the Presence were sent, in order to promote the tranquillity of the country. An order was issued that when the new governor arrived in the country, the Wazīr K. should come to the borders of Idar and take charge of affairs there,[3] and that the rest of the former officers should proceed to Court.

[1] According to Abū Turāb's own history, p. 17, recently edited by Dr. Denison Ross, his father's name was Quṭbu-d-dīn, and Kamālu-d-dīn was his uncle. See also Rieu's Persian Catalogue, III 967*b*.

[2] In the first book of A. F.'s letters, immediately before the letter to Goa, there is a letter to the Sharīfs of Mecca. But it was written several years after this time, and mentions the year 989.

[3] The text is obscure, but the Iqbāl-nāma says that Wazīr was to come to Īdar and control the borders. The same authority adds the epithet Kabulī to the name of Fīrūz, mentioned in text. Perhaps the meaning of the passage about Wazīr is that he and Shihābu-d-dīn were to meet at Īdar and hold a conference.

One of the occurrences was the sending of troops to extirpate the Rānā. As the most choice form of devotion in the social state is to cause the obedience of the proud and stiff-necked by suitable admonitions and vigorous plans, and if advice and rebuke are no successful, to remove such from existence so that there may be no crevice in unity, and that the pleasant abode of the world may not be stained by the confusion of plurality, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Kanwar (Kuar) Mān Singh, Payinda K. Moghul, Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Rājū, Ulug Asad Turkamān, Kajra Cohān and other loyal warriors were in the year and month above mentioned despatched to carry out this great work. Shahbāz K. Mīr Bakhshī was appointed to command the force, and the execution of the task was committed to him.

Under the guise of the enjoyment of hunting a successful termination was put to the distractions of the province (Rajputāna), and enterprises which in former times had not been accomplished after thousands of endeavours were now achieved by H.M.'s giving a slight and subsidiary attention to them.

(The chapter concludes with a rhapsody about Akbar's graciousness, and how even wild animals were conscious of his benignity. But the only instance given is that a deer used to eat grain out of his hand. Observing that his courtiers marvelled at this, Akbar remarked that it was not extraordinary if such things occurred, if one did not ill-treat animals and spoke kindly to those dumb creatures. Such behaviour was an attractive force which caught the heavens and the stars in the noose of love !)

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Concerning the education of H.M.'s auspicious sons.

219 The just world's lord continually exercises far-sightedness in judging of the grades of mankind, and so keeps the garden of promotion fresh and verdant. He knows the tests for men and bestows power upon them in accordance therewith. Just as it is indispensable that the cupbearer of the royal feast should judge of the drinking-capacities of men, and distribute the man-trying world's wine in proportion thereto, so does the ruler of the age in the plenitude of his perspicacity carry out this principle in the most choice manner. Some he raises to dignities step by step, and some whom he has found worthy of greatness are at once raised by him to the pinnacle of honour. As at this time, which was the beginning of the spring of daily-increasing fortune, he perceived in the characters of his sons the rays of intelligence and of apprehension of truth, he disregarded the tenderness of their years and raised each of them to a lofty dignity. As the household cavalry numbered 12,000 and were known by the name of Aḥadīs, and as no commander or *amīr* had a higher rank than that of 5000, the rank of Sultan Selīm was fixed at 10,000, and H.M. said that from observing the obedience, good disposition, prudence, and endurance of this nursling of dominion he made over the whole of the army to his charge. Prince Sultan Murād was made a commander of 7000, and Prince Sultan Daniel a commander of 6000 . . . .

220 Though the sovereign went on, stage by stage, in the enjoyment of hunting, yet all his energy was devoted to the capture of hearts. Spiritual and temporal ministrations issued from time to time from the fount of enlightenment, and good actions adorned the age. At the stage of Bāmrī[1] (?) which is a dependency of Mīrta[2] it was brought to his notice that the country was lying waste

[1] There is the variant Māmrī. I have not identified the place. It is perhaps Bārmer.

[2] I. G. and Rajputana Gazetteer, II. 261 also Tod's Rajasthan. It is in Jodhpur. In J. II. 277 it is

owing to the bad condition of the reservoirs. In his abundant graciousness he visited the neighbourhood, and distributed active workmen among the officers. By one day's digging moisture was bestowed.

Verse.

The tanks shone like hearts' tablets,
They appeared like mirrors of wisdom,
Their limpid waters were like eyes,
Every drop was a hundred pearls.

One of the occurrences was the sending of a body of brave men to the province of Ajmere. When Shahbāz K.'s report was read and it appeared that he wanted some experienced men to take charge of the passes, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Fatḥpūrī was sent there with troops in order that he might take post in the territory of Lādlāī[1] and reduce to obedience the recalcitrants of that country, and that Shahbāz K. might exert himself in suppressing the Rāṇā.

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spelt Merath and placed in Sarkār Nāgor.

[1] B. 403. The text has Lawalālī. Maāṣir, II. 571 in its account of S. Ibrāhīm has Lāḍlāī. Perhaps it is the Lāroālah of J. II. 203, and if so was on the Betwa and in the Sarkār of Canderī and province of Mālwa. But the context implies that it was in Rajputana. S. Ibrāhīm was the nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of S. Selīm who gave his name to Jahāngīr. See Ṭabaqāt A., Newal K. ed., 485. Lawalāli occurs again at p. 236.

CHAPTER XL.

Expedition of H.M. to the Panjab, the appearance of the comet, etc.

When the affairs of this part of the country (Ajmere) had been properly disposed of, H.M. resolved to march to the Panjab, and while enjoying hunting to compose the distractions of that province. On 9 Ābān, Divine month, he encamped at Māhrōt.[1] From a desire to cherish the lowly he visited the dwelling of Narāyan Dās the
221 brother of Rūpsi. On the 27th he encamped at Amber,[2] and on the same day the ambassadors of Quṭb al-mulk[3] produced choice presents. Among them was the elephant Fatḥ Mubārak, who was renowned for his violence so that professional drivers were afraid of mounting him. When he was brought before H.M., he quickly mounted him, and made him obedient. The spectators were amazed, and were almost ready to vacate their bodies on beholding the might and majesty of the sovereign. What is wonderful in his performing such marvels, or what extraordinary in his subduing such wild animals?

One of the occurrences was the guidance given to Rajah Todar Mal. Just as he was one of the unique of the age for practical wisdom, and trustworthiness, so was he at the head of mortals for superstition and bigotry. His rule was that until he had performed in a special manner his idols-worship, and had adored them after a thousand fashions, he would not attend to business nor eat or drink. Suddenly, in the turmoil of moving the camp, the idols of that simpleton were lost. In his heartfelt folly he abandoned sleep and food. H.M. had compassion on him and administered consolations to him. He recovered somewhat and addressed himself to his duties.

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1 In Ajmere J. II. 273.

2 The old capital of Jaipūr.

3 The title of the Golconda Sultans. The Sultan here meant was Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh who died in 1581.

One of the occurrences was the laying the foundation of the fort of Mūl-Manahar-nagar. Inasmuch as H.M. is disposed to cultivate the soil (*gil*) as well as to civilize the soul (*dil*), he continually decks society and solitude by building up these two great places of worship. At this time, while he was at Amber, it came to his hearing that there was an old city in the neighbourhood, the ancient greatness of which was now recorded by a mound of earth. He resolved upon reviving it, and on 29 Ābān he, in an auspicious moment, laid with his august hands the foundation of that fortress. He nominated several officers to execute the work, and in a short time it was completed in an excellent manner. He associated it with Manahar[1] Dās, the son of Rai Lonkaran, the Zamindār of the place, and gave it the name of Mūl-Manaharnagar.[1]

One of the occurrences was the appearance of a comet after the sun had sate on the throne of the West.

Let there be a description of this phenomenon for the purpose of feeding the lakelet[2] of discourse!

When the rays of the world-warming sun fall upon moist 222
earth, heat is generated by that great luminary, and particles of the water become light and float upwards. They mix with the atmosphere and rise high. Such mixture is called vapour (*bukhār*). When the dry ground becomes heated by the sun, the supply of moisture which is hidden therein becomes united with the dryness, and from the influence of the heat the earthly particles get burnt

[1] He was a poet and wrote under the name of Tausanī (a mettled steed). He was also called Muhammad Manahar. See Badayūnī III. 201. For Manoharpār, see I. G. XVII, 200. It is 28 m. N. N. E. Jaipār. Tiefenthaler I. 323 mentions a town called Monoarpur 15 leagues N. Jaipur, and calls it a "ville de marque" and says it had a fortress. See also B. 494, n. 2, Lowe 238, and Elliot V, 406, and Errata, vol. VIII. Perhaps it is the Manoharnagar of J. II. 277. There is a reference to Rai Manahar in Price's Jahāngīr 33, and in the Tāzuk, p. 8. See Rogers' translation, pp. 17 and 321.

[2] *Zū ganab*, lit. possessed of a tail. This is the comet of 1577 described by Cornelius Gemma who was a professor of medicine at Louvain, and published his book at Antwerp in 1578. He died of the plague in the following year. His engraving of the comet has been reproduced by Guillemin. It passed its peribelion on 26 October, 1577 (B.B.R. A.S.J. XXI. 146).

[3] The text has *dibāca*, preamble but the variant *dariyāca* is supported by the I.O. MSS.

and so their levity is increased. They then mix with the atmosphere and ascend. This mixture is called smoke (*dukhān*). Each is of two kinds. One becomes fixed in the ground and produces fountains, cavities (*kānhā*) and earthquakes. The other spreads over the surface of the earth and ascends. From it are produced clouds, rain, storms, thunder, lightning, and the like. Treatises on natural history describe these things clearly. I now proceed to refresh the garden of my discourse with an account of the production of those wonderful phenomena (comets).

Be it not concealed from the listeners to knowledge that whenever Mars is predominant in a country, the latter becomes arid, and thick vapours and smokes rise up in it. Especially is this so if Mars be in the tenth house of the horoscope of the year or season, and if that house be windy, or fiery and malific, and the moon, or Mercury, be windy, so that he (Mars) may regard them with a glance of affection.

Assuredly, the crops will then become bad, and there will be the elements of a famine. There will also be sicknesses, predominance of wrath, and the snapping of the thread of inquiry. (Wisdom-seeking).

In fine, when the viscous and hairy vapour first rises from the ground and joins the first stratum[1] of the atmosphere, viz. that which is mixed with fire, it assumes beauty, just as the smoke of an extinguished lamp becomes illuminated when approached by a lighted candle. It is then called a meteor (*shihāb*), also a shooting-star, and when it descends towards the earth, the vulgar think that a star is falling. If its beauty does not become so great, it, on account of grossness, does not flame, but still it is consumed. On account of the varieties of the atmosphere it assumes various forms. Thus it becomes hairy, or it acquires a tail, or it holds[2] a spear, or resembles a horned animal, etc.

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[1] It is stated in the Ain, J. III. 38, that Fire is the first elemental sphere, and that its convex adjoins the concave of the sphere of the moon.

[2] *Neza badast*. Cf. J. III. 38, n. 3. The word used in the Ain is *niyāzik*, the pl. of *nezak*, a short spear or javelin, and J. translates this as the "Zodiacal light." But A. F. is there treating of the notions of the Greeks, not of the Hindus and it does not appear that the Greeks had observed the Zodiacal Light.

According to differences in its quality, it is either quickly consumed, or it lasts a long time. Occasionally terrible red or black appearances are observed in it. If it is dense, the red appearances excite dread, and if it become yet denser then black appearances inspire fear. Such forms were called in ancient language ṣawābī[1] i-najûm and ẓûât al-aẓûâb.[2] Each one of them had a different name in accordance with its difference in form. For instance, they called the hairy one ẓû-ẓûâba and the tailed one ẓû-ẓanab. In Hindi (i.e. Indian) books they reckon the number of forms as more than one hundred.[3] In Greek treatises seven kinds are enumerated, and they are all regarded as of the natures of Saturn and Mars. The *ẓû-ẓûâba* (possessed of forelocks) and the *ẓu-ẓanab* (the tailed) are regarded as the most malefic. Ptolemy says that the ẓû-ẓûâba and the sun are eleven Signs apart. Some of the Greeks are of the opinion that the ẓû-ẓûâba show themselves in the morning towards the east, and that the ẓû-ẓanab appear at evening towards the west. Seemingly, this idea is the result of repeated observations. The sages of India have divided them into 223
two classes, according as they are benefic or malefic. All agree that their influence affects the country across whose zenith they pass, or where they are visible to the inhabitants, and that it depends on the

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Probably then all that A.F. means by *niyâṣik* is spear-shaped comets. The next word, which Jarrett translates by luminous streams, is *umidha* عمد in the original, and this is the plural of paucity of عمود pillar. The next expression is ẓûât al qarûn, lit. possessed of horns, but which J. renders "meteors." This corresponds to the *ke shâkhhâ dâshta bâshid*, "which possess horns," of A. N. III. 222, eight lines from foot. In a MS. of the Ain in my possession there is no conjunction between *umidha* and *ẓûât-alqarûn*, so that the phrase reads "horned pillars." There is an account of a comet in the Tûzuk Jahângîrî 250, Elliot VI. 363.

[1] *Ṣawâbet* is given in Meninski as meaning a shooting star (stella volans), and this seems to be the meaning here. It therefore cannot be derived from *Ṣâbit* fixed. It is perhaps derived from the root *ṣaub* and means retributory. The expression then may mean the retributory stars, comets being regarded as sent as punishments. The I.O. MSS. have *ṣuanî, ṣawânî* ثوانی which is the plural of *ṣâniyat* a second (of time) (seconds).

[2] Possessed of forelocks.

[3] In the Ain it is stated that the Hindus reckon the number of comets, meteors, and the like, as a thousand (see text of Ain II. 24, and J. III. 38).

nature of the Sign in which they appear. They move according to the rapidity of the fiery sphere. Their effects depend upon the length of their appearance. Their wondrous[1] influences are detailed in old books in a manner which cannot be described here. Among them was the hairy comet which appeared in the Hijra year 662,[2] when the sun was in the Sign Leo. On that night there was a lunar[3] eclipse to the extent of eleven digits ½. More extraordinary still it was as large as a man's head, and smoke issued from the top of it. It passed to the countries of Tibet, Turkestan, China, Kāshghār, Farghāna, Transoxiana, and Khurāsān, and was visible for eighty-five days. There were disturbances in all these countries. In Transoxiana and Khurāsān the events connected with Qāīd[4] and Boräq and others illustrate this subject. Accordingly for a long time people reckoned their years and months[5] from it. In 803 (1400) a tailed comet appeared in the zenith of Asia Minor (Rūm). Maulāna 'Abdullah Lisān, and Muḥīu-d-dīn[6] Maghrabī and other astronomers of the time represented to Ṣāḥib Qirān (Timur) that it appeared from the sayings of the wise that an army from the east would conquer that country and capture its monarch. That brightener of the face of Fortune had always meditated a campaign into that country, though his feeble-minded companions did not approve of it. He proceeded thither and impressed on the minds of high and low the brilliancy of his design, and the deep discernment of the astrologers. In the year 837 (1433) a tailed comet appeared in the

[1] *Nairangī-sāgar*. Cf. B.B.R.A.S. XXI, 146 n., where the word *nairang* is taken to mean incantations.

[2] 1263-64. It appears from Pingre's Cometographie I, 406, ed. Paris, 1783, that this comet belongs to 1264. It appeared in France in July of that year.

[3] *Kusūf*. This is usually applied to eclipses of the sun, but as this occurred during the night I suppose the moon is meant. Perhaps however *zer-i zamīn* means the underworld.

[4] The Kaidu and Borāk of Ney Elias' introduction to the T.R., pp. 34, 35. Kaidu was a grandson of Oktāī, and Borāk a great-grandson of Caghatāī. He died in 1270. See also Vambéry's History of Bokhara, 152, 153.

[5] *Sāl u mah-i derīn*. I.O. MS. 236 has *sahnah*. The expression means a date and also perpetually.

[6] An anachronism unless there were two persons of that name. Muḥīu-d-dīn Maghrabī lived in the time of Hulagū (1260). See D' Herbelot's article Mohieddin, and J. II. 19, N. 1. I cannot find Maulānā 'Abdullah Lisān.

first degrees of the Sign of Libra near the Northern Crown. It used to rise and set there. When some days had elapsed a singular movement of it took place. It became spear-bearing (*nezadār*) and went off to a distance from the Northern Crown, and in eight months it disappeared. A great pestilence occurred in Herat and its neighbourhood. Every day more than a thousand persons died. M. Ibrāhīm,[1] the ruler of Fārs, M. Baysanghar Arghūn[1] the Shāh of Badakhshān and S. Zainu-d-dīn Khāfī[1] died during this calamity. The contest between M. Shāhrukh and Sikandar the son of Qarā Yūsūf was also a result. Those acquainted with the mysteries of the heavens are agreed that if a comet appear in the angle of dominion, the sovereign of that country will die, and if it incline towards that angle, the possessions of that prince will depart from his hands, and if it occur in a falling angle (sāqit-i-watad) sickness and pestilence will increase, and there will be sudden destruction among the people. A thousand thanks to God that by the blessing of the holy personality of the world's Khedive, the malefic influences passed away from his empire. If from time to time such a terrible phenomenon occur, no great misfortune befalls this country. Still 224
in spite of such Divine protection, that prudent partaker of the banquet of enlightenment ordered the distribution of abundant charities according to the rules of Muhammadans and Hindus. Worlds upon worlds of men were made joyful.

The brief account of this great phenomenon[2] is as follows: On

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[1] Both were sons of Shāhrukh, but according to Beale, Ibrāhim did not die till 1435 or 839 A.H. Baysanghar died in 837, but I do not find that he was ruler of Badakhshān. The I.O. MSS. have Shāh-Badakhshānī, and I suspect that a conjunction has been left out and that Shāh Badakhshānī is a different person from Baysanghar and one of the Shāhs of Badakhshān. Neither does it appear that Baysanghar was an Arghūn. Probably then we should read M. Baysanghar and Arghūn Shāh of Badakhshān. This view is corroborated by I.O. M.S. 23, which has the conjunction *u* before Arghūn. But I cannot find who the Arghūn Shāh was who died in 837; of Baysanghar there is a notice in D'Herbelot, and Bābur also refers to him in his Memoirs. Zainu-d-dīn Khāfī was a famous saint. He died in Shawāl 838, April 1435, B. 592, note.

[2] *Mashibat*, which means a gift. Either this is an euphemism, or it refers to the circumstance that the comet did not injure India. I.O.

the day of Ārād 25 Ābān (5 November 1577), Divine month, at the time when the sun was auspiciously placed in Scorpio, this celestial sign appeared in Sagittarius, in the west,[1] but inclined to the north. It had a long tail, and in some countries it was visible for five months. Astrologers and those acquainted with the secrets of the upper world represented that in some of the inhabited parts of India grain would be dear, and they mentioned the particular places where this would occur. They also said that the ruler of Persia would die, and that there would be the dust of confusion in Irāq and Khurāsān. As they said, so did it come to pass without defect or diminution. About the same time a caravan arrived from Persia and some able and truthful men reported to the august court the passing away of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the putting to death of Sultan Ḥaidar, and the arrival at power of Shāh Ism'aīl. The brief account of this is that the Shāh—the cupola of paradise—died in Qazwīn on 5 Khirdād.[2] Sultan Ḥaidar, his third son, considered the sovereignty as his right, and by the efforts of some of the grandees fancied himself to be secure. He was put to death by the exertions of his unkindly (*nāmihrbān*) sister Parī Khānim,[3] and Ism'aīl[4] M., the second son, who had been imprisoned for 22 years in the fortress of Qahqa,[5] was placed upon the throne. He, from wickedness, sent many of his brothers and cousins to the abode of annihilation. In one day he killed Sultan Ibrāhim,[6] together with eleven[7] of his own brothers.

M.S. 235 seems to have moībat مویبت, which means a country visited by pestilence.

[1] *Bākhtarrūia māīl bashimāl.* J. remarks II, 278, N. 3, that though bakhtar is often incorrectly used, A. F. invariably uses it for the West. I am not sure if A. F. does not mean to connect the length of the tail with the fact that it was visible in various countries.

[2] Or 15 May 1576. At p. 590 of A. N. it is stated that he died on 4 Khirdād.

[3] See details further on, A. N. III, 591.

[4] According to Olearius, translation 1662, p. 346, Ism'aīl was imprisoned for having made war on the Turks without authority.

[5] A fort in the district of Ṭūs, Malcolm, Hist. of Persia, I, 514, ed. 1815, says he was told that Kakha is the modern Sheshah. Kahka is however mentioned by Reclus as being a large town.

[6] Son of Bahrām M. and cousin of Ism'aīl.

[7] According to Olearius, Ṭahmāsp had only eleven sons. The word *barādar* evidently here includes cousins. See the list at p. 591 of A. N.

When the events of Persia were related to H.M. he remarked that the people of that country were beholding the retribution for their ingratitude, and that this gloomy and blood-shedding young man would fill up the measure of his days without moistening his lip (*lab tar nagushāta*) with the wine of the world, for the spirit of the age could not endure infatuation. What appeared on the tablet of the tongue abounding in pearls came to pass. There was another proving of H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries, and the celestial phenomenon revealed its qualities both as regards the past and the future. First Shāh Ṭahmāsp went to the holy world before the appearance of the marvel (the comet), and after it had appeared, Shāh Ismʿail went to annihilation. He died after having spent one year and five months in bloodshed, dishonour and lust (*badmihrī*). Many are agreed that he was poisoned by Parī Khānim.[1] During the lifetime of Shāh Ṭahmāsp she was the centre of affairs, and she expected to have still more authority during the rule of this ill-fated and noxious one (Ismʿail). He from presumptuousness and conceit dismissed her (lit. drew the writing of dismissal on the page of her position), though he had come to the rank of Shāh by her efforts. That foolish one[2] (Parī Khānim) plotted with the mother of Ḥusain Beg Ḥalwāchī Oghli from whose hands he (Ismʿail) took his mixtures and electuaries. On the night of Bahman 2 Āẕar, Divine month (November 1577), of the following year (985) some horses had come as a present from the ruler of Gurjistan. He went to the polo ground to see them. As the comet cast its baleful shade, and as the astrologers of Persia agreed with the sages of India, they read to him the celestial message, and begged him to put off his visit. They were not successful. From the ground he went to the quarters of Ḥusain Beg which were close by. Sharīf Qazwīnī brought to him

[1] Malcolm calls Parī K. the favourite sultana of Ṭahmāsp, and this error is repeated by Oliver, J.A.S.B. 1887, p. 42. She really was S. Ṭahmāsp's second daughter, and was betrothed to Badī-uz-zamān, son of Bahrām M. See the ʿĀlam Ārāī and A. N. III. 590, 91. A. F. there gives a history of the Ṣafavī family.

[2] Cf. Lowe 248, where she is called Parī Jān Khānim. The expression is *kotāh khirad*, and possibly it refers to Ismʿail; in that case the word *hamdastān* must be taken to mean "associated with" and not "plotted."

from the house the accustomed intoxicant and remarked that the seal on the box (*ḥuqqa*) had been removed. As the inevitable time had arrived he lost the thread of intelligence and made answer that if he had got it from the hands of Ḥusain Beg's mother there was no fear. He took some of it, and gave some to Ḥusain Beg. It has been heard from the secret knowers of Persia that when a portion of the night had passed away, Parī Khānim, whose house was in the neighbourhood of that confectioner's son's house, sent Shāh Wardī[1] with some men dressed up as women. They squeezed the throat and other vital parts of that infatuated madman and so killed him. As the heat of madness and his apprehensions kept him in solitude, his real well-wishers—who are the guardians of realm and religion—had not access to him. Indeed the servants generally could not set foot there. By the evil effects of such conduct—which is the worst of behaviours in the generality of those living in a state of association, then what must it be in the case of rulers,—these things happened to this confused and presumptuous one. The door of that house of terror was closed and nothing transpired from it. At last, night turned to day, and day had almost turned to night. No one had the courage to make a search. By the exertion of great courage M. Sulaimān the Vizier and M. Muḥammad Ḥakim and some others of the nobility came there. They read the inscription of hopelessness on the portico and broke open the door and found him lying dead. The little finger of the right hand was broken, and the skin of the forehead and nose scratched (here follow some lines of rhetoric) . . . . . .

The condition of this inwardly-disturbed one is impressed upon
226 all. He began by vexing his father, and benefactor, and sovereign. The latter from affection and foresight and in hopes of curing him put him into prison. When by heaven's decree he became the ruler of Persia, he extinguished the lights of wisdom and settled down in the indulgence of lusts. He choked the fountain of wakefulness and engaged in killing friends and cherishing foes. He did not appreciate the dignity of sovereignty, and was active in ruining the foundations of dominion. Apparently it is the wondrous design of the stewards of fate that the bliss, benevolence, and justice of the

[1] I.O. MSS. Bardi.

ruler of India may be proclaimed to the world, and that all the subjects of that abode of pleasantness may recognize the Imām of the time, and reposefully spend their days in the auspicious dwelling of thanksgiving.

Verse.

Praise be that mine of earth and water,
Which has produced such a brilliant pearl.
May there be a glorious day in that sky,
Which holds such a night-gleaming star.
O God, preserve that darvish-loving king,
Under whose shadow lies the repose of mankind.
Make him rule long over the people:
Keep his heart alive for the blessing of worship.

In fine, after some insincere expressions of grief, and more feastings, they proceeded to search for another ruler. As there were no royal sons who were fit for sovereignty they turned towards Parī Khānim, but she understood the spirit of the age and refrained from the high office, and referred them to Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda the eldest son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and whose blindness had saved his life in the time of the bloodshedding Shāh. Her sole idea was that he should nominally be the Sulṭan and that the real power should be with her. M. Sulaimān, who knew her craft and fraud, and who from his good disposition was not in league with her, fled to Shīrāz from fear of being made prisoner. He made known her wickedness, and agreed with the mother of Sulṭan Muḥammad Khudābanda—who was the real mother of Shāh Ismā'īl—that they should get rid of this turbulent strife-monger. When Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda approached Qazwīn, Parī Khānim became aware of their designs and barricaded the city. Shāmkhāl Carkas (Circassian) her maternal uncle with some thousand men prepared for battle. By the exertions of right-minded people things had a peaceful termination. The lady of Irān made her excuses, and the farsighted men who were watching for their opportunity accepted them. When she came near the camp, they represented that there was not an auspicious hour on that day. She 227
should cause her litter to be set down near the camp, and Shāmkhāl with the main body of the troops should encamp in the neighbour-

hood of a certain village. In the morning before they joined the men of the camp, Shāmkhāl would be exalted by doing homage (to Khudābanda), and after that there would be a review of the troops on a grand scale. By such pleasing tales they (Parī K. and her uncle) were lulled into security. When night drew her dark mantle over the face of day they induced Amīr Aṣlān Afshār, who was ostensibly a friend (*az dostān rasmī*) of Shamkhāl, to go and prepare a feast of friendship in his private apartments, and to kill him (Shamkhāl) while he was off his guard. And they arranged to give that slave of gold the governorship of Ispahan as a reward for this service. He who did not understand the rights of acquaintanceship, and much less did he know the mysteries of friendship, spilled the cup of his existence. At the same time they seized that veiled[1] one of 'Irāq, and she shortly afterwards became a curtained-sitter in the secret chamber of annihilation.

One of the occurrences was that on 2 Āẕar, Divine month, in the neighbourhood of the town of Kotputlī,[2] Muẓaffar K., Rajah Todar Mal and Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr were summoned to a privy council and there was a discussion about the affairs of the empire. Many matters were disposed of. The Sarkār of Bihar was assigned to Shujā'at K., Mīr Mu'izzu-l-mulk and other servants. The mints of the imperial dominions which had been under the charge of *candha-*

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[1] A. F. seems to have thought that as he was telling a Persian story, he could not be too flowery and enigmatical. The result is that he is more than usually tortuous and obscure. It appears from the 'Ālam 'ārāī B.M. MS., Add., 16, 684, 65b, that both Parī K. and Shamkhāl were put to death. The text has *haqīqat-guzīn-i-'Irāq* and I.O. MS. 236 has *haqīqī-gazīn*, as if the passage referred to Shamkhāl; but I believe that it refers to Parī K. and that the true reading is that given in I.O. MS. 235, p. 510a, l. 2, *maqanna gazīn*, مقنعه گزين "the veiled one." The expression "the veiled one of 'Iraq" thus corresponds to that used a little above where Parī K. is called "the lady of Irān, bānūī Irān."

[2] Text has Kotbūqlī, but the variant Kotpūtlī seems right. It was in Sarkār Nārnaul, Province of Agra, J. II, 182 and 194. There was a copper mine near it which perhaps was the reason why the question of mints was discussed there. The passage is translated in Elliot, vi, 57, where the town is spelt Kotpakalī. Kotpūtlī is in Jaipur and about 60 m. N.E. the city of Jaipur, I.G., XVI, 3.

ris[1] were divided. The directorship of this weighty business was assigned to Khwāja[2] 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad *Shīrīnqalm* in Fatḥpūr, the capital of the empire. The mint at Lahore was assigned to Moẓaffar K., that in Bengal[3] to Rajah Todar Mal, that in Jaunpūr to Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr, and that in Gujarat to Khwāja 'Imādu-d-dīn Ḥusain, that in Patna[4] to Asaf K. On the same day it was ordered that square[5] rupees should be coined. On 9 Āẓar the victorious standards cast their shadow on the town of Nārnaul.[6] There as the holy heart of H.M. is impressed by the glory of searching after God he visited the abode of Shaikh Niẓām[7] the hermit, and conferred eternal joy on that vaunter[8] of simplicity. By the strength of his good fortune no sadness found its way into his holy heart from his not finding the marks of enlightenment (in S. Niẓām). He only increased his search. As, owing to his wide capacity and exceeding research, his far-seeing glance did not fall upon his own treasure,

[1] A Hindu title. See Wilson's Glossary. It does not appear that A. F. explains it anywhere. But at B. 268 he speaks of Akbar's resuming the fiefs of the Caudhris.

[2] B. 107 and 495. He was a calligrapher. A. F. says he owed his perfection to a glance from Akbar.

[3] A. F. does not say here or elsewhere at what place in Bengal the mint was. Here and at B. 31 the word Bengal (Bengāla) is used as if it was the name of a city. Perhaps Gaur is meant, for Tāṇḍa is separately mentioned at B. 31.

[4] This is the Patana of B. 31, and is apparently Patna in Bihar and not Patan in Gujarat.

[5] These are the Jalāla rupees mentioned at B. 31.

[6] Nārnaul or Nārnol is described in Tiefenthaler I. 212. He says it was rich and populous until Jai Singh took it from the Muhammadans. It is now in Patiala. I.G., XVIII, 380.

[7] B. 538 where A.F. has entered him next to his own father as one who understood the mysteries of both worlds. But possibly, as B. suggests, A.F. may mean here S. Niẓām of Amethi. He is described in Badayūni III. 15, while S. Niẓām of Narnol is described at id. p. 26. He belonged to the Cistī order.

[8] *Dukkān ārāī sāda lūḥ.* The expression seems intended as a sneer. According to the Bahār-i-'ajam *dukk'ān ārāī* is used metaphorically to mean boasting and the passing off things of small value as being of great price. The interview is mentioned in the T.A. and Niẓāmu-d-dīn quotes a verse apropos of it. Evidently Akbar was then a keen inquirer, and Niẓāmu-d-dīn says there was a mystic assemblage or dance.

and as he did not find in the wearers of rags, or in the learned of the age, any notes of the spiritual and celestial mysteries which are attached to the table of the bounty of God, his thirst for the limpid waters of truth increased from time to time. Hence it is that the intimates of the majestic council (of God) have described as eternal that pain of seeking after God which is the zenith of truth. The incomparable Deity does not come within the field of the heart of mortals, nor does the foot of search become worn out.

228 On the day of Āsmān, 27 Āẕar, Divine month, the capital of Delhi was glorified by the Shāhinshāh's advent. First of all he circumambulated the holy shrine of H.M. Jiunat Āshiyānī, and showered gifts on the custodians. Then he visited the other tombs, and was also lavish in gifts there. On 3 Dai, Divine month, he visited the quarters of Shāikh Farīd[1] Bakhshī Begī, who had many seats in that delightful neighbourhood on the banks of the Jumna, and had places of worship which were the praying-spots of India. H.M. went there at the request of this loyal servant and thus secured for him eternal exaltation. On the 5th of the month he halted at the sarai of Bāwalī[2] and spent some days there in administrative work and in hunting. The needy of that part were replenished from the table of his bounty.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Ḥājī[3] Ḥabībullah. It has already been mentioned that he had been sent to the port of Goa with a large sum of money and skilful craftsmen in order that he might bring to this country the excellent arts and rarities of that place. On the 9th he came to do homage, attended by a large number of persons dressed up as Christians and playing European drums and clarions. He produced before H.M. the choice articles of that territory. Craftsmen who had gone to acquire skill displayed the arts which they had learnt and received praises in the critical place of testing. The musicians of that territory breathed fascina-

[1] Farīd Bukhārī, B. 413 and 415, n. 1.

[2] Perhaps Bawal in Sarkār Rewārī, J. II, 293. Pālam, to which Akbar went afterwards, according to the T.A., was in Sarkār Delhi, J. II, 86.

[3] Cf. *ante*, text 146, and Elliot v, 407, and vi, 57. The organ is described by Badayūnī in an obscure passage, Lowe 299. See Vullers, s.v. *arghanan*. It is the Greek organon.

tion with the instruments of their country, especially with the organ. Ear and eye were delighted, and so was the mind. Also at this halting place Khwājā Ghīāṣu-d-dīn[1] 'Alī 'Āṣaf K. arrived from Īdar and did homage, and his brother's son J'afar Beg, who had come from Persia, performed the prostration.

[1] Blochmann 433. His nephew J'afar was distinguished in Jahangir's reign.

CHAPTER XLI.

The defeat of Rajah Madhukar by the daily-increasing fortune of the Shâhinshâh.

When the star of anyone's fortune sinks and his days grow dark, the first thing that happens is that the lustre of his sense becomes obscured so that he by his own efforts flings away his honour, and becomes contemptible in the spiritual and physical world. Such was the condition of this evil-thoughted zamindar.
229 At this time when the glory of justice had seized the world, and the eternal managers were labouring to make dominion (i.e. Akbar's power) resplendent, that short-sighted and crookedly-going man made his seeming power the strength of his country, and the number of his daring followers the material of presumption, and departed from the highway of obedience. The world's lord nominated Ṣâdiq[2] K. with a numerous army to that quarter in order that if he did not accept the pleasing words of counsel, he should receive fitting punishment. The victorious army went by way of Narwar and communicated the exhortations. That turbulent and distracted one did not accept them. They were obliged to commence the work of clearing the jungle (jangalburî) and proceeded to the town of Undcah (Orchha of I.G.). When they came near the fort of Karhara, Parmân Parmânand Panwâr, who was in league with the wretch, took refuge there. The army surrounded the fort and addressed itself to the taking of it. Every day some of the garrison made sallies and were defeated. In a short space of time the cup of his power was ready to spill over. He opened his lips in supplication and asked for quarter. As the rule of the Shâhinshâh is to cherish the humble and to accept excuses, the imperial servants observed this principle and gave him protection. When they had

[1] Maasir-al-umarâ II. 131, and B. 488.

[2] B. 355, 356. The Iqbâlnâma says he was accompanied by the Mota Rajah, Rajah Âskaran and Qâsim 'Alî K.

untied this difficult knot, they advanced further. As the country was forest, and the marching of the army was difficult, they cut down the trees one day and marched the next. After this prudent fashion they advanced stage by stage till they came near the river Dhāra,[1] which is north of Und-cah. The wretch collected a large army and prepared for battle on the bank. The braves on each side daily adorned the field of battle. From time to time there were gallant hand-to-hand combats. On 5 Dai, Divine month, it was resolved to cross the river and engage in battle. Owing to the difficulties of the ground, the troops could not keep their order. Ṣādiq K. led one body and Qāsim 'Alī K., Ulugh K., and S. Fīrūz with some brave men pressed forward to cross. On account of the enemy's fire the vanguard could not cross, and the work of the ghāzīs became difficult. At this crisis the royal faujdārs Kamāl K. and Maḥmūd K. pushed the rank-breaking elephants into the water and crossed. First, Ṣādiq K. crossed with a body of active men and a noble engagement took place. 230

Masnavī.

The desert became like a river of blood,
You'd say tulips were springing up on it;
The ground became like a sea of pitch,
With waves of daggers, clubs, and arrows.

Inasmuch as on the wide field of Divine aid physical resources are of no avail, and no dust of harm from crowds of wretches can fall on the pleasant abode of loyalty, the true man prevailed over the vagabond. The enemy was routed, and many of them lost their lives. The victorious army took possession of the Rajah's house without difficulty. On account of the number of trees, and ignorance of the locality, they were unable to make out what had become of him. Some thought that he was hiding and waiting for his opportunity. Others suspected that he would attack the camp. Ṣādiq K.

[1] B. 356 has Dasthārā. The Maaṣir has "the river Sawā, which is known by the name of Satdhārā." Elliot VI, 58, who translates this passage of the A.N., has Satdhārā and explains this as the "Seven streams" and states that this is a name for the Betwa at Urcha. The Iqbālnāma has also Dhāra.

adopted the latter view and proceeded toward the camp. He turned[1] the vanguard into the rearguard and sent off detachment after detachment. Meanwhile that slumbrous-fortuned fool emerged from behind and stirred up strife. Most of the troops gave way and turned their backs, Ulugh K. with some brave men stood their ground and fought. Ṣādiq K. arrived with an army of heroes and heartened the waverers. Abū ma'ālī and others grew bold. Each man left off thought for his life and stood upon guarding his honour. There was a brilliant engagement. Ulugh K., Abū-ma'-ālī and M. Muḥammad Sīldoz distinguished themselves in single combat. Horal Deo, the Rajah's eldest son, was killed by a ball from a *gajnāl*.[2] Khān Jahān the brother of the Rajah attacked a lofty elephant and fell to the ground. He got up with agility and planted[3] his dagger in the elephant, and after prodigies of valour escaped wounded. Rām Sāh, the son of the presumptuous one, after fighting and being wounded by an arrow withdrew from the battle-field. The vagabond was defeated by the might of daily-increasing fortune. About 200 Rajputs of note were killed. Some of the brave imperialists were wounded, but by the Divine protection they recovered. Ṣādiq K. in expressing thanks for the good fortune (of Akbar) used to say, "When matters got out of hand, the holy personality of the "Shāhinshāh came into my mind, and I directed my attention to the "source of blessings. I made the idea of the world's Khedive the "caravan-leader of the last journey, and engaged hotly in warfare.
231 "Suddenly the august standards appeared and that glorious figure "presented itself. For a moment that glorious apparition brightened "eye and heart. I sank into a sea of amazement and did great deeds. "From time to time new strength was vouchsafed. In that spiritual "and physical struggle, the lights of victory shone by the blessing of "that mysterious spectacle and dispersed the darkness. In spite of "the dispersion of friends, and the multiplicity of enemies, a victory, "such as entered not into the comprehension of the ordinary man,

[1] This obscure sentence is made clearer by the Iqbālnāma. Apparently Ṣādiq K. recrossed the river, thinking his camp in danger, and then Madhukar took advantage of his departure to attack the vanguard which had, by Ṣādiq's retracing his steps, become the rearguard.

[2] A gun carried by an elephant. B. 113, first paragraph.

[3] The Iqbālnāma says he killed elephant.

"displayed its joyful countenance." Generally such occurrences which seem extraordinary to the clouded souls of the superficial are purposely effected by holy spirits, and are intended to guide the ignorant but fortunate. But sometimes the stewards of fate cause their production without those unique ones of existence being aware of the fact, in order to indicate the purity of the jewel, so that mortals may emerge from the wilderness of denial, and enter the pleasant abode of devotion. If the hearer of this instructive story be one of the intimates of the holy banquet and of those who share in the secrets of the palace of purity, and be aware of the knowledge of Divine matters possessed by the Khedive of the world, he will regard this extraordinary apparition as belonging to the first class, and if he be one of the auspicious ones of practical wisdom, and have some knowledge of the right-thoughtedness and abundant graciousness of the lord of the earth, he will regard it as belonging to the second class.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Qāsim[1] K. to the government of Agra. Owing to the quality of the climate the general public of that place are notorious throughout India for their turbulence, courage, and recklessness. They have accepted obedience on account of the Majesty of the Shadow of God, and perform service. At this time, when the august cortége was away on a campaign, they had, from wickedness and irreflection on the end of things, raised their heads in sedition and oppressed the weak. Accordingly the just prince appointed him on 14 Dai, Divine month, as he was the distinguished one of the age for truth, knowledge of affairs, and courage, and gave him sage advices. He joined the glory of action to knowledge and tranquillized a world.

One of the occurrences was the Khān Jahān's marching against Sātgāon. The family of Dāūd was there, and Matī[2] and Jamshīd belonging to his *khāṣkhail* (clan) and many wicked Afghans were making a disturbance there. When the centre of Bengal had been cleared of the rebels, Khān Jahān addressed himself to that quarter. Matī, who had brought together some of Dāūd's choice treasures, wished in his good fortune that he might be enrolled among the

[1] B. 379.

[2] His real name was Maḥmūd K. Khāṣkhail. See infra A.N. 259. He surrendered to Khān Jahān at Gwās, and was put to death there.

royal servants. Jamshīd and the other Āfghans leagued together and made war upon him. After many conflicts he was defeated and had to retire into obscurity. Much of his property came into their
232 hands. Yūsuf Balūc and Sarmast Afghan and some of Matī's friends were waiting for their revenge. One day that turbulent man (Jamshīd) went to their house in order to pacify them, and they killed him. By the marvels of celestial aid the ill-fated enemies fell into trouble of their own accord, and without any fighting on the part of the imperial servants. Dāūd's mother and the rest of his family asked for protection and agreed that when the fortunate army went to Tānda, she and her followers would come to Court. Khān Jahān accepted her overtures and went off from Sātgāon to the place agreed upon. She and her party kept their promise and came to Court.[1]

On the 26th of this month H.M. went off rapidly to the neighbourhood of Hiṣār to hunt, and spread the shadow of his justice over that city. The house of Mihr 'Alī Sīldoz was honoured by his presence. Presents were offered and H.M. accepted a portion of them, and made him joyful. From thence he went to Hansī, where he alighted at the shrine of S. Jamāl, where he paid his devotions to God, and distinguished the attendants by great gifts. He was one of the lieutenants (*jainashīnān*) of Shaikh Farīd Shakrganj and on an indication from his *pīr* had settled there in order to guide inquirers. Whenever the Shaikh (Farīd) read the signs of excellence in any man he appointed him to a particular district and told him to take his letter of appointment to S. Jamāl.[2] If the latter agreed, he was to enter on his duties as one of God's servants, otherwise he was to endeavour to mortify (*gudāzish*) himself until he

[1] Apparently this only means that she surrendered to Khān Jahān. She did this at Gwās (in Murshidabad). See A.N. 259.

[2] There is an account of S. Jamāl in the Khazīna-al-aṣfiyā I, p. 285, and also in J. III, 379, where he is called S. Jamālu-d-dīn. He was descended from Abū Hanīfa of Kūfa. The story of Farīd sending certificates to him for signature is told there and also in Ferishta's life of Farīd (near the end). Ferishta says that Farīd at the instance of his sister twice sent him the certificate of her son, and that on the second occasion Jamāl tore it up. Afterwards he gladly signed the certificate of Nigāmu-d-dīn Auliya. Jamāl is said to have died in 659 A.H. (1260); he is buried at Hansī.

should become fit for such a high dignity. Accordingly they tell that he had appointed one to Delhi, and that the latter did not get S. Jamāl's countersignature. Afterwards he countersigned the appointment of Niẓāmu-d-dīn (Auliyā). Apparently, the object was that his integrity might be impressed upon all, and also that his own high rank might be evidenced by this exaltation of a disciple. Otherwise, what reason was there for giving such authority to a subordinate, and why did he show such a procedure in enlarging the position of discipleship.

Also at this time Maulānā Muḥammad Amīn[1] arrived and did homage. He was of a noble family in Yezd and belonged to the village (*qariya*) of Aqdā. In Shīrāz he studied in the school of that learned of the age Maulāna M. Jān, and read some commentaries and books on asceticism (*tajrīd*), and knew the 'Aẓdī,[1] and for the purposes of magic he knew a little about the stars and the science of geomancy (*ramal*) and something about chronology. He was an eloquent expounder of plans, and by his assurance and plausibility he sold himself at a high figure. At this time he came from 'Irāq to the threshhold of fortune and by the instrumentality of court- 233
intimates he was introduced. The Khedive of the world from the high opinion that he had of his introducers increased his dignity, and sent him along with Prince Murād to the house of Shaikh

[1] This is the Mullā Muḥammad Yezdī of Badayūnī, and who, he says, got the name of Yazīdī (in allusion to the Yazīd who killed Ḥusain). See Lowe 214, 267, 284, 285. He is also apparently the Maulānā Muḥammad of the Ain. See B 541. He was originally a Shia and in favour with Akbar who made him Ṣadr of Jaunpūr (A.N. text III, 281). But he afterwards rebelled and according to Badayūnī, Lowe 284, issued a fatwa declaring that it was a duty to rebel against Akbar. Akbar, it is said, had him arrested and drowned. A.F. does not seem to tell more about him, except that at p. 302 he speaks of his having been drowned, and implies that this was an accident. The word 'Aẓdī either refers to the distinguished men of the tribe of 'Aẓd, see D'Herbelot s.v. Azd, or to the work called the Muwāqif 'Aẓdia composed by 'Azdu-d-dīn Qāzī of Shiraz who lived in the 14th century. See Beale. Apparently Mullā Muḥammad wanted to make Akbar a Shia just as Rodolfo Acquaviva wanted to make him a Christian, and both failed. Maulānā Mīrzā Jān is referred to again at vol. III,. p. 747.

Abdu-n-nabí, who was the centre of *ahl-i-sa'ádat* (learned men), or rather nothing important could be accomplished without his opinion, and loaded him with favours. As he was not of a good disposition, and had not studied the pages of genius, nor possessed a wide capacity, his counterfeit was soon detected and his veneer of gold was revealed to high and low, as will be mentioned in its proper place.

One of the occurrences was the capture of Mozaffar Husan M. Fortune rises up to wage war on whosoever lifts up his head from submission to the God-worshipping Khedive, and his foot is soon pierced by the thorn of failure. If he has no lot in auspiciousness he falls headlong into the abyss of annihilation. Otherwise fortune makes him foolish and delivers him into the hands of the lord of fortune, in order that he may in the prison, which is the school of truth, turn to do good service. The story of the Mírzá is a fresh instance of this. Though evil-disposed people made him a support of disaffection he soon became stained with the dust of shame and became a foot-blistered vagabond. From Gujarat he again hurried off to the Deccan, and joined with some evil-conditioned men in Berar. The troops of that country made war upon him, and there was a hot engagement. As he had turned away from the true qibla, he was defeated and came to Khandes. Raja 'Alí K. seized him and restrained him from plundering. Though in reality he was putting down the dust of dissension in his own country, yet in appearance he was behaving loyally to the holy court. When the facts came to H. M's. knowledge, he sent orders along with Maqsúd Damba to the effect that he should be sent to Court.

One of the occurrences was that a cloud came over the reliance which H.M. reposed upon S. 'Abdunnabí. The pious sovereign never considered himself and always practised equity. In accordance with the dictates of wisdom, the Sultan, he made no distinction between friend and foe. As the integrity[1] of the Shaikh was impressed on H.M. by the simple, whose ignorance was sold at the rate of knowledge, and by interested persons who posed as being candid and free from desires, he raised him from the hollow of

[1] See vol. II, 248, where it is stated that 'Abdu-n-nabí was appointed in 972 at the recommendation of Mozaffar K.

failure to the high ground of honour. In the first place the management of the learned (*ahl-i-sa'ādat*) was made over to him permanently, and afterwards the glorious affairs of the State were referred to him. As in the testing-house of man knowing assayers the counterfeit coin of mortals does not remain current, right thinking persons came to know the real facts and at this time some portion of the story of his trickery and self-interestedness reached the acute sovereign. From abundant vigilance, and profound meditation—for many righteous persons become stained by the suspicion of the wicked and irreverent—he personally undertook the inquiry, and went into the question according to proper rules. There was no slackness in the Court of judgment, and the general public did not know of the inquiry. When there had been several revolutions of the spheres, the truth of former representations was proved in various ways.[1] 234

Verse.

If a man conceal his secret for a time,
Length of time reveals his fraud.

From perfect far-thoughtedness—which is indispensable in this evil world—an order was given in the borders of the town of Gohāna[2] to S. Farīd Bokhārī that when the august cortége should pass that way he should produce the owners of the *sayurghāls* (B. 268) of that country before H.M. in order that the position of each of them might be ascertained, and that the propriety of each of the grants might be impressed on his mind. In a short time it became manifest that owing to a love of gold, and the acceptance of recommendations, the rules of sufficiency and inquiry had been neglected. The world's Khedive in his abundant gentleness did not remove the veil from the face of his ('Abdu-n nabī's) actions but referred the investigation[3] and criticism to prudent servants. He

[1] Cf. B. 269 beginning of first para. Badayānī III, 80, ascribes the downfall of 'Abdu-n-nabī to his having put a brahman of Mathurā to death for disrespect to the Prophet. He adds that Akbar got very excited when discussing this matter, and that his mustaches stood out like a tiger's whiskers. There is a full account of 'Abdu-n-nabī in the Darbārī Akbarī, 320.

[2] Kohāna in text. It is in the Rohtak district. I.G. XII. 304, J. II, 293.

[3] Text has *nikohīdagī*. Is this a mistake for nigāhīdagī?

said, "A man cannot manage every thing on account of multiplicity of employment. Especially is this great employment larger than that one person can control it. It is an indispensable part of prudence that head men be appointed to each province and that this great form of worship[1] be divided, so that Truth may be fixed in her centre, and that the pillar of justice, i.e. knowledge of the truth, be exalted." About this time the Ṣadārat of the Panjab was conferred on Maulānā 'Abdulla Sultānpūri, and it was intimated to some persons of enlightened heart that they should mention to H.M. the names of some trustworthy, experienced, and energetic men who might be fit for this work.[2]

At this time the town of Sunām was[3] brightened by the glory of the royal standards. He conferred distinction on M. Yūsūf K. by addressing him (or perhaps by giving him a title) and said, "Something tells my heart that the world-surpassing[4] territory of Kashmīr shall come into the possession of the imperial servants." Out of his abundant kindness that delightful country became assigned to him as his fief. I laud his perception and the light of his vision! What after so many years was to show itself, shone on that day in the pure temple of his soul which is a mystery-revealing mirror. On 21 Bahman Divine month (about 1 February 1578), he encamped at Shādīwāl, and for the guidance of those standing about the threshold of fortune he uttered auspicious counsels. He let fall many spiritual and physical truths. He said, "If the scarf of social life were not on my shoulder, I would restrain myself from eating flesh." Inasmuch as he was aware of the wolfish[5]

[1] 'Ibādat. The Lucknow ed. has qiyād, i.e. conduct or rules.

[2] Ain 19 about Sayurghāls, B. 268 should be read. At p. 270 A. F. tells us that the Ṣadr was directed to consult him and to increase or decrease the grant in accordance with his advice.

[3] Text Sīām, but there is the variant Shīām. I have not however found either of these places and so have adopted the Cawnpore ed., reading Sunām, which also appears in I.O. M.S. 236. Sunām or Sunnām is a town in the Patiāla State and is entered in the Ain under Sirhind, J. II. 296. It is mentioned in B. 286 as one of the places where Akbar used to hunt leopards. Bayazīd Biyāt got the pargana of Sunām in farm. See his Memoirs near the end. Also I.G. XXIII. 139.

[4] I.O. M.S. 236 has instead of jahān gushāī, jān gushāī "soul-opening."

[5] *Gurgkhoī*. This expression occurs also in the Ain B. 61, which

nature of men he considered that to tame them all at once would be to distress and pain the votaries of custom. Therefore the inspiration came to his holy heart that he would stretch out his hand slowly 235
and by degrees so that things might not be made difficult for followers of the truth, and that constant apprehensions might not make the general public crazy. He has now for some time abstained from eating meat on Fridays.[1] It is to be hoped[2] that the practice (of eating meat) will be confined to certain days.

One of the occurrences was the bestowal of the pargana of Tihāra on Raḥmān[3] Qulī Qūshbegī. For a while he had, in virtue of his leadership of the spiritual world, while in the midst of material calculations, been swimming[4] in the ocean of Vision (shahūd). When he

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treats of days of abstinence There is also a similar remark there about leaving off the practice by degrees. Cf. Akbar's saying in J. III, 240. "Were it not for the thought of the difficulty of sustenance I would prohibit men from eating meat. The reason why I do not altogether abandon it myself is that many others might willingly or unwillingly (kām nākām) forego it likewise and be thus cast into despondency."

[1] Bartoli, Missione al Gran Mogor, ed. Piacenza, p. 7, speaks of Akbar's fasting strictly on Friday, and ascribes it to his contempt for Muḥammadanism. Akbar gave up hunting on Fridays for a reason given by Jahangir, T. J., 249.

[2] The word *umed* "hope" is not in text, but it occurs in the I.O. MSS. The clause is to me almost unintelligible, and my translation of it is of very doubtful correctness.

[3] Text رحمن Racman, and there is the variant *caman* چمن. But it is clear from the I.O. MSS. and the Bib. Ind. text, p. 196, that the name really is Raḥman or Raḥmān, i.e. The Merciful, which is one of the names of God. At p. 196, Raḥman Qulī Qūshbegi (i.e. falconer) is described as coming from the Ḥijāz and as bringing a letter from the Sharīfs of Mecca. I have no doubt that he is the Raḥmān of the passage before us. Qulī means servant or slave so that Raḥmān Qulī means the slave of God. Apparently he is the Raḥmān Qulī of Badayūnī III, 278, who described himself as the loving son of the poet Mullā I'shqī. Mullā I'shqī was Mīr Bakhshī. See B. 528 and A. N. III, 247. Perhaps he is the same as Ism'aīl K. who is described as the father of Raḥmān Qulī Beg by Ma'ṣūm Bhakharī. See Elliot I. 245.

[4] See B. 156 where a similar phrase is translated "launches forth into the ocean of contemplation." The words which I have translated "material calculations" are muḥāṣiba nafsānī. I presume that nafsānī is used in the sense of carnal or material. But I am not clear as to the meaning. Perhaps the reference is to Akbar's having lately been

came out of this state (lit. when he returned) he displayed this great act of liberality. Some of the servants of the Court were meditative as to what could be the cause of this. He, who reads the inscriptions on the forehead of the heart, had compassion on their bewilderment and said, "When that township[1] (*qasba*) came in sight, whose name means "of yours,"[2] it struck me that everything was a manifestation of the glory of the Holy Being (God) while this (expression, or village name) only showed external things (ṣūrat-i-namūdārī). My heart became lacerated by the turmoil of "We and I (*mā u man*)" and by the grasp of connexion and dependence. I felt chilled by the abode of association, and my enchainment in outward things was nigh being severed. When the mysterious working of Divine destiny brought me into the world of contingent existence, it passed into my mind that as an act of thanksgiving this township should be given to one in whose name there was an allusion to the Incomparable Creator. At that time this chooser of service (Rahmān Qulī) appeared before him, and was distinguished by the great favour.

In that holy assemblage he uttered many delightful words and weighted with knowledge the brains of the awakened-hearted. By the sound of this awakening the slumbrous in the night of ignorance were roused and guided in the wilderness of search. Glory to the sublime strength which keeps the lamp of Oneness alight in the strong wind of multiplicity, and observes solitude in the midst of society. And hail to the lofty perception which keeps sovereignty shoulder to shoulder with saintship, and preserves unity of colour!

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engaged in arranging about the mints, the division of commands, etc.; see supra, text 227.

[1] It is clear from J. II. 115 and elsewhere that A. F. uses *qasba* occasionally as equivalent to pargana or district.

[2] Text *azalī*, i.e. eternity. But I cannot find that Tihāra means eternity, and the two I.O. MSS. and also a MS. of my own have Az tust ازتست "yours," or "of you," and I believe this to be the true reading, for it is stated in Forbes's Hindustani Dictionary that تہارو and تہاری tihārau and tihārī, Hindi तिहार, means "your" in the old Braj dialect. This accords with the next sentence in which Akbar alludes to pronouns and speaks of being distressed by the "mā u man," "We and I." Pargana Tihāra was in Sarkār Sirhind and on the Sutlej. See J. II. 295.

Verse.[1]

A Shāh who by wisdom is the guide or the path to God,
An ocean which never for a moment is separated from God.
Though they call him the shadow of God,
We do not call him shadow, for he is God's light.

On 9 Isfandarmaẕ, Divine month, a bridge was made from the neighbourhood of Lakhi[2] Qiyāmpūr, and the royal standards passed over the Sutlej. Worlds of troops and universes of animals crossed safely and in comfort. Near this place Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram came from Lahore and paid his respects and was honoured with royal favours.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army to Baluchistan. As the leaders of that tribe, owing to their innate savagery and ill-fatedness, had turned away their heads from obedience and had not paid proper respect, M. Yūsuf K., Shah Qulī K. Maḥram, Saiyid Ḥāmid, Muḥammad Zamān and other strenuous ones were 236
sent off to that country. They were first to guide them by wisdom-conferring counsels, and if these were not effectual they were to enlighten their darkness by the flashes of the sword. On the 12th the cortége alighted at Patan (Pākpattan). The sovereign paid a visit to the shrine of S. Farīd Shakrganj.[3] From the beginning of night he made the morning of truth shine, and he also spent most of the following day in that processional spot (muṭāf), and performed the duties of the primacy of the spiritual and temporal world. The attendants on the shrine and the inhabitants generally attained to high dignity and were comforted. During that banquet of enlightenment Ṣūfī Nāṣir from Balkh and Mullā Mushfiqī[4] from Bokhara had

[1] This quatrain seems to be Faiẓī's: cf. B. 561.

[2] J. II. 332, where it is called Qiyāmpūr Lakhī. There are three other Lakhīs in the Sarkār (Bet Jalandhar Doāb).

[3] J. III. 363.

[4] B. 583. Mashfiqī was a poet, and Badayūnī III. 328 gives two specimens of his poetry. The passage in text is corrupt and I have corrected it from the two I.O. MSS. 236 and 235 of Ethé. According to the text the wisdom of these two strangers was tested as had been that of the sages of India. But in the two MSS. referred to, the word diyār "country" does not occur and the words are "ma'rifat-i-ānrā cān ghā'ra-i-in 'iyār girifta." The expression about their coming to know that they had wasted their lives,

the happiness of presenting themselves. The spiritual knowledge of the one and the poetry of the other were tested, and they came to recognize the futility of their lives, and began their work anew.

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and their commencing their studies afresh (under Akbar as teacher), is repeated with reference to 'Abdul Bāqī Turkistānī at the foot of first paragraph of p. 244.

CHAPTER XLII.

BEGINNING OF THE 23RD DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, VIZ. THE YEAR BAHMAN OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

On Tuesday 2 Muḥarram 986 (11 March, 1578), after the passing of 53 minutes, the sun filled with light the sign of Aries and the eleventh year of the second cycle began. Mortals rejoiced in the equability of the atmosphere, and in their delight returned thanks. Melody unmixed with sorrow sounded, and there was universal joy.

Verse.

The spring-clouds made pictures in the garden,
The morning breeze shed *'aṭr* on the rosarium,
Whiles the musky gale brought perfume from hidden places,
Whiles vivifying Boreas shed jewels on the ground.

In the beginning of this year 3 Farwardīn, Divine month, a bridge was made over the Rāvī at Khānpūr, and the august standards cast their rays on that country.

One of the occurrences was the appointing of S. Ibrāhīm to the governorship of the metropolitan province (Fatḥpūr Sikrī). He knew the outer world and was skilful in its management. It was ordered that he should come from the thānadāri of Laḍlāī [1] to that city and guard the orders of sovereignty. Though the awe of majestic justice keeps the distant as well as the near in the school of service, and they reckon employment as the source of secular and spiritual bliss, yet as vigilance and forethought are the characteristics of the sitter on the throne of fortune, he useth to make over each 237
country to some prudent and active-minded person, and in a sleepless manner spreads forth the shade of watchfulness. After this noble fashion did he worship the world-adorning Deity.

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Shujā'at [2] K. to the

[1] Text Lawalāli as at p. 220, where it is said to be in the province of Ajmere. See note at p. 220. In I.O. M.S. 236 it is Lāzhlāli

[2] See B. 284 for an account of how Akbar saved Shujā'at from a tiger.

province of Mālwa. As it came to the august hearing that the officers of that country were somnolent and did not regard the afflictions of the weak, and had become worldly and had stepped aside from the highway of wisdom, he imparted counsels as regarded each of them suitable to their conditions, and sent off Shujā'at K., who together with courage, possessed knowledge of affairs and justice, to be their commander-in-chief. An order was also issued that Shāh Budāgh K., Tolak K., Muttalib K., and the soldiery generally should exert themselves with one accord in composing the troubles, and should act in conformity with Shujā'at K.'s opinion.

One of the occurrences was the stumbling[1] of H.M.'s horse. Whatever happens to him is a lesson and an ornament. If by reason of human nature slumbrousness overcome him, and forgetfulness be produced by the mantle of mortality, he is awakened by what is in appearance injurious, and enlightenment is bestowed in a wondrous fashion. Intimations reach the *masnad* of instruction in proportion to the slumbers of each person. But the much wakefulness of a world does not come up to his sweet sleep. Spectators are amazed, and as they do not comprehend the cause, they are bewildered. Apparently it was in this way that one night when he was coming back to the camp from hunting, his horse stumbled. He, the wise and foreseeing one, regarded this as a message from God, and prostrated himself in devotion. A new foundation was laid for Divine worship. May the Incomparable Creator uphold that holy personality on the pleasant spot of health and not suffer any untoward dust to settle on the skirt of daily-increasing fortune!

Verse.

Hail to the holder of the kingly throne!
The magazine of Divine aids,

[1] Perhaps this is the occurrence which is referred to in the collection of Akbar's sayings at the end of the Ain, text II, 234, and J. III, 386, five lines from foot. The words there: "On the completion of my twentieth year" appear to be a mistake arising from a corrupt text. In two MSS. which I have consulted the word is not "*bist*" "20" but "*asp*" or "*asb*" horse, and the meaning seems to be "my horse stumbled." But Akbar had another fall from his horse in the 34th year at Daka in Afghanistan. See A. N. III, 572.

God be praised that in his lofty destiny,
No evil[1] comes except in the shape of rue.

Simple-minded, superficial persons who never saw anything but prudence and far-sightedness in that Unique of the realm of being, and who did not budge even half a step from the market square of ordinary causes, sought[2] out petty reasons. As one of the ancients has sung:—

Quatrain.

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I went to kill the horse with my sword,
He said, "First hear this my excellent excuse:
I'm neither the earth's[3] bull that I can support the world,
Nor the fourth sphere that I can draw the sun.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Komulmīr.[4] That fortress is of difficult access and is situated on a sky-high mountain. The Rānā had after the fashion of his ancestors made it his residence. In former times very few had succeeded in taking it. On this day owing to the wondrous fortune of the Shāhinshāh, it became with a little effort the resting-place of the victorious army. When Shahbāz K. proceeded thither, he sent away to Court Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kuar Mān Singh lest from their feelings as landholders there might be delay in inflicting retribution on that vain disturber (the Rānā). He himself went forward to take it, in company with Sharif K., Ghāzi K., M. K, and others. By the guidance of the stars the troops passed over the stony tracts and easily crossed the defiles. At a time, when neither resident nor

[1] *Kamāli* "Perfection," but I think there is an allusion to the 'ain-i-kamāl, i.e. the evil eye. But the meaning may also be "No perfection comes unaccompanied by its rue" (as a prophylactic against the evil eye).

[2] There are apparently various readings. I.O. M.S. 236 seems to have *ba kīn u sāil* "revenge and questionings," and id. 236 seems to have *bakamīn u sāil* "with inquiries and questionings."

[3] *Gāo-i-zamīn*. The bull which bears the earth on its horns.

[4] *Kohlmīr* in text, the Koubhalmīr of B. It is in the Udaipūr State and 40 m. N. of Udaipūr. The mountain is over 3,500 feet high. It was visited by Tod who has described it in his Personal Narrative. It was he who took possession of it in 1818. See also B. 400, the Rajputana Gazetteer, III, 52, and I.G. XVI, s.v. Kūmbhalgarh.

stranger thought of it, Shahbāz K. arrived to take the fort. By the might of heavenly aid he got possession of the defile of Kelwāra,[1] which is such that the foot of fancy (*khiyāl*) cannot reach it. The heroes ascended the heights and prevailed. The garrison lost heart on seeing the lights of celestial aid. On 24 Farwardīn, Divine month, 3 or 4 April, 1578, the fort was invested and the drums of joy beaten. On beholding the might of the ghāzīs, the foot of courage of the turbulent one (the Rānā) slipped, and he became still more dismayed. By the wondrous work of fate a large gun inside the fort burst, and the harvest of his equipment was reduced to ashes. At once he dropt the thread of courage and fled to the hills.[2] Many Rajputs of fame stood in front of the gate and the precincts of the temple and made a daring fight. After gallant hand-to-hand combats they slept in the house of annihilation.[3] In the morning of dominion that celestial knot was loosed, and a deed showed itself which ordinary people could not comprehend. When it was pointed out that that wicked one was in the hill-country of Bānswāla, he (Shahbāz K.) made over the fort to Ghāzī K. Badakhshī and hastened in that direction. Next day at midday he took
239 Goganda, and at midnight Udaipūr. The victors obtained immense booty.

One of the strange occurrences was that an ascetic hermit had for a long time lived in obscurity in the first fort (Komulmīr?). Men always sought a blessing from his lofty spirit. Before the catastrophe by three days he came out in the morning on the top of the Rānā's temple and sounded the "*'azān*" (call to prayer), and announced the coming of the king's army. The governor was astonished and questioned him. He replied, "This (i.e. last) night I was informed that the capture would take place." The slumbrous-witted one was enraged and put him to death.

On hearing the news of this great Divine boon H.M. increased his devotions, and distinguished the loyal combatants by great

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[1] I.G. XV. 198.

[2] The Maasir II. 593 says the Rānā escaped in the dress of a Sanyāsī, but perhaps this merely means that he escaped naked or with few clothes.

[3] The account of the taking of Komulmīr is partially translated in Elliot, VI. 58.

favours. On the 31st of the month H.M. went near Ciniot[1] towards the bridge,[2] and a portion of the great camp crossed under his inspection, and the active servants had a fresh instance of his marvels. How could so numerous an army have marched if he had not been there to guide it? Who has the ability to describe the equipment? Shall I relate the passing over hills and plains? Or shall I describe the completion of the bridge and the adornment (*āin*) of the boats? Or shall I write of the passage of the elephants through the boisterous river, or tell tale of the masterfulness (*isbahbadī*) of this spiritual king? On that day, on account of the ignorance of newly-trained servants, Pūndarīk,[3] a special (*Khāṣa*) elephant, was lost in the depths (*ż'harifhā*) of the river. The deep-seeing (*ż'harifnigāh*) sovereign regarded diminution[4] of property as increase of life, and held a feast. One day there was on the hunting-ground a great hailstorm. The hailstones were as large as nuts.[5] H.M. was in a litter[6] (sukhpāl), and holding communion with his God. By the blessing of the shadow of the blessing of the Shāhinshāh no harm happened to his followers in that unprotected plain.

One of the occurrences was the cessation of clouds and rain. The

[1] The text has *janūb*, south. The Iqbālnāma enables me to correct this to Ciniot. I. G. X. 285. Akbar was in Lahore when he heard of Shahbāz K.'s success. On 31 Bahman he went to Ciniot on the Cenāb. See J. II. 320, 21, and R.A.S.J. for 1899, p. 132.

[2] The sentence is obscure and the Lucknow ed. and some MSS. have *khabar* "news" instead of *jisr* a bridge. Perhaps it is the name of a place, e.g. Jasroya or Jarrota, J. II. 320. Apparently H.M. marched from Lahore.

[3] Sanskrit, Pāndarīka, a lotus.

[4] This does not refer I think to the loss of the elephant. It is merely A. F.'s round-about way of saying that Akbar gave a banquet. Akbar considered, he says, the consumption of property involved in giving a banquet as a means of increasing life. There is also a play on the double meaning of the word *kāhish*. It means both "diminution" and the disease of phthisis. A.F. also travesties a couplet of Nizāmī quoted by Vullers s.v. which says that *kāhish* (the disease) soon produced *kāhish*, diminution of life.

[5] *Jauz*. We are not told the kind of nuts; perhaps A.F. as an Indian means cocoa-nuts, but more probably he refers to walnuts or *supārī* nuts.

[6] Perhaps Akbar was in a litter on account of his recent fall from his horse. *Sukhpāl* seems to be the same as *sukāsan* mentioned at p. 130, top line, as used by Muni'm K.

account of this marvel is that for some days there was constant and unseasonable rain. The campmen and the generality of the subjects were distressed and complained. The wonder worker emitted his glorious breathings[1] on a mirror and then put it into a fire. From the wondrous effect of the breath[2] of him whom the spheres obey the celestial turbulence ceased.

Verse.

When energy assists the brave,
They raise the Earth above the sky;
By energy accomplish deeds,
That difficulties may be easy to you.

One of the occurrences was the forgiveness of the offences of the Balūcis. It has been mentioned that the leaders of that tribe had from darkness of understanding and slumbrousness of fate
240 cast their eyes on the remoteness and strength of their country and taken the path of ruin. As the world-adorning sun of Divine light exists for the casting down of the wicked as well as for the cherishing of the good, an order was given that some of the Panjab officers should proceed to the abodes of the tribe and inflict proper chastisement on them. The sound of the approach of the world-conquering troops aroused the slumberers and guided them to good service. From dread and from farsight they sent prudent men and sought for forgiveness. H.M. accepted their excuses[4] and received the entreaties of those tamed ones of the desert of ignorance at the

[1] See B. 164 where Akbar is described as breathing on cups of water and placing them in the sun. Perhaps *dar ātish nihād* means "he placed the mirror in the sun."

[2] *Damgīrāī*. It also means assistance, or power. See J. III, 366, where the original of the words "miraculous powers" is *damgīrāī*. A.F plays on the double meaning. The miracle is described in a MS. of the T. A. in my possession. The account occurs near the beginning of the 24th year and says that Akbar called for a mirror, breathed on it three times and then put it in the fire. The mirror was probably of metal. The story does not seem to occur in the Newal Kishore edition.

[3] *Shamsah-i-peshtāq*. The sun-picture of the portico. See B. 50.

[4] The Iqbālnāma gives the names of two of the Bilūcī chiefs who came to sue for grace, Hājī K. and Jihat K. A. F. also mentions them in the following chapter.

rate of chosen service. He issued an order that the troops should return. For his whole thought is to accept the obedience of mortals so that multiplicity may become unity, and that mankind in general may have repose. He does not act like the rapacious and greedy who make stumbling an excuse for subjugation, and do not rest without shedding blood and heaping up wealth.

One of the occurrences was the composing of the distractions connected with the *sayūrghāls*[1] (rent-free lands). Many recluses suffered from their feebleness because they had not their land in one place, and sometimes were tormented by the exchequer-officers and the agents of fief-holders. Also avaricious and shameless people fraudulently laid hold of lands in several places. They looked upon the differences in localities as a means of fraud, and so fell into eternal ruin. The just lord of the earth ordered that the *Aima*[2] lands should not be mixed up with the exchequer and jagir lands. He also abolished the plurality of situations and assigned to each in a particular place his *tankhwāh*.[3] Able men were appointed to every province and *sarkār* and made justice resplendent. By the holy orders the lamp of satisfaction was kindled for the recluses, and the evil-doers were guided aright. The work was done from the beginning, and by wise regulations the revenue was preserved, which is the highest form of worship in the social state. The light of justice also diffused new radiancy over the world.

One of the occurrences was the amazement of the superficial at the knowledge of mysteries possessed by H.M. One day he heard in his privy chamber the beating of a drum. Though those who had access there searched for the drummer, they could find no trace of him. It fell from the mouth full of pearls, "Something tells me that it is the admirable work of Yār Muḥammad."[4] When

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[1] Cf. B. 268 and Lowe 261 and 282. It was Qāẓī 'Alī of Baghdad, B. 528, who was appointed to re-adjust the rent-free tenures.

[2] See Wilson's Glossary and cf. B. 269, first para.

[3] His pension (lit. body-satisfying), the Tuncah of Warren Hastings' time. See Wilson's Glossary s.v. Tankhwah.

[4] Perhaps the Yār Muḥammad Yas āwal of text III, 475. Or he may be the son of Ṣādiq K. B. 357, 499. The story is told in a MS. copy of the T.A. near the beginning of the 24th year. It says Akbar remarked, "It is Yār Muḥammad Naqārcī (drummer)."

they searched they found it to be so. Such far views were continually appearing for the guidance of the fortunate. A day did not pass that the various writings on men's hearts were not read by him as if they were inscriptions on a portico. If I were only to record the instances that had come to my own knowledge, a
241 separate book would be required, then what question can there be of the instances that have happened to others?

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE ENJOYMENT OF H.M. IN A QAMARGHA[1] HUNT, AND HIS CAPTURE OF THE PREY OF HIS DESIRES.

The sublime thought of the wise Khedive in the enjoyment of hunting is that he may, without the awe inspired by royal majesty and without the intervention of prattlers—whose skirts are mostly stained with self-interest—acquire a knowledge of the events of the world, put down oppressors, and exalt the good who sit in the corner of contempt. His holy heart also always longs for an opportunity of receiving spiritual influence, and thinks that perhaps he may in the fields of unconventionality fall in with some good man and thereby lay a fresh foundation for wisdom's palace. Or perchance the tongue of some silently eloquent one may communicate religious knowledge to him, and by his inward attractions (*kashakhhā*, lit. "drawings") H.M.'s heart may be at rest from the questions of the Why and Wherefore, and may become fixed and pledged in one place, so that in this arid desert of self-confidence he may attain a spot of repose and may breathe freely in a holy mansion. While thus spiritually hungered in the struggles of search he on 12 Urdībihisht, 22 April 1578, resolved upon having a *qamargha* hunt in the neighbourhood of Bhera.[2] He crossed the Bihat (Jhelum)

[1] According to some copies of the T. A. Akbar had come from Pāk Pattan where he had been visiting Farīd's shrine. The account of the *qamargha* and of Akbar's "attraction" is omitted in the Lucknow lithograph, and the account in B.M. M.S. Add. 27, 247 is very differently worded from the text of the Bib. Ind. The verbose preamble is omitted, and the wording of the narrative is different. Add. 27, 247 is useful as it gives the corresponding Hijra dates. Thus it gives 12 Urdībihisht corresponding to 14 Ṣafar (986), i.e. 22 April 1578, 15 Urdībihisht corresponding to Friday 17 Ṣafar, 25 April. It also adds the epithet *kuhna* "old" to the name Bhera. In fact, there are two Bheras, the old and the modern, and the first apparently lay on the right bank of the Jhelum.

[2] In the Shāhpūr district of the Panjab, Badayūnī says, "near Nandana," and a M.S. T.A. in my possession has Nandana Rohtās.

and gave orders to the great nobles and officers that they should according to excellent methods enclose the wild beasts from Girjhāk [1] to Bhera, a distance of twenty-five *kos*. They zealously applied themselves to the task and formed troops (*qushūn, qushūn*) and bands. At this time Ḥājī K.[2] and the other Bilūcī leaders came with a thousand feelings of shame and did homage. Inasmuch as the observance of promises is at the head of the deeds of the social state, he forgave their offences and raised them from the ground of disgrace. At a sign from H.M. they obtained a place in the company (for hunting).

The zealous strivers of the domain of enlightenment had fulfilled their orders, when the bird of desire fell into the net, and the tongues [3] of eloquent silence obtained the joy of deliverance. That seeker after truth (Akbar) was putting forth the foot of search in that wide wilderness, and was holding self-conflicts in the pleasant place where the quarry had fallen. The glory of unity was bestowed by him on the pure spots and pleasant precincts of the temple of his supplications. As attainment follows upon search, the lamp of vision became brilliant. A sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame. The attraction (*jazaba*) [4] of cognition of God cast its

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[1] Kirjhāk in text. J. II, 324 and n. 6. It is the Hindu name for Jalālpūr, I.G., and is said to be the Bucephala of Alexander. It is on the right bank of the Jhelum. Add. M.S. 27, 247 says that the arrangements for the *qamargha* were carried out during ten days. It gives the date of the "attraction" as the day of Dīn 24 Urdibihisht corresponding to Sunday 26 Ṣafar, 4 May 1578. It mentions M. Yūsuf K., Naurang K. and Āṣaf K. as employed in arranging the hunt. It also speaks of Akbar's leaving his main camp on one side of the river and of his crossing over. In this M.S. the expression *jazaba qavī* "a strong attraction" is used, as in the T.A.

[2] B.M. M.S. gives 17 Urdibihisht as the day of their coming, and adds the name of Jīta K. or Chēta K. as a variant.

[3] Apparently this refers to the animals who were freed from the enclosing nets.

[4] The jazaba is described by Badayūnī, Lowe 261, and by Niẓāmu-d-dīn at the beginning of the 24th year, but the passage is omitted in Elliot V, 408. It seems to have been a remarkable occurrence, and Badayūnī speaks of it as having led to disturbances in the eastern provinces. Perhaps it caused Akbar's mother to come at this time to visit him. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says Akbar distributed "money to faquirs under the tree where he had experienced the attraction, and ordered a house

ray. The description of it cannot be comprehended by the feeble intellect of common-place people. Nor can every enlightened sage 242
attain to an understanding of it. A few of the farsighted ones of the illuminated spot of spiritual knowledge understand a little out of much of it by help of the ecstacy of vision (*shahūdī*). Until the boon companions of the banquet of Majesty (i.e. Akbar's companions) have drunk the clarified wine, what do they know of religious experience? And without tasting that inspiring wine, who among the topers in the tavern of Unity has the strength of vision to perceive from what jar this intoxication comes? The belief of one party of keen-witted men who were admitted to an audience was that the decorators of the court of creation had observed the world-illuminating beauty of his understanding. There[1] had been a marvellous intercourse with the mystery-knowing heart of the holy sanctuary.

A number of clear-sighted ones of the holy assemblage thought that he had met in these inspiring fields one of the pious anchorites and had gained his desire. Another set thought that he had met in with one of the holy spirits, others were convinced that the speech of the silent ones of the wilderness had conveyed a message to him. Others thought that the beasts of the forest had with a tongueless tongue imparted Divine secrets to him. When he had for a long time received the Divine rays, the blissful servants came and in proportion to their capacity carried[2] off the fragments of the feast. When the stewards of the hidden chamber of the Divine decrees had for the sake of the government of the world brought down again him who had obtained his desire in the spiritual kingdom, he in thanksgiving for this great boon set free many thousands of animals. Active men made every endeavour that no one should touch the feather of a finch and that they should allow all the animals to depart according to their habits. The

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and garden to be made there." The preparation for the *Qamargha* had gone on for four days, and the enclosing circle was nearly completed when Akbar stopped the hunt. See D.A. 86.

[1] I am exceedingly doubtful of the meaning of this sentence. Perhaps it means that the opinion just stated is that of the ladies of Akbar's court.

[2] This phrase is repeated at p. 245, last line.

caravans of animated beings had fresh life. The dumb of this world hastened to the rose-garden of joy. As his pure heart is free of sensual pleasures, and he ever desires asceticism, the thought of this boiled over in his soul and the desire for one-ness prevailed. He was nearly abandoning this state of struggle, and entirely gathering up the skirt of his genius from earthly pomp. But in obedience to the orders of Wisdom—the Shāhinshah—he passed from this desire, but conformed somewhat to the practices (of the ascetics). He shortened his hair which was long and beautiful and entrancing, and many of the lovers of the order[1] voluntarily imitated him. Stranger still, some time before this he had said that in the beginning of his reign he had, from sympathy with the natives of India, and in opposition of his ancestors, cherished the hair of his head, but from the wonders of Divine power would it be surprising if he should change his mind, and bring some inhabitants of this country to our "custom." On the same day he crossed the Bihat and came to the camp, and gave up the thought of advancing
243 further. At this time[2] Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kuar Mān Singh arrived on the bank of the river from Ajmere and did homage.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at the camp of H.M. Miriam Makānī. At the time when the camp was on the bank of the Bihat, it was announced to H.M. that her litter was near at hand, and that she was very anxious to see him. He was much delighted, and made arrangements for doing her honour. First an order was given that the prince Sultān Selīm should go to meet her and that many officers should accompany him. After that, H.M. went on horseback and made the reverence to his visible God (his mother), an act of worship of the true Creator. He at once acted according to etiquette and also exalted the rank of his knowledge of God.

Verse.

It belongs to a knowledge of rank to adore rank,
God does not give rank, save to him who appreciates it.

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[1] *Silāsil.* Apparently the order of the Divine Faith. But perhaps the word means locks or curls, and the translation should be "lovers of such chains (curls)."

[2] Add. 27, 246 says Bhagwant Dās

One of the occurrences was the arrival of presents from Bengal and Koc[1] (Koc Behar). At the time when the camp was by the river Bihat the bearers of reports from Khān Jahān arrived at court. The gist of them was that the eastern provinces were tranquil by the blessing of the ruler of the age. Rajah Māl Gosain, the zamindar of Koc, also again made his submission. First of all the rarities of Bengal, including 54 noted elephants, were produced, and then the presents of the landholder. Partāb 'Tār Feringi, who

came on the day of Mār Isfandār 29 Urdibihisht, corresponding to Rabī' al awwal. On 1 Khurdād or Monday 4 Rabī'al awwal news came of the arrival of Miriam Makānī. Though Niẓāmu-d-dīn puts the occurrence in the 24th year, he means 986 as A. F. does. Elliot's correction to 987 is wrong.

[1] There is an interesting account of Kūch Behar in A.N. III, 716. The Rajah himself did not wait upon Akbar. It was only his vakīl who came. At p. 716 A. F. gives an account of Rajah Māl Gosain. He says he was the grandson of Bishna (or Bisa, and the Visu of other authorities), and was an ascetic and did not marry till he was fifty. B.J.A.S.B. for 1872, 100 n., says he is the Nara Narain of Kūch Behar annals. See also Gait J.A.S.B. for 1893, 301 n. It is unlikely that an ascetic would develop into a great conqueror, and apparently the real warrior was his brother Sukhla Deva Sīlārāī, as indeed the temple inscriptions say. A. F. 716 calls Sukhla Dev the elder brother of Māl Gosain, but the inscriptions quoted by Gait, id. 295, show that he was the younger brother. Māl Gosain is more likely to be right than Bāl Gosain, as the first agrees with the Mallā Deva of the inscriptions. Māl Gosain wrote a book or a letter in praise of Akbar and sent it to him along with some fine silks. Presumably this was part of the present sent on the occasion mentioned in the text. In the 50th year of his reign he made his nephew his heir-apparent, but after this either he or his brother Shukl (Sukhla) Gosain married and had a son called Lacmī Narain. See Glazier's Rungpore, p. 12. B.M. Add. 27, 247 calls Rajah Māl Gosain the Rajah of Kāmrū (Kāmrūp).

[1] Cf. Elliot VI, 59. Partāb Bār is in the Cawnpore ed., p. 128, Partābā Bār, though at p. 182 id. we have Partāb Bā. As remarked in Elliot, the names of Partāb and his wife are very doubtful. In the two I.O. MSS. the name is Partāb Bāz. Partāb is mentioned again in the Bib. Ind. ed. III, 320, corresponding to Cawnpore ed. 182, where we are told that M. Najāt K. took shelter with him after having been defeated by Qatlū in Selīmābād (or Sulaimānābād) in Bardwan and Hugli, see B. Geography of Bengal A.S.B. 42, p. 218. B. id. calls him Partāb the Portuguese governor of Hugli, p. 440 and n. In all probability Partāb is the Tavares mentioned by

is one of the officials of the merchants of the ports of Bengal, had the bliss of an audience. He and his wife Nashûrna were from their happy star amazed at the laudable qualities of the sovereign,

Manrique: see Murray's Discoveries in Asia, Vol. II, 99. Sebastian Manrique was an Augustinian monk, and his book Itinerario, etc., was published at Rome in 1649. See also Bartoli, Missione al Gran Mogor, Piacenza, 1819, p. 5, who mentions Pietro Tavares as being a military servant of Akbar and also as captain of a port in Bengal. According to Bartoli it was Tavares who induced Akbar to send for Egidio Anes Pereira the priest of Sâtgâon. The latter in his turn induced Akbar to send for priests from Goa. See also the Calcutta Review, vol. v, for June 1846, article "The Portuguese in North India," p. 257. Apparently this article is the authority for the statement in Toynbee's Sketch of the administration of Hugli, Calcutta, 1888, p. 3. Partâb Bâr does not bear much resemblance to the name Tavares. Perhaps it was his Hindustani title, or it may be that the first syllable is a corruption of his Christian name Pietro. The Darbâr-Akbarî," p. 67, has Tâb Bârro which comes nearer Tavares. The author does not, apparently, read the second name as that of a woman. The excellent I.O. M.S. old No. 564, new do. 236, has p. 317b, four lines from foot.

پرتاب باز فونگی که از اعیان بازرگانان بندر بنگاله است سعادت بار یافت او بالسوزبا زن خود از نیک اختری حیرت‌زده

خوی ستوده شهر بارگشت و با راستگی عقلی و شایستگی حال در نظر اکسیر آن گیتی خداوند اعتبار یافتند *

Thus the name of the wife appears to be Ulsozba, and she as well as her husband were received by Akbar, for the plural *yâftand* is used. I cannot make out what the name really is, though possibly it is Louisa or Isabella. The author of the Darbâr Akbarî has Bâsubâran باسوبارن That is, he has *rau* instead of *san* (wife), and he seems to regard the name as that of a man. The other I.O. M.S. No. 235, p. 516a, has, instead of a woman's name, *ba sûd u ziyân khud* "with his own profit and loss!" and has *yâft* instead of *yâftand* (according to the English numbering the page is 518a). The lady's name also appears in MSS. as Nashûrnâ, Nasûrtâ and Basârbâ. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Agra, writing to Dr. Wolff in 1832, told him that a lady named Juliana, an inmate of Akbar's seraglio, was instrumental in procuring the presence in Agra of the Jesuit priests. See Wolff's Researches, etc., p. 303; and Col. Kincaid, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vol. III, p. 164, speaks of a Juliana as having married John Philip Bourbon, and as having been the sister of Akbar's Christian wife. Possibly all this is merely a distortion of the story of the Donna Juliana who was at the Court of Aurangzeb and Bahâdur Shah.

and from their good sense and propriety of conduct they found favour in the testing eyes of the world-lord. Also at this time Abdul[1] Bāqī Turkestānī acquired bliss by doing homage. H.M. in his abundant quest of truth gave every one access to himself, and listened to the tales of plausible persons, as possibly his soul might be refreshed by them. In this abode of search (the world) the 244
unique pearl of enlightenment does not come into the hands until after hundreds of disappointments, and without having an open countenance for the various classes of mankind, nor can knowledge (of God) be attained. Many lights of the firmament of holiness remain hidden in the dark places of ignorance, and many, on the other hand, make a boast of themselves. From seeing such tumults, the questers in the wilderness of search withdraw their hearts from inquiry. They withhold their foot from endeavour, and choose the corner of apathy (*afsardagī*). But the far-seeing sovereign (Akbar) becomes more earnest in his striving when he does not get the night-gleaming jewel! By his orders the stewards of the holy banquet bring every sect before his noble glance, and accordingly at this time, by the direction of some courtiers, this man who had trodden the desert of exile, and who had come from the Ḥijāz, was brought into the enlightened assembly. For a time he discoursed pleasingly and with a fluent tongue, and communicated some of the things about religion and creed that he had acquired from learned Christians. It soon became evident that he had not examined into the matter with a discriminating eye, and that he had not penetrated to the pure temple of devotion (*riyāzat*). From his good disposition he became conscious of his empty-handedness, and of the waste of his life, and took up the matter anew.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Sakīna Bānū Begam to give counsels to Ḥakīm M. One of the secret thoughts of H.M. during this expedition was that he would hasten to Kabul and arouse the slumbering Mīrzā by advice, and compose the distractions of Zabūlistān, and cause all the people thereof to sit in the shade of

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[1] Probably he is the Maulānā Abdul Bāqī who became a Ṣadr. B. 272, 528, 541. The words at the end of his description are similar to those used at p. 236 of text to describe Mullā Mashhūqī and Sūfī Nāgir. Add. B.M. 27, 247, calls him Murtāẓa Bāqa.

justice. When the mysterious[1] revelation which loosed the knots of difficulties came to him, that design became erased from his heart, and he said, "My sole wish is that the Mīrzā may emerge from the defile of savagery and be encompassed with princely favours. Inasmuch as he is young and inexperienced, and is associated with persons of small capacity, perchance he may on our approach turn away from the altar of fortune and go into exile.[2] Though able and farsighted persons have regarded a younger brother in the light of a son, yet something tells me that the existence of a dutiful son is doubtful, and the meeting of the brothers impossible. It is far better that I hearten him by good counsels from a distance. It may be that his somnolent fortune shall awake and that he shall take the path of obedience, cease to stray, and become a traveller to the abode of bliss! If through converse with evil-thoughted ones he has hurried away from the high road of obedience and the pleasant abode of service, and has fallen into the thornbrake of ingratitude, it becomes a magnanimous nature, and is suitable to a wide tolerance to act contrary to the opinion of the short-sighted, and to take that unfortunate wanderer and stumbler
245 by the hand, and to cure him by various instructions." On this account he nominated that veiled one of the palace of chastity, who was the Mīrzā's full sister,[3] for most men listen to the words of friends and near relatives, and do not accept the advice of well-meaning strangers, nor take their words into account. If they had a clear judgment and seeing eyes and an awakened heart, they would distinguish between the pearl and the glassbead like experienced jewellers of the market-place who test everything small or great, and they would cast out of view the speaker and regard only the intrinsic beauty of the speech! It was also in his mind that if the Mīrzā should hearken to what was said, a fresh relationship might be established which would encourage and comfort him. Though in the opinion of the wise the intermarriage of near re-

[1] The vision during the hunt.

[2] The Iqbālnāma adds, he might take refuge with the Uzbegs.

[3] Sakīna was given in marriage by Akbar to Naqīb K.'s son Shāh Ghāzī K. She died in 1014 (1605). A.N. III, 839. Sakīna means tranquillity, and also the Shechinah or Holy Spirit. She is mentioned by Gulbadan B. as Māh Cūcak's second daughter.

latives be not approved, yet the far-seeing hold it to be right under certain considerations, and regard it as a slight evil for a great good. Hence he ordered that if the veiled one of chastity saw purity (lit. crystal) in the forehead of his disposition, she should rejoice him with the tidings that Prince Sultan Selim might become his son-in-law. She left on 19 Khurdād from Sīdrī[1] (?) and went off in company with Mīr 'Alī K. Sīldoz and Mīr Abu Issac[2] Ṣafvī.

At the same time the ambassadors[3] of Shāhrukh M. obtained leave, and 'Abdulla[4] K. and 'Ābdī Khwāja were sent off to encourage and soothe the Badakhshīs. It has already been mentioned that the Khānim had sent, on behalf of the Mīrzā, skilful persons, and apologized for the disorders of that country (Badakhshān). When the facts were known, the disturbances created by the Mīrzā were seen to be the result of his youth, and of ill advice, etc., and the excuses were accepted. The hearts of the distressed were comforted by various favours, and it was announced that when the veiled chaste one should come to court her countenance would be brightened by glad tidings.

Note.—See Akbar's opinions on this subject in J. III, 397, 398. He regarded the marriage of cousins as a survival from Adam's time when such connections were necessary.

About this time the primacy of the spiritual world took possession of his holy form, and gave a new aspect to his world-adorning beauty. In the pleasant abode of hunting the magical musicians[5] came forth with their melodies, and for a time his august heart was engaged by this. On hearing this exorcising spell of the woof and warp of association, or rather talisman of the perception of the treasury of truth, that[6] cavalier of the plain of vision experienced a trans-

[1] Or Sahīdrī?

[2] B. 523. He was the son of Rafī-u-d-dīn Ṣafvī who was connected by marriage with A.F's father. See J. III, 423.

[3] 'Abdu-r raḥmān Beg and M. 'Āshiq. See text, p. 211.

[4] They were sent with the ambassadors, and probably Sakīna went off in the same party. B.M. M.S. Add. 21, 247, says 'Abdullah was son of Mu. Ghauṣ of Gwalior. See B. 457.

[5] Apparently this is allegorical, but see B. 611 for A.F's account of the influence of music.

[6] The text has the word *gusekhta* "loosed," but it is not in the I.O. MSS. and seems out of place here.

formation. What the chiefs of purity and deliverance had searched for in vain was revealed to him. The spectators who were in his
246 holy neighbourhood carried away the fragments of the Divine bounty. In a short space of time he by God-given strength turned his face to the outer world and attended to indispensable matters. If the tale of such spiritual things were to be unfolded and written down, volumes would be required, and the moving foot of the travelling pen would be worn out at the first advance. My whole energy is engrossed by recording the glorious occurrences of the outer world. Inasmuch as spiritual reflection has broken the rein of my heart I have through helplessness recorded something of the holy world of holiness.

At this time a fresh benevolence was exhibited. An order was issued for the taking of measures to fill the Anūptalāo [1] with money. In the special apartments (courtyard?) (*daulat khāna-i-khāṣ*) of Fatḥpūr there is a reservoir twenty by twenty (yards) and twice a man's height in depth. It is paved with red stone and is an object of admiration to the critical. Before the august expedition (to the Panjab) had taken place there had trickled from the fountainhead of bounty the statement that "For some time the participators in the holy banquet have had their eyes and ears gratified by the clearness of the pearling waters and the prattling of the fountains. Now let it be filled to the brim with various coins so that the great treasures may become visible and the general public may receive an abundant share of the sublime bounty, and the necessitous be freed from the anguish of expectation." At this time the arrangers of the banquet of sovereignty set about filling the reservoir. Rajah Todar Mal reported that it would be filled by the time the royal standards arrived, that seventeen krors of *dāms* had been counted out, and that it was estimated that this quantity [2] would suffice to fill it.

[1] The tank or reservoir (*ḥauz*) was made or completed in 983 (1575-76). Lowe 204. Badayūnī, after mentioning the tank, goes on to speak of Jalāl K. Kūrcī, and we know that he was killed at the end of 983. B. 476. Anūptalāo means "the unparalleled tank."

[2] *Miqdār-i-ān*. I am rather inclined to think that A.F. means by this expression that another seventeen krors would be required. This would make the amount agree with the statement in Jahangir's Memoirs, T.J. 260, that it took thirty-four krors, forty-eight lacs and 46,000 dāms

One of the occurrences was the coming of Shahbāz K. to court, and the bringing with him of Daudā the son of Rai Surjan. It has been mentioned that he had been sent to that country to subdue recalcitrant ones of the province of Ajmere and to punish the wicked there. He had done excellently there and had slain many of them. Some had saved themselves by submission, and rested in peace. The Rānā had his residence plundered, and had gone into obscurity in the defiles. Daudā, who had always been prominent among the turbulent had repented and become submissive.

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to fill it. He calls it the Kapūr tank and says it was 36 by 36 cubits and 4½ cubits deep. The B.M. M S. Add. 27, 247 has *hamīn qadr dīgar khwāhid gan īd* "another equal amount would fill it," and the Iqbālnāma says that Todar Mal reported that seventeen krors had been used and that there was still space, and that Akbar ordered it to be filled to the brim. Elliot V. 409 says the reservoir was filled with gold, silver and copper, and that the amount came to twenty krors of *tanks*. Badayūnī, Lowe 272-73, says twenty krors of copper coin were used. He also says that a ḥakīm undertook to build a subaqueous house in the tank and failed, and that the contents of the tank were distributed in three years. An account of the inauguration of the reservoir and the distribution of the money is given in A.N. III, 257. See also D.A. 125. This last gives an account of an old picture of the distribution. In the report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XVIII, Architecture of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī 1894-98, Chapter I, there is an account of a Ḥauz or tank in the Maḥāl-i-Khāṣ which presumably is the Daulat Khāna Khāṣ of A.F. The name of the tank is not given, but the dimensions 95 ft. 7 ins. square agree fairly with those given by A.F. and Jahangir, if we take his *dara'* or *sara'* to be yards. The tank may also have been increased in size. There is also a tank, known as the Sweet Tank, at the back of the Diwān-i-Khās. The tank in the Mahāl-i-Khāṣ is also shown in the plan in Keene's Agra. It is crossed by four causeways meeting in the middle. There is also a tank in the large square in front of the chief mosque. According to the Iqbālnāma it was this tank which burst in the 27th year and did considerable damage. See A.N. III, 392.

Jahangir speaks only of silver and copper coins being put into the tank whereas A.F. speaks of *muhrs*. According to Jahangir, Tūzuk 260, thirty-four krors and forty-eight lacs odd of dāms (i.e. copper money) and sixteen lacs and 80,000 rupees in silver were poured in, making a total of one kror, and three lacs of rupees or three lacs 43,000 tūmāns. In this estimate the dām has evidently been taken as the fortieth part of a rupee, and the Persia gold tūmān as worth Rs. 30.

Shahbāz K. took that suppliant with him to court. On 5 Tīr, Divine month, he had the honour of saluting the threshold in the village of Tihārah, and was received with princely favours. His miserable condition was brought to the august notice and he was admitted to an interview. H.M. observed that eternal ruin was written on his forehead, and the draught of kindness did no good to the wicked. Inasmuch as the keeping of one's word is an essential part of rule, he was forgiven and allowed to sit in the shade of
247 tranquillity. When the royal standards proceeded to the capital he was left in the Panjab. Shortly afterwards he absconded,[1] and H.M.'s knowledge of hidden things was again illustrated. On the 9th of the month a bridge was ordered to be made over the Cenāb near the town of Kahlūr,[2] and the army crossed; on the 21st a bridge was made near Kalānūr, and the army crossed the Rāvī. From there an embassy was dispatched to the ruler of Kashmīr. As 'Alī K.[3] the governor (*ḥākim*) of that country had not hastened to the highway of obedience, H.M. sent on the 24th Mullā[4] 'Ishqī of Ghazni and Qāẓī Ṣadru-d dīn[5] of Lahore in order that they might guide that sitter in the hills to obedience. Next day he halted in that pleasant spot (Kalānūr[6]) and stayed in the garden of that city of fortune in whose rose-like land the accession of the Unique one of creation took place. He gave a feast there. On 4 Amardād, Divine month, he crossed the Beah (Beas) by a bridge near Khokhrowāl.[7] At this place S'aīd[8] K. was sent to the government of the Panjab. When the royal cortège first arrived in the province a large number of suppliants for justice had come and complained that Shah Qulī Maḥram did not attend to the punishment of oppressors, and that in consequence the administration of justice

[1] B. 410.

[2] One of the Simla Hill States, capital Bilāspur. I.G. VIII, 234.

[3] 'Alī Cak. J. II, 330, father of Yūsuf Shah.

[4] He was a Bakhshī and also a poet. B. 528 and Badayūnī III, 277. The dispatch of the embassy is noted in the T.A., Elliot V, 411. For its return see Badayūnī, Lowe 276.

[5] B. 545. He is there described as belonging to Jālandhar. But this is explained by Badayūnī III, 84, where he is described as of Jālandhar and afterwards of Lahore. He is also called al Lahorī in T.A. in the list of learned men.

[6] In Gurdāspūr, Panjab.

[7] J. II. 319, where it is Khokowāl or Ghoghowāl.

[8] B. 331.

was not in a good state. H.M. censured him and quieted the grieved hearts. The wicked went into the corner of contempt. From that time H.M. meditated that a just and able man should be sent to watch over matters. At this time, when his intention was to proceed to the capital, he entrusted the duty to the skill of that able and just man (S'aīd K.) and gave him wise directions. He also sent along with him to Lahore abundance of money for the poor and the empty-handed. He observed to Rajah Todar Mal that he had learnt that many Afghans had settled in the towns and villages of the Panjab. Though some professed to be traders and some to be husbandmen, yet there were signs of their being wicked. From time to time it appeared that they oppressed the weak, and that such things were not promptly inquired into; also the weak were unable to produce evidence. It appeared to H.M. that this body of men (Afghans) should be scattered and be sent in detachments to different provinces, so that the people might obtain relief from the burden of oppression, and also that the Afghans might not become vagabonds. At this time Rajah Bīrbar and 248
Saiyid Mozaffar were sent to Jālandhar in order that for some days they might serve at a distance and gather bliss by sympathy for the helpless. Every one who was looking for a holding (*madad-m'āsh*) and could not get it was to be sent to court. He would get one sufficient for him from the crown lands.

One of the events was the appointing of Muḥibb 'Alī K. the son of Mīr Khalīfa to the governorship of Delhi. From his early years he was an intelligent companion (of Akbar) and one who regarded his ability as a ray from loyal devotion. The wise sovereign offered him his choice of four great employments, 1st—The office of Mīr 'Arẓī at court. 2nd—The charge of the harem.[1] 3rd—The governorship of a remote province. 4th—The governorship of that blissful city. As his strength of body was not great, he rightly preferred the last employment.

On the 26th of the month H.M. ordered a bridge of boats to be placed over the Sutlej, and the army crossed. On this day Ḥājī K.

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[1] *Darbār-i-ṣḥabistān*. Presumably this is the appointment formerly held by 'Itimād K. in the 20th year, text 142, where it is called the *darbar-i-maṣḥkūī*. He must have vacated it when he went on pilgrimage.

and the other Bilūcī chiefs from ignorance and savagery ran away. They had not beheld[1] the majesty of the great camp, and they did not choose to be far from their own homes lest court-service would fall upon them! At the time of crossing they searched for a wrong path. Kuar Mān Singh, Zain K. Koka and Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf K. were sent after them. Owing to their being late in getting intelligence, they were unable to come up with them. Evil tale-bearers represented that they had not been active in the search, and for some days they were excluded from the bliss of the Presence and were in disgrace.

One of the occurrences was the leaving of Rajah Todar Mal in the province of the Panjab. When H.M. went off to Fathpūr, he was sent off in order to arrange the *jāgīrs* of the officers of the Kachwāha family. He was also ordered, with regard to some of the cultivated lands of the northern hill country, whose rulers were not obedient, to leave them in peace, if, on receiving advice, they laid upon their shoulders the burden of submission. Otherwise he was to extirpate the thankless crew, and to make over their lands and residences as the *tankhwāh* of the combatants for dominion (Akbar's officers). In a short space of time the order was carried out. Many of the hill-proprietors became ashamed and apologised and attached themselves to the saddle-straps of fortune, and some were punished and banished. At the time when the royal standards cast the shade of justice over the centre of the Caliphate, Rajah
249 Bhagwant Dās and he (Todar Mal) came and did homage.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Fath K.[2] to the government of Bhakar. During the Mālwa expedition news had come to Dībālpūr that Saiyid Muḥammad Mīr 'Adl had died. H.M. sent them I'tmād K. the eunuch, who was distinguished[3] for justice and ability. He in an able manner conducted an army to Sehwān,[4] and after being successful returned after making peace.

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[1] Apparently A.F. means that the Bilucis were so ignorant of the splendour of Akbar's court that they thought they would be impressed and kept as his servants.

[2] B. 438 says he died in 985 or 986, but at p. 490 he thinks that the date given by M'aṣūm, Shabān 984 or Oct. 1576, may be more correct. The T. M'aṣūm says he was succeeded by his son Abul Faẓl. Elliot I, 243.

[3] The text has Sahsawān, but the variant Sehwān seems right.

Inasmuch as most men drop from their hands the thread of wisdom and become presumptuous when they have been successful, and do not respect their subordinates, and lose sight of the attracting affection which is the greatest of Divine gifts, this prudent man was caught by this evil quality. In his conceit and negligence he did not recognize friend from foe, nor separate the flatterers from the speaker of bitter-seeming truths. The wicked and evil-minded were trusted while the right-thinking and right-acting were disregarded. In addition to this he used harsh and insolent language to his servants. He called craft circumspection and did not act justly. At the time when H.M. was in the Punjab he was about to convey his soldiers to the holy court in order that their horses might be branded. From somnolence of intellect he thought that the loans which he had formerly made to his men would supply[1] him with the means for his expenses. Though they declared their poverty, he paid no heed and did not act justly by them. One morning Maqṣūd 'Alī, a servant, joined with some scoundrels and killed him. Many of them were seized, but some escaped to Qandahar. H.M. appointed Fatḥ[2] K., who was distin-

[1] The meaning appears to be that he called in his loans. This is how B. has understood it, for he says, 15 note, "In order to equip his contin-"gent, he collected his rents and "outstandings, as it appears, with "much harshness." The Iqbālnāma puts it somewhat differently, saying that I'timād's men asked for the expenses of the journey and for help, and that he would not give them any money, and abused them. Perhaps then the meaning is not that he called in his loans (and surely he would not do this when they were about to undertake an expensive journey) but that he would not give them any help, as he thought that the loans he had already made them were sufficient. The Maaṣir I, 90, says that when Maqṣūd, who was blind of an eye, represented his poverty to Itimad, the latter told him that he deserved to have his blind eye pissed upon, and that Maqṣūd drew his dagger and killed him. The Maaṣir also remarks in the biography that castration tames animals, but makes men more fierce. See also B. 13n and 428, and Elliot I, 244, where there is a translation of Māsūm Bhakharī's account of the matter. It appears from this that the murder was committed at Bhakhar and on 10 Rabī-al-awwal 986, or 17 May 1578.

[2] It appears from the Iqbālnāma that this is Fatḥ or Fattu K. Mamad 'Ali, B. 502, 523 and 531. He was an Afghan, and perhaps he was sent in pursuance of Akbar's scheme of

guished for his observance of justice, to take charge of the country. On 5 Shahriyūr, Divine month, the royal cortège passed near Sirhind, which received the freshness of spring by his advent. The great officers, and the doctors of poetry[1] and proof, and other special members of the holy feast were eloquent and acute according to their degree. The ocean of the lord of oratory swelled up, and the thirsty-hearted ones of the desert of ignorance were saturated with knowledge.

One of the occurrences was H.M. the Shahinshāh's proceeding by water. Owing to the largeness of the crowd, it occurred to him that the camp should go by land and that he himself and some special courtiers should go by water. On the 14th he set out from the ferry of Sulṭānpūr Khiẓrābād. The select ones accompanied him while the great camp and the common soldiers went by land.
250 On the 19th he reached the environs of Delhi, and visited the tomb of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Ashiyānī. Then after a time he re-entered the boat and weighed anchor. As the peasantry of that neighbourhood complained of the revenue officers (*'amalguẓārān*) he left Moẓaffar K. and Shāh Manṣūr there to dispense justice to them, and then join him.

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removing the Afghans from the Panjab. In the T. M'aṣūmi, Elliot I, 244, he is called Fatḥ K. Bahādur.

[1] *Ḥukamāī nāla u istidlāl.* Perhaps *ḥukamāī nāla* means Musicians.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The rapid journey of H.M. to Ajmere, and his return to the Capital.

It was a rule that he should go every year in the beginning of Rajab to the holy shrine, and distribute gifts. In this way he worshipped God. But from the view that Divine worship is not restricted to any one place, and that speciality of locality does not befit universal bounty, he had the inspired thought that the chain of "use" and "wont" should be broken, and that there should be a wider sphere for the reception of the truth. This view, however, was not carried into effect in this year. Suddenly his heart was inflamed by the thought that he should rapidly go to the holy spot and return. Accordingly on the 24th he in the neighbourhood of Muttra mounted on a swift steed, and proceeded thither. A few intimates accompanied him. On that day he sent off Khwāja Fatḥ Ullah, who was one of his servants, to Gujarat to bring Quṭbu-d-dīn K. to Court. From the time that M. Koka, in full reliance on the Shāhinshāh's kindness, had gone into retirement, the secret[1] wish of H.M.'s loving heart was always the desire to enhance the glory (*bahrūzī*) of that seeker after bliss. From this thought he sent for him upon this expedition, in order that if he had got rid of his ill-humour he might come to Court and be encompassed with royal favours. Owing to his being full of fancies, and not listening to

[1] I have only guessed at the meaning of this clause for the word *bahrūzī* بهروزی is unintelligible to me. *Bahrūz* means a transparent blue crystal, and it also means Indian frankincense, but its meaning here I do not understand. I presume that the expression Sāādat *paghūh* refers to Akbar for I do not see how M. Koka could be described by A. F. as a seeker after auspiciousness. Literally, the clause seems to mean "hidden in the loving heart was the crystal of auspicious search." But I suspect some corruption of the text though the I.O. MSS. agree with the Bib. Ind. *Bahrūzī* occurs again at p. 320 and seems used there to mean victory. It is apparently a form of fīrūzī, both meaning a blue crystal. See also p. 394, where we are told that Akbar exerted himself anew to develop (*dar bahrūzī*) Sulṭan Selīm.

advice, he remained in the same disturbed state. Accordingly Quṭbu-d-dīn K., who was his uncle, and in the place of his father, was sent for, as perhaps his advice would put him on the road of happiness. H.M. travelled so rapidly that he went more than a hundred kos in four days. He made his first halt in the house of Dauda in the town of Ḥājīpūr. Next day he reached Mūl-Manaharnagar,[1] and after that he came to Sāmbhar.

251 On this day the eye and heart of the writer of this noble chronicle were glorified by a special view of H.M. The brief account of this is that every day two especially devoted followers were appointed to collect cows for the use of the blissful young[2] children, whom H.M. took with him after quieting their mothers and grandfathers. On this occasion, when the standards of fortune had advanced beyond Mūl Manaharnagar, my elder brother S. Abū-faiẓ Faiẓī and myself were chosen for this important service. In the beginning of the month my noblest of brothers was in attendance on the august stirrup and discoursing eloquently. This inexperienced one (himself) had to attend to the business alone. As the place is the abode of savage hill men, the dust of disturbance arose in every place where I searched for cows. Most people did not believe that the king would pass by that way. For a time I was lost in bewilderment, but by my good star I came to my senses. My soul was troubled thinking that if the orders were not properly carried out, what would happen? And that if from excitement I got confused I would be a byword for stupidity. "Perhaps I shan't be able to manage the thing alone." Suddenly, a secret message of joy came to me in that hopeless place, and the star of fortune shone. I called to mind H.M. and he opened the knot of difficulty. All at once I in that burning spot of heat,[3] and in the coldness of search, hastened to a little hill, and there a number of cows were seen. They drew near of their own account and separated two of their number. By the marvels of Divine assistance about 20 others followed those two. A difficult task became easy, and my heart had fresh glory. The rosebush of devotion was irrigated anew!

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[1] See above, p. 221 of text.

[2] I presume this means Akbar's children.

[3] Apparently the heat of the air is contrasted with the coldness, i.e. the ill-success of the search.

On the 27th Shahriyūr, Divine month, Ajmere was brightened by the Shāhinshah's advent. The circumambulation was performed, and the expectants had their desires fulfilled. Next day, when midnight had passed, H.M. and nine followers mounted swift steeds and proceeded rapidly towards the capital. (They were) Nauraṅg K., Shīroya K., Ḥusain K., Maqbūl K., Fatḥ Ullah the sherbatdār, 'Abdulla Bilūc, Hilāl Aftābcī, Shākir K. Ābdār, Maḥmud K. Khawās. They travelled 120 kos in two days [1] and reached the capital in the end of the month.

Also at this time a report came from Gujarat from the imperial servants to the effect that the caravan [2] of chaste ladies had traversed the dangers of the ocean and reached Gujarat. When the preparations for a land journey had been completed they would proceed to the Presence. H.M. was delighted on hearing this news and sent an order to Shihābu-d dīn Aḥmad K. to expedite the noble caravan, and to dispatch it to the K'aba of fortune (Fathpūr Sikrī). 252

[1] The T.A. Elliot V, 408, says Akbar left Delhi on 1st Rajab and travelling 50 kos a day reached Ajmere at the end of 6 Rajab, the saint's anniversary. Next day he returned, and travelling 50 kos a day reached Fatḥpūr in the evening of Friday 9 Rajab. According to this account he took four days. The statement in Lowe 262, "at daybreak," is wrong. He reached Toda then. B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247, which often differs from the Bib. Ind. text, says that Akbar left for Ajmere on the day of Dīn 23 Shahriyūr, or Friday 2 Rajab, and arrived on the day of Marisfand 29 Shahriyūr, night of 8 (should be 6) Rajab, which is that of the anniversary, and arrived at Fatḥpūr on 30 Shahriyūr or Friday 9 Rājab. But these dates seem wrong and Dīn is 24, not 23 Shahriyūr.

[2] This must have been some of Gulbadan Begum's party. She and Salīma did not return till 1582. A. N. 385.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE INCREASED SPLENDOUR OF THE 'IBĀDAT KHĀNA FROM THE BRILLIANCE OF THE ACUTENESS OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

Although God-given wisdom and the science of Divine knowledge (theology) adorn his holy personality and illumine his actions, yet, owing to the utter marvelousness of his nature, he every now and then draws a special veil over his countenance, and exercises world-sway and speaks and acts in accordance with the requirements of the time. At the present day, when the morning-breeze of fortune is blowing, and the star of success is continually acquiring fresh radiance, he, by his practical knowledge and farsightedness, makes external ability the veil of spirituality and appraises the value of the mortifiers of the passions, and the calibre of scientists. It has been mentioned[1] that he, in his ample search after truth, had laid the foundation of a noble seat for intellectual meetings. His sole and sublime idea was that, as in the external administration of the dominion, which is conjoined with eternity, the merits of the knowers of the things of this world had by profundity of vision, and observance of justice, been made conspicuous, and there had ceased to be a brisk market for pretence and favouritism, so might the masters of science and ethics, and the devotees of piety and contemplation, be tested, the principles of faiths and creeds be examined, religions be investigated, the proofs and evidences for each be considered, and the pure gold and the alloy be separated from evil commixture. In a short space of time a beautiful, detached building was erected, and the fraudulent vendors of impostures put to sleep in the privy chamber of contempt. A noble palace was provided for the spiritual world, and the pillars of Divine knowledge rose high.

At this[2] time, when the centre of the Caliphate (Fatḥpūr Sīkrī)

[1] See text 112, and Elliot V. 930. A. F. puts the building of the 'Ibādat khāna into the 19th year, and the T.A into the 20th.

[2] The translation in Elliot VI 50. begins here.

was glorified by H. M.'s advent, the former institutions were renewed, and the temple of Divine knowledge was on Thursday[1] nights illuminated by the light[2] of the holy mind. On 20 Mihr,[3] Divine month, 3 October 1578, and in that house of worship, the lamp of the privy chamber of detachment was kindled in the banqueting-hall of social life. The coin of the hivers of wisdom in colleges and cells was brought to the test. The clear wine was separated from the lees, and good coin from the adulterated. The wide capacity and the 253
toleration of the Shadow of God were unveiled. Ṣūfī, philosopher, orator, jurist, Sunnī, Shīa, Brahman, Jatī,[4] Sūrā[5] Cārbāk,[6] Nazarene, Jew, Ṣābī (Sabian[7]), Zoroastrian, and others enjoyed exquisite pleasure by beholding the calmness of the assembly, the sitting of the world-lord in the lofty pulpit (*mimbar*), and the adornment of the pleasant abode of impartiality. The treasures of secrets were opened out without fear of hostile seekers after battle. The just and truth-perceiving ones of each sect emerged from haughtiness and conceit, and began their search anew. They displayed profundity and meditation, and gathered eternal bliss on the divan of greatness. The conceited and quarrelsome from evilness of disposition and shortness of thought descended into the mire of presumption and sought their profit in loss. Being guided by ignorant companions, and from the predominance of a somnolent fortune, they went into disgrace. The conferences were excellently arranged by the acuteness and keen quest of truth of the world's Khedive. Every time, eye and heart gained fresh lustre, and the lamp of vigils acquired new glory. The candle of investigation was

[1] Friday in text, but as B. explains this means Thursday. The account in the T.A. Elliot V, 391, shows that Thursday night is meant, for it goes on to say that the meetings sometimes lasted till past midday on Friday.

[2] The meaning is that Akbar was present at the discussions.

[3] End of September 1578. Add. 27, 247 has day of Bahrām 20 Mihr =Friday 1 Shʿabān (3 October 1578).

[4] For Yati, the clergy or ascetics among the Jains. J. III, 205, and note.

[5] Sūra. A general name for the Jains. See translation I. 147 and note. B. 164 spells the word Sevrā.

[6] For Chārvāka. They are the Nāstiks or infidels of Hindu philosophy. A. F. is severe upon this sect in the Ain. J. III, 21. There is an account of them in the Dabistān.

[7] Ṣabian. Also called the Christians of St. John. See D'Herbelot s. v.

lighted for those who loved darkness and sequacity. The families of the colleges and monasteries were tested. The handle of wealth and the material of sufficiency came into the grasp of the needy occupants of the summit of expectation. The fame of this faith-adorning method of world-bestowing made home bitter to inquirers and caused them to love exile. The Shāhinshāh's court became the home of the inquirers of the seven climes, and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect. The veneer and the counterfeitness of all those who by feline tricks and stratagems had come forth in the garb of wisdom were revealed. A few irreverent and crafty spirits continued their old tactics after the appearance of Truth and its concomitant convictions, and indulged in brawling. Their idea was that as in the great assemblies of former rulers the purpose of science and the designs of wisdom had been but little explored owing to the crowd of men, the inattention of the governor of the feast, the briskness of the market of praters, etc., so perhaps in this august assemblage they might succeed by the length of their tongues, and a veil might be hung over the occiput (*farāṙ*) of truth. The Khedive of wisdom by the glory of his mind carried out the work to a conclusion deliberately and impartially, and in this praiseworthy fashion, which is seldom found in the saints of asceticism,—how then is it to be found in world-rulers?—tested the various coins of mortals. Many men became stained with shame and chose loss of fame, while some acquired wisdom and emerged from the hollow of obscurity to eminence. Reason was exalted, and the star of fortune shone for the acquirers of knowledge. The bigoted 'Ulamā and the routine-lawyers, who reckoned themselves among the chiefs of philosophies and leaders of enlightenment, found their position difficult. The veil was removed from the face of many of them. The house of the evil-thinking coiners became the abode of a thousand suspicions and slanders. Though the
254 wicked and crooked-minded and disaffected were always speaking foolishly about the pious Khedive, yet at this time they had a new foundation for their calumnies, and descended into the pit of eternal ruin. Inasmuch as the warmth of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness increases daily, and he was aware of the ignorance of those turbulent ones, he did not proceed against them with physical and spiritual vigour and with external and internal majesty. Rather, he re-

strained his heart and tongue from uttering his disgust, and did not allow the dust of chagrin to settle on the skirt of his soul. In a short space of time many of these fortunately fell into fatal evils and suffered losses and died, while some who were of a good sort became ashamed, and took up the work (of study) anew. From a long time it was the custom that the dull and superficial regarded the heartfelt words of holy souls as foolishness. They recognized wisdom nowhere but in the schools, and did not know that acquired knowledge is for the most part stained with doubts and suspicions. Insight is that which without schooling illuminates the pure temple of the heart. The inner soul receives rays from holy heaven. From eternity, the ocean of Divine bounties has been in motion, and the cup of those who are worthy of the world of creation is filled to the brim therefrom. Always have the magnates of Use and Wont in spite of their great knowledge sought the explanation of wisdom and ethics (*'ilm u 'amal*) from this company of the pure in heart, and have waited in the antechamber of the simple and beautiful[1] of soul, and have gathered bliss therefrom. Accordingly histories tell of this, and it transpires in biographies (?).[2] God be praised for that at this day the Lord of Lords of inspired (*laduni*) wisdom is represented by the Holy Personality of the Shāhinshāh. The difficulties of sect upon sect of mankind are made easy by the flashings of his sacred soul. The attainment of enlightenment is not the first[3] robe of honour which the eternal needle sews. He who knows the secrets of the past, and the reader of ancient stories, is well aware of this. Still more is it known to the awakened, the truth-choosing and the acute! May the Almighty God ever keep verdant and watered this tree which is rich in spiritual and material fruit!

Verse.

Lord, so long as the world hath glory and colour,
Heavens, motion, the earth, stability;

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[1] Cf. Akbar's remark J. III, 385, that the prophets were all illiterate, and his suggestion that therefore all believers should keep one of their sons uneducated.

[2] *Ba siyar.* But text is *basiyar*, many, and perhaps the meaning is only that there is much evidence of this in histories.

[3] Apparently the meaning is that

Make the world the possession of this lord of conjunctions,
Make the spheres friendly to this world-conqueror.

One night, the assembly in the 'Ibādatkhāna was increasing the light of truth. Padre Radif,[1] one of the Nazarene sages, who was singular for his understanding and ability, was making points in that feast of intelligence. Some of the untruthful bigots came forward in a blundering way to answer him. Owing to the calmness of the august assembly, and the increasing light of justice, it

possessors of enlightenment came late, and perhaps also that awakened souls came late, and acute truth-choosers still later.

[1] Rodolfo Acquaviva. B. 168, n. 1, says that the word in the MSS. is ردلف Rodolf, and not ردیف, and that the letter *lām* has been mistaken for a *yā*. Cf. Elliot VI, 60, n. 2. The Bib. Ind. text has ردیف and gives the variant رویق Ravīq. The Lucknow and Cawnpore ed. want the passage, and so also does B.M. MS., Add. 27, 247. I.O. MS. 564 or 236, 321b, has ردلفو Rodolfū, the points and the sākin being carefully marked. I.O. MS. 235 has 522a ردیف. B.M. Add. 1116, p. 153a, has روتق Rautaq.

The subject of the Jesuit missions to Akbar has been admirably treated by General Maclagan in a paper in J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 38 *et seq.* It appears from it, and from Bartoli (reprint of Del Majno, Piacenza 1819, p. 26) that Acquaviva did not arrive at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī till February 1580 (on the 18th according to Maclagan, and the 27th according to Bartoli). There is then an anachronism in A. F.'s placing the event in the annals of the 23rd year, i.e. 986 or 1578. It is noteworthy that the account of Acquaviva appears to be a subsequent addition to the Akbarnāma, as otherwise it would have appeared in the MSS. used for the Lucknow ed. The story about Acquaviva's proposal to submit to the ordeal of fire does not seem to be true. Badayūnī, Lowe, 308, says S. Qutbu-d-dīn of Jalesar, proposed the ordeal to the fathers and that they refused. This was in the end of 989 (B. 199), or A.D. 1581, and consequently at a time when Badayūnī was at court. Bartoli also, p. 31, says it was a Muḥammadan who proposed the ordeal to Acquaviva. See also a pamphlet published at Bombay in 1894 called "The Blessed Martyrs of Cuncolim," p. 6, which however adds that Rudolfo did offer to throw himself into a fire. Bartoli adds that the Muḥammadan knew well that he would not have to undergo the ordeal, and probably this is true, for Qutbu-d-dīn was a drunkard as well as an enthusiast, and according to A. F. III, 309, he was convicted of fraud and misrepresentation. According to B.M. Add. 27, 247, it was S. 'Abdu-Nabī who refused the challenge.

[2] There is no pronoun *ke* after Rudolf in the I.O. MSS. though there is in the text.

became clear that each of these was weaving a circle of old acquisitions, and was not following the highway of proof, and that the explanation of the riddle of truth was not present to their thoughts. The veil was nearly being stripped, once for all, from their procedure. They were ashamed, and abandoned such discourse, and applied themselves to perverting the words of the Gospels. But they could not silence their antagonist by such arguments. The Padre quietly and with an air of conviction said, 255
"Alas, that such things should be thought to be true! In fact, if this faction have such an opinion of our Book, and regard the *Furqān* (the Qoran) as the pure word of God, it is proper that a heaped fire be lighted. We shall take the Gospels in our hands, and the 'Ulamā of that faith shall take their book, and then let us enter that testing-place of truth. The escape of any one will be a sign of his truthfulness." The liverless and black-hearted fellows wavered, and in reply to the challenge had recourse to bigotry and wrangling. This cowardice and effrontery displeased his (Akbar's) equitable soul, and the banquet of enlightenment was made resplendent by acute observations. Continually, in those day-like nights, glorious subtleties and profound words dropped from his pearl-filled mouth. Among them was this: "Most[1] persons, from intimacy with those who adorn their outside, but are inwardly bad, think that outward semblance, and the letter of Muḥammadanism, profit without internal conviction. Hence we by fear and force compelled many believers in the Brahman (i.e. Hindu) religion to adopt the faith of our ancestors. Now that the light of truth has taken possession of our soul, it has become clear that in this distressful place of contrarities (the world), where darkness of comprehension and conceit are heaped up, fold upon fold, a single step cannot be taken without the torch of proof, and that that creed is profitable which is

[1] *Beshtar*, but perhaps *peshtar* (which, however, I do not find in the MSS.) would be a better reading, as meaning that formerly he (Akbar) from association with conformists persecuted, etc. This passage may be compared with that in the Ain, J. III, 384, para. 3. There the word *peshtar* is used, see Ain, text II, 231. It seems doubtful if by the phrase *Khud musulmān nāshud*, Akbar meant to avow that he was not a Muḥammadan. Possibly it means, if a man is not of himself a Muhammadan, he should not be forced to be one.

adopted with the approval of wisdom. To repeat the creed, to remove a piece of skin (i.e. to become circumcised) and to place the end of one's bones on the ground (i.e. the head in adoration) from dread of the Sultan, is not seeking after God."

Verse.

Obedience is not the placing of your forehead in the dust.
Produce[1] truth, for sincerity is not situated in the forehead.

The first[2] step in this perilous desert is with a high courage, and an exalted determination to rise up and do battle with the protean and presumptuous carnal soul, and by rigorous self examination to make Anger and Lust the subjects of Sultan Reason, and to erase from the heart the marks of censurable sentiments. Mayhap the Sun of Proof will emerge from behind the veil of Error and make one a truth-worshipper, and afterward[3] he may by secret attraction draw to himself one of the inquirers after the Path. Such load-stones are produced from the mine of asceticism (*riyāzat*). Or it may be that by virtue of talisman and the might of fascination he may bring him into his circle.[4] Should the latter go astray and fall into the pit of not doing God's will, yet shall he not be stained with the dust of blame. He also said, "We blame ourselves for what we did in accordance with old rules and before the truth about faith had shed its rays on our heart."

The fortunate and auspicious, on hearing these enlightening words, hastened to the abode of the light of search and set themselves to amend their ways, while the somnolent and perverse were full of disturbance. Inasmuch as the fierce winds of indiscrimination had laid hold of the four corners of the world, he mentioned the rules of

[1] There is a play on the words *yesh dr* 'produce' and peshānī 'forehead.'

[2] cf. J. III, 384, "The first step in this long road is not to give the rein to desire and anger, but to take a measured rule and align one's actions thereon." Also, *ibid.*, "Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it Islām. As I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame. Not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such. What constancy is to be expected from proselytes on compulsion."

[3] Both the I.O. MSS. have *ānyah* "afterwards" here.

[4] *yirūs* in text, but apparently *gird* in I.O., 236.

various religions, and described their various excellencies. The acute sovereign gave no weight to common talk, and praised whatever was good in any religion. He often adorned the tablet of his tongue by saying "He is a man who makes Justice the guide of the path of inquiry, and takes from every sect what is consonant to reason. Perhaps in this way the lock, whose key has been lost, may be opened." In 256
this connexion, he praised the truth-seeking of the natives of India, and eloquently described the companionship of the men of that country in the day of disaster, and how they played away for the sake of Fidelity (lit. in the shadow of), Property, Life, Reputation, and Religion, which are reckoned as comprising the four goods of the world's[1] market. He also dwelt upon the wonderful way in which the women of that country become ashes whenever the day of calamity arrives.

This bliss-collecting class has several divisions. Some protagonists of the path of righteousness[2] yield up their lives merely on hearing of the inevitable lot of their husbands. Many sensualists[3] of old times were, from ignorance and irreflection, unable to read such exquisite creatures by the lines of the forehead, or the record of their behaviour, and entered with loss the ravine of experiment, and cast away recklessly the priceless jewel! Some deliberately and with open brow enter the flames along with their husband's corpse, or with some token of him who hath gone to the land of annihilation.

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[1] It is *dunya*, "the world," in text, but the I.O. MSS. have *dīnī*, "belonging to faith." See Badayūnī, Lowe 299, for a reference to the four degrees of devotion.

[2] *Rāh-i nekāndeshī*, "the path of right-thinking." But the I.O. MSS. have *ikāndeshī* "oneness of thought."

[3] The meaning is that some husbands were so gross-minded as not to believe in their wives' virtue, and so tried them by causing them to receive false reports of their death, thereby losing the priceless jewel of a virtuous wife. This meaning is made clear by B.M. MS., Add. 27, 247, which has the words *khabar-i-gurēshtan khudra badarogh rasanīda* "spread a false report of their own death." The same MS., says 'Abdul Ḥai Feringhi, spoke of the Christians practising monogamy. There are some remarks on *satī* by Akbar in the collection of his sayings at the end of the Ain, J. III, 398, and at p. 322 of the same work we have the statement that Hindu women may be divided into five classes with regard to their methods of expressing grief for the death of their husbands. The first class is of those who die as soon as they hear the news, and so have to be burnt by the relatives (after death).

Verse.

Being saturated with love, they burn together,
Like two wicks caught by one flame.

Some whom sacrifice of life and fellowship do not make happy, yet, from fear of men's reproach, observe the letter of love, and descend into the mouth of the fire.

He said[1] to the learned Christians, "Since you reckon the reverencing of women as part of your religion, and allow not more than one wife to a man, it would not be wonderful if such fidelity and life-sacrifice were found among your women. The extraordinary thing is that it occurs among those of the Brahman (i.e. the Hindu) religion. There are numerous concubines, and many of them are neglected and unappreciated and spend their days unfructuously in the privy chamber of chastity, yet in spite of such bitterness of life they are flaming torches of love and fellowship." On hearing such noble recitals those present remained silent in the hall of reply, and their tongues reddened with surprise. The Divine message filled with joy all the seekers after wisdom in the august assemblage.

One of the occurrences was the division of his time. Though H.M. watches over his being and cherishes his time, nor spends any portion of it idly or uselessly, yet at this auspicious period he discussed the subject for the guidance of the fortunate, and by apportioning day and night gave a lesson to mankind. Though in every act of movement or repose he is cognisant of the Almighty, and assiduous in doing His will, as befits obedience to Sultan Wisdom, yet when he arises from sleep he withdraws his attention from everything else, and makes his outward accord with his inward conditions and practises devotions, and makes his heart a memorial of the Creator. He returns
257 thanks for his existence and commences his good works. In this holy employment he spends not less than five gharis, i.e. two astronomical hours, and he regards it as the key of the gate of successes (*muqāṣid*)

[1] B.M., Add. 27, 247, p. 299a makes the remark about Christians having only one wife as having come from 'Abdu-l-Ḥai Feringhī. It also gives here Akbar's opinion about the difference between Manṣūr (Ḥallāj) and Pharoah. See Jarrett III, 394. 'Abdu-l-Ḥai Feringhī is casually mentioned by Jahangīr in his Memoirs, p. 324, S. Aḥmad, ed. annals of 15th year.

Inasmuch as God has made us complex, it is fitting that some attention should be paid to the body. He therefore pays some regard to the clothing thereof and to his toilet. Not more than three *gharis* are spent on this occupation. After that he opens the gates of justice and holds open Court. In the investigation into the cases of the oppressed, he places no reliance on testimony or on oaths, which are the resource of the crafty, but draws his conclusion from the contradictions in the narratives, the physiognomy, and from sublime researches, and noble conjectures. Truth takes her place in this centre. In this work he spends not less than 1½ pahars. As it is the social state, it is indispensable that he devote some time to food, and to offices of decency. He does not spend more than two gharis in these things. As rulers are bound to make lofty the hall of justice, and to seek enlightenment from the tongue of the dumb and helpless, they must necessarily spend some time with elephants, horses, camels and mules and the like. So he takes note of their food and forage, and pays attention to the grooming of this homely crowd. He sets four *gharīs* apart for this work. He also spends two *pahārs* in the female apartments in the affairs of his secluded wives, and of the other chaste ladies who make petitions to him. It is necessary that he give his mind to these matters that there may be equality in his treatment of them (the women), and that equity be preserved. As the foundation of the house of bones rests upon sleep he from motives of health, which is bound up with thanksgiving, spends 2½ *pahars*[1] in sweet slumbers. From this account those who have the honour of attending the court will reap bliss, and receive into their hands the laws of good fortune.

One of the occurrences was the sending of truth-speaking, acute persons to examine the treasuries. Some interested, evil-minded persons represented to H.M. that the treasurers of the capital had become dishonest and had opened the hand of fraud. Inasmuch as the management of the minutiae of administration, what need then to speak of the generalities, rests on the genius of just

[1] The total of these spaces of time comes to six *pahars* and 14 *gharis*. There are 8 *pahars* or watches in the 24 hours, but the number of *gharis* in a *pahar* varies from 9 to 6. J. III, 16. If we take 7 as the average the 8 *pahars* are accounted for. The account here given of Akbar's distribution of his time may be compared with that in the Ain B. 153.

rulers, H.M. nominated Mozaffar K., Khwāja Shah Mansūr, Qāsim K., and some other experienced and intelligent persons to examine into the matter. They in a short space of time inspected the money in the treasury and tested its amount and quality. The mischievous storytellers met with their deserts.

One of the occurrences was the commencement of the opening of the treasury of the Anuptalāo. Already an order had been given for filling it with various kinds of coin. When by the labours of energetic and honest workers it had been filled to the brim, the
258 bounteous sovereign on 23 Mihr, Divine month (beginning of October 1578), established his divan on the bank and began his gifts. He commenced by supplications to the gracious and incomparable Deity. After that he lifted out one by one a mohar, a rupee, and a dām. A similar amount was given to several of those who were admitted to the presence. The writer of this noble volume also participated in this favour. After that, crowds of men received gifts, handful by handful, and skirt by skirt. He addressed the first set and said with a mystery revealing tongue that each one should out of loyalty regard the royal gift as an amulet of Reason's arm, and should for the sake of the stability of the dominion (Akbar's), and the attainment of desires, make a vow to the effect that he would bestow a specific portion of whatever of the world's goods he amassed on the poor and needy, so that he might in a short time attain eternal joy. The fortunate and auspicious regarded this speech as a Divine message and succeeded in opening the knot of their desires. The evil and blackhearted regarded it as fiction and broke (i.e. bent or left it in) the thorn of failure in the foot of fortune. The inquiring heart brought a close scrutiny to bear on men's careers and continued searching for a sign of the wonders of miraculous[2] aid. In a short space of time those who hearkened to the Divine message reached the lofty position of Amirs, and those who from somnolent fortune did not regard it did not attain such a position. What do I

[1] I adopt the reading *pāibandagī* of the I.O. MSS. in preference to the *yābandagī* of the text.

[2] *dasgīrā*. This word is not explained in the dictionaries, but means help, especially of a miraculous kind. See its use in this sense in the 'Aīn, text, II, 216, where in the account of Jalāl-d-dīn Tabrīzī we are told that he was saved from the effects of an accusation, by the *dasgīrāī* of S. Bahāu-d-dīn.

say! They then lost the position they had, and were spiritually and materially ruined. The exposition of this wonderful circumstance is a long story. Whom shall I eulogize, and from whom shall I strip the veil? I shall write a brief account of what happened to myself, and this will help to make the matter comprehensible. I set myself out of loyalty to preserve the gift, and by the blessing thereof I became a flower-gatherer in fortune's garden. Inasmuch as good fortunes repose in time's ambushes and seek for assistance, and as the wonder-workers of destiny conduct the new travellers in the land of assiduity and application into narrow defiles in the beginning of their career, so was I at the first stage of the long road of social life brought into a bitter country. By dint of a right intention and the strength of an awakened fortune, I went on with an open brow and a determined step. By the guidance of celestial aids I closed the tongue of desire, and confiding my ear to the pleasant abode of content I made the threshold of the world's lord my resting-place, and gathered bliss. The vicissitudes of Time cast no dust of instability into that pure temple, and the narrow path of guidance became a wide plain of joy. My fellow-travellers dispersed on account of the darkness of fortune's face and the difficulties of maintenance, but some of them from fidelity and nobleness bravely footed the path along with me. They got expansion by my expansion. One day they were empty-handed and in difficulty, and endeavoured to spend that capital of fortune (the Anūptalāo gift). The reply from my nature's antechamber was, "It will not be sufficient for two days, practise now whatever remedy you would employ (after the two days), and be patient. If this (the gift) be a surety for eternal life, refrain from folly and let not go the skirt of the vow." As fate was propitious, they accepted the celestial counsel, and there was no stirring of the dust of distress. In a similar manner from the ascent and descent of the spheres the multiform, presumptuous spirit rose up several times to contend and was defeated. In a short 259
space of time, by the blessing of the holy spirit (Akbar's), Fortune's door opened, and without the labour of search or the recommendation of man, the Shāhinshāh's favour raised this obscure sitter in the dust to celestial dignity. Silver or gold had no weight or value in thought's balance. Many great men of the age fell into the thorn-brake of envy. I hope that by gaining the spiritual kingdom my

countenance may be made joyful, and that the little of the impulses or desires which remain may disappear. Do you suppose I am writing a panegyric? I am only recording in a thanksgiving manner something about favours that have been received. The glorious qualities of God's chosen One are more than the capacity of the vulgar of the age can comprehend. The abundant kindnesses which I have enjoyed prompts me to impress on the hearts of the exoteric something of my own adventures. May it be eyes to the blind, and a collyrium to the seeing, and may they continually garner bliss in the palace of Truth!

Among the occurrences was the arrival of a report from Khān Jahān. When by the glory of activity and skill the delightful country of Bengal had been cleared of the weeds and rubbish of the ingrates, Ibrāhīm Naral[1] and Karīmdād Mūsāzai waited for an opportunity of making a disturbance in the country of Bhātī.[2] 'Īsā[3] the zamindar of that country spent his time in dissimulation. Shāh Bardī also, the admiral (*mīr naucāra*), raised the head of presumption. The able servant (Khān Jahān) led an army thither. In the neighbourhood of the town (qaṣba) of Gwās,[4] Naulaka[5] the mother of Dāūd, and her dependants, and also Maḥmūd K. Khaṣkhail, commonly known as Matī, and many disaffected Afghans presented themselves with offers of submission. Much property was obtained and choice collections were made. A dispute arose between Naulaka and Matī. Khān Jahān who wanted to send him to annihilation, put him to death, ostensibly in order that he might be punished for the charge of fraud which was brought against him, but also that the properties seized might remain concealed. Shāh Bardī, who was a vagabond[6] in the desert of insubordination, accepted good counsels and became

[1] Variant, Taral, and this is supported by Iqbālnāma MS.

[2] See B. 342, n. 1., and J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 226. J. II. 116, and n. 3. The word seems connected with the Bengali *bhāṭā*, ebb-tide.

[3] J. II. 117, and B. 342, and n., A.N. III, 432.

[4] Khāṣ in J. II, 137, and in text of Aīn, but in Index this is corrected to Ghās. It is properly Gawas, or Gwās as in A.N. It is in Murshidabad district, and is a very large and well-known pargana.

[5] Meaning apparently "Nine lacs." I.O 236 has Lonā.

[6] Āwāra. A. F. apparently uses this word because it jingles with Shāh Bardī's title of Mīr Nawāra.

loyal. When the town of Bhāwāl[1] became the station of the army, Ibrāhīm Naral, Karīmdād and other Afghans of that country brought forward propositions of obedience and used the language of harmony. 'Īsā however sate in the ravine of disobedience, and was presumptuous. A large force was sent against him under Shāh Bardī and Muḥammad Qulī. It proceeded by the river Kiyāra[2] Sundar, and a hot engagement took place on the borders of Kastal?[3] 'Īsā was defeated and fled, and much valuable booty fell into the hands of the warriors for dominion. Inasmuch as pride increases the blindness of the heart and eyes, Majlis Dilāwar and Majlis Pratāp,[4] who were landholders in that part of the country, suddenly 260
brought out a crowd[5] of boats from the rivers and channels and kindled the flames of contention. The warriors of the victorious army lost courage and turned to flee, and in that encounter some of the voyagers left their boats and fled. Muḥamād[6] Qulī in his activity and courage threw himself upon the enemy's boats and carried on the fight. He contended as much as he could and then was made prisoner. One of the wonderful results of daily-increasing fortune was that when the army was retreating, Tīla Ghāzī, a landholder, came and opened the hand of courage so that in despair's midday the lights of victory revealed themselves to the imperial servants. Together with abundant booty they gained their object. The black-hearted foe fell into the billows of despair. Just then Ibrāhīm Naral sent his son with choice products of the country and

[1] This is Bhāwāl or Ran Bhāwāl in the Dacca district. It was in Sarkār Bāzūhā. J. III, 137.

[2] Kināra in text, but both the I.O. MSS. have Kiyāra, or Giyāra. In the Ain, Kiyāra Sundar is mentioned as a large reservoir in Sonārgāon. J. II, 124, and Ain text I, 390. Jarrett remarks that Gladwin adopts the variant of Katara, and the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn has Kathora Sundar. Possibly the river meant is one near Egara Sunda or thana Nikli in the Maimansingh district.

[3] Variant Kaithal. I cannot identify it.

[4] Can this be the Rajah Pratāpaditya of Jessore?

[5] Kundilān. This is the same word that is used in A.N. II, 39, two lines from foot. I take it to be the *kundala* of the Burhān Qāṭī and Vullers. In the Newal Kishore lith. of the B.Q. the word is wrongly printed kundana, but the description says there is a lām in the word. It means gathered together, congested.

[6] Identified in Index with the M. Qulī of pp. 433, 585, etc. Perhaps the M. Qulī Toqbai of B. 434, and the Maasir III, 204.

asked for protection. The general (Khān Jahān) accepted his excuses and returned. He proceeded to Siṅhatpūr which he had founded in the neighbourhood of Tānda, and then reported the celestial aids to the august court.

At this time of joy a musician named Ǧadai was brought before H.M., and it appeared that he had twenty-five children from one wife. Apropos of this H.M. said, "A Bilūcí had twenty children from one wife and he came to the court and petitioned saying, and people say this chaste matron has become forbidden to me (ḥarām) on account of the numerous births. 'What remedy have I, and what cure is there for my wretchedness?' We bade him be comforted and observed that such a saying had not the appearance of truth. Wicked story-tellers must have invented it. If any matrimony (*kedā*) produced such a good result (as so large a progeny) it was an honour to the parties, and not a case for abstension (*ḥurmat*). Let him then go on to display his own virility, and the fertility of his spouse." H.M. told this lively story, and the hearts of the auditors had a fresh entertainment.

One of the occurrences was the flashing of the light of truth from his sacred soul. Though H.M. from his wide capacity and splendid genius knows that multiplicity is the veil of unity, and keeps such ward and watch that every one of the enlightened men of the world and (also) of the swift-goers of the spiritual court regards that royal cavalier of insight as his own leader, yet as the thoughts of solitude have been kneaded into his constitution, the threads of the exquisite veil become occasionally broken. Accordingly, at this time, Bakhshū Qawwāl[1] recited before him two heart-ravishing stanzas in a pleasing manner. That Syllabus of the roll of recognition (of God) displayed a countenance flashing with Divine lights. Those whose vision did not extend beyond the plain outward appearance received spiritual delight (from the singing). Much more
261 then was the state of the internally farsighted! When H.M. returned from that wonderful condition, he gave thanksgivings to God, and filled the hope-skirt of the songster with rich coin.

[1] *Qawwāl* means a story-teller, a singer, or improvisatore. The name is apparently Bahjū in I.O. MS. 236. There is the variant Bachhū. Perhaps he is the famous minstrel of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat, whose singing had such a wonderful effect on Humāyūn. Bayley's Gujarat, p. 388 et seq.

One of the occurrences was the emerging of M. 'Azíz Kokaltásh from the narrows of exclusion. From association with ignorant flatterers, and the tumultuousness of youth, he had fallen into the thornbrake of evil desires. The justice-loving sovereign had from his abundant kindness and wisdom excluded him from the bliss of doing homage, and sent him to school for increase in sense. When there appeared signs of repentance on his forehead, and the light of service revealed itself, H.M. brought him on 12 Ábán, Divine month, out of the gloomy abode of melancholy, and bestowed various favours on him, and he proceeded to redeem past times by the performance of service.

One of the occurrences was the coming of Rajah Madhukar to court. It has already[1] been mentioned that he had stirred up the dust of battle and been stained by defeat. After that he had felt ashamed, and was spending his days in distressed circumstances. Ṣádiq K. wisely took up his quarters in the country. When the Rajah fell into difficulties on account of the pressure of the gallant troops he was compelled to have recourse to humility, and made his former good services his testimonials. He came forward with a thousand fawnings and excuses. The officers answered that if preparations for war had not been made his supplications might have been listened to. The matter would now be referred to H.M. He also should send an able man and impress his wretchedness on the minds of the courtiers. Perhaps the billows of kindness might seize him and cast him from the whirlpool of despair upon the shore of attainment of desire. Accordingly he sent his brother's son Som Cand with presents to court. The envoys were received at Bhera, and as H.M. is merciful he had pity upon him and showed him kindness. When the news of the forgiveness of his offence arrived, he proceeded to court along with the officers. On 21 Ábán, Divine month, Ṣádiq K. and the other officers came and did homage, and the presumptuous one (the Rajah) gathered bliss by prostrating himself. The world's lord kept his promise and exalted him by various favours.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. at Court in chains. It has been mentioned that at the instigation of

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[1] See ante p. 228 of text. He is the Bundela chief of Orcha.

evil-disposed persons he had, in Gujarat, turned away from the court of fortune and been rebellious, and now he had become a vagabond and gone to Khāndesh. Out of kindness and sympathy Maqṣūd[1]
262 Damba was sent to bring him to court, along with the presents. The ruler of the country made delays in surrendering him, and proposed extravagant conditions. Apparently he had fallen into improper thoughts on account of the royal standards having proceeded towards the Panjab. Quṭbu-d-dīn K. sent Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah and communicated counsels (to the ruler). The report of the return of H.M. towards the capital illuminated the world. Of necessity he abandoned his unbecoming thoughts and sent him off along with the servants of the Court. Muṭṭalib K. and some soldiers from Malwa were dispatched to accompany him. On 27 Āẕar, Divine month, that wanderer in the wilderness of unsuccess was brought to court. H.M. from kindness and circumspection made him over to a keeper so that he might learn wisdom. In a short space of time there appeared signs of auspiciousness in his behaviour, the pen of forgiveness was drawn over his offences, and he was distinguished[2] by the favour of the Shadow of God. Next day, Quṭbu-d-dīn K. came from Gujarat and did homage, and was exalted by various favours from the Shāhinshāh. Also about this time Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl, Jagmal Panwār and some other strenuous ones were sent off to the Panjab. Each of these received weighty advices, a noble steed, and a robe of honour. An order was issued that they should exert themselves in service, and not depart from the counsels of S'aīd K., and should not slumber in administering the province and in maintaining their own preparedness.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K. to Ajmere. When it became known that the Rānā had raised the head of turbu-

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[1] The I.A. Elliot V, 410, and Badaʾūnī, Lowe 274, calls him Maqṣūd Jauharī, i.e. lapidary, so perhaps he was the engraver. B. 499, Maqṣūd of Herat of B. 27. The T. A. Elliot V, 408, says Rajah 'Alī was directed to send his son along with Muẓaffar H. On looking at the original and the statement in Khāfī K. I. 184, that Gulrukh B. was sent to Akbar along with her son, it appears to me likely that the word *mādar* "mother" has slipped out of the T.A.

[2] Akbar married him to his eldest daughter Sultan Khānim. B. 464.

lence there, Ghāzī K. Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Taimur Badakhshī, Mīrzāda 'Alī K. and many others were sent off on 4 Dai under his command in order that the Rānā and others might be guided to good service. Otherwise they were to be destroyed by the flaming sword. Much treasure was sent along with them. In a short space of time that blackthoughted one was disgraced, and the general public enjoyed repose, and returned thanks.

One of the occurrences[1] was the laying the foundation of poor-houses. From abundant graciousness and kindness an order was given to the workmen that they should erect sarais in the various quarters of the capital, and make them over to benevolent and generous persons so that the poor and needy of the world might have a home without having to look for it, or to endure the pain of waiting. 263
In a short space of time the orders were admirably carried out, and those without resources enjoyed the comforts of a home in a foreign land.

One of the occurrences was the death of Khān Jahān. When he returned successful from Bhātī he took up his abode at Siḥḥatpūr. The sincerity of his soul had become somewhat clouded by the sense-robbing wine of self-love. Fortunately,[2] the veil of honour was not rent. In a short space of time he fell upon the bed of pain. The heat of fever ended in constipation (?).[3] The Indian physicians did not understand the case and gave him heating medicines, and the thread of his life was snapped. He suffered pains in his belly for 1½ months, and died on the night of Dībadīn 8 Dai, December 1578.[4] H.M. was much grieved and prayed for the forgiveness of his soul, but in accordance with the rule of the spiritual kingdom he submitted to destiny and was patient.

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[1] See B. 266 and 290, but according to Badayūnī the poor houses he speaks of were not built till 991.

[2] It is this passage which has led B. to say, p. 331, that A. F. remarks that Khān Jahān's death was opportune, inasmuch as the immense plunder of Bengal had led him to the verge of rebellion. But A. F. does not, I think, anywhere say that Khān Jahān was inclined to be a rebel.

[3] *Shikam-bastagī*. Presumably this is the same as *shikam giriftagī* and means constipation. But perhaps indigestion or dyspepsia is meant.

[4] B. gives the date 19 Shawwāl 986, which is 19 December 1578 and corresponds with the 8 Dai of the text.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Sultan Khwāja.[1] When he was appointed to the office of the command of the Hāj he went off there, taking with him large presents from the Shāhinshāh for high and low, and made the natives and the strangers of that country attainers of their desires. He transacted the important business he had there and then returned with a large caravan. On the 11th (Dai) H.M. went off to enjoy the pleasure of hunting, and Sultan Khwājah presented himself there. He produced Arab horses and other rarities, and each of his companions enjoyed the bounty of the Shahinshah according to his degree. The Khwāja related many instances of the propitious assistances given by M., and so delighted the hearts and ears of men.

Among them was this, that during the voyage a youth fell one night from the ship's deck into deep water. The faster the ship moved on, the nearer sounded his cries, and they reached the ears of those on board. The Khwāja made a vow to the world's lord and sent off a boat (sumbuk) with sailors in it and waited in expectation of the Divine power. The crew thought this out-of-place searching to be absurd, and a long time elapsed. The tongues of the fault-finders grew long, and the good man was sunk in sorrow. In the midnight of despair those who had been sent brought safely him who had fallen into the water. The ring of devotedness was fastened in the spiritual ear of the general public. In a short time the good services of the Khwāja bestowed a new lustre on him. He was made a Tarkhān[2] and was appointed to the office of Sadr. At the same time an order was given that Mīr Faqīru-d-dīn of Mashhad, who had the title of
264 Naqīb K., should proceed from Ujjain to the government of Patan. When he arrived there, Tarsūn K., who was governor there, came to court.

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[1] B. 423, A.N. 436, and Badayūni, Lowe 351.

[2] An old Moghul title conveying certain privileges, and among others that of not being punished till the commission of nine offences. See B. 364 and A.N. III. 635, where A. F. has a long note. Nāru-d-dīn also had this title. See Badayūni III, 198. B.M. Add. 27, 247, contains some sentences about Sultan Khwāja which are not in the Bib. Ind. text. One is that he brought greetings *taḥiyāt* from the Begams, that is, from Gulbadan Begam and Selīma Begam, and the other is that he stated as a wonderful fact that the Begam's ship and his ship had kept together from the time they left Surat till their arrival at Jeddah.

One of the occurrences was the sending of a Mīr Ḥāj. The sole object of the sovereign is that the empty-handed and deserving poor of every country may obtain their desires. As it was manifest that on hearing the report of the distribution of money, needy persons from Asia Minor and Syria assembled in the Arab peninsula, and as the tale of the delight and the thanksgiving of the natives and foreigners in that country was reported to H.M., the ocean of his benevolence was commoved, and an order was given to the officers of the Caliphate that a generous and active-minded person should be appointed to this office, and that twice as much (money) as was sent formerly should be sent. Khwāja Yaḥyā was represented as worthy of this post, and he was accepted. On 26 Dai he went off with a large caravan, to deliver the great gifts. He was the great grandson[1] of Khwāja Aḥrār, and was one remove from Khwāja 'Abdullah, whom the Turanians call Khwājagān Khwāja. Though he had not much trod the arena of contemplation and piety (*naẓr u ta'alluh*), yet he knew something of medicine and had read somewhat about Sufism.[2] He was also one of the first of the age for truth and uprightness. At this time also Qulīj K. was sent to Gujarat in order that he might help the officers there in looking after the peasantry and the soldiers, and also that he might look after his own properties. Ḥājī Ibrāhīm was made Ṣadr of the province. But he did not understand the nature of this kind of education and showed the baseness of his nature and his folly, and received punishment[3] accordingly, as will be mentioned in its proper place. Also at this time Khwāja Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf K. was sent to Malwa[4] and Gujarat. Inasmuch as it is indispensable that a ruler should send

[1] Nabīra pisarī. See Badayūnī III. 99, who says he was three removes from K. Aḥrār. Apparently by "one remove" A. F. means that he was grandson, for the Khwājagān Khwāja was Kh. Aḥrār's eldest son.

[2] A. F. describes Sultan Khwāja in nearly similar terms. A.N. III. 436. Badayūnī II. 261, says four lacs of rupees were made over to K. Yaḥyā and that the latter left Ajmere for Mecca in Shawāl 986. 'Abdu-n-nabī and Makh-dām-al mulkh were sent to Mecca with this caravan.

[3] See text 409. He was imprisoned in Ranthambhor and tried to escape, but the rope broke and he was killed. See D.A. 702, 703, and Bādayūnī, Lowe II. 286, who hints that it was a murder and not a suicide. He died in 994.

[4] The Iqbālnāma says he was sent there as bakhshī.

everywhere able men [so that the condition of the army may be known, that skilful and eloquent man was sent off on 20 Bahman to carry out the branding regulation in Malwa, and then to proceed to Gujarat. He was to improve the army in accordance with the advice of Shīhāb-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and Qulīj K.

CHAPTER XLVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 24TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR ISFANDĀRMAẒ OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

At this season, when the wise throne-occupant in his ample vision and with arrangements for the quest of Truth inaugurated the 265
feast of a spiritual Spring, the material Spring also spread out the banquet of joy.

Verse.

Grace the assembly at this season, for with joyous leaves
The rose adorns the plot, and the Shāhinshāh the world;
The Alexander-like prince Akbar at attainment's feast
Like Elias drained the cup from wisdom's fountain.

On Wednesday 12 Muḥarram 987, 11 March ~~1580~~ 1579, after the passing of six hours forty seven minutes, the brightener of the temporal and spiritual world, the unveiler of wisdom and perception, the assayer of the jewels of creation, the watchman of the visible and the invisible, cast his rays on the mansion of Aries. Hearts felt the stirring of Truth, and forms received spiritual purity. The reasoning powers were refreshed by the waters of wisdom, the capital of the brains was enlarged, the flashes of light gave glory to inward and outward things, the skirt and the pocket of the Age were filled with the flowers of wish. Thousands of enchanting pictures robbed the critical and acute of steadiness. The world's lord sate on the *divan* of success, and opened the treasures of abundance. Crowds upon crowds of men attained their desires and gathered collyrium for the eyes, medicine for the heart, and the capital of life. May the Incomparable Deity keep the lord of horizons in joy in the deep shade of His permanence together with treasure-showing wisdom and a jewel-scattering disposition!

Verse.

For ever, so long as day follows yesterday,
For ever, so long as the current year follows the passed one.

May he abide, may his heart be green, and the world at his beck,
Heaven help him, dominion support him, God be his friend.

In the beginning of the year Moẓaffar K. obtained leave to go to the government of Bengal, and H.M. bade him wipe away the grief of the oppressed in that land. The first duty of just rulers is to make over countries, where tribes of mankind and various animals abound, to farsighted and just officers of wide capacity, so that the jewel of humanity may be polished and be weighed in the balance of equity, and the administration of justice and the augmentation of dominion may have their proper place.

. . . . . .

(Some three lines of rhetoric.)

When Khān Jahān was dying, Moẓaffar K., who had an abundant share of choice qualities, was nominated to the government of Bengal and departed thither on 8 Farwardīn, 14 March 1579, after being loaded with salutary counsels. Riẓavī K. was made bakhshi. The civil business (Diwānī) was entrusted to Mīr Adham and Rai
266 Patr[1] Dās, while ḥakīm Abul[2] Fatḥ was made Ṣadr and Amīn. M. Nijābat K., Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn[3] Ḥusain Anjū and many others accompanied them, and they were all presented with robes of honour and select horses. An order was issued to Ism'āīl[4] Qulī K. that he should make over the government to the new officer, and should himself repair to court so that the pain of his grief might be assuaged by the balsam of favour, and his disturbed heart be tranquillised. Orders were also issued to Qiyā K., Bābā K., and Jabbārī and others that they should continue to look after the army. At this time also H.M. erased the record of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M.'s offences and was gracious to him. He regarded his sedition in Gujarat as not having occurred. Though the world's lord shrinks from taking life, and always applies the remedy of kindness to the wicked, yet,

[1] B. 469.

[2] B. 424.

[3] Author of the Persian Dictionary the Farhang-Jahangirī. The text has Anju, but B. has Inju which he says is part of Shiraz. J. III. 423 n. has Ij. The Maasir III. 358, says the "Injuwiya are Saiyids of Shiraz."

[4] B. 369. He was K. Jahān's younger brother and probably expected to succeed him.

with regard to this great benefaction, it appeared to him that the simple soul (of Moẓaffar H.) was not the source of wickedness, and that he had been led into strife by seditious and shortsighted persons. At this time M. 'Aẓīz Kokaltāsh retired into the defiles of obscurity on account of excessive imaginings and for some days was excluded from court. He had made over Mīr 'Alāūd-dīn collector[1] (*'amlguẓār*) to his servant on suspicion[2] of his dishonesty. The latter had a grudge against him and tortured him so that he died. The Mīrzā in his extreme justice capitally punished the daring wretch who had taken advantage of his opportunity. And this act of justice he performed, not at the request of anybody, but from piety to God. The Mīr's father came from Persia to ask for redress, and brought the oppression that had been exercised over the Mīr to the august notice. H.M., who in his court makes no difference between relative and stranger, and no distinction between a chief of chiefs (beglar-begi) and a tangled-haired beggar, ordered that the officers of justice should inquire into the matter and report the result without glozing over it. That delicately nurtured one suspected that he had lost favour and went into retirement, and won over the father by large sums of money.

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[1] J. II. 43.

[2] The variant *ba kamāl nā durustī*, "On account of complete dishonesty," is supported by I.O. MS. 236.

The story does not occur in the Lucknow edition. In the Iqbālnāma it is entered under the 25th year. The story told there is that when the Khān 'Āẓim was governor of Gujarat he, on suspicion of dishonesty, made over 'Alāū-d-dīn Yazdī his diwan to his servant named Ṭālib who beat Alāū-d-dīn so severely that he died. Though the Khān 'Āẓim capitally punished his slave by way of retaliation, yet 'Alāū-d-dīn's father came from Yazd and complained to Akbar who made over the investigation of the case to Qāẓi Jalāl, the army Qāẓī (Judge-Advocate). As the Khān 'Āẓīm had punished his servant, he looked upon this revival of the charge as a proof that Akbar was displeased with him. He paid a large sum to the father and so satisfied him, and then retired again to his garden in Agra. The account of this affair in B.M. Add. 27, 247, differs from that in the text. In the first place it says apparently that M. Koka's conduct was the result of drinking. Fazūnī khumār ḅāl are the words used. Secondly, it calls Mīr 'Alāū-d-dīn Tarafti (?) and Mīr Koka's Vizier and says that as he had embezzled much money, the Mīrzā made him over to Ṭālib who was one of his own slaves, and that Ṭālib on account of a private enmity beat 'Alāū d-dīn so that he died. It does not say any-

One of the occurrences was the departure of the ambassador of 'Ādil[1] K. of Bījāpūr. Though out of somnolent fortune he did not obey orders in a proper manner, yet like the other rulers of the Deccan he always sent prudent men and choice presents and kept himself known to the august court. On this occasion also he had sent an able[2] and plausible man along with the rarities of the
267 country. H.M. granted the desires of the ambassador and gave him leave to depart. He sent Ḥakīm[3] 'Alī along with him, as the bearer of salutary advices, and to warn him ('Ādil K.) that if he did not hearken to them, he would be made war upon.

One of the events was the putting to school of Sultan Murād. Now that he had arrived at the age of eight, and had recovered from successive ailments, H.M. desired that he should learn his letters. It was signified to S. Abul-Faiz Faiẓī, who is singular for knowledge and practice, and who is renowned by his title of *maliku-s-sh'arā*, that he should instruct the prince. In a short time H.M.'s desire was accomplished, and the spiritual and physical window was opened.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Mīr Niẓām. It has already been stated that 'Abdullah[4] K. and 'Ābdī Khwāja had been sent off along with the ambassadors of Badakhshān. M. Shāhrukh regarded their arrival as the stock of eternal bliss. As the Khānim was ill, and the star of her life was near its setting, she sent off her daughter Mihmān B., and the Mīr aforesaid who was her son-in-law (i.e. was married to Mihmān B.), to the holy court along with the rarities of the country, in order that she might bind herself anew to the saddlestraps of fortune. Several of the courtiers met them and conducted them with honour, and on 21 Urdībihist they paid their respects. On 16 Khirdād Wazīr K. did homage,

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thing about the Kokah punishing Ṭālib. The father complained and Akbar made over the case to the Qāẓī.

[1] Usually called 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. Also called Abul Muẓaffar, murdered 10 April 1580. He reigned for about 22 years. He was the husband of Chānd Bībī.

[2] The T.A., Elliot V, 411, gives his name as Khwāja 'Abdullah, and says that he and his son Shāhī Beg received presents from Akbar.

[3] A physician and engineer, B. 466 He came from Gīlān.

[4] *Vide supra*, text, p. 245.

and was well received. As the government of Gujarat had been entrusted to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., he (Wazīr) had been ordered to Idar. In a short time the Rai of that country submitted and fell to supplications. The country was given to him (the Rai) and he came to do homage. Shahbāz K. also arrived at this time. He had 268
settled the affairs of Ajmīr, and reduced the recalcitrant ones to obedience. He did homage on the 27th of the month.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE ACCEPTANCE BY ALL THE WISE MEN OF THE AGE OF THE SPIRITUAL PRIMACY (*ijtihād*[1]) OF THE WORLD'S LORD.

The profound and judicious had perceived, from the dawning of the Shāhinshāh's personality, that he was the epitome of the volumes of perfection and had recognized him as akin to the spirit of holiness and as a gatherer of wisdom of the Divine school. From the beginning of the flashings of his intelligence up to his being seated on the throne of the Caliphate, and from the commencement of his daily-increasing fortune, those who could read the forehead of circumstance and were acquainted with mysteries, received fresh consolation; and, while congratulating themselves on their perspicacity, they redoubled their supplications and thanksgivings. Inasmuch as the increase of temporal duties had thrown a veil over his world-illuminating spiritual beauty, it was not every one who could bring far-sighted intelligence to the point of understanding His Majesty, and there was a brisk market of inappreciation. Especially this was so with paper-worshipping scholiasts, sunk in the mire of routine, and recognizing no knowledge except the garnering of old materials and market-worn beads of small value and writings in black and white on ancient folios which had been fabricated by servile decorators.

Without indulging in the excessive panegyrics of professional encomiasts, verbal lapidaries[2] who sell words at the rate of precious stones, whoever casts a glance at the great diurnal of events, or looks with honest eyes into this jewelled volume, knows that those

[1] See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, s.v. Ijtihād.

[2] *Jaṣṭarāshān-i-khamāhan furosh*, lit. word-cutters who sell agates. For *khamāhan* see Vullers s.v. It is an exceptionally hard stone and according to some is agate. Being so hard it is presumably difficult and costly to cut, and apparently rhetoricians or word-cutters are represented as selling their words as if they were precious-stones.

glorious works (Akbar's) are above human comprehension, and that they furnish a splendid[1] spectacle to readers of the lines of the forehead. From the time that chooser of one-ness, adorner of multiplicity, turned his attention to scientific subjects, and to the varied pursuits of mankind, and when, by removing some of his veils, he allowed his profundity and farsightedness to deck the bridal chamber of manifestation, he scattered from his ocean heart such sublime words concerning the mysteries of vision and piety, and the apices of theory and practice, that the scorched hearts of instruction's furnace fell into amazement, and the crew of the schools sank into the abode of astonishment. It is not the case (dāstān) with revelation and vision that holy thoughts, lofty genius, sublime energy acquire by learning and experience clearness of heart, step by step. Such is the case[2] with the erudite and eloquent. To them these things come not without the alloy of effort. But those who by happy fortune obtain in the Academy of God the marks of things Divine and human without any intermediary, peruse the documents of Primary Reason and the Astrolabe of the heaven of holiness. It was fitting that 269
formalists who dwell within the four walls of routine should enter the defiles of amazement, and that the mental foot of the superficial and short-sighted should stumble, that the wide space of ignorance and little vision should be filled, and that the dustbin of their inward darkness should discharge black waters. Those who did not understand the case imagined that the whole life-time of the sovereign had been spent in study, while many in their blackheartedness and perversity plunged into the saline waste of envy, and were spiritually and physically ruined. A few, by a happy star and auspicious disposition, were guided to the forum of enlightenment and satisfied their eyes

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[1] *Ābādserāī*. But the reading seems doubtful, for if Akbar's deeds were incomprehensible by the human intellect, they could not be a splendid spectacle to the readers of his forehead. I.O. 235 has *bādserai* "cloud-land," or something invisible or non-existent, and this seems a preferable reading. The Lucknow ed. omits many lines here. But abādserāī may mean place of purity, and there may be a reference here to the Abādīāns who were a sect of the Parsīs. See Dabistān, Calcutta ed. of 1809, p. 11, where the word abādī is defined as a place of purity (*jāīpāk*).

[2] *Guftugoī*. Perhaps "Such is the remark of the learned 'Without labour no learning.'"

and their ears. Some open-eyed[1] ones who for many years had painfully striven in the quest of knowledge, and were now watching in justice's portico held a meeting to expound[2] the mystery, and after exchanging many extraordinary experiences, they all joined in saying, "It is the glory of the holy spirit which has come to the kindling point. On this day the light of saintship is casting a ray on his inner soul. It is from the right thinking of the world's lord that this great rank has been bestowed on him. Or has he in the pure temple of privacy kept burning the lamp of study, and now by the goodness of God is he exhibiting it? Or is it the result of magic and enchantment that the drum of enlightenment beats high and that the wondrous workings have shown themselves?"

Those who have by dint of auspiciousness and a happy star abandoned the following of routine, and opened the eyes of vision, and kindled the lamp of understanding, recognized the unique one of horizons as the leader (*peshwā*) of the spiritual world, and rubbed off the rust of astonishment. Nay, a set stained with the dust of routine (*taqlīd*) received a whisper of just appreciation by virtue of ancient records[3] and took the road of right thinking. "When the matted-haired of the desert of vagabondage, and the heavy-footed[4] ones of the abode of vertigo, obtain such high rank in fortune's *dīvān*, why should we be astonished at the success of a just and right-thinking king?" By the guidance of an open-browed fortune they became believers and made an active market for the new institutions (Āīn).

Verse.

Those cognisant of the final result of things
Made a new prayer about the sovereign:

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[1] *Ẓāhirnigāhān*, which generally means superficialists, but seems here to have a good sense.

[2] The text has *shāṣh goī* شاش گوئي "foolish talking," but both the I.O. MSS. have *rāz goi*, راز گوی "discourse about secrets," and this seems a preferable reading.

[3] I presume the reference is to some old prophecies which pointed to the coming of Akbar. See Lowe 295, where reference is made to a pamphlet by the Sharīfs of Mecca. Perhaps too the reference is to the accounts of former kings having preached.

[4] Perhaps the reference is to stationary ascetics such as Simeon Stylites. But the I.O. MSS. have for *dīwār deosār* "demon haunted."

"So long as the revolving sphere be full of stars,[1]
And matter be composed of those two things,
May the Shāh's personality be the world's lamp,
May his cheek be brighter than the moon!"

When the sublime meetings were brightened by the lights of the Unique one of Truth's banquet and of intellectual power, and the luminary of recognition shone for the distant as for the near, the acute and awakened of heart, and the wisdom-choosing seekers after knowledge, who were stayed in various religions and divers paths[2] of the ancients, and in the winding-back alleys and ruined bye-paths, and were seeking for relief from their confusion,[3] held a conference[4] with the blissfully wise and the right-thinking. (They said), "Assuredly if the rank of 'Ijtihād,' which is lower than the dignity of a pure soul (*nafs-i qudsī*), be a dispeller of the darkness of doubts, a wise sovereign shall by choice institutions become the pacifier of disturbed hearts. But[5] every one does not know the latter, while 270
every one is familiar with the first. It is fitting then that the happy hivers of wisdom should come together and refer the old, heart-gnawing pain to this new physician. The medicine suitable for the age is to address the king by the style of 'Ijtihād,' and then to represent to him the confusion of religions and creeds and to beg him to untie the knot."

When their ideas were brought to the sacred hearing, the world's lord for a while, from his love for a veil, did not accept the proposal, and the enlightened body had to have recourse to entreaty. Inasmuch as the granting of desires forms a part of the laudable character of that circumspect Seer (Akbar) and his profession is

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[1] Stars and space. Apparently the meaning is that substance (*gohar*) owes its existence to the stars and space.

[2] I.O. MSS. have the conjunction *wa* here.

[3] Both the I.O. MSS. insert the word hairat "astonishment" here.

[4] *Jirga*. But the I.O. MSS. have *jabīar* "an assembly of men convened for some important purpose."

[5] The meaning is that every one knows the powers of an *Ijtihād*, but every one does not know the powers of a just king or of one of a holy spirit. B.M. Add. 27, 247 says that some right thinkers who had studied the *Mujāhīb Khamsa* (the five religions?) said that the rank of a *Nafs qudsī* was higher than that of the office of Ijtihād, but that he first was not generally known.

that of a Healer, it flashed upon the vision-portico of the farsighted one, the understander of beginnings, the attainer of ends, that to come forth from the position of commander-in-chief of the spiritual world to this office and to apply his mind to it, was, in reality, an adorning of the veil and a choosing of a screen. He therefore rejoiced them by fulfilling their desire. On 20 Shahríyūr,[1] Divine month, there was an assemblage of the enlightened, and the thoughts of the wise unanimously agreed upon this, "The world's lord is the Imām of the Time, and the Mujtahid[2] of the age." When the rest of mankind accept whatever he selects from out of the contradictions of the ancients, and from the sects upon sects of eloquent truth-

[1] Shahríyūr is the 6th month, and corresponds here nearly to 12 August to 12 September 1579. Thus the 20th would be about 1 September 1579. Add. 27,247, has 20 Shahríyūr, Wednesday 10 Rajab (987). This would make the date 2 September 1579. In the T.A. and in Badayūnī the date of the declaration is given as Rajab 987, i.e. between 24 August and 23 September 1579. But it must have been before 16 Rajab for on that day Akbar started for Ajmere, and as that corresponds to 8 September, the latest date for the declaration is the 7th id. As the meetings in the 'Ibādatkhāna took place on Thursdays the document was probably on the first or second Thursday of Rajab, i.e. the 4th or 11th Rajab corresponding to 29 August or 3 September 1579. From the chapter which describes Akbar's visit to Ajmere we learn that he left his capital on 26 Shahríyūr, and this therefore must correspond to 16 Rajab, the date mentioned by Nizāmu-d-dīn and Badayūnī, consequently 20 Shahríyūr, the day of the declaration, must correspond to 10 Rajab—2 September 1579. From what the MS. Add. 27, 247, states it appears that the document was executed one day before the meeting, viz. on a Wednesday. The document has been translated by Blochmann, 186. It will also be found in Lowe 279 (same translation), and in Persian in the T.A. Curiously enough, this important paper is not translated in Elliot V, 413, where there is merely the entry "A legal discussion." It will be seen also that the T.A. puts into this year (the 25th according to the calculation there) the embassy of M. Fulād which A. F. puts into 22nd year, unless indeed the T.A.'s is a second embassy. The reference in Elliot V. 413 seems wrong. The letter sent with Fulād does not appear in the Inshā. I am not sure if Lowe's translation, 278, of the corresponding passage in Badayūni is right. It rather looks as if the meaning was that 'Abdullah in this year sent back M. Fulād and Khwāja Khatīb with him. See text 270.

[2] See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, s.v. Ijtihād and Mujtahid.

seekers, they will gather the Divine favour." To this statement they attached their seals, and a record of enlightenment was executed. Maulānā 'Abdullah Sultān-pūrī, who had the lofty title of Makhdūm-al-mulk (served by the country), Shaikh Abdu-n-nabī the Ṣadr, who was celebrated as the Shaikh-al-islām, Ghāzī K. Badakhshi, Ḥakīm-almulk, and other great sages signed[1] and sealed it. Those who were giddy and straying in the desert of doubts, put the bridle of fixity on the neck of discipleship, and the sitters in darkness received the light of certitude. The lamp of knowledge lighted up the interior of ignorance, and distracted hearts received new comfort.

Also at this time the pulpit was honoured by the sky-touching feet of the Shāhinshāh, and the palace of wisdom received a fresh exaltation and a new heaven was revealed to the age. Inasmuch as the endeavour of H.M. is to carry out proper actions where possible, and various good things were accomplished by the exertions of that unique one of the banquet of enlightenment, every choice act which represented itself to his mind, or which he heard of as having been performed by God-worshippers in old times, was regarded by him

[1] It is curious that A. F. does not mention his father Mubārak as one of those who signed. According to Badayūnī, Mubārak was the chief contriver of the affair, and the one who drafted the declaration. Nizāmu-d-dīn also mentions Mubārak as one of the subscribers. It evidently was the result of a compromise, and is a document capable of various interpretations. It declared that a just Sulṭān (Sulṭān-i-'ādil) was higher in rank than a Mujtahid, that Akbar was the Sulṭān-al-islām *Kahf al anām* (the Sulṭān of Islām and the Refuge of mankind), and a just prince, etc., and that whichever of the conflicting views of Mujtahids he selected, should be received by men, and that also he might issue new orders, provided they were not contrary to the Qorān, and were for the good of the people; and that opposition thereto would involve ruin in this world and damnation in the next. But the saving clause that his orders were not to be contrary to the Qorān and be for the good of the people gave a loop-hole for opposition. Badayūnī seems to have copied the document from the T.A., but he has some original remarks on its scope and effect. Apparently his allusion to Hairatī and A. F. means that they became fire-worshippers and so it might be said that A. F. preferred fire (or hell) to ruin. The cold disposition attributed to the people of Transoxiana is a playful allusion to the meaning of the expression Māwārā-an-nahr (beyond the river).

as a means of pleasing God, and was carried into effect. As at this time it came to his hearing that the guiding Imāms and legitimate Caliphs did not leave worship to others, but took this weighty matter on their own shoulders, he resolved to imitate them in this, and to reap the reward thereof. As the administration of the world and the dispensation of justice are great occupations, he did not indulge in long discourses, but was contented with what was necessary.
271 Several times he distributed enlightenment in the chief mosque of the capital (Fathpūr) and the audiences gathered bliss. One of the discourses (*Khuṭba*) which my most excellent of brothers, S. Abu-l-Faiz Faizī, put by his orders into verse was as follows:—

Verse.[1]

In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
Who put away from our heart aught but equity;
His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts,
Exalted be His Majesty, Allah Akbar.

Inasmuch as his thoughts were pure, he by heart-enlightening words made an impression on the good, and communicated Divine aid to them. There were wonderful awakenings. And since saline soil depraves good seed, the hearts of the entirely bad were made yet more puckered, and the dark mirror of the disordered in brain and blackguards in action was made yet more distorted.[2] As it is an old custom that the stupid denizens of the demon-haunted[3] land of ignorance indulge in foolish talk about the pious servants of God, and that they term potsherds valuable jewels, and reckon a broken

[1] cf. Lowe 277, Elliot V, 412, and B. 185. A. F.'s version is slightly different from Nizāmu-d-dīn, and Badayūnī says that Akbar broke down in his first attempt to preach. A. F. represents him as having often officiated (*bārhā*). The date given in the T.A. and Badayūnī is Friday, Jamāda-al-awal 987, 26 June 1579. Consequently Akbar's appearance in the pulpit preceded by about two months the promulgation of the declaration, though A. F. mentions the latter first. Mr. Keene has given a paraphrase of Faizī's verses in his Guide to Agra, p. 61.

[2] Text, *nābtar*, i.e. clearer, but I.O. MSS. have *tābtar*.

[3] Text *devlākh*, but both the I.O. MSS. have *deosār*.

stone as a mirror of Divinity and a night-gleaming radiancy, every faction went about in the streets of ignorance and the back-lanes of wickedness speaking foolishly and spreading calumnies. On every side there arose the dust of commotion and the black smoke of darkness. Assemblages of wickedness congregated together. One set of those base ones who are nocturnal animals and blind feelers with their feet (*pāi kobān*) in the day charged that Unique of God's servants, who is the glory of his race, with claiming the Godhead, and by such improper talk they fell into the pit of external ruin. Apparently this God-displeasing crew were led into error by the circumstances that some of the leading unionists [1] who were of the school of Nosair [2] and had the enthusiasm of Ḥusain [3] b. Manṣūr recognized and spoke of the Khedive of spirituality as the "Witness of God" (Muẓhir-i-Ḥaqq). The throne-occupant of Fortune on account of his principle of "Peace with all" did not severely rebuke the idle talkers [4] and distracted ones. The foolish ones lost the footing of bliss, and fell into the mire of futile ideas. There was a market-day for the liars and falsifiers. Some of the heated fanatics of the desert of destruction said that the Prince of the Age wished to claim to be the prophet of the incomparable Deity. The proof of this imagination of the strife-mongers was that the Shāhinshāh was continually introducing noble laws, and making verdant the parterres of realm

[1] *Peṣh qadamān-i-ākjahati*, "Forerunners of concord."

[2] Nosair is said to have been the name of the father of an adherent of 'Alī who regarded him as a divinity. According to another account Nosair was 'Alī's freedman. See D'Herbelot s.v. Nossairioun, and also Hist. et Rel. des Noṣairis by René Dussand, Paris 1900, p. 9, etc. The Nosairīs are a Syrian sect and still exist. They resemble the Ism'ailis. See Reclus Asie Antérieure, p. 748. Possibly, however, by Nosair A. F. means Nāṣir Khusrau. See Schefer, "Voyage de Nassiri Khorran," p. ii. note.

[3] A famous mystic put to death at Bagdad, 309 A.H. (922 A.D.). See J. III, 354, n. 2, the Safīna-al-auliyā and D'Herbelot, s.v. Hallaje. Akbar's remark at J. III, 394, foot of page, is explained by the account in D'Herbelot, s.v. Faraoun, taken from S. 'Alāu-al-daulah, of why Pharoah and Ḥusain b. Manṣūr were differently treated by God. B.M. MS., Add. 27, 247, has some different readings in this passage.

[4] It is not clear whether the idle talkers here referred to are the Nosairis or their opponents. But MS. Add. 27, 247, seems to show clearly that the persons meant are Akbar's injudicious friends and not his enemies.

and religion, and pointing out the discrepancies in the doubtful
272 expressions of the ancients. Bewildered hearts and short-sighted persons indulged in these thoughts, and the spectacle of his reciting the Khuṭba contrary to custom and his mounting the pulpit for the guidance of mankind helped the delusion. Many from acceptance[1] of hearsay and belief in idle words came to believe this. Thus there was a splendid market for strife-mongering and fabrication.

When the fact of the foolish talk of the wicked came to H.M.'s hearing, he, from his wide capacity and his contemplation of the wonders of creation, did not believe it, and said often "Good God." "How could it enter into the narrow thoughts of the ignorant that recent creatures belonging to a dependent existence and of feeble intellect should ascribe to themselves a share in Divinity? And have the leaders of humanity who have by thousands of miracles expounded the prophetic office come into the world, and have cycles elapsed, that an opinion like this should be cherished and increase, and that the dust of unbelief be not yet laid? How could such a notion come into my mind? Why does such an evil thought bewilder the superficial and the worshippers of externals? Inasmuch as censure and reproach give a fresh lustre to hearts which are pure, it would be improper to reprove those black-thoughted ones who cause an increase of light." A set of evil-thoughted, shameless ones imagined that the Prince of horizons regarded with disfavour the Muhammadan religion (*dīn i-Aḥmadī*). The sole evidence which those wrong-headed wicked ones, whose understanding was rusted, had for this was that the wise sovereign out of his tolerant disposition and general benevolence, and extensive overshadowing, received all classes of mankind with affection. Especially did he search for evidence in religious matters from the sages of every religion and the ascetics of all faiths. Nor did he accept the replies of the headstrong and uninquiring. Above all, at this time Christian philosophers assailed the orthodox (*mataṣiqqān*, those in agreement) of the day in the sublime assemblies, and learned discussions were carried on. The calumniators[2] of the enlightened who by pretences

[1] *Gosh bandagī*, but Lucknow ed. has *kosbandagī*, and explains the phrase as meaning obedience to or acceptance of hints. Perhaps *kos* is right and the meaning is "following the drum," i.e., sequacity.

[2] *Badnāmkunān*. All the MSS. seem to have a conjunction before

had claimed for themselves a learning that did not exist, made a clamour in the court of sovereignty. They were put to shame in the daily market of justice and the heyday of discrimination, and lowered their heads into the folds of ignorance, but in the privy chambers of darkness they joined their confederates in the cry that they were mourning the loss of Faith, and that the king of the Age had, out of partiality, not accepted their replies. In their wickedness they cast suspicion upon that choice one of truth and that inwardly enlightened one. In their black-heartedness and shamelessness, they gave no heed to the fact that the honour and respect which this appreciative throne-occupant used to show to the family of the prophet had been rarely exhibited by other monarchs. Many good Saiyyids had been raised to dignities and high offices by the favour of H.M., and from time to time they were still farther promoted and the garden of their wishes kept watered and verdant. Nor did he permit that any member of this family should lay his head on the holy feet,[1] or rub 273
the forehead on the threshold of fortune. A set of squint-eyed, wicked people taxed him with Sh'iism; and so led astray simple-minded Sunnīs. The cause of the stumbling of this set was that in the sublime assemblies the proofs of those two sects, like those of other sects, were discussed, and that the Shāhinshāh from equity selected what was preferable.

Verse.

When a statement is strong in argument,
It is unfortunate if you do not listen to it.

His likes or dislikes,[2] the greater or lesser numbers of the disputants, their being acquaintances or strangers, raised no dust of difference. The short-sighted and irreflecting on seeing his fondness for discussion indulged in idle talk. The favour shown to Persians,

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this word. Perhaps the meaning is "Those who by their conduct brought a disgrace on the party of the enlightened."

[1] cf. B. 159. It appears from this passage that Akbar exempted Saiyyids from the ceremony of prostration. Perhaps this was why he withdrew his foot when Badayūnī wished to kiss it before going to the holy war. But the translation is not complete (Lowe, 234) or correct.

[2] *Nafrat-i-zamīr*. The Lucknow ed. has *taqarrab-i-zamīr*.

most of whom belonged to that sect (the Sh'iá), increased the evil thoughts of the turbulent. Out of ignorance, and worship of routine, they did not remember the precept about accepting the explanation that was conformable to reason.[1] And either the promotion of Turanians was hidden from the bigoted eyes of this set, or they wilfully remained ignorant of it and sought for pretexts. An impure faction reproached the caravan-leader of God-knowers with being of the Hindu (Brahman) religion. The ground for this improper notion was that the prince out of his wide tolerance received Hindu sages into his intimacy, and increased for administrative reasons the rank of Hindus, and for the good of the country showed them kindness. Three things supported the evil-minded gossips. First—The sages of different religions assembled at court, and as every religion has some good in it, each received some praise. From a spirit of justice, the badness of any sect could not weave a veil over its merits. Second—The season of "Peace with all" was honoured at the court of the Caliphate, and various tribes of mankind of various natures obtained spiritual and material success. Third—The evil nature and crooked ways of the base ones of the age.

By the right-thinking and truthful conduct of the world's lord, they were soon put to shame for their ignorance, and set about endeavouring to amend the days of their ignorance, but many as a retribution for their evil deeds descended into the tortures of failure.

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[1] *Dāstān-i-bar giriftan i-muwāfiq* "accepting the simplest explanations? or is it to accept a congruous statement.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Honour done to Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān by his being appointed to be Atāliq to Prince Sultān Selīm.

(This chapter begins with some general remarks on humanity, and then launches out into a panegyric of Akbar and his son Sultān Selīm. After more than a page of this stuff it proceeds to relate how Quṭbu-d dīn K. was on 22 Shahrīyūr (beginning of September 1579) appointed Atāliq, or tutor, of the prince, and received the robe of honour called a *dāqū* (see supra II, 121, l. 7; it is the *daq* of the dictionaries. B. 333 spells it *dāgū*) "which holds a high rank in the holy family" and the title Beglārbegī).

(Translation resumed). He (Quṭbu-d-dīn in gratitude for this 275
great gift resolved upon holding a splendid banquet, and begged for H.M.'s presence at it. H.M. granted his wish, and the house of the faithful became the envy of the spheres by the arrival of the sacred feet. On this occasion eternal bliss was conferred (on Quṭbu-d-dīn) by the noble prince's being placed on his shoulder.[1] There was rejoicing and there was scattering of largesse.

Verse.

There was a heaven-illuminating banquet-hall
Such as the stars seldom see in dreams
The spectators were fascinated by beholding it
Wisdom lost its tongue, and the tongue became ear.

[1] cf. Lowe 278, and Elliot V. 413, where *for* "young prince, etc." *read* "the king and the princes honoured him with their presence"; and *for* "back" *read* "shoulder." Apparently Akbar himself put Selīm on Quṭbu-d-dīn's shoulder. Badayūnī 282 says Akbar tried to convert Quṭbu-d-dīn and failed. A. F. does not mention two things which occurred about this time, viz. a great fire at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, and the deaths of 80 women and children in consequence of overcrowding at a distribution of alms. Ferishta and Khāfī K. mention the fire, and T. A., Elliot V. 413, and Badayūnī, Lowe 272, the deaths from overcrowding.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Expedition of H. H. to Ajmere.

The glorious sovereign from exceeding quest of truth, and an enlightened mind, pays no regard to himself and continually fares forward. From time to time he performs the part of a watchman and bestows a fresh market day on the world's market place, and irrigates the garden of faith. He looks out everything from head to foot and makes progresses in order to keep up his acquaintance (with people and places). Out of good thinking and for the acquisition of bliss he circumambulates the shrines of saints—a thing which even lofty-viewed collectors of truth little attend to. He thereby lights up the countenance of truth-worship, and
276 furnishes means of rejoicing to the superficial and the worshippers of externals. Varied delight too comes to the esoteric. At this time, when the lights of knowledge of Divine things had obtained manifestation, and the beauteous forms (of truths) were enlightening modes of life, it flashed upon his august mind that these good old customs (of pilgrimages) were not religious exercises except under certain conditions, and that royal expeditions were not meritorious if undertaken without consideration of the public weal. He made inquiries to find out if such conditions were absent and if he might, in contradiction to former years, put off his visit to Ajmere. When[1]

[1] This was the last visit Akbar paid to Ajmere. In the following year he sent his son Daniel, but gave up his own visit. See text 316-17. Badayūnī, writing in about 1594, says, Lowe, p. 280, that Akbar had not been to the shrine for fourteen years. He adds that on this occasion Akbar traversed the last ten miles on foot, and that sensible people smiled and said it was passing strange that H.M. should exhibit such devotion to the Ajmere Khwāja when he denied the real root, from every corner of which hundreds of thousands of thousands of saints as perfect as the Khwāja had sprung. It will be observed that this year Akbar did not visit the shrine on the anniversary-day, as was his custom. It looks therefore as if the visit was an after-

it appeared that an expedition in that direction would be a means of calming the public and enhance the submission of the recalcitrant, he, on 26 Shahríyúr, Divine month, 8 September 1579, placed the foot of fortune in the stirrup of world conquest and set off thither. In accordance with excellent customs he enjoyed, stage by stage, the pleasure of hunting. He conferred new lustre on the administrators of justice. Crowds upon crowds of men obtained their desires and rejoiced. For some, worldly affairs and outward businesses were arranged, while many had their spiritual desires, and their wishes appertaining to the inner world, gratified. That cavalier of the field of enlightenment remained in communion with the Incomparable Deity, and adorned the external world. While involved in various employments he moved along with a free soul. From the time that the question (dāstān) of Society and Solitude made its appearance in the world, and the thread of the observance of the vestiges of one's predecessors acquired consistency, there have been few instances of such full co-existence of these two opposites in one worshipper of God. The acute of every sect on beholding the marvels of this Unique One sank their head in the folds of astonishment in such a manner as cannot be described, and does not come within the domain of audition. Every sect was convinced that the whole energies of the world's lord were expended on their special rules, and that his proficiency in them was the result of his long study of them. By God's aid, just as wondrous works appeared in the matter of calming worldly agitators, and as the glory of them reached the near and the distant, so still more abundant were his marvellous transactions in the wide sphere of the spiritual kingdom. The lamp of guidance for the seekers after auspiciousness shone brilliantly. A fresh instance, and one which adorns the pen, is the tale of the obedience of the tiger.

On 26 Mihr (about 6 October 1579) the glorious standards cast their rays on the tank[1] of Khwās Khān. The landowners (*bāmīān*) of that neighbourhood rubbed the forehead of supplication, and related as follows: "A traveller was passing through a dreadful

thought devised to quiet the people. The visit was paid in Ābān and near Akbar's birthday.

[1] Five *kos* from Ajmere. Akbar arrived there on 19 Shābān, which seems to correspond to 11 October 1579 (Nigāmu-d-dīn, Lucknow lith. ed., p. 344).

forest in this vicinity, and a fasting[1] beast of prey rose up to destroy his life, but a remedy was found by the strong-souled, happy-hearted man. He immediately drew a line round himself and called upon the name of the world's lord (Akbar). On hearing the honoured name the beast stood still, and the man escaped from his mortal danger."[2] The awakened men of the country placed anew the neck of auspiciousness in the noose of sincerity. There was a clapping of the hands on the part of those who had found their goal,
277 and there was an increase of devotion. When H.M. heard of this wondrous working of fortune he, from the greatness of his genius, and from his keeping behind the veil, set no store by it, but said, "If the tale be true I shall never hunt this animal again, nor seek to take his life." The wondrous miracles of this Unique of the Age are higher than that the swift cavaliers of the plain of enlightenment can reach that tract, and the lofty rank of that unity-chooser, multiplicity-adorner, is too far off for the highflyers of soaring spirit to be able to spread their pinions in the atmosphere of the recognition thereof.

Verse.[3]

We, when we contemplate him,
Are the astonied ones of Creation,
What know we of his perfect substance?
We are the know-nothings of Creation.

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[1] Text ناآگاه "Unknowing or a stranger," but I.O. MS. 236 has گاگاه "fasting," and this seems to be the true reading.

[2] The story of the tiger is told at somewhat greater length in the T.A. at the end of the 25th year, but is not translated in Elliot. Nizámu-d-dín says that there are many tigers between Ranthanbhúr and Ajmere, and that the subject of the incident was coming to the latter place when he fell in with the tiger. He adds that the teller of the story swore to Akbar that he had seen the man and heard the tale from him. The T. A. adds that Khwáş Khán's tank is five *kos* from Ajmere, that Akbar arrived there on 19 Shabán, and that on Friday the 24th id., 16 October 1579, he walked the five *kos* into Ajmere. The text of the Newal Kishore edition is imperfect in the account of the tiger-story.

[3] The Lucknow edition has a different reading in first line, and if *gah* is for *gáh*, place, it is unusual to find it standing alone. Perhaps گه *gah* means time here, and the translation should be "When he came to contemplate him." Possibly we should read بد *bá bímgah* "at the fearful place."

On 3 Ābān (about 14 October 1579), Divine month, he cast his august shadow on that city. He performed his devotions and paid his visit to the shrine. The ministers thereof and the other wishful expectants reaped various joys from his liberality.

One of the occurrences was the sending of S. 'Abdu-n-nabī and Mullā 'Abdullah Sulṭānpūrī to the Ḥijāz. The treasure-like disposition of the Shāhinshāh desired that the empty-handed ones of the seven worlds, and the well-meaning ones of every country, might carry away an abundant provision from the table of his bounty. And he was ever sending for well-intentioned, active and skilful and honest men who would disburse his gifts in foreign parts, and would make the distribution without being sharers in oppression, and without partiality for their friends. He continually chose from among travellers every one who was distinguished for truth and righteousness, and put large sums into their charge, so that the largesse of the Shadow of God might be comprehensive, and that his gratitude for his lofty fortunes might brighten the face of dominion. As the multitude of the needy ones in the peninsula of the Ḥijāz, and the numbers of anchorites in that region, had impressed his mind, he every year sent off loads (*kharwār*) of gold under the escort of able and good men. His idea was that the ocean of his bounty should always be in motion. But as he became aware that the pushing and avaricious men of those shrines stirred up the dust of turbulence and did not make a proper division, and that no share came to the modest poor, or they only got a smaller portion, while the wicked and noisy took away large quantities by oppression, he resolved that in future his great bounties should not be proclaimed, and that the poor of that country should, like those of every other country, receive their boons in secret. Perhaps such canvassing of hearts, and such giving of joy to the melancholy, would be accepted (by God). At this time, when wisdom had obtained a high position, and there was a daily market for investigation, the veil over the deeds of S. 'Abdu-n-nabī 278
and Mullā 'Abdullah Sulṭānpūrī was withdrawn. They in consequence of fictions and phenakisms, and the backing of simpletons who did not know the facts, had taken their seats on the *masnad* of priority and were actively employed in ministering to their own desires, and in self-gratification. It was perceived that they had acquired nothing beyond the first elements of routine such as those

on the lowest forms collect, and that they knew nothing of science and had nothing but a long tongue and a vending of stories (*naql farozhī*) as is the rule with the ignorant and the prating. With all this empty-handedness they had but a small portion of piety and of search for truth, and regarded pride and presumption as their greatness. The tolerant and benevolent prince did not, on account of his reverence and modesty, desire that this crew should be still more exposed in the assay-room of knowledge and perception for their ignorance and injustice, or that they should be disgraced and be pointed at with the finger of scorn of high and low. He allotted to them the office of Mīr Ḥāj (charge of pilgrims) and ordered them to look after the necessitous of that territory. In this way he expelled them from his empire, and he directed that they should remain perpetually at that place of worship. They were to improve themselves there and preserve their self-respect, and conduct themselves properly.

As they were slaves of money they did not appreciate this mystery and propounded a thousand objections and reasons for delay. Their base minds were set upon heaping up *dirhams* and *dīnārs*, and not on acquiring a name and reputation. But the wise world's Khedive, like a loving physician who makes ignorant patients, willing or unwilling, swallow bitter drugs, sent them away and insisted upon administering the remedy to them. Many of the empty-handed and necessitous received means for the journey.[1]

On 17 'Abān, Divine month, he commenced his return to the capital from the blissful city (Ajmere) by way of Mewāt. Meadows and mountains assumed the verdure of spring. Though in appearance he was enjoying himself in hunting, in reality he was worshipping God and cherishing his subjects. On the 29th in the neighbourhood of Sāmbhar[2] Shahbāz K. was sent off with some victorious troops in order that he might guard the laws of sovereignty in that

[1] They both returned. Makhdūm-al-mulk died at Aḥmadabad, and 'Abdu-n-nabī died a violent death in the capital. The author of the Iqbālnāma states that Abūl Faẓl, in whose charge 'Abdu-n-nabī was, put him to death at Akbar's orders. See their biographies in Badaʾūnī's 3rd vol. and in the D.A.

[2] The salt lake in Jaipūr and Jodhpūr.

province, and might exert himself in keeping the peace and in civilizing the country.

One of the occurrences was the happening of an injury to Zain K. Kokaltāsh. On 23 'Aẓar (about 3 December) H.M. was in Thīrah [1] and performing his devotions in private.[2] In front of the hall (*daulatkhāna*) a great tumult arose and then subsided. Bhūpat Cohān had from inverted fortune turned away his head for some time from obedience and gone off to Bengal. When that country was conquered, he of necessity took shelter at the august court. Since a bad habit with difficulty leaves a man's constitution, and especially does it not depart, if it be not regarded by him as blameworthy, that wicked one went again to his home in Etawah and took to robbery and oppression of the peasantry. As that town belonged to the fief of the Kokaltāsh, he obtained leave of absence in order that he might guide him and other arrogant ones in the right path by wise advices. Whoever did not listen was to have 279
his arrogance enlightened by the brilliancy of the Indian scimitar. When they arrived at that place the wicked inhabitants took upon their shoulders the burden of obedience, and all the headstrong had, under the guidance of the Kokaltāsh, the bliss of performing the *kornish*. That turbulent-brained one would not choose to accompany them, and an order was given that the land-holders there should arrest him; but out of terror he came to the camp of fortune and sought protection from Raja Todar Mal and Raja Bīrbar. He professed to bring forward the question of forgiving his offences and expressed a wish to serve H.M. But he was lying in wait for the Kokaltāsh and was meditating mischief. The Kokaltāsh reported his evil designs to Court, and in accordance with orders, S. Ibrāhīm[3] summoned him in order that he might be fully won over and might be appointed to some duty after the taking of security. He and some daring Rajpūts came forward about this time and petitioned,

[1] Text Bhera, which seems certainly wrong; the variant Muttra is more likely. I adopt Thīrah as this is what is written in the I.O. MSS. I do not know the place.

[2] At this time Akbar seems to have been very devout. Nigāmu-d-dīn, Lucknow ed., 344, mentions that on his way back from Ajmere he had a lofty tent (*bārgāh*) erected and furnished with *miḥrābs* or prayer niches, etc., and that he prayed there in the congregation five times a day.

[3] B. 402.

saying that if the Kokaltāsh would admit him to terms and S. Ibrāhīm promise to favour him, he would come to court. Otherwise he was prepared to sacrifice his life. The Shaikh, in agreement with the Koka, soothed the ignorant by sweet words and wished to bring him before H.M. As the palace-ushers (*cāūshān*) do not admit armed men without orders, they in good faith put hands on his dagger and stopped him. The passionate man thought there was a trick and drew out his dagger and fought. The Koka bravely joined in the fray and was wounded. Some servants seized Bhūpat and sent him to the abode of non-existence. The Khedive, who possesses the Messiah's breath, went next day to the Kokaltāsh's quarters, and by his gracious words, etc., put balm on the wounds. By his attentions the dangerous wound was healed, and thanksgivings were offered. On the 29th [1] he alighted at Fatḥpūr.

One of the occurrences was that Yūsuf [2] K. of Kashmīr received protection at court. His father 'Alī K. Cak was ruler of Kashmīr. He was killed while playing polo (*caugān*) by a hurt from the pommel of his saddle, and the grandees chose him (Yūsuf). His paternal uncle Abdāl aimed at the throne and meditated wickedness;
280 Yūsuf acted with promptitude and surrounded his house. In the struggle and confusion he (Abdāl) was killed by a bullet. Things

[1] Shawāl, Elliot V. 413, 11 December, 1579.

[2] See J. II, 380, where he is called Yūsuf Shāh and is stated to have reigned on the first occasion one year and twenty days, and on the second five years and three months. The facts mentioned in the text are detailed at greater length in Ḥaidar Malik's history of Kashmīr. 'Alī K.'s death is described there, and the contest between Yūsūf and his father's younger brother Abdāl. Yūsuf certainly acted with promptitude for he left his father unburied and went off to contend with Abdāl. Yūsūf Shāh, the son of 'Alī Cak, is of course a different man from Yūsūf K., the son of Ḥusain Shāh (or Cak), but who was Yusūf Shāh's brother-in-law and cousin. It was Yūsuf Khān and not Yūsuf Shāh that Ḥaidar Malik accompanied to India. According to Ḥaidar, though he was wounded by a bullet, he still kept his seat on horseback, but was eventually killed by Saiyid Mubārak. Yūsuf was afterwards driven out by Saiyid Mubārak. He returned, and Ḥaidar says a slight engagement took place in the village of Bartal in pargana Deosar. But as stated in text, those who had invited him did not support him, and he again fled. This time he went to Akbar's court. The text says he went by the route of Qirmiz (?). Ḥaidar does not mention this name.

had not quieted down when Saiyid Mubārak, Abu-l-m'aālī his son, 'Alī K., Haidar Cak, 'Alī Malik and a number of others agreed that Yūsuf the son of Ḥusain K., who was his (Yūsuf Shah's) cousin and had the title of Khān-Khānān, should be made king. He out of foresight declined. The strife-mongers raised up Saiyid Mubārak and kindled the flames of sedition. A fight took place in the plain of the 'Idgāh. Yūsuf K. prepared a force and proceeded to an engagement. Muḥammad K., who was in the vanguard, was killed after much fighting, and Yūsuf K. fled without coming on the field. He came through the pass of Pīrpanjāl and took breath in the neighbourhood of Thāna. The evil-doers sent fraudulent letters and brought him back. At Marāj Saiyid[1] Mubārak came forward to give battle. The double-faced triflers did not advance one step to carry their words (i.e. their letter) into effect. He prudently went by the route of Qirmiz (B M.S. Add. 27, 247, adds here "which is in Jammū"), and sought protection from Rajah Mān Singh and M. Yūsuf K. They received him and brought him by the Panjab to Court. On 21 Dai (January 1580) he performed the prostration. The hand of the kindness of the world's lord raised him from the dust, and distinguished him by various favours.

Also at this time Peshrau K. arrived from the south. He had been sent to convey counsels to the Niẓāmu-l-mulk of the Deccan. He had performed his mission in a proper manner and had impressed many wise words on the Niẓām. Although the brain of the latter was oppressed by melancholy (*saudā*) and he refrained from society and spent his time in solitude, yet he came a little to his senses, and sent Āṣaf K., who was one of his confidants, along with the rarities of the country. He was well received.

One of the occurrences was the appointing an army to capture the European ports. Inasmuch as conquest is the great rule of princes, and by the observance of this glory-increasing practice, the distraction of plurality[2] places its foot in the peacefulness of unity, and the harassed world composes her countenance, the officers of the

[1] J. II. 368 where it is Marrāj. See his note 1. Tatta, the place where Yūsuf took refuge, seems a mistake for Thāna.

[2] He held the appointment of darogha of the farāshkhāna.

[3] Meaning that one ruler is substituted for many.

provinces of Gujarat and Mālwa were appointed[1] to this service under the leadership of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān on 18 Bahman, Divine month (February 1580). The rulers of the Deccan were also informed that the troops had been sent in that direction in order to remove the
281 Faringīs who were a stumbling-block in the way of the pilgrims to the Ḥijāz. They were bidden to regard this news as an opportunity for showing their loyalty, and directed to join the army with suitable equipments so that the protests of service which they were always making by their envoys might be fulfilled, and also in order that the peasantry of the southern districts might be preserved from the shock of the imperial forces.

At this time the Sarkār of Ghāzīpūr was granted to M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, while the delightful tract (khiṭṭa) of Jaunpūr was taken from him and given to Tarson Muḥammad K. The latter was sent off to that quarter and Maulānā Muḥammad Yezdī[2] was sent along with him as Ṣadr of the province. Orissa was assigned to M'aṣūm K. Kābulī. Subḥān Qulī Turk was dispatched to proceed rapidly in order to convoy him from Bihar to Orissa and to bring Qiyā K. Gang (or Kank) to Bihar.

One of the occurrences was the return of Mīr Ābu Turāb from the Ḥijāz. It has been stated that he had been appointed to the high office of leader of the pilgrims. At this time news came that he had completed his journey and was bringing an impression of the Prophet's foot; may the Peace of God be upon him and on his family[3]! He represented that this impression was the fellow (ham-

[1] We do not hear anything more of this expedition. Evidently it failed of its object. The last sentence of the paragraph seems to imply that Quṭbu-d-dīn was not to advance into the Deccan if the rulers there did their duty. In a letter to 'Abdullah K., Akbar explains why he did not succeed in extirpating the Portuguese. The Portuguese records, Danvers II, 42, describe an unsuccessful attack on Damān by Calichan (Qulīj K. Andijānī who was made governor of Gujarat in the 23rd year) and a single combat between him and Fernando da Miranda. Mr. Whiteway informs me that the date of the fight was Easterday 1582 = [illegible] April O.S.

[2] Apparently this is the man who, though at first a bigoted Shiah (see Badayūnī, Lowe 214 and 267), afterwards advised that rebellion against Akbar was lawful, see B. 189. Akbar had him arrested and drowned.

[3] This prayer so usual among Muḥammadan writers when mentioning the name of Muḥammad or

dast) of that which Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī[1] brought to Delhi in the reign of Sultan Fīrūz. Although the Asylum of the Faith (Dīnpanāh) knew that the thing was not genuine—and acute experts have shown its falsity—yet from profound observance of the veil he regarded the respect due to that nobleman[2] of lofty lineage, and gloriously exhibited his administration of justice. An order was issued that the caravan should halt four *kos* from the capital. The court artificers prepared a delightful dwelling (for Akbar), and the Shāhinshāh came there with the great officers (*nuyīān*) and the men of learning, and

other prophet does not occur in the Lucknow edition nor in the two I. O. MSS. and has perhaps been inserted by the piety of the Bib. Ind. editors.

[1] I am not sure if the meaning is that Akbar acted out of respect to Abū Turāb, or that he paid respect to Muḥammad.

[2] This is the Jalāl who is known as Makhdūm Jahāniān Jahāngasht and whom A. F. calls in the Āīn Shaikh Jalāl. He is buried at Uch. Apparently it is his grandfather who is more properly styled Saiyid Jalāl Bokharī, but, however, Ferishta calls him Makhdūm Jahānīān Saiyid Jalālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Bokhārī. He gives a long biography of him, but does not mention the stone. From Saiyid Aḥmad's Aṣār Sanādīd, p. 92, it appears that the stone is, or was, over the tomb of Fatḥ K., the son of Fīrūz Shāh, and who, according to Keene's Delhi, died in 1374. Saiyid Jalāl died in 1388. See also Beale s. v. Shaikh Jalāl and B. 507 and Lowe 320. Badayūnī's verse appears to refer to Fatḥ K.'s tomb. B. 198 following Badayūnī, Lowe 320 puts the bringing of the stone into the 27th year, 990. Badayūnī apparently follows Nigāmu-d-dīn though the latter puts the occurrence even one year later, viz. the 28th year, 991. However A. F. is probably correct in assigning it the 24th year, 987, for it seems that Abū Turāb and 'Timād returned in that year from Mecca. There is an account of the stone in the Mirāt Aḥmadī, lith. ed., p. 146, which gives some additional particulars. It says that Abū Turāb reported from Surat the arrival of the stone, that Akbar passed orders about its being met one stage from Fatḥpūr, that he wrapped the stone in a special mantle and carried it on his own shoulder for one hundred paces. It also speaks of the stone's having been originally in the Ka'ba and of Abū Turāb's having wrapped it in a cover belonging to the Muqām-i-Ibrāhīm (house of Abraham). The stone was deposited near the Khāṣ Maḥal (palace) at Fatḥpūr and was there for a year. Then when Abū Turāb returned to Gujarat, he begged to be allowed to take it with him. This was granted, and Abū Turāb brought it to Asāwal near Aḥmadabad and it was there for six years. Afterwards it was removed into the city of Aḥmadābād, and the writer of the Mirāt Aḥmadī says he visited it there.

he laid that piece of stone on his sky-touching shoulder and carried it for some paces. The stages were arranged, and the officers placed the stone on the head of reverence and conveyed it in turn to the capital. In accordance with instructions they placed it in the Mîr's house. All this honour was done out of abundant perceptiveness, respect and appreciation, and wide toleration, in order that the reverence due to that simple-minded Saiyid might not be spilt on the ground, and that jovial critics might not break out into smiles. Immediately the cup of the fancy of the short-thoughted was filled with dust, and the wicked and seditious sank into the pit of shame. The vain thinkers and ill-conditioned ones who had been agitated on account of the inquiries into the proofs of prophecy, and the passing of nights (in discussion), and the doubts—of which books of theology (kalâmi kutub) are full—were at once made infamous in the market of ashamedness, while those who had spoken idly and foolishly of the semblance of religion and piety in the spiritual and temporal pontiff, became ruined in realm and religion. The agitation of that day casts no cloud on the inner mind of that banquet-adorner
282 of world-knowledge, nor has he any delight to-day from the fact of that crew's having sunk their heads in the collar of shame! The plant of the power of such a whole-hearted one increases from day to day, and from time to time fresh fortune brings the news of success. Profundity of thought always prevails, and the wonders of fortune increase watchfulness.

Verse.

Ever march along the road of nobleness,
Ever cheerfully imprint the page of Time,
Casting a frank glance on the horizons,
Regarding as a spectacle the ways of the world.

What cares the right-thinking God-fearing man for joy or sorrow? But the sincere disciples of a new devotion acquired strength, and provision for the road was furnished to the general public.

One of the occurrences[1] was the division of the wide tract of

[1] A list of the twelve Subahs or provinces is given in J. II. 113. They were Agra, Ahmadâbâd (Gujarat), Ajmere, Allahâbâd, Oudh, Bengal (including Orissa), Behar, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Malwa, and Multan

India into twelve portions. It was unavoidable that the sovereign of lofty genius and protector of the weak should favour them by gifts and appointments (*bakhshish u bakhshāīsh*), and that he should reform the wicked and stiff-necked by the glory of counsels and the flashings of the scimitar. He distributed the territories according to suitable limits and laid out the garden of creation by appropriate methods. And he made it over to liberal and righteous guardians. He irrigated the world-parterres from the founts of knowledge. In this way did he make fitting division of the wide and fertile land of India, and in every province he appointed a viceroy (*sipah-sālār*), a Diwān, a Bākhshī, a Mīr 'Adal, a Ṣadr, a Kotwāl, a Mīr Baḥr (admiral) and a Recorder (*Wāq'anavīs*).

One of the occurrences was the fixing of the revenue for ten years. Inasmuch as Time produces, season after season, a new foundation for rates, and there are great increases and decreases, there was a regulation that every year some experienced and honest men should send in details of the rates from all parts of the country. Every year a general ordinance (*dastūr-al-'amal*) was framed with respect to the payment of dues. When the imperial domains became extensive, and the territories of many great rulers came under the shadow of the world-lord's justice, these reports arrived late and at different times. The soldiers[1] and the peasantry suffered loss, and there were disturbances about arrears and about excess demands. It was also rumoured that some recorders of rates had gone aside from the path of rectitude. The officers at headquarters were harassed, and were unable to find a remedy. The wise sovereign gave relief to multitudes by introducing the new system of payment of dues. The gist[2] of the invention was that the condition of every pargana

When Aḥmadnagar, Berār and Khāndesh were conquered, the number was raised to fifteen. In Shāh Jahān's time the number of provinces was twenty-two. The number given in Bābar's rent roll, see Erskine's Bābar and Humayūn I, App. D., is thirty, but they were smaller in extent than Akbar's.

[1] Perhaps this refers to Timur's regulation that the pay of soldiers should vary according to the current price of grain. See his Institutes, White and Davey, p. 363 and note. It does not appear from the Āīn that sepoys got bāttā or compensation for dearness of provisions.

[2] The ten years' Settlement is explained in J. II. 88. The years chosen were those from the 15th to the 24th, i.e. apparently from the beginning of the 15th year to the

during ten years, according to degree of cultivation and the price of produce, was ascertained, and that one tenth thereof was fixed as the revenue of each year. This has been explained at length in the concluding volume of this great work. Though the carrying
832 out of this great design was committed to Rajah Todar Mal and Khwājah Shāh Manṣūr, the Rajah was sent off to the eastern provinces, and it was the Khwājah who by dint of his sagacity comprehended the sublime instructions and arranged the exquisite plan.

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end of the 24th, though A.F. here puts the settlement into the 24th. Accurate figures were only obtainable for the last five years. In J. II. 69, etc., we have tables of prices for 19 years, but they are for provinces only and seem to have been superseded by the ten years' tables.

CHAPTER L.

Rebellion of the Bihar Officers, and the Appointment of World-conquering Armies to Punish those Ingrates.

How shall the extraordinary events of the protean world be described, and by what power shall its marvels be narrated? One of its evil qualities is that it exerts itself to cherish the evil and sedition-mongering, and in furthering the prosperity of the vain-thoughted, while it increases the grief of the right-thinking and auspicious, and uses a thousand stratagems for ruining the wise and honest! The far-sighted and sage do not extend the hand of courage to unveil the countenance of this strange picture, and keep their lips closed. They plant not their foot on the coverlet of enlightenment, and open not the tongue of "Why and Wherefore." As that mystery-knower and awakened of heart sings

Verse.

I had many thoughts about the past and future,
There is no road for any one to understand His designs,
In this garden it is proper to garner up the tongue,
Silence and bewilderment are to have the first place.

Though there are few events[1] which do not give a ray[2] of light to the minds of the acute seers of understanding, yet they are sunk in the contemplation of the Divine power, and owing to the non-

[1] Text *dārūī* (medicine). But it is not clear how medicine can cast a ray of light. I therefore adopt *wāride* "events," which is the reading of the two I.O. MSS. In Persian writing there is very little difference between دارو and وارد. Perhaps, however, "medicine" is right and the meaning is it only needs a little application of drugs, i.e. enlightenment, to explain. That *dārūī* is right seems probable from what follows where the metaphor from physic is continued.

[2] I.O. MS. 236 has apparently babakhshid, but the text nabakhshid agrees with I.O. MS. 235, and seems preferable.

procurement of just-minded listeners they give themselves out to the world as ignorant. They choose the sleep of repose instead of the turmoil of instructing those whose ears are stuffed with the quicksilver of neglect. Abul Faẓl, into whose heart the distress of the age has entered, and to whom a power of understanding has been given, why dost thou not remove the lid of the box, and why dost thou not open the casket of truth?

Verse.

Thou hast a heart which weighs the niceties of knowledge,
Pour out the treasure from the ocean of wisdom;
The key of the door of science is in thy pocket,
'Tis thy fault if thou dost not open it for humanity.

Evidently, the unloosing the knot of this riddle is difficult when the spectators of events are shortsighted and of small capacity. Their eyes do not grasp the whole of the circumstances (lit. the heights and hollows). They think the thorn in their foot to be the calamity of a world, and they regard an individual grievance as the evil of the universe. Otherwise it is clear to the acute and truth-discerning that just as in the vegetable kingdom, poisons and antidotes (or panaceas) take growth and development, and among animals there is the production of the affectionate, and the murderous, so among men there is the appearance and the disappearance of the good and the bad. And just as in medicines for the body both kinds (i.e. poisons and panaceas) are of use, so in spiritual remedies both classes of men are beneficial. To the physicians of the age it is clear that the (eventual) success of the good and noble and happy starred, and the evil thoughts of the wicked, increase the glory of existence, and give finality to the methods of retribution. Also that the exaltation of those who disturb the world's repose is with the object of casting them headlong into the
284 pit of destruction.

Verse.

The wine which the world holds forth
Contains one revel and a hundred headaches,
If it raise thee from dejection,
Beware, for 'tis deceiving thee.

There are many instances of the furnishing the garden of humanity with thorns,[1] and of the conferring increased refreshment on the young plants of auspiciousness. The wise man of the world recognizes that the success of the good is the ornament of God's beautiful attributes (jamāl), and that the advance of the wicked is the ornament of His terrible attributes (jalāl). And he who is acquainted with the privy-chamber of solitude is assured that the graciousness of God and the Divine Beauty display herein wonderful illustrations. It is possible[2] that the fires of the terrible attributes may not utterly consume, and that they make futile somnolence impossible.

I now leave this wondrous discourse about mysteries, and relate the circumstances of this instructive story. Though the occupant of the throne of fortune in his noble graciousness, abundant justice, and adornment of universal peace was most liberal and forgiving and like beneficent clouds rained kindness upon the fields of humanity, yet all of a sudden many of the Bihar officers—who had been reared in this dominion which is conjoined with eternity—nay, the garden of whose ancestors had been watered and refreshed by the streams of the Shāhinshāh's bounty—fell into the bitter land of rebellion, and took the path of pride and presumption.

Time smiled[3] grimly and encouraged each one to bring forward short-enduring wishes!

The brief account of this long affair is that in the beginning of

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[1] *Khārpīrāī*. It is somewhat difficult to understand this passage. I.O. MS. 235 strikes out the khār and leaves in only the *pīrāī*, probably because the copyist did not understand the meaning. A. F. is trying to account for the affliction of the good and the prosperity of the bad, and so he says that the presence of thorns in the lot of the good, that is, their adversities, often benefits them, as a hedge of thorns helps a garden.

[2] I have only guessed at the meaning. The Cawnpore ed. has a note to the effect that the meaning is that the wicked cannot stand before the good, though they may be temporarily successful.

[3] *Zahr khandī namūda*, lit. "Showing a poisonous smile." See translation, vol. I, 394, and note, where the word is used with regard to M. 'Askarī's bearing towards the child Akbar. The Age (or the world) smiled grimly as knowing what the result would be. Cf. native proverb about God's giving the white-ants wings when He designs to destroy them.

this year H.M. sent Rai Parakhotam, Maulānā Ṭayib, S. Mujdu-d-dīn,[1] and the eunuch Shamsher K., to Bihar in order that they might display their abilities in managing the province, and exert themselves in developing the country, in conciliating the soldiers, and in sympathising with the oppressed. Those base and narrow-minded men ignorantly fixed themselves at Patna and plunged into the wide expanse of cupidity. In the matters of reviews and drills and of branding, they exhibited harshness and malignity, and in their blindness neglected tact and the acceptance of excuses—without which the administration of the world cannot be carried on—and lost sight of prudence. One or two (of the soldiers and others) who were wont to repair to the pure temple of loyalty were saved from the narrowness of self-love by the wide expanse of the world of loyalty, and some who were leaders in the market of affairs made former favours counterbalance present disappointments and so did not convert the field of their souls into a thorn-brake of haughtiness. Other traders swallowed the saline water of toil and did not leave a stain on their garments. But many whose evil natures were only veneered (lit. gold-coated) raised the head of disturbance. They turned away from the king of realm and religion, and elevated the neck of opposition. There was no glory of loyalty in their secret
285 chamber, no distinction between loss and gain in their transactions, no right-thinking reason, no clearness of intellect, no noble courage which is the comrade of a wise heart. M'aṣūm K. Kābulī, who held Patna in fief, S'aīd Beg Badakhshī,[2] and 'Arab, the *jāgīrdars* of Susserām, S'aādat 'Alī, who held pargana Tamodāīn[3] (?), Ḥājī Kolābī and some others whose fiefs were in Dilwāra,[4] S'aīd Badakhshī

[1] Text. Najm, but the I.O. MSS. and Elliot V. 469, Badayūnī, Lowe, 274, show that the name is Mujdu or Mujdī. Badayūnī says he came from Sirhind and that he had been the warrant-writer of Islām Shāh. He also says that Mulla Ṭayib came from Kaithal (in Sirhind).

[2] The text has Bakhshī but the variant Badakhshī is supported by the I.O. MSS.

[3] I cannot find the place. The I.O. MSS. have Tamodī or Tamwadī. Tamūdī means Turanian or Turkish and perhaps the meaning here is "parganas belonging to the Turanian leaders." There is the variant *mamūdain*, and this may mean "conspicuous, noted."

[4] There is the variant Dīwāra. There is a Dilwāra in Rajputāna but this can hardly be meant here.

and his son Bahādur, and Darvish 'Alī Shakhrū,[1] who sat at the table of bounty in Tirhut, and its neighbourhood, and other unmanly men (*mardam-i nāmardam*) were made rebellious by the harshnesses of the officers of the province, and they led away from the path, by plausible speeches and flatteries, many men of the second[2] class, such as Shāham K. *jāgīrdār* of Ḥājīpūr, Mīr M'uīzzu-l-mulk, Mīr 'Alī Akbar, and Samānjī K., who held Arrah and its neighbourhood, and so made a disturbance. On account of an evil nature, and under the guidance of a wayward and crooked understanding, they fell headlong from the portico of fidelity because their skirt[3] did not come up to the test of honest merchants. And so they fell unto an abyss of wickedness and ignorance and did not have fellowship[4] with a party who recognised nothing but a complete coparceny (*mushārakatjinsi*). If a person fall from a wall on to the ground he falls flat. What happens then if he fall from a hillock or a hill? Who can imagine the reduction to dust of the madman who falls from highest heaven upon the lowest stratum of earth? How then can we describe the ruin of those headlong dispositions which fall from the sky of fidelity to the dusty abode of disloyalty? O searcher after enlightenment, dogs and cats and the like, who are co-partners in vileness display affection and mutual help, and for human beings they have such affection and companionship that a wise man can only attain to the same degree by great effort. And the mutual affection of neighbouring nations, such as Persians, Turanians, Turks (*Rūmī*) and Indians is too well known to be described. Hence an acute man can understand what should be the feelings of acquaintances, of dwellers in one place and of those who are bound by various favours! Who can observe such degrees except a prudent and far-seeing man!

[1] Text. Sanjar. The variant Shakhrū is supported by I.O. MS. 236.

[2] The second class has not been previously specified. It seems to mean those who were led away by others. A little lower down two classes are mentioned, viz. 1st, Those who took money and failed to provide soldiers and bribed the officials; and 2nd, those who did their duty, but were distressed by the exactions of the officials.

[3] *Dāman* in text, but a MS. of my own has *darja* "quality," which seems a better reading.

[4] Instead of *nisbatī namānd* the Lucknow seems to have *pūshtī namānd*. There remained no resting-place.

Now that I have said something of mines of fidelity, and of fountains of purity, hear (reader) the misconduct of the ingrates of that country, who were shaped like men! When those avaricious and ignorant creatures (the collectors) came to the province they opened the door of desire and became hard upon the common soldiery. Those who from being slaves to gold gathered it instead of soldiers, laid out money in bribes and failed in providing[1] horses, while those who did spend money for military things, were driven to distraction by having to conciliate and satisfy the cravings of the greedy officials. Both groups of men got a pre-
286 text for discontent, and plunged into thoughts of sedition. Muḥibb 'Alī K, who had an ample share of loyalty and understanding, regarded obedience as the bliss of realm and religion, and exerted himself to carry out the work. He transferred those men from Patna to Muḥibb'alīpūr near Rohtās, and commenced the business of branding. He laboured to satisfy that bad lot of men. The other officers behaved with obstinacy and blindness. Whilst Muḥibb 'Alī K. was strenuously carrying on the work of the *dāgh* (branding), a large caravan[2] arrived from Bengal and the evil nature of the wicked crew now revealed itself. Mozaffar K. had dispatched to court the accumulations (i.e. his goods and his revenue collections) of Khān Jahān, including his choice elephants. He had also sent Naulakā, the mother of Dāūd with other ladies (*aghrāq*), and the whole was under the charge of Fatḥ Chand Mankli. Many soldiers and many traders, bringing with them large possessions, accompanied the caravan. The ungrateful opportunists were lying in wait to plunder it, and were engaged in making arrangements for standing by one another. On becoming aware of this, Muḥibb 'Alī K. hastened to give them good advice: "Let not the veil of your honour be rent, and do not from ignorance and shortsightedness become dishonoured and disgraced in the retribution-halls of justice." He joined the arrivals from the eastern provinces (the convoy) at Arrah, and it appeared that the rioters had not had the courage to

[1] The text has only *sāmān*, but the two I.O. MSS. correct this by giving *ba sāmān*. What A. F. says is that the avaricious spent money on bribes and neglected to provide horses.

[2] This is the convoy which the T.A., Elliot v. 412, describes as arriving at Court in the 25th year. See also *infra*, pp. 296, 297.

act from not having been able to carry out the scheme of a general conspiracy. As the general body of the travellers was perturbed by the activity of the sedition-mongers, Muḥibb 'Alī sent them to his own quarters (*yārt*) under the charge of Ḥabsh K. Meanwhile, the evil-doers cast off the veil of shame and plundered the city of Patna. Their wicked designs thus became manifest. Muḥibb 'Alī hastened off to Rohtās along with Ṭaiyīb and Majdu d-dīn in order to look after the fortress. Rai Purokhotam went off to Ghāzīpūr with the idea that he might bring M'aṣūm K. Faran-khūdi to a battle,[1] and Shamsher K. went off to Benares with the idea that he would collect Rajah Todar Mal's soldiers and give battle. Meanwhile the contentious 'Arab (*'arab 'arbadajūī*) went rapidly in pursuit of the caravan. The journeyers to the true K'aaba had under God's protection crossed the Causā ferry and nothing fell into his hand except some belated elephants. Habsh K. did good service in that man-testing field and was made prisoner. That tumultuous-brained one ('Arab) sought to get at Muḥibb 'Alī to join him by means of vulpine tricks on the part of Ḥabsh K. The latter replied, wisely and judiciously, that he could not manage to deceive him (Muḥibb) by plausible speeches, and that under no circumstances would Muḥibb 'Alī join him. "But," he continued, "every one knows that I dislike his company, and that I have long meditated separating from him. If you will make faithful promises to me and accept my wishes I shall go to Rohtās and win over all the garrison. The cup of the life of that governor (Muḥibb) will easily run over (i.e. he will be easily killed), a fortress which is like the heavens will come into your possession, and you will have a shelter in case of misfortunes." That friend under the guise of an enemy by his plausible words and stratagems extricated himself from his dangerous position. He reported his scheme to his master (Muḥibb) and made the jewel of his fidelity be appre- 287
ciated by the experts of the world's markets. At this time the unavoidable catastrophe of Rai Purokhotam took place, and disturbed weak souls who did not understand matters. When he hastened to Ghāzīpūr, M'aṣūm K. Faranḵhūdi came forward with craft and deceit,

[1] From what subsequently occurred it looks as if he wanted to conciliate Māsūm, but *kārzār* means a battle, and Niẓāmu-d-dīn says Purokotam's object was to fight M'aṣūm.

and got rid of him by his promising him that he would join him near the Causā ferry. The simple-minded man was deceived and went off in that direction, and engaged at Baksar in collecting soldiers of that part. Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Sīstānī, Saiyid Ḥasan, Dūdrāj and some other fief-holders in that neighbourhood joined him. One day he was engaged at the bank of the Ganges in his ablutions and Divine worship when suddenly 'Arab came there with a number of wicked men. Seizing his opportunity he pushed forward. The cowardly men who had joined Purokhotam withdrew on the pretence that they were going to prepare themselves, while he stood his ground and fought bravely. By heaven's decree he was wounded and cast upon the earth. His companions put him into a boat and conveyed him to Ghāzīpur. There, after two days, he yielded up with honour this transitory existence, and his days ended auspiciously and loyally. When Muḥibb 'Alī K. heard of this he marched against 'Arab and fought a battle with him. Ḥabsh K. drank the wholesome sherbet of life-sacrifice, and 'Arab was stained with the dust of failure and went off to the wilderness of defeat.

In the middle of the month of Isfandārmuz, Divine month, these events were reported to H.M., and on the 23rd an order was issued to Rajah Todar Mal, S. Farīd Bakhshī, Mihr 'Alī K. Sildūz, Rajah Askaran, Rai Lonkaran, Naqīb K. Qamar-K., Shāh Khwāja Abu-l-Qāsim, Abū-l-m'ālī, Bāqir Safarcī[1] and others that they should hasten to that country and inflict chastisement on the evildoers. An order was also issued to Tarson K., M'aṣūm K. Farankhudī, Ghāzī K. Badakhshī, Rai Surjan, and other *jāgīrdārs* of the provinces of Allahabad[2] and Oudh that when the victorious troops came there they should join them with their proper equipment and should act with concord and harmony, and not deviate from the instructions of Tarson K. and the Rajah. An order was also given that Ṣādiq K. Bāqī K. Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Ṭaiyib K. and Mīr Abūl Muẓaffar should proceed rapidly from the neighbourhood of Chanderī and Narwar to the same spot. Although the world's lord kept an eye upon the guardianship of the material world, and made the time of retribution glorious, yet by virtue of his generalship, *isbahabdī*, over the

[1] Probably this should be Bāqī. See B. 534.

[2] The variant Ilahabās is supported by the I.O. MSS. 236.

spiritual world, he maintained a tranquil countenance with regard to the loss and gain of the day, and from time to time gathered the flower of joy from the garden of resignation and calm. Also during this time Qāẓī 'Alī Baghdādī, who was one of the singular[1] of the age for moderation and skill, was appointed to the high office of Bakhshī.

One of the occurrences was the appointing of an army to march to Badakhshān, and the recalling of it. It has been recorded that M. Sulaimān had from slenderness of reason, and the sway of imagination, taken leave to the Ḥijāz. Those who could read the fore- 288
head of his disposition and who could recognize the truth had perceived that he was taking the road of pretence, and that his design was to get into the hill-country, and gain his ends by force or craft, and glut his vengeance on Shāhrukh. And so it turned out. He went rapidly from the place of pilgrimage to 'Irāq 'Ajam (Persia) in order that he might gain his ends by the help of the king of Persia. Shāh Ismā'īl, the son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who was governing the country in a violent manner, had regard to the nobility of his family and received him with honour. He gave him some soldiers to assist him and sent him away. In Herat the news came that the Shāh was dead. He (Sulaimān) read the inscription of despair on the forehead of fortune and went to Qandahar, and formed a relationship with Moẓaffar[2] Ḥusain M. As his affairs did not prosper there either, he went on to Kabul. M. Ḥakīm received him warmly. That ingrate's idea was that under the guidance of this old and experienced man he might go to Bangash[3] and cause a disturbance in India. The Mīrzā (Sulaimān) who had seen the might of the Shāhinshāh in India restrained him from such evil notions. On 10 Āb̄an, Divine month, 987 (20 October, 1579) in the midst of rain and snow they set out (for Badakhshān). When news came to H.M.'s court of this event, he resolved to assist Shāhrukh M. as he had allied himself to eternal dominion. S'aīd K., Rajah Bhagwant Dās,

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[1] Badayūni gives a different character of him. See Lowe 296, and also 282.

[2] B. 313. He was grandson, not son, of Bahram M. See Maaṣir III, 296. Sulaimān gave him his daughter in marriage.

[3] J. II. 407. This cannot refer, except by an anachronism, to Shahrukh's marriage with Akbar's daughter Shukru-nisā, for that did not take place till 1002 (1594). See A.N. III. 644.

Mān Singh, M. Yūsuf K. and other officers of the Panjab and Multan provinces were ordered to proceed to that country. They were preparing to march when a report came that the ruler of Kabul had stopped and gone back. They represented this and stayed their departure. The brief account of this is that the Mīrzās had a battle in the neighbourhood of Tāliqān. Though Shāhrukh M. stood his ground bravely, yet, owing to the chatter of double-faced ones, the want of concord, and his inexperience, he was not successful. Idle talkers suggested that Mīr 'Imād, who was the head of his officers, was on good terms with M. Sulaimān and wished to seize M. Shahrukh in the heat of the engagement and make him over. They stained the skirt of the loyal with suspicions. A party of the Badakhshīs also joined their old ruler and so increased his (Shahrukh's) suspicions. Before a decisive battle had taken place (?) Shāhrukh turned his rein and hastened to Qundūz. The army of Zabulistān (Kabul) which was apprehensive and in the thorn-brake of hopes and fears was delighted at this desertion and pursued him for some steps. The Mīrzā strengthened the fort of Qundūz and then went on to Kūlāb. He took Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī from the straits of
289 a prison and made him his minister (*vakīl*). The Mīrzās halted twenty days in the neighbourhood of Tāliqān. When they ascertained the condition of Shāhrukh M., they came to Rustaq by way of Qila' Ẓafar. Muḥammad Qulī craftily proposed an agreement. He joined with Farīdūn [1] and made a compact, and from foresight and vigilance M. Shāhrukh did not come to pay his respects to Sulaimān. By the wise arrangement of right-thinking and pacific persons the country from Tāliqān to the Hindu Koh, which had been the fief of M. Ibrāhīm, was assigned to M. Sulaimān.[2] He (Sulaimān) agreed

[1] Maternal uncle of M. Ḥakīm.

[2] It seems to be Sulaimān in all the MSS., but I am inclined to think that either A. F. or his copyists have made a slip here and that we should read Shāhrukh for Sulaimān. It was natural that Shāhrukh should get his father's fief, and it seems strange that Sulaimān, who presumably claimed the kingdom and was Shahrukh's grandfather, should be content with Ibrahīm's fief. Moreover why should Sulaimān go off to Kūlāb, which is in northern Badakhshan and not in Ibrahim's fief, which extended south from Talikān to the Hindu Koh? That it was Sulaiman who went to Kūlāb and not Shahrukh appears from the grammatical construction and from the mention at

to these terms and went off to Kūlāb. M. Ḥakim waited for some time at Khwāja Cārṭāq [1] near Qundūz in order to complete the arrangements. When talk assumed the aspect of action he returned to Kabul.

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p. 441, second last line, of Sulaimān's going to Kūlāb. Moreover, we find Sulaimān asking, at p. 442, that Tālikān and its neighbourhood should be added to his share, whereas the passage now under consideration, p. 289, seems to include them in the share already allotted to him.

[1] This is probably the Chahardāk of the maps, a little west of Qundūz.

CHAPTER LI.

THE WONDERFUL GOOD FORTUNE OF THE SHÁHINSHÁH AT THE TIME OF THE REBELLION OF THE BENGAL OFFICERS, AND THEIR PUNISHMENT.

Certainly, Fortune rises up to assist every one whose dominion is helped by Divine aid, and whose prestige is furthered by the stewards of Fate. She addresses herself to the doing of two things: 1st—To remove the veil from off those base and evil ones who, with vulpine craft, pose as the good; 2nd—To cleanse the garden of empire from weeds and rubbish and to exalt the virtuous and truthful who, by the unpropitiousness of the times and the vogue of the wicked, are obscured by the dust of irrecognition, and to make them joyous and successful. She develops the rosarium of dominion by watering it with the streams of appreciation. In general, Fortune works by making men prosperous and by heaping on them the materials of pleasure, and by granting them disastrous advancement, and (then) plunging them into the torments of evil. Thus she completes what she has begun. He in whom a right understanding is united with propriety of conduct is not misled by her malice (*talkhkám*), or removed from the pleasant abode of calm to the troublous home of discontent, nor is his wakefulness injured by abundant wealth and glory. Rather in these two seasons of trial he places the diploma of obedience and service on his head, and rejoices, and puts to silence by truthful speeches the spirit of foolish prattle. Whoever is radically wicked and of slumbrous fortune eats no fruit of the grove of knowledge. Or if he does become a partaker thereof, no breeze comes to him from the rose-garden of deeds. In the time of prosperity he exposes the lamp of wisdom to the draughts of the wind, and becomes infatuated, and in the day of adversity he turns aside from the highway of bliss, and takes the path of immoderation. The story of the Bengal officers illustrates this. The instructive tale is the inscription on the portico of enlightenment.

From success, the development of fiefs and increase of wealth,

the night-gleaming jewel of vision became gradually darkened. 290
From ignorance and crookedness they thought what was their loss was their gain, and gathered gold, while they neglected the army. Evil thoughts found their way to their hearts, and they opened their eyes to lie in wait for a disturbance. At the time when Mozaffar K. established himself, he did not recognize the measure of greatness, and did not exert himself to manage the country and the army. He gave up finance—which was his strong point—and always had the forehead of his heart full of wrinkles. Why then need I say that the brow of his head was full of knots? Nay he also blackened the tablet of his tongue with calumnies and rudenesses! When he was exalted to the government of Bengal, H.M. had, out of abundant graciousness, appointed a Diwan, a Bakhshi, and an Amín to assist him. He from short-sightedness regarded them as partners and was displeased, and withdrew his head from business, and assumed grand airs. He left affairs to them and withheld himself from conciliating the soldiers and the peasantry. In private or in public he did not return thanks for favours received, but made complaints. That ruined intellect did not know that in administrative work the more one is helped and helps, the better is the work accomplished. Apparently, inward cupidity carried him to the house of trouble, and from darkness of heart he did not perceive what was proper for the time. I admit that there was loss in his profits, and that the rank of his glory was diminished. How was such a mode of life suitable[1] in such a hotbed of strife, and how could he arrive at his goal if he put on the garb of practical life and yet did not take the path of forbearance.[1]

The country of Bengal is a land where, owing to the climate's favouring the base, the dust of dissension is always rising. From the wickedness of men families have decayed, and dominions been ruined. Hence in old writings it was called a Bulghákkhána[2] (house of turbulence). The Commander of the forces (Mozaffar) was haughty and did not conciliate friends and strangers. The other

[1] The meaning seems to be: "I admit that Mozaffar lost profit and position by having co-partners assigned to him, but when he had entered upon practical life, literally 'when he had assumed the scarf of association,' how could he expect to succeed if he did not take the path of self-suppression and compromise?"

[2] See B. 331 n.

officials were greedy, and passing from gathering presents they had recourse to violence. Would that in their cupidity—on their heads be dust cast—they had not entirely departed from the path of shame and that they had been so far moderate as not to break the thread of practical wisdom! Whoever destroys the house of the weak and makes it the material for adorning his own abode soon loses respect and destroys the foundation of his life! Tactless officials began the disturbances by making inquiries into the accumulations of Khān Jahān. Ism'āīl Qūlī K. and the other Turkamāns rose up in arms. But as he[1] had a share of skill and loyalty they endured disagreeables and chose the remedy of satisfying the hungry craving of those avaricious men. A wolf's peace (i.e. an insincere peace) was made, and they proceeded to court. Afterwards the officials vigorously set themselves, after the manner of the Bihar officers, to demand gold from all the Turkamāns in the country and to use severity towards them. Accordingly the head of the malcontents, Bābā Khān, frequently expressed his griefs by saying, "Up to now I've spent Rs. 70,000 in
291 presents, and not one hundred horsemen have had the branding effected, and the condition of the other fief-holders of this province is still worse." When the heartless officials opened the halls of demand, and from blackness of soul set themselves to procure their own enrichment and the loss of other people, the turbulent and mercenary, who felt themselves aggrieved, turned away their necks from obedience. On 8 Bahman, about 19 January 1580, they crossed the Ganges[2] near Tānda the capital, and separated themselves. On the 17th, which was the 'Īd Qorbān (10 Ẓī l-ḥajja—28 January 1580), they brought out their inward wickedness and stirred up the dust of strife. I admit[3] that the constitution of the world is grievous to the soul, and that the noble mind is trained by it, but why did they play away the coin of fortitude? Why were the obligation for favours

[1] Lit. "They chose to breakfast the greedy stomachs of that crew." When they had gone, the officers proceeded to pillage the Turkamāns in general.

[2] This was apparently the old bed of the Ganges which flowed between Tānda and Gaur. It is known as the Bhāgīrathī.

[3] This is an obscure sentence, but apparently the meaning is that the rebels had grievances, but why did they not practice patience and remember former benefits? Perhaps for *farmān rawāī-ālam*, "the rule of the universe," we should read *farmān rawāī 'āmil*, "the rule of collectors."

received forgotten, and fidelity left out of sight? Why should a sore injury conduct the sincere to annihilation? From what wine did prudence, which teaches self-interest, choose infatuation? The heavens had for some revolutions stretched, for various designs, a veil over these wicked men and had kept some well-intentioned and loyal men under the dust of irrecognition. When the time came that by the glorious dispositions of the world's lord, the darknesses of the temporal and spiritual world should be illuminated, the managers of the halls of creation withdrew the veil from the inwardly darkened ones, and made the lord of their earthly elements, that is, right-thinking reason which loves honour, a despised ruin, while making it a source of favour to many who were unknown, but were honest. The ringleaders of the Bengal rebellion were Bābā K. Jabbārī and Wazīr Jamīl, but S'aīd Toqbāī, M. Ḥājī Lang, 'Arab[1] Bakhshī, Ṣālḥ, Mīrakī K. Martaẓa Qulī Turkamān and Farrakh Irghaliq[2] nourished the flame. Qiyā K. in Orissa, Murād K. in Fatḥābād, and Shāh Bardī in Sonargāon, spoke about concord, but had not the grace of doing good service. They did not vigorously bring the jewel of effort to the market.

The first cause of the defection was crookedness of reasoning. This led to extending the foot immoderately and to thinking that what was loss was gain. The second was innate wickedness which increased the darkness of the heart, and took no light from the lamp of beauty. The third was increase of wealth which lowers the tone of the wise and good, so what cannot it effect with the foolish and bad? Fourth, the misbehaviour of Raẓavī[3] K. in Jaunpūr. He had stayed there to make up the accounts of the exchequer-lands (*Khāliṣāt*) which were for some time in his charge. Before he rejoined (headquarters) the affair of the branding had been started. When the title of Bakhshī was conferred on this wicked man, his beggar-like disposition was stirred up. Instead of revising the former 292
settlement, he made a new one. Things became more difficult for the mercenary, and they fell into bewilderment. Fifth, the retirement and sitting in obscurity of right-thinking men who could have by

[1] The variant Balkhī is supported by the I.O. MSS.

[2] There is the variant *pūr-i-ghalīq*, i.e. son of Ghalīq. The name is spelt Farrakh Yrghalīq at p. 20. Here it is written Yūrghalīgh.

[3] B. 439. He was also called Mīrzā Mīrak.

ability and good ideas suppressed the disturbance. No such person appeared in that market of discussion. Nor did the slumbrous and avaricious search for such a jewel. The active-brained seekers after knowledge cannot do without such leaders. Man's nature does not always receive wisdom. An independent counsellor is required who, without consideration of his own interest, will represent in private chambers what is proper for the time without any mixture of flattery. How will other men be desirous of undertaking this task? Happy-constitutioned, fortunate men are indispensable, who by virtue of right-thinking and magnanimity will not swerve from their principles, and who shall withdraw the foot of search from the college and the monastery, and exert themselves in the occasions of society, and meetings of daily life. They will also enquire among the matted-haired, bare-footed ones of the fields and of the street. Mayhap they may meet with a stranger who is a friend and there may be thus good results. They will also choose one or two of their servants and acquaintances in order that the matter may be completed, and that they may remind them of the things proper to be done, and make suggestions in proportion to their knowledge. Their correct suggestions should be well rewarded. At critical times remedies should be chosen earnestly and with an open brow. Skilful alchemists by such means bring out brilliant jewels from the unregarded dust, and in the year of scarcity of truth heap up joy, and are sheltered from the evils and injuries of the Age.

The sixth cause was the dishonouring of Khāldīn K. Jalesar[1] was assigned to Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Ānjū and taken from his fief. As Khāldīn had collected a sum of money from it, Moẓaffar K. broke the thread of moderation—on which the management of the social state depends— and tortured him by having him hung up by one arm. All lovers of money were terrified. They formed long plans

[1] Jaleswar or Jellasore. A Sarkār which comprised Midnapur. I.G. XIV, p. 27, Elliot V. 414. It was the rent for the autumnal crop, i.e. the *Kharīf* that Khāldīn took. The T.A says he was scourged and bastinadoed. The Iqbālnāmā says that M. Najāt, the son-in-law of Moẓaffar, insulted and ill-treated Khāldīn. Stewart in his history of Bengal remarks with justice that the historians of Akbar's reign have endeavoured to throw the blame of the rebellion upon the governor, who, in fact, appears merely to have obeyed the orders of his court.

for cultivating their fiefs and suppressing[1] their soldiers. Also at the time of Khān Jahān's death Ismʿaīl Qulī K.'s fief had been increased without H.M.'s order, for the purpose of conciliating the base and wicked. Mozaffar K. demanded restitution in both cases. From somnolency of intellect he did not take note of the circumstances of the time. The seventh cause was the capital punishment of Roshan[2] Beg. He was one of the collectors of the exchequer-lands. He embezzled and fled to Kabul. At the instigation of strifemongers he came from there to Bengal, and engaged in increasing the disturbance and in giving evil counsel. When this came to the august hearing, an order was issued that he should be put to death. Mozaffar K. did not understand the times and thought that by putting him to death at the beginning of the rebellion he would induce men to be submissive. But it only enhanced their turbulence. From love of money and the instinct of self-preservation they set about taking vengeance. The eighth cause was the injudicious increase of the revenue by the Diwān Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr. When 293
Bihar and Bengal had been conquered by the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, the discipliner of mortals (Akbar) from knowledge and foresight, because that country is by its climate inimical to horses, and some parts of it also are injurious to men, had ordered for the encouragement of the army that the pay of the soldiers should be increased by 100 per cent. in Bengal, and 50 per cent. in Bihar. The Khwāja did not understand the situation and took upon himself the responsibility (*jawāb girifta*) of issuing an order to the effect that in Bengal the increase should be 50 per cent. and in Bihar 20 per cent. Mozaffar K. was bound by the order and made out the accounts from the beginning[3] of the year, and so instituted heavy demands.

[1] Text *gam namūdain*, but perhaps *kam namūdan* "to reduce the number" as in the Lucknow ed., and also perhaps in the I.O. MSS., is correct.

[2] T.A. says the order was that Roshan Beg should be put to death, and his head sent to court. Mozaffar had him publicly executed "at the head of divan," says Badayūnī, and it was apparently in mourning for Roshan that the soldiers shaved their heads. Mozaffar admittedly only obeyed orders here, but perhaps A. F. means that he should have had Roshan secretly assassinated after the manner that Mʿaṣūm Farankhudī was got rid of.

[3] Manṣūr reduced the pay, and apparently Mozaffar made the reduction take effect from the beginning of the year and so demanded

The avaricious and seditious got a pretext for wickedness. But if they had had a little sense of justice, they would have done nothing except petition the Shāhinshāh. What cause was there for ingratitude and rebellion? The ninth cause was the establishment of the principle of universal toleration (*Ṣalḥ-i-kul*). It has been mentioned that the throne-occupant of fortune from his abundant quest of truth, brought together the sages of different religions and tested them. By the irrigation of insight, that comprehensive genius and profound observer watered the four-square garden of concord. Base-minded people cast suspicions on the unique one of creation and fabricated materials for disturbance. They, out of cupidity and avarice, framed a pretext and ruined themselves for ever.

When the veil of reverence had been torn and they had become turbulent, Mozaffar K. sent against them Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, Raẓavī K., Timūr K., Rai Patr Dās, Mīr Adham, Ḥusain Beg 'Itrāt[1] Alī, Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Jāfar Beg, Muḥammad Qulī Turkamān, Qāsim 'Alī Sīstāni, 'Iwaẓ Bahādur, Zalf 'Alī Yezdī Yaka-āwez (attacking singly), Saiyid Abū Isāhaq Ṣafavī, Mozaffar Beg, Ḥusain Beg Gurd and others to the bank of the Ganges with the design of giving battle. Nijāt[2] K., in spite of his relationship, failed, from cowardice, to join them. Wazīr Jamīl did join them, but played a double-faced part. The rebels were now in a measure aware of the injury they had done themselves and proposed a reconciliation. The imperial servants did not trust them and paid no attention to the proposal. The rebels were in expectation that some well-intentioned servant would represent to H.M. their embarrassments and convey a gracious order. Inasmuch as in the court of the Caliphate an intermediary (wasīla) is not required before the forgiveness of offences, but pretexts for the

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repayment of the excess. The Manṣir I. 655 understands the passage to mean that Manṣūr ordered that the reduction should take effect from the beginning of the year, and that Mozaffar had no resource but to obey. But surely no one would try to get back from sepoys what had already been paid to them.

[1] Ghatraghalī in text. But the proper reading is of the family of 'Alī. Lane, p. 1946, col. b.

[2] H. was Mozaffar K.'s son-in-law (Iqbālnāma). See also B. 439. Nijāt and Ḥusain K. were brothers. The latter was killed in this year.

acceptance of apologies are sought[1] for, an order[2] was issued, censuring Mozaffar K. and making joyful those who had gone astray by the news of forgiveness. In the heat of the contest Qāsim Naula[3] arrived by post horses. The imperial servants had their eyes opened, and they set themselves to use soothing language and to accept apologies, while those who had gone astray got fresh life from the royal order and held a feast. As they had deviated from the right path they expressed the wish that Mozaffar K. would, through the intervention of some officers of the army, confirm the promise of giving their case favourable consideration so that they might be freed from apprehensions and might return to service. In the first place Mīr[4] Abū Isāḥaq was sent to see what their intentions were. As he saw signs of repentance in their demeanour, next day Razavī K., Rai Patar Dās, Saiyid Abū Isāḥaq, Mīr Aḥmad Munshī were 294
sent to comfort the ashamed wanderers. Their leaders prepared in a submissive manner the privy chamber of supplication and spoke about fixing the foundations of concord. Inasmuch as the Divine decree was against their wishes, and the time was evil, the friendly meeting became contaminated, and the dust of dissension sprang up. It occurred to Narain Dās Ghelot[5] and some Rajputs belonging to Rai Patar Dās that there could not be a better opportunity for getting the upper hand, and that the proper thing to do was to put the handful of ingrates to death. One of them whispered[6] this to the

[1] The text has a negative *namī-jūīnd* "did not seek," but the I.O. MSS. make it an affirmative. The clause refers to Akbar and not to the rebels, and the meaning is that he was so gracious that he needed no intercessor before pardoning, but ultroneously sought out excuses for forgiveness.

[2] According to the Iqbālnāma, two orders were sent, one to Mozaffar censuring him, and telling him that the Qāqshals were old servants, and should be confirmed in their *jāgīrs*, and the other to Bābā K. and the other Qāqshāls, containing gracious expressions. It seems singular that Akbar should have written direct to the rebels. He cannot have known how far they had gone.

[3] Variant Nanja. Naula means a young man.

[4] The Iqbālnāma calls him the son of Mīr Rafī'. See B. 523 and *supra*, p. 245.

[5] Text Khilote. The Ghelots are a Rajput tribe living in Gujarat. See J. II, 247 and 268.

[6] The Iqbālnāma says nothing about this plot. It throws the blame of the failure of the conference on the Qāqshāls, and so do the T.A. and Badāyūnī.

Rai, and he from simplicity and inexperience of mankind communicated this to Raẓavī K. That wicked coward conveyed by hints and signs the proposals of the devoted followers to the perturbed brains (of the Qāqshāls). In a short space of time every one of them made an excuse for leaving the meeting of peace, and commenced a disturbance. Raẓavī[1] K. and Saiyid Abū Isḥāq were admitted to quarter, and that ignorant renderer of the veil (Raẓavī K.) was imprisoned. Upright men who loved honour fought bravely and drank the last draught. On every side there was a fire of sedition, and the dust of strife rose high. The alert and wakeful of heart will draw from this story the moral that the breaking of promises, cowardice, disobedience, and the failure to recognize the proper place for telling secrets, build a house of evil and heap up the materials of ruin. Apparently the time had come for tearing away the veil over the double-faced, and for cleansing the earth of the dust of the lives of the wicked! When the news came to court, those who had the right of audience represented, and the opinion of the loyal and well-wishing was, that the royal standards should proceed thither. That far-seeing diviner of mysteries said to some of the courtiers, "It flashes upon our soul that the dust of rebellion will, in a short time, be laid by the good services of our loyal officers, and that every one of the rebels will meet with his deserts, and that these futile people will not be honoured by the movement[2] of our retinue. It is clear that the audacity of the rebels is being backed up by the ruler[3] of Kabul. It is not unlikely that flatterers may bring that light-headed, evil-thinking one into India. If the royal standards be transferred to the eastern provinces what will be the condition of the generality of my subjects? It is right that we remain at the centre of the Caliphate and address ourselves to supplicating the incomparable Creator. We shall make justice and equity our secret army and contemplate the spectacle of fortune. Our sagacity will be impressed
295 on mortals, and our sentinelship will be conspicuous." In a short

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[1] It appears from the I.O. MSS. that the conjunction has been omitted in text. But I am now inclined to think the text is correct.

[2] Meaning that it would not be necessary for Akbar to take the field in person.

[3] The rebels afterwards proclaimed M. Ḥakīm emperor. See *infra*, 305.

time what he had said was proved, and a collyrium was applied to the eyes of the short-sighted.

Verse.

In this centre of hopes and fears
They kept watch with awakened hearts.

CHAPTER LII.

BEGINNING OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR FARWARDĪN OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

Praise be to God that the second cycle has been gloriously completed, and that the third cycle has begun. It is an occasion when I should raise a hymn of supplication to the World-Adorner and Giver of life, and should indulge in praise to the extent of my abilities. But what strength or courage has a clown from the country of contingent existence to strut like a peacock in this ever-verdant house-garden, or to advance the foot of recognition whilst receiving the kicks[1] of confusion in front, and the buffetings of ignorance from behind.

Verse.

In that place where there is meditation concerning God
Our supplications have no substance,
O heart, refrain from words as far as possible
Thy foot is on an eminence, be careful, be careful.

On the night of Friday (i.e. Thursday), 24 Muharram 988, 11 March 1581, after 37 minutes had passed, the sun cast his rays upon Aries. There was a New Year's day for joy and delight. The rosebush of equity blossomed with the flower of fortune. Heaven became gracious to earth, and earth put on the grandeur of heaven.

Verse.

There was a new ornament to the Spring of Reason,
Understanding was assured of existence,
The world had a period of growth,
The earth gave substance to the sky,
The mode of youth was renewed for the world,
Happiness returned to many lives.

[1] Cf. the last line of the verse at p. 6 of translation, vol. 1.

Inasmuch as awakened hearts and active brains read the writings of the stars on the forehead of the beginning and perceived the beautiful conclusion from the preamble, the lights of the daily-increasing dominion of the august cycle brightened hearts and eyes. They (the astrologers) conveyed the news of the ruin of the seditious, and of the suppression of the rebellion.

One of the occurrences was the remission of the taxes (*bāj u tamghā*). Though in the beginning of the reign an order had been given for this great boon, yet, as the world's lord remained behind the veil, and from the avarice of the guardians of the commands of the Caliphate it did not come into effect, for a long and dangerous disease is not cured without great exertions of the physician. Especially is this so if there be an element of avarice and cupidity, and if the spiritual physician be under a veil. At this time, by virtue of his mighty energy the order was issued anew, and he set himself to have it carried out. Though the wrath of the Ruler, and the Majesty of world-sway had reduced the rebellious to submission and supplication, and no one had the courage to transgress the sacred orders, yet from abundant graciousness he treated and cured the long-standing disease by gentle words and said, "Ancient rulers and former pontentates exacted those dues in order to procure the materials of world-conquest and for administrative purposes. Now that the Incomparable Creator has put under my control the territories of so many great princes, and has made me the keeper of such vast treasures, how can this demand be right, or how can it be weighed in the scales of justice? Truth-gathering Reason had allowed the impost as the guerdon [1] of world-wardenship. Now that owing to the glory of right-thinking, great treasures are in my hands and that there is no need of this, it would assuredly be a deviation from the highway of obedience to Sultan Wisdom to demand it, and would be treading the path of cupidity with the foot of ingratitude." In accordance with this well-founded idea, a general order was issued from the 296

[1] Text *wasl-i-jahānbānī*. The variant *baṣl* is probably right. I.O. MS. 236 has *baṣl-i-jahānyetāqī*. The reward of world-watching. Akbar's regulation does not seem to have been very effectual for Jahāngir takes credit to himself, Price 5, for remitting three taxes, one of which was the *tamgha*, and which yielded his father a large revenue. See also Rogers' translation of Jahangir's Memoirs, p. 7.

abode of graciousness of the effect that *Bāj*[1] and *Tamghā*—which yielded more than the revenues of climes—were remitted, and that the arm of demand should be shortened and should not reach the hem of traders.

Hail to the strong heart and capacious genius which rayed for the generosities beyond the comprehensions of this Age, and made worlds upon worlds of men eternally grateful. Where are Ḥātim[2] Ṭāī and M'aan, the son of Zāīda, and other illustrious scatterers of gold, that they may learn something of the degrees of generosity and rub the foreheads of bliss on the prostration-court of ashamedness?

Verse.

For wondrous products it was Spring coming with Autumn,
For donations of treasure it was Autumn dressing Spring.

Assuredly the parterre-adorners of Fate give development from time to time to the nurslings of the dominion of a bright-starred

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[1] *Bāj u Tamghā* were taxes on merchandise, but it would appear from Badayūnī, Lowe, 284, that the Jizyah was also included. According to A.F. the Jizyah was abolished in the beginning of the 9th year. See Elliot VI. 29 and A.N. II. 253. The decree abolishing the *Bāj-u-Tamghā*, then called Zakāt, is given in the first book of A. F.'s letters and also in the Mirāt Aḥmadī. In both copies the date given is the seventh year of the 2nd Qarn. The author of the Mirāt Aḥmādī makes this the year 999 A.H., i.e. 1591, and the commentator on the Letters, Nawal Kishore ed., gives a similar date, viz. the 37th year from the Accession. But Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 413, puts the remission into the 26th year, and A. F. and apparently Badayūnī put it into the 25th. I think, therefore, that the Mirāt Aḥmadī is mistaken, and that the Qarn meant is not the Qarn from the Accession, though the decree seems to say so, but the Qarn from Akbar's birth. We know that Akbar ordered the second Qarn or period of 30 years to be calculated from his birth (see A.N., vol. III. 3). The 1st Qarn according to this calculation ended in the 17th year of the reign, and so the 7th year of the 2nd Qarn would correspond to the 24th or 25th year, i.e. the year mentioned in the text. Seven articles, chiefly live-stock, were excluded from the remission.

[2] Ḥātim Ṭaī is well known. See D'Herbelot and the Bāgh u Bahār etc. M'an or M'aan was also a celebrated Arab. He was an officer in the service of Ommayad Caliphs, and afterwards served the Abbasides. There is an account of him in D'Herbelot s.v. Man which gives an anecdote preserved by Mīr Khwānd.

seeker after power, the clouds of whose bounty pour out in this manner. The keys which open the world fall into his hand, and the treasures of the Age direct their countenances towards his threshold. The arrival at the court of the Caliphate of the revenue of Bengal is a new proof of this. It has been mentioned that Mozaffar K. sent the collections made by Khān Jahān, together with many rarities of that country, to court along with Fath Cand, and how they emerged in safety from the whirlpool of the base wretches of Bihār. They were now conveyed to the Treasury under the guard of celestial watchmen. A hundred and seventy-one noted 297
elephants took their places in the royal stables. There was a murmuring of joy upon the perusal of the writing of daily increasing dominion on the frontispiece of the Age.

One of the events was the appointment of M. Khān, the son of Bairām K., to the high office of Mīr 'Arz.[1] Though on each day of the week one of the principal servants was promoted to this weighty service, yet on account of the number of suitors, the increase of work, the brisk bazaar of cupidity, and the augmented stateliness of the august court, it occurred to H.M. that a choice, high-born officer of high ability who possessed profound insight, disinterestedness and honesty should illustrate this great employment. By the glory of his being at peace with all, he was to make no distinction between acquaintance and stranger, friend and foe, but to lay before H.M. all proper requests, and at a fitting time to receive the replies to them. If by the accident of fortune — which is inevitable in the world's tavern — he did not receive a gracious (*pasandīda*) reply, he should not allow himself to become melancholy, but should have the courage to repeat the request at another time. For in this world, which is full of evil, most things are not done wisely (*bamaghskār*), and if they are so done, yet many things which ought to be said do not emerge from the defiles of the bosom on account of fear, cupidity (*andokhtanipāra*) and a non-observance of a fitting time, whilst many futilities are brought forward. The wise sovereign perceived the notes of praiseworthy qualities in that loyalist and advanced him by this great office. Every auspicious one who by wisdom and right-thinking has erased the marks of cupidity and hypocrisy, and by far-sightedness and judiciousness is not contented

[1] B. 257.

with his own knowledge, and always seeks for good principles, and commits the affairs of the people to good men, will ever have the stream of fortune full, and the garden of his fortune will be ever verdant.

Verse.

Hail to the cavaliers who traverse the horizons,
Who bear away the ball in realm and religion,
In this land there is one of those cavaliers
For whom much praise is little.
Two words sum up the praise I give,
By qualities, Afẓal (most excellent), by name, Akbar.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassadors of Quṭbu-ul-mulk. Though the rulers of the Deccan were not happy in their manner of service and obedience, yet they always, by sending petitions and presents, considered themselves to be bound to the saddle-straps of dominion. At this time the ruler[1] of Golconda showed fawning and submissiveness, and sent a petition along with the rarities of that country. Inasmuch as it was the age of increasing love and of acceptance of apologies, the ambassadors were well-
298 received and frightened hearts were soothed.

Also at this time there came the news that 'Ādil K. of Bījāpūr had prepared a collection of the rarities of his country and wished to send[2] it when Ḥakīm 'Alī, who had gone there on an embassy, should depart. Suddenly the cup of his life was spilled. The brief account of this is that this man of rusted[3] intellect and corrupt nature did not properly obey commands and was ever guarding himself by vulpine tricks from the onset of the armies of fortune From self-indulgence he quitted the road of auspiciousness and chose impurity, and conducted himself in ways unpleasing to God. He continually was staining the skirt of his chastity. Inasmuch as it has held good from old times that whoever lets the night-gleaming jewel of wisdom be fouled in the dustbin of carnality, works his

[1] That is, Quṭbu-l-mulk just mentioned.

[2] Apparently the verb is wanting in the original.

[3] *Ān zangīn khirad.* The Lucknow edition has *rangīn* "elegant," but the context shows that *zangīn* is right, though it is not in the dictionaries.

destruction by his own efforts, that ignoble creature by great endeavours procured from Malik[1] Barīd—one of the rulers of the Deccan—two eunuchs who had the reputation of being of fair countenance. When the object of his desires approached, he became possessed with immodesty and baseness, and in the darkness of a private chamber stretched forth the arm of improper lust against one of them. That pure jewel of propriety, from purity and a love of honour, did not yield his body, and killed him with a dagger which he had the foresight to bring with him. Ibrāhīm his brother's son was made his successor by the exertions of Amīr Fath Ullah[2] of Shīrāz—that compendium of former sages—and the leading men of the country.

One occurrence was the imprisonment of M. 'Alī 'Alamshāhī[3] and some others. Some wicked men of perverted fortune such as Mīrakī, 'Īdī Kor, Shihāb Badakhshī and Kocak K. Yesāwal had conspired together and, in forgetfulness of the favours they had received, were engaged in gathering together scoundrels and strifemongers. Their intention was to take a favourable opportunity for performing

[1] Ruler of Bīdar. He is called by Ferishta, 'Alī Barīd. An account of the circumstances of 'Ādil Shāh's death is given by Ferishta in his history of the Bījāpūr dynasty, and also of the rulers of Bīdar. See also the Māasir I, 569, where it is pointed out that according to Ferishta Ḥakīm 'Alī Gīlānī had left before the murder and that it was Ḥakīm 'Ain-al-mulk who was there then. The date of 'Ādil Shāh's death is given by Ferishta as Thursday eve (Wednesday), 22 Safr 988, 10 April 1580. I regret to say that this 'Ādil Shāh was the husband of the heroic Chānd Bībī. The Iqbālnāma says that the eunuch was put to death, and that next day Ibrāhīm was appointed 'Ādil's successor.

[2] B. 33n. and Māasir I, 100. See also Badayūnī, Lowe, 325, who says that Akbar married him to the younger daughter of Mozaffar K. and also gave him the pargana of Basāwar (Badayūnī's birth-place) with an exemption from the branding regulation. The expression *tazkira ḥukamāi pishīn* تذکرۂ حکماء پیشین is explained by A. F.'s remark, A. N. III, 401, that Fath Ullah's learning was so great that if the works of former philosphers were destroyed, he would be able to start science anew. The text wrongly puts *tazkira* after *ḥukamāī*, but this is corrected in the Errata.

[3] B. 482. It seems to be Qalmshāhī in Iqbālnāma. From the account there it appears that the plot was to kill Akbar and then join the Bengal rebels.

some exploit and then to proceed to the malcontents in the eastern provinces. Alert and truthful men discovered their evil intentions and brought them to notice before they had been carried into effect. The matter was first inquired into by far-sighted persons, and then it was investigated by the Shāhinshāh. As H.M. regards the body as having been built by God, he is not ready to dissolve the connection between it and the soul, and so he sent to prison this crew who were worthy of annihilation. But as the marks of incorrigibility were perceived in the forehead-lines of Mirakī—who was the foundation of the conspiracy—he was capitally punished. This was a lesson to many of the turbulent.

§299 One of the occurrences was the death of Mozaffar K. As the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune of the world's lord shows itself in the victories of the imperial servants, so also does it sometimes show itself in their defeats. It has been mentioned how the executants of the royal commands had opened the divān of cupidity in Bengal, and how from presumption and ignorance their intellects had slumbered, and how the fief-holders had left the highway of submission. When there had been on the banks of the Ganges an interchange of shots, and when the malcontents, in spite of their numbers, had met with the shame of failure, and the avaricious officials had acquired fresh courage, it occurred to the confused minds of the rebels that they should send a force to Tānda[1] the capital, and so trouble the minds of the imperialists. With this evil idea M. Beg Qāqshāl and Hamzabān crossed the river at a distance from the imperial army, and stirred up strife in the direction of that city. Mozaffar K. sent off Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Mīr Rafī'u-d-dīn of Nīshāpūr, Qāsim 'Alī Sīstānī, Ḥusain Beg Gurd, and others to remedy this evil. They bravely hastened there and defeated the enemy, sending many of them to annihilation. All at once the generality of the malcontents lost patience and they turned towards entreaties. But at this time when apologies should have been accepted, the obstinacy of the officials increased, and the supplica-

[1] See an article by translator, "Notes of a Holiday Trip to Maldah and Bihar" in *Calcutta Review*.

Tānda is locally called Tārrah and was washed away some forty years ago. It was west of the Bhagirathī. See Rennel's Mem. quoted by Stewart. Hist. of Bengal, 149n.

tions had no effect. Though they heard of the troubles in Bihar, they did not take them into account, nor reflect on the contingency of the rebels of that quarter joining with those of Bengal. As the drunkenness of arrogance is followed by the crapulousness of failure, these rebels did join the malcontents of Bengal and troubles began afresh. The haughty by their own action ruined the country. When there was a report of the coming of the imperial army to Bihar, the wicked wretches fell into the abyss of confusion. They could neither think of fighting nor of flying. While in this state, they became aware of the disobedience of the Bengal officers, and of the confusion of affairs in that province. By means of emissaries an agreement was come to between them, and they hastened to Bengal. When this became fully known, the good advisers of Mozaffar K. induced him by thousands of expostulations to send off Timar K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, J'aafar Beg and others in order that they might protect Garhī, which is the gate of that country. But the rebels took possession of the place one day before this party arrived. Though it gave battle, yet Timar K. and most of his 300
companions behaved with cowardice. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and some others who loved their honour distinguished themselves and returned wounded. At this time Babā K. Qāqshāl and a number of evil doers crossed the Ganges at Akmahal (Rājmahal), and joined the Bihar malcontents. Mozaffar K. sent Ḥusain Beg, 'Itrāt 'Alī and a number of brave men to take possession of the head of the cutting[1] from the Ganges and to stop the passage of the rebels. This cutting is a channel which the ancients had cut from the river. The loyalists were stationed there, when one night, when there was rain and tempest, and the sentinels were asleep, the rebels crossed the canal (*jūibār*), and made a disturbance. The other rebels, who were facing Mozaffar K., joined them, and the imperial servants destroyed (*barhamzada*) the entrenchments on that side, and returned to their own side. Every day there were gallant fights, and there were hot struggles. Lives were lost in guarding honour, and the jewel of courage received fresh lustre.

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1 *Sir-i-khārī*. Khārī is a Hindustaṅi word meaning a creek, but apparently the true reading is sir-i-kātī. Presumably the cutting meant was an inlet from the old Ganges or Bhagirathī, and leading to Tānda.

Verse.

The ocean of war grew tumultuous,
The combatants raised shouts,
Swords from the blood were like wine cups,
They made the earth drunken from quaffing these.
The birds of the bow flew swiftly,
They opened their beaks to drink blood,
The blood of the swords strained brains,
They cast the heads of head-men under foot.

One day a party of the rebels crossed the river and attacked 'Itrāt 'Alī. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn with some brave men gave new lustre to the battlefield. By the might of daily-increasing fortune the hand of conquest prevailed. Though in this engagement Ḥusain Beg was slain, yet the enemy was stained with the dust of defeat. For nineteen days fighting went on between the two forces, and every time defeat fell upon the rebels. They were distressed by disaster upon disaster. They were also troubled by the news of the approach of the imperial troops. They held futile and dispirited councils and said: "The heaven-aided troops have not yet arrived, and we are in this condition! When the world-conquering armies shall have joined together, what will be our position? We must of necessity proceed to the Ganges by this stream (rūd) and take shelter in the direction of Orissa. But if we get a chance we shall lay the hand of daring upon the entrenchments." On the night of the 20th they set off with this evil design. Qāsim 'Alī Sīstānī and a body of men who were in the farthest entrenchment regarded this movement as desertion (wairānī) and quickly seized some boats. On getting the news Mozaffar K. beat high the drums of joy, but
301 prudently stood ready for battle lest perchance the rebels were practising some stratagem. In the morning the predominance of the enemy overcame the endurance of high and low, and the retribution[1] of cupidity and presumption was complete!

The brief account of this warning story is that when the scoundrels were in confusion and had raised their anchors, the Qaqshāls and many other rebels came by the said channel to the

[1] The meaning seems to be that the government officers were punished for their greed and obstinacy.

Ganges, and some boats were plundered.[1] This gave rise to negligence. When M'āṣūm came there and, on account of the understanding he had with the rebels, began to fire cannon at the imperialists in the entrenchment,[1] the latter lost courage and became stained with the dust of defeat, without a contest. Zulf 'Alī Badakhshī, and Kocak Qundūzī, who were leaders, and many other base wretches, cast the dust of disloyalty on their heads and joined the enemy. The ingrates gathered together and rejoiced. On receiving this news, Moẓaffar K. lost the thread of counsel and became foolish from suspiciousness and want of heart. He had neither the guidance of reason, nor the power of listening to advice. Though right-thinking and experienced men represented, saying: "What loss have you sustained[2] from the departure (wairānī) of that handful of short-sighted men, and what good will the enemy get from this success? The proper thing is not to give way to discouragement, and for the army to fight according to proper methods." Their sound advice was of no use, and his perturbation increased.

Owing to his wrong ideas, the slipping away of his reason and misplaced fancies, irrecognition of enemies and love of life, his actions became disordered. He neither would himself arrange the troops nor would give permission to engage to the officers who were everywhere ready for service. After much talk he allowed some soldiers to go under the command of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn in order that they might hasten to the spot, and render assistance and bring news of the state of affairs. Many, from thought of their families, and some from cowardice, had not the bliss of accompanying them. Many out of a wicked disposition took the road of dishonour. When the heart of the commander does not remain steady, what firmness can there be among the commanded?

The Khwāja related: "When I had gone a little way, I saw that men were going over to the enemy from every side, and that from

[1] *Mūrcal*, but the Lucknow ed. and MS. No. 238 have būdāl بودال which is given in P. de Courteille's Dict. as meaning a place. The Lucknow ed. says it is the name of an officer. *Mūrcal* occurs in the Iqbālnāma. MS. No. 235 omits the word.

[2] *Cah ṭarf barbandad*. Perhaps the meaning is "what advantage have you gained from the capture of a few boats?" or it may mean "what harm has happened to you by this handful of men joining the rebels, and what gain have the latter obtained from their success?"

time to time my companions were leaving me. In a short while no one remained except Muṭṭalib[1] (who had ties of association with him). It was evident that the warnings of God were administering kicks in front and buffets from behind to the arrogant, self-seeking crew, and that humility and entreaties only encouraged the wicked. Of necessity I became disgusted with life and set my face towards
302 fighting in company with that loyal hero.[2] Accordingly, that unique one of the arena of valour received several wounds and fell on the ground, and sold his life for honour. Meanwhile, Muḥammad 'Alī Arlāt (who had friendly relations with him) came up. I thought that he would help me, but the faithless and contemptible fellow hit me with a spear, and I fell and was nearly dead. Suddenly, M. Muḥammad, from whom I had no hopes, received me kindly and took me to M'āṣūm K. who encouraged me and made me over to the Qāẓīzāda.[3] In that field of instruction, when I was on an elephant where they had fastened me, I was a spectator of the marvels of the unveilers of fate, and was listening to the flattering speeches of fortune, and was gathering instruction. Though there was no contest, and their success was increasing from time to time, the wicked rebels were in a state of great dismay. Suddenly, a large force appeared, and they were nearly dispersing, when it appeared that it was Waẓīr Jamīl who was coming with friendly intentions. Their courage returned, and there was a murmur of joy." This ten-tongued, two-faced man on this night which was pregnant with evil, took selected men along with him and, under guise of combating, became an idle talker. He spent the time of action in futile declamation, and confused many hearts that had been tranquillized. At last he became full of the dust of dishonour and displayed his real nature. He placed long-standing obligations on the shelf of forgetfulness, and joined the enemy. In spite of this the enemy was in trepidation and did not know how the affair would end, and how they would carry on the war with Muẓaffar K. Meanwhile, that commander took refuge in the fort,

[1] The Cawnpore ed. and the Iqbālnāma have Muṭṭalib Ḥajālātī or Khajālātī. I.O. MSS. 236 has Khajakatī and I.O. 235 has Khajālātī which, however, has a line across it. The Bib. Ind. has the variant *ḥajām* "barber."

[2] Tahamtan, a name of Rustam.

[3] He was killed in the 28th year. See below p. 400.

and gave away his opportunity in seeking what he ought to do. He was in such a state of dull-heartedness that no one stayed with him except Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Injū, Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ, J'aafar Beg, Bāqīr 'Anṣārī, Tardī Beg Yekkāwez, 'Isā Turkaman and some of his servants and comrades. At last, from evil fortune he preferred a wretched life to selling it boldly, and entered with the persons abovenamed inside the walls of Tānda. He now began to scatter his accumulations. What profit comes of good nature and liberality at an improper time: and what advantage is there in scattering gold and the distribution of goods unseasonably? The enlightened and prudent have, in the time of misfortune, conquered the hearts of tigerlike men by gifts and kindness, and have found a remedy for life-threatening evils by foreseeing them. The ungrateful cowards regarded his being shut up as something excellent and raised the palace of success. They took the path of courage and proceeded to besiege him. They represented to him that if he took compassion on himself and should join them, they would give him a high position, otherwise they would let him go and allow him to proceed to the Ḥijāz. As he had not the courage to sacrifice his life, he replied that ingratitude and evildoing were destructive of realm and religion. Let them preserve his honour and make him a voyager so that 303
he might go to the holy shrine and rub off the blackness of neglect, and atone for his faults. They replied by promising that they would let him keep one-third of his goods. As he had no reliance on their words, and the defence of the fort was beyond his power, he secretly sent some of his confidants to M'aṣūm K. and reminded him of old times when he had assisted him. He also sent him 20,000 ashrafīs, and begged his protection. He represented, "It was not the part of wise and enlightened men to blaspheme at the Divine decree (meaning what had happened to himself), and that he now begged that in return (for the 20,000 ashrafīs) he would take upon himself the preservation of his honour so that no misfortune might happen to his household: in the confusion of plundering there would be no opportunity for grasping the collar of petition." M'aṣūm accepted his entreaties and replied by promising him protection. During a night which was pregnant with disturbance, M. Sharfu-d-dīn Ḥusain fled from

the fort and came to M'aṣūm K.'s quarters. H. M.[1] had in the middle of the previous year released that man who was worthy of death and sent him by river with the instruction that if he showed marks of penitence he should receive a fief in that country, otherwise he was to be dispatched to the Ḥijāz. No signs of contrition were seen in the Kẖwāja's son. On the contrary he was continually engaged in strife-mongering, and was evil-thoughted to the extent of madness. Moẓaffar K. put him in prison and was waiting for the season for sailing when this typhoon of evils broke. On the second day, he intrigued with some of his guards and descended from the fort. A number saw this and discharged arrows, and he joined the enemy in a wounded condition. He informed the besiegers of the terror of the garrison and increased their courage. At dawn the wretches forgot their compact and proceeded to make disturbance. The Qāqshāls were foremost and stirred up the dust of plunder. Each set hastened to the fort and plundered it. M'aṣūm K. observed his promise and went quietly to Moẓaffar K.'s quarters so that the rioters might not dishonour him, and that the bulk of the property might come into his own hands. Moẓaffar K. stood with some of his slaves. They were all armed, but could think neither of fighting, nor of fleeing. M'aṣūm K. came with one or two of them and showed the zeal of double-faced people. Just then a noise in the female apartments robbed Moẓaffar of patience. He gave away such an opportunity[2] and hastened in that direction. That chief of strife-mongers and slumbrous-witted one (M'aṣūm) became awake to his situation and escaped with his life. He always blamed himself for his temerity. Though the empty-handed and shameless ones had their pockets filled, and they seized the accumulations of the servants of God,[3] yet it was M. Sharafu-d-dīn who by good luck got abundance of gold. In the time of confusion Moẓaffar K. sank

[1] Badayūnī II. 282 says he had been in the custody of Qāsim 'Alī K. Baqqāl, governor of Kālpī (not Kabul as in Lowe 290).

[2] The month is not mentioned. Perhaps it is Rabī I, but more probably it is Ardībihisht. Or it may be the second day after Moẓaffar took refuge in the fort.

[3] Of killing M'aṣūm.

[4] This expression is often used for Muḥammadans, but comes in curiously here. I.O. MS. 235 has khudāīgīr.

80,000 rupees in a tank that they might be of use at the time of welfare. Sharafu-d-dīn came to know of this and got possession of the treasure. He filled the chests with stones and put them 304
into deep water. He used the treasure as a help to rebellion. During the plundering Mozaffar K. was kept under observation in his house. Some persons were bound and sent to prison. Many from wickedness took refuge with the enemy. Ḥakīm Abūl fatḥ [1] and Rai Patr Dās by courage and skill obtained their release. Ḳhwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was protected by Sáid Beg on account of acquaintanceship. He saved his life, but was tortured in order to the production of money. Jáfar Beg by cleverness and plausibility was released [2] from such demands. The manner in which he had been sent to that country also contributed to his escape.

On 8 Ardibihisht [3] Mozaffar K. was put to death, and then appointments and territories were distributed, and the Khuṭba was recited in the name of M. Ḥakīm. On the first Khurdād the arrangements were made. The tent (bārgāh) [4] of Khān Jahān, which had been prepared for the receipt of presents (peshkash), was erected, and it was adorned by awnings and carpets of various colours. They began by distributing honours and territories. There were disputes, but these were settled by ingenuity. Every one got something and was satisfied. The distribution of titles was as follows: M'aṣūm K. was made Vakil and chose the title of Khān Daurān; Bābā Qāqshāl was styled Khān Khānān and was appointed to the government of Bengal; Jabbārī was styled Khān Jahān and made a commander of 10,000; Wazīr Jamīl was styled Khān Zamān and appointed to the office of Tūzak Begī; Khāldīn became A'ẓim Khān, Jān Muh. Bahsūdī became Khān 'Ālam;

[1] His brother Nūru-d-dīn who was a poet and known as Qarārī was less fortunate and killed. Badayūnī II. 290 and III. (text) 312.

[2] B. 411. He is Āṣaf K. No. 3. The Iqbālnāma explains that his having been sent to Akbar to Bengal as a punishment was in his favour. It would also go to show that he had no money. See Maasir I. 107, 103. He was a poet. See extracts B. 572.

[3] About 19 April 1580. It was Rabī' I. 988. Badayūni says Mozaffar was tortured.

[4] See description of a bārgāh in B. 53.

'Abdu-l-Bāqī, Khudāwand K., and M. Beg, Bahādur K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was made Lashkar K., and Jáfar Beg Āṣaf K. Those two adroitly postponed their acceptance to another time. 'Arab was, in his absence (ghaibāna), made Shujā'at K., S'aīd K. Toqbaī was made Khān and a commander of 1,500. To every one there were granted a jāgir, a standard and a drum. M. Ḥaji Lang, Farrukh Irgāhlīq Farīdūn, Taimūr Tāsh, 'Azīz Dastam Beg, Muḥammad Toqbai, Muḥammad Qulī Turkaman, Ḥamza Beg Turkaman, 'Abdullah Beg Badakhshī, 'Alī Qāsim Barlās, Maṣqūd 'Alī Kor, 'Iwaz-Bahādur, Mīrzā 'Arab, Dost Muḥammad Tolakchī, Murād Qāqshāl, Tāsh Beg, Zulf'Alī Lang, Khuda-bardī, Ghaẓanfar Beg, were made commanders of one thousand and received the title of Khān, as well as
305 a flag. Mīr Kalān, Wafā Beg, M. Kīcak, Yār Beg Muḥammad, Sheram Bahādur, Laṭīf Ḥusain, Ilān Caq, Bābā Dost Muḥammad, Mihr 'Alī, Muḥammad Beg, Qorbān Beg, were made Khāns and received flags and a command of 500. Several other vagabonds got the title of Sultan. It occurred to these lost ones, who had neither head nor foot, that they could, by heaping up money and by audacity, attain the dignity of Amīrs. They forgot that grandeur befits not the bad, and that designs cannot be carried out without the aid of the executors of fate.

Verse.

Khāqānī, those who follow in your footsteps
Are crows, and crows desire the gait of the partridge.
I admit that asparagus [1] is shaped like a snake,
One is poison for foes; the other an antidote for friends.

When the talk of appointments and fiefs had come to an end, they considered that they would recite the Khuṭba in the name of M. Ḥakīm, and would then spend their days in pleasure. The wonder-working of the Shāhinshāh's fortune became glorious. A storm arose, and the clouds poured cataracts. The "Avaunt" of the

[1] *Mārchoba*, asparagus. Its shape resembles a snake (hence the name which means "snake-stick"), and it is supposed to be an antidote to snake-poison. Perhaps the meaning of the last two lines is 'There is a likeness between asparagus and a snake, for the latter poisons foes, and the former is an antidote (or bezoar) for friends.' That is, both do good. The allusion in last line seems also to be to rain-drops falling into the ocean, which are said to produce pearls in one month and snakes in another.

Divine wrath rose on every side, and the structure of the grand tent, the canopies, the carpets, were scattered and cast into the mire. Each one of the wretches crept away to a corner. The auspicious and profound of sight read the failure of the wicked ones in the writings of the celestial aids, and raised the song of joy.

Verse.

At this time there was a great rumour of the coming of the victorious troops. They left off adorning[1] the pulpit (of M. Ḥakīm) and fell into a long cogitation. From being drunk with gold, and from evil thoughts, they marched out from that country to fight. In appearance M. Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain was the leader, but in reality the leaders were Maṣūm and Bābā K. They left many of the scoundrels in that cultivated country.

Having brought the story so far, I proceed to describe the events in Bihar up to the arrival of the victorious army. At the same time that the evil-doers in this part were stirring up the dust of strife, Bahādur was separately and earnestly prosecuting a course of ingratitude. He was the son of S'aīd Badakhshī. That black-hearted one (the father) had on account of his wickedness come out of his home, and had by feline tricks expatiated in the wide territory of India. At this time he was collector ('amilguzār) of Tirhut. 306
When the Bihar officers raised the head of ingratitude, he left his son there, and joined the rebels, and exerted himself to help them. Meanwhile, folly took possession of the brain of Bahādur, and he used the exchequer property in conciliating the fly-like scoundrels. He raised a disturbance and assumed[2] a great name to himself. When M'aṣūm Khan heard of this, he sent S'aīd Badakhshī to him in order that he might give him fatherly advice and lead him to act in unison (with the other rebels). The wretch did not accept the advice and sent his own father into prison! In a short space of time

[1] I.O. MS. 236 has *ālāyish* instead of *ārāish*, as if meaning that the pulpit was contaminated by the proclaiming of M. Ḥakīm.

[2] The Iqbālnāma states that he assumed independence and had the Khuṭba read and coins struck in his own name. He gave himself the title of Bahādur Shāh. See Badayūni, Lowe 307, where the verse composed for his signet is given. He adds that he was afterwards killed by Aẓim K.'s servants. The Iqbālnāma also gives the quatrain.

he, from ignorance and cowardice, became still more arrogant. During this confusion the report of the coming of the imperial army became prevalent, and M'aṣūm K. with many of the disaffected hastened off to Bengal. He left 'Arab and some scoundrels in Patna, in order that he might exercise sway in that province, and might set about plundering. Shāham K., from innate auspiciousness, broke his promise [1] and hoisted the standard of loyalty in Ḥājīpūr. In order to prove his feelings to the imperial servants he sent a force against Bahādur, but it was defeated and returned. Bahādur's presumption was increased, but afterwards Shāham K. led a force in person and was victorious, and S'aīd (Badakhsī) was killed. Muḥibb 'Alī K. prevailed over 'Arab who had come out of Patna. When he was defeated and came back, Sa'adat 'Alī K., whom he had evilly instructed and had left in charge of his household, had the auspiciousness to turn away from him. That slumbrous-fortuned one went to his camp and made a fight, but was wounded and had to fly. About this time Muḥibb 'Alī K. took possession of that city. The troops spent some days in preparations, and then set out. Within the confines of Jaunpūr, Tarsūn K., Ṣādiq K., Ghāzī K., Ulugh K. and many other officers joined the army. At a distance of two kos from Ghāzīpūr M'aṣūm K. Farunkhūdī joined the camp. As his babbling and futility were known to all, it was decided that he should go one or two stages in front as a vanguard so that they might be free from his molestation and might come to understand him. On the banks of the Ganges they heard of the catastrophe of Mozaffar K., and fools opened the mouth of
307 folly. Though some were disheartened, the acute and comprehending understood the depths of his (Mozaffar's) misconduct and read in the writing of the age the rolling up of that carpet of presumption, and perceiving the breeze of victory to be blowing from the four portions of the earth, they raised the pæan of joy. Also near here Muḥibb 'Alī K., Shāham K., Samānji K. and Bāqī Kolābī joined the army. There was an assemblage in the vicinity of Patna, and the grandees made vows of concord and harmony. When their minds had been set at rest by this, they discussed the plan of action. Each one recognized his proper place. In the centre

[1] See text 285. Shāham had at first joined the rebels.

were Tarsūn K., Rajah Todar Mal, Rai Surjan, Rajah Askaran, Mihtar K. and others. In the right wing were Muḥibb 'Alī K., Shāham K., Mīr Abu-l-Moẓaffar and others. In the left wing were Ṣādiq K., Ulugh K., Naqīb K., Qamar K. and others. In the vanguard were M'aṣūm K. Farankhudī, S. Farīd Bokharī, Saiyid Abu-l-qāsim, Saiyid Abu-l-m'aālī, Saiyid 'Abdul Wāḥid, Saiyid 'Abdul Hādī and others. As some of the chief officers were faint-hearted and some were inclined to brigandage, so it was arranged that from this stage they should march armed, and prepared for battle. When 'Arab and Ḥabīb, and the other rebels who were stirring up the dust of strife in that neighbourhood, heard of the coming of the army, they retired. The traitors in the great camps—of whom the imperial servants were suspicious—did not get their opportunity. On 7 Khurdād the army encamped at Monghyr. M'aṣūm K. Farankhudī, who had long cherished evil thoughts, meditated the killing of Rajah Todar Mal, so that obedience might lose its head, and that he himself might advance some steps to his goal. He equipped a number of vagabonds for the purpose of a review,[1] and expressed the wish that the Rajah should come to inspect them. That auspicious one was apprized of the plot and made excuses, and did not tear away the veil over his (M'aṣūm's) conduct.

At this time the ill-fated and wicked ones of Bengal passed on from Garhī with the intention of fighting, and there was an engagement between some of the scouts of the victorious army and the advanced party of the enemy. Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'aūd, Jai Tawacī-bashī and some others distinguished themselves. Rajah Todar Mal held a council to deliberate on what should be done. Many brave men said that they should trust in God, and give battle. Some 308
prudent and profound observers represented that a storm of sedition had arisen on every side, and that fidelity and singleness of heart could not be distinguished from double facedness, and that they were not satisfied about M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, who had received various kindnesses from H.M. It was proper that they should fortify themselves and be on their guard. Some persons who had of necessity joined the rebels, now came to the camp, and gave infor-

[1] The text has *ba āīn shāyān*, but the variant *ba āīn sān* (i.e., review) is supported by the I.O. MSS.

mation about the circumstances of their companions. From skilfulness and caution the last-mentioned opinion was approved of. On the 16th entrenchments were made, and the officers exerted themselves in raising a wall and digging a moat. In a short time four high and broad walls were constructed, and the fortress of the city became a citadel. On the 24th the rebels raised the dust of disturbance round about the place. The imperialists replied by cannon and muskets. The brave men on both sides continually engaged in combats, and there were great deeds done. During these struggles many of the besieged threw the dust of disloyalty on their heads by joining the enemy. The ring-leaders were Tarkhān Dīwāna and Humāyūn Qūlī and Shāh Dīwāna.[1] By celestial aid the dust of destruction was soon laid, and crowds of the rebels came and made submission.

One of the occurrences was the favouring of M. Koka, and the sending of him to the eastern provinces. When H.M. heard from his confidants in the harem that the Kokaltāsh was ashamed and repentant, he accepted his apologies and increased his dignity. He conferred on him the high rank of a commander of 5000. At this time the report of the zealous servants arrived. The fortifying of themselves, the evil conduct of their companions, the predominance of the foe, and requests for assistance were mentioned. H.M. gave his attention to the management of the army, and the Kokaltāsh begged for this service. "Perchance he might do good service and redeem his faults." His wish was granted, and on the 29th he was exalted by the title of Khān A'zim, and given leave to depart. Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Qāsim K., Mīrzāda 'Alī K., Ishqī K., Mukhtār Beg, Yūnān Beg, Sikandar Cakū, Ḥaidar Dost, Qādir 'Alī, Ustā Zakariya, Qambar Sahārī and others went with him. They were honoured by receiving khilats and horses. An order was issued that when the Kokaltāsh should join the army, the officers should act
309 according to his advice.

Also at this time Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ came to court and represented in eloquent terms the confusion in Bengal, and the disaffection of the soldiers there. He also related how he had thrown himself out of the fort (of Tanda?) and had travelled with blistered feet,

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[1] See Badayūnī, Lowe. The Iqbālnāma has Humāyun Qūlī and Shāh Muhammad Dīwāna.

and had arrived at safety by the help of the holy influence (Akbar's). He represented that though Mīr M'uizzu-l-mulk had at first, from wickedness, joined the rebels, yet he had afterwards, out of foresight, separated from them. The strange thing was that at this time, when the predominance of the rebels was being broken, and the lights of fortune were increasing, this turbulent man was talking foolishly in Jaunpūr and was collecting the evilly-disposed. Maulānā Muḥammad Yezdī[1] was acting, shoulder to shoulder, with him in foolish talk and in strife-mongering. An order was given that Asad K. Turkamān should hasten thither from Mānikpūr and bring the wicked ones to court. That loyal servant obeyed the order and arrested these men who were worthy of death. In the confines of Etawah the boat carrying the wicked men sank in the waves[2] of the Jumna, and the world was cleansed somewhat from the stain of the evil and crookedy-walking ones. An order was sent by Rām Cand, to the Khan A'zim that Mu'izzu-l-mulk's younger brother Mīr 'Alī Akbar should be sent to court in chains from Zamāniya. Though he had not joined the rebels, yet he continually, by messages and foolish utterances, fomented the rebellion. He behaved with disobedience and tricks to the Kokaltāsh. As the latter was acute and experienced, his (Mīr 'Alī's) wiles were not successful. Rām Cand and Ḥaidar Dost brought him to court. The king's kindness made him withhold his hand from capital punishment, and so he sent him to prison.[4]

One of the occurrences was the tearing away the mantle of deception of S. Quṭb.[5] In Jalesar, which is a dependency of Agra,

[1] Tabrīzī in text, but Yezdī, the variant, is right, and has the support of the I.O. MSS.

[2] Apparently this is the Asad Beg of Elliot VI, 150. He was in the service of Abul Faẓl. Asad K. was jāgīrdār of Mānikpūr, B. 382.

[3] A. F. seems to represent the affair as an accident, and in this he is followed by the Iqbālnāma. But Badayūnī roundly asserts, Lowe 285, that they were drowned by Akbar's orders near Fīrāzabād (24 m. E. Agra) in the Jumna. He says they were put into an old boat by themselves, i.e., separated from their guards, and that the boatmen were told to drown them. He adds that Qāẓī Y'aqūb met with the same fate shortly afterwards.

[4] Maāṣir III. 231. B. 383 says he was imprisoned for life, but this does not appear from the text.

[5] Evidently this is the S. Quṭbu-d-dīn of Badāyūnī, Lowe 308. Both he and Jamāl belonged to Jalesar.

he had a hermitage of hypocrisy. He took advantage of the simple and spent his days in comfort. Suddenly, S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār fell into his snare. He thought his tricks were miracles and reported them at court. Inasmuch as H. M. is a seeker after excellence in man, he wished to see him. As the Incomparable Deity is his guardian, it occurred to him to send in the first instance some acute persons who could judge of the inner mind from outward actions, and could read hidden secrets on the tablet of the forehead. If the report was favourable he would visit his cell. If not, a large number
310 of men would be converted (from credulity); M. Khān and Ḥakīm Abul-fatḥ were appointed to this service. They ascertained that he was bad within and without, and reported to this effect. The world's lord tried him in a strict balance and sent him to prison that he might abstain from deceiving men, and that truth might not be associated with folly; S. Jamāl returned thanks and became circumspect again. That empty-handed one and seller of deceits became ashamed of his actions and set himself to amend his ways.

God be praised for that by virtue of H. M.'s knowledge of spiritual and physical mysteries many of the tricksters of the age and employers of fraud left off their evil ways, and became travellers to the pure inn of auspiciousness. They turned their faces from the prayer mat of hypocrisy to the dust of supplication, and departed from egotism to worship of the Truth. The great men of former times exerted themselves chiefly in cultivating the false and superficial; on account of the difficulty of the task, and their inability, they paid less attention to the patronizing of the spiritual smiters of lies. At the present day, by the glorious Divine knowledge of the Lord of enlightenment this difficult task also approaches to completion. The wise and just man knows that the spiritual and material

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Badayūnī 290 calls him a *majẕūb* *kharābī* and B. takes the latter epithet to mean that he was a wicked man. Mr. Lowe, however, thinks it means that he was intoxicated with Divine love. Most probably B. is right, and the words seem best translated by a drunken enthusiast. If the maxim 'nosce tur a sociis' be correct he was a drunkard, for his friend and fellow-townsman Jamāl was a noted toper. Quṭbu-d-dīn was the man who challenged the Padres to enter the fire, knowing, it is said by the Jesuits, that his offer would not be accepted. Badayūnī says Akbar sent him, out of jealousy, to Bakkar.

adornment, and the inward and outward cultivation of so many crowds upon crowds did not suggest themselves to any man in former times, and that the various classes of men did not emerge from the arid desert of imitation to the city of inquiry. Formerly, speech came forth from the privy-chamber to the court of publicity in proportion to the intelligence of the person addressed (mukhaṭab). At the present day it appears in proportion to the understanding of the speaker. How admirably has my noble brother sung in his description of that world-seeing one!

Verse.

(He is) A light-handed bearer of the flagon,
A breaker of the goblets of infatuated rivals,
A cambist who tests the forgers,
An assayer of the hearts of the alloyed.
In wisdom and vision swift as the spheres,
Testing the Ka'aba and the church,
Seated on the masnad of greatness,
Breaking hundreds of idol-temples of hypocrisy.
Closer of the stalls of deception,
"Opener of the veil over earth, and elixir (i.e., the philosopher's stone).
On the throne he is content with poverty,
He joins silk to the blanket (of the dervish),
O'er the crown he spreads the sleeves (of the dervish),
On the throne he practises the Quadragesima.

CHAPTER LII.

The Appointment of Sharīf K. to be Guardian of Prince Sultān Murād, etc.

(The first two pages of this chapter are taken up with a disquisition about education. There is nothing valuable or interesting in it beyond the use at p. 312, l. 4, of the curious word "*Babrīān*" which has been supposed to refer to Bābur, but which is really a Turkish word, properly spelt Bāirīān, and meaning "old servants." Sharīf K. received his appointment on 8 Amardād, 18 July 1580. See B. 383. He was a brother of Shāmsu-d-dīn Atgah K.)

313 One of the occurrences was the death of Shujā'at K.[1] At the time when the wicked men of the eastern districts were making disturbance, some loyal servants and experienced men were summoned from distant provinces, and an order was issued that the officers of Gujarat and Malwa should give up the expedition to the Deccan, and prepare themselves for service. Wajahī[2] (?) Yasāwal set off to bring Shujā'at K., and he set out in the beginning of Tīr from Sārangpur to do homage. At the first stage the cup of his life was spilled, and the star of stability descended into the hollow of annihilation. 'Iwaz Beg Barlās, Muḥammad Qāsim, Hazāra Beg, Khusrū, Khudā Qulī, and many shameless and ungrateful servants plotted together, and made Ḥājī Shihābu-d-dīn their leader. They gave him a high-sounding name, and lay in ambush. At the end of the night most of the people started with their families and goods, and some marched on more quickly. The evil-doers made a disturbance, and there was a great outcry. His son Qawīm K. went out in search of news, and was killed. Shujā'at K. came out, and began to lament. He found that he himself was made a target and had to fly to his tent. On the way he received several wounds. There was

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[1] B 371. Lowe 292.

[2] The name is doubtful. Elliot V. 418 has Ḥasan Tawāci bāghī, but a MS. T. A. has Jai Tawāci bāghī. This is probably right (see text III. 307), the wa being a conjunction and not part of the name.

still a breath of life in him when his faithful servants put him into a haudah (*'amārī*) and set off to Sārangpur. From prudence and tact they travelled in such a way that many thought he was alive, and some, from this idea, marched along with them. In a short time these rightly-acting persons took refuge in the fortress of the town. They gave out the good news of deliverance and beat high the drum of joy. The wicked went off into retirement. More wonderful still, in that unprotected plain, they did not lay hands on his family and household, and they reached the place of safety without molestation. Many of the ungrateful slaves of gold had thought that the affair was completed and had stretched out their hands for rapine. When the news of his being alive came, some took steps to protect property. The wicked grew frightened and took the road of obscurity. In a short time they were seized by the wrath of justice and received various kinds of punishment. The chief cause of the disturbance was the evil conduct of the servants (*quluqcīān*) and the harshness and unworthiness of the master. He withheld the payment[1] of the soldiers' wages without reason, and abused them in bad language. He did not show loyalty and right-thinking. How could the heart not be alienated under such circumstances, and the 314
rosebush of gratitude not lose its leaves?

When the news came to court, H.M. craved forgiveness for this traveller to the holy land, and set himself to arrange the province. He dispatched Sharif K. to gather together the dispersed ones, and issued an order that his son Bāz Bahādur should come from Gujarat and assist, and directed that the other fief-holders should not depart from his counsels.

Also at this time Shahbāz K. came to court. He had been sent to chastise the presumptuous ones in the province of Ajmere. Owing to his energy and good service Rānā Pertāb became a desert-vagabond, and fell upon evil days. He thought every morning would be his last day, and blistered his feet with running about in

[1] *Sirbārī māājib bāz dāshta.* "He withheld the extra pay (of the soldiers)." An obscure passage in Badayūnī, text II. 285 top line, seems to refer to his rejection of a soldier's request. Probably *sirbāri* here means "extra pay" (batta?). It means an additional load, and is so used in text III. 273, l. 8, where *sirbārī-i-badgumānī* means "increase of suspicion."

terror. He (Shāhbāz K.) also made a successful attack on the abode of Tejmāl Sesodiah. Many of the wicked were slain, and his houses were plundered. That neighbourhood was cleansed of wicked persons and made a military station. Great fear of him fell upon the ill-fated ones. When the dust of dissension rose high in the eastern districts, he was sent for in order that he might be dispatched thither. On 7 Tīr he did homage, and gathered material and spiritual advantages. About this time there came representations from the eastern army to the effect that in the absence of H.M. the settlement of the disturbances would take a long time. Though the prescient mind knew that this raw rebellion had not the leaven of stability, and that it did not require another army, and still less the presence of the royal standards, yet, to soothe the imperial servants, and from motives of caution, he ordered the dispatch of reinforcements. These left on the 15th. Bābūī Mankalī, Selīm K. Sarmūr, Qāsim Badakhshī, S. Adam, Naṣīb Turkamān, S. Kabīr, Ḥakīm Moẓaffar, 'Abdu-l-Qaddūs, Bahādur 'Alī and many others accompanied them and took with them large supplies of money.

315 One of the occurrences was the falling of the enemies' fleet into the hands of the brave men of the eastern army. The presumption of the enemy had increased on account of their numbers, of the fewness of the imperial soldiers, of their being shut up in a fort, and of the double-dealing of some of them. As the food for the besieged came by land and water, M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain and M'aṣūm K. went by way of Patna and seized the land-route. They also fitted out their fleet and meditated closing the other means of access. When news came that the boats were nine kos away from the evil crew, Ṣādiq K., Ulugh K., Naqīb K., Bāqir Safarcī and many other brave men hastened by land, while Rai Patr Dās was sent with some brave men by water. Mihtar K. and a body of men were taken across the river in order that they might march rapidly on that side. The skilful and active men moved rapidly, and got possession of nearly 300 boats full of the munitions of war. There was a great accession of strength to the imperialists, while the enemy had their heads knocked against the stone of destruction.

Also at this time Khwāja-Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī escaped from the rebels. When Moẓaffar K. was killed, M'aṣūm K. took the Khwāja into his own keeping on the suspicion that he had money. When

he did not succeed by gentle means, he made him over to wicked, shameless men, and he was nearly dying under torture. By good luck 'Arab Bahādur, on account of old friendship, rose up, and took charge of him on the pretext that he would induce him to give up his accumulations. He took the chains off his feet, and set himself to soothe him. The Khwāja got his opportunity and escaped along with some others. He joined himself to Rajah Sangrām in Gorakpur. On account of the roads being closed, and there being little open country, he could not join the army, but he became a great cause of harassing the enemy. He continually attacked their convoys, and laid hold of their cattle when they came out to graze. In a short time Ḥasan 'Alī 'Arab, Āfāq Diwāna, M. Ḥusain Nīshāpūri, 'Alī Qulī, 'Azīz and many well-disposed persons, who had joined the enemy out of helplessness, waited upon the Khwāja. Nearly 1200 men collected together, and the assemblage of the enemy slackened, and there was some dispersion of them. Their prosperity suffered diminution.

One of the occurrences was the imprisonment of Shāh Manṣur Diwān. From his practice in accounts, and seeking after profit (for the government), he looked narrowly into the transactions of the army, and giving his attention to one side only of a Vizier's duties he pressed forward the rules of demand. He is a Vizier, who by acuteness and the strength of honesty preserves the revenue, and 316
also looks after the servants of God (i.e. Muḥammadans, or here probably men in general) and considers the mean between liberality and rigour,[1] and between severity and softness, to be the highway, and regards the living with friends and foes on the same terms, as the middle course of truth. He does not abandon what is suitable for the time and place, nor does he regard the collecting of gold as the finest of occupations, but lives with an open brow, a sweet tongue, a strong heart, a gracious soul, and a constant justice. He closes the eye of envy and opens the door of wide toleration. He shuts the shop of fastidiousness[2] and hard-bargaining and drives away from men dealings at a high tariff. Mayhap, by this noble course

[1] The text and the MSS. have *dād-u-dihish*, which generally means liberality, but I think that the true reading must be *dād-u-dahshat* "graciousness and awe," otherwise there is no antithesis.

[2] Text wrongly has *makashad* instead of *mashkal*. The sentence is

the tribes of mankind may emerge from the market of loss and gain, and gather eternal bliss in the garden of devotion. Also the accountant (*mastaufī*) should have something else to do besides clerking,[1] and stirring up of strife, and collecting arrears, and increasing the revenue. He should remove interested motives and watch over the account-department. The Khwāja went out of his proper course and set himself to increase the revenue. Nor did he consider the disturbances of the time and the crisis of the age, but demanded payment of arrears. Rajah Todar Mal reported that the imperial servants were engaged in a hot war, and that the market of sacrifice of life (*sirbāzi*, lit. playing with one's head) was active. The government-officers were at such a time of contest acting without consideration or knowledge of the times, and had closed the purse of liberality and were demanding the payment of revenue[2] that had already been levied (?). What name could be given to this kind of presumption? And to what set could he belong who made demands out of reason? The just sovereign deprived him of employment and made him over to Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram. He bestowed the high office of Vizier upon Wazīr K. The combatants in the eastern provinces bound anew the girdle of devotion on receipt of this great favour, and advanced the foot of courage. Many abandoned ingratitude and made submission. Would that they had also entered the pure spot of loyalty, and retired from soul-injuring wickedness and evil thoughts!

One of the occurrences was that Prince Daniel—the jewel of the throne of the Caliphate—was sent off to Ajmere. The[3] wise

obscure and metaphorical. Badayūnī, Lowe, 287, tells us that Akbar was fond of using the word "shop" in an allegorical sense.

[1] Text *nek basīcī*, "good thoughts." But the I.O. MSS. and the context show that the true reading is *bitikcīgīrī*, from *bitīkcī* a Turkish word meaning a clerk. See J. II. 47.

[2] Perhaps this means that the officers alleged that the payment had been made to the wrong person. Cf. Elliot V. 419 where an abstract of Todar Mal's report is given. It is there said that Qāẓī 'Alī Baghdādī was appointed to assist Wazīr K.

[3] A. F.'s object is to explain why Akbar ceased to make his annual pilgrimage to Ajmere. He, therefore, tells us that there are two kinds of religious worship. One is, good deeds (works), and the other is ceremonials, the visiting of shrines and the like. As Akbar was a sovereign he practised both, but as at this time spiritual religion was on the increase,

sovereign fashions and adorns, in the workshop of inquiry and enlightenment, the palace of dominion, according to two kinds of religious worship. Firstly, he, from enduring perception, bestows the glory of truth on the auspicious record of his deeds, and by the assistance of wisdom, which is the house-lord of this variegated dwelling (viz., the palace of dominion)—and the controller of the market-places of social intercourse—he holds his nature in check. In this kind of worship there is no topsy-turviness. But as the mastery of the transitory world has been made the veil over the leadership of the spiritual world, he also makes use of what the superficial regard as the worship of the incomparable Deity, and out of consideration for the feelings of contemporaries takes accounts of its defect and excess. For all his thought is how to preserve the simple from devious paths and wrong ideas, and to keep the 317
world clear from the mist of shortness of thought. The visiting the tombs of departed men of awakened heart he considers as an instance of such shallowness. If union with the spirit of the saint be the object, then nearness or remoteness does not matter. If the idea be to reverence worn-out dust then it is polytheism[1] and idolatry. At this time, when there was an increase of spiritual worshippers, and of the gatherers of truth, and those who saw into the substance of things had obtained vogue, and the short-sighted and superficial had put on the garb of true worship, the idea of the necessity of this kind of worship (visiting shrines, etc.) became erased from the mind of the world's lord. Moreover at this time there was no administrative work to be done in that quarter (Ajmere), and there were various things to be transacted at the capital. Of necessity he withdrew from his intention (of visiting Ajmere) and devoted his valuable time to what was fitting. But as that bounteous shrine (Ajmere) was an opportunity for displaying abundant liberality, and many indigent persons attained their wishes thereby, it occurred to his celestial mind that one of his

and also he had many weighty matters to attend to, he desisted from going to Ajmere in person. Daniel seems to have timed his visit so as to be present at the anniversary of the saint's death, which according to J. III. 362 occurred on 6 Rajab. In this year (988) that date corresponded, or nearly so, to 4 Shahriyūr, i.e. middle of August.

[1] *Shirk-u-'ibādī*. See Hughes' Dict. Islam, 579.

children should visit the place, and gratify the wishes of expectants. On 19 Amardâd, about 30 July 1580, the luminary of fortune's heaven (Prince Daniel) was given leave to depart. S. Jamâl, Mâdhû Singh, S. Faiẓî, Jamâl K. and other intimate courtiers went with him. On 4 Shahriyûr he distributed various properties, and a world ran over with gifts.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Ḥakîm-al-Mulk [1] to the Ḥijâz. His avaricious heart was tied to the world, and this idea did not occur to him. He was given leave as a retribution for his vacillations. The means he tried to avert it were unsuccessful, and he left on the 5th (Shahrîyûr, August 1580) with all his accumulations, looking backwards with the eye of regret.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the prince from Ajmere. He had reached that place quickly, and had scattered bounties. All the indigent reaped joy. On the 8th he did homage.

Also at this time one came to court who had no shape of ears and no orifice.[2] Yet he had heard perfectly what was said to him. Apparently, the melodists of the palace of fate communicate to mortals the glories of the dominion conjoined with eternity, and the wondrous, daily-increasing fortune quickens the audition of the earless ones of the Age!

One of the occurrences was the increase in the responsibility of I'tmâd K. Gujrâtî. H.M. always desired to reward him for his good

[1] Ḥakîmu-l-Mulk, who is distinct from Ḥakîm 'Aînu-l-Mulk, was from Gîlân and his name was Shamsu-d-dîn. Badayûnî has an account of him, III. 161, which has been copied into the Darbâr Akbarî, p. 758. See also Badayûnî, Lowe, pp. 283, 293. He was given five lacs of rupees to distribute to the poor at Mecca. According to Badayûnî, Akbar asked Ḥakîmu-l-Mulk to come back, but he refused to do so, and died in Mecca. Probably the "vacillations" *laghzashhâ* referred to by A. F. mean that at first Ḥakîmu-l-Mulk signed the famous document acknowledging Akbar as a Pope, and that afterwards he opposed A.F. He was distinguished as a physician, and is included in the list of physicians at p. 542 of Blochmann's Ain. He is also mentioned under the 26th year in the T. Akbarî.

[2] The T. A., Elliot V. 420, states that Akbar made the man a daily allowance. See also Badayûnî, Lowe, 296, who connects the establishment of the "Dumb House" with this incident. It would appear from A.F.'s remarks that he refers specially to the man's hearing the words that Akbar addressed to him.

behaviour at the first conquest of Gujarat. At this time, when th inscription of auspiciousness and happy augury was read on the tablet of his forehead, H.M., the granter of desires, showed him favour, and gave him the Sarkār of Pattan in fief. The care of the 318
crown-lands in Gujarat was entrusted to him. Thirty elephants and one hundred horses were given to him when he was sent off, and Mīr Abū Turāb was sent with him as his counsellor.

One of the occurrences was the return of Yūsuf K. Cak to the government of Kashmīr. It has been described to what distress he had been reduced by the wickedness of the people of that country, and how he had, by the guidance of good fortune, come to the court of fortune. Saiyid Mubārak came to the throne by the plausibility and magical strains of sedition-mongers. Before two months had elapsed, evil and shameless men had consigned him to the cell of obscurity and had raised to power Lohar Cak the cousin of Yūsuf K. When he (Yūsuf) had done homage, he received various favours, and was given leave to go to Kashmīr. An order was issued that the Punjab officers should give him the convoy of a suitable army. The Kashmirians awoke from their sleep of neglect, and proceeded to adopt remedies. From fear of the victorious troops, they had recourse to entreaties. They impressed him with the thought of the evil that would be caused by the coming of the army and sent for him to come alone. Before the force had been arranged, and before communicating the secret, he went off quickly, and was received in Baramgala[1] by several of the noted men of the country. The new ruler got information of this, and appointed Shams Cak, Ḥaidar Cak, and many others to effect a deliverance. They came forward in battle-array. He (Yūsuf) did not see in himself the power of fighting, and left this road, and went off to Sonpūr.[2] Lohar Cak opposed him with some troops. As the flower of his army had gone off to the other place, Yūsuf K. took him at a disadvantage and on 28 Ābān, 8 November, 1580, crossed the Bihat (the Jhelam or Vitasta) and dispersed the opposing force without a

[1] Paramkala in text.

[2] There is the variant Sūīpūr. The Iqbālnāma seems to have "the defile of Sūīpūr, *garwa-i-Suipūr*, but perhaps it is *garūwa sūīedār*" by the route of defiles. Apparently the place is Sopoor near the Wular lake. Ḥaidar Malik calls it Sonpūr.

serious engagement. Lohar Cak fell into his hands. From foresight he deprived [1] him of the light of his eyes, and in consequence of the great help thus received, the water that had strayed [2] fell into its channel, and he attained the government of Kashmīr.

One of the occurrences was the disgrace of Candar Sen the son of Māldeo. Though this foolish wretch had had the bliss of kissing the threshold, he out of short-sightedness and perverse fate took to insubordination, as has already been related. He went off to the corner of obscurity in terror of the world-conquering army and waited for an opportunity of making a disturbance. Then he came out from the defiles, and stirred up strife in some of the estates of the province of Ajmere. An order was issued to Payinda Muḥammad K. Moghal, Saiyid Hāshim, Saiyid Qāsim, and other fief-holders of that neighbourhood that they should be alert and harmonious, and should inflict due punishment on that turbulent fellow. They
319 obeyed the order, and turned their faces towards executing the service. That ill-fated one confronted the army of fortune, and a severe engagement took place. He suffered thousands of losses and retired into the desert of failure.

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[1] The Iqbālnāma enables us to make an important correction here. The text has بگرفت و نوردیده *rah nawardīda bagirift*, but neither the Cawnpore ed. nor the two I. O. MSS. have the word *rah*, and it appears from the Iqbālnāma that Yūsuf blinded Lohar Cak—*mīl dar casm-i-ao kashīda*. The word then is *nūrdida* and not *nawardīda*, and A.F. plays on the word *peshbīnī*, foresight. The account of Yūsuf Shāh's success is given at great length by Ḥaidar Malik. He mentions the blinding of Lohar Cak and two others.

[2] The Lucknow ed. explains this as meaning that success came at a time of despair. But there is nothing in Ḥaidar Malik's account of the contest to support this view.

CHAPTER LIII.

The Defeat of the Rebels in the Eastern Provinces.

From the time that they lay opposite to the victorious army, and had removed the veil and taken to crooked ways—as has already been related—the lovers of fame came out every day and with fortitude and bravery brightened the faces of joy. They laid the dust of the battlefield with the lustre of a fresh countenance. The audacious and futile had their honour spilled, and sate in the dust of shame in retribution for their evil thoughts. Though Tarsūn K., Rajah Todar Mal, Muḥibb 'Alī K., and M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī observed the rules of leadership, and did not sally forth, yet Ṣādiq K., S. Farīd, 'Ulugh K. and other energetic combatants brought new jewels to market, and the trade of the taking and giving of life went on briskly. The wise sovereign kept a watchful eye on the wonders of Divine providence, and sometimes from abundant love and graciousness had compassion on the ignorance and sufferings of those who had gone astray, and sometimes rendered thanks to God for the approaching retribution of the evil-doers and the progress of the right-thinking which his knowledge of mysteries had imparted to him. On account of his ruling the spiritual kingdom he often gave that crew the go-by, and without any change of purpose, did not give his mind to redress matters. But as the incomparable Deity had left to the shoulders of the genius of that unique one of creation the adornment of the outer world, he, of necessity, gave some attention to the laying the dust of disturbance. He sent one army after another under the command of firm loyalists, and also sent much money and so gave renewed strength to the hearts of the public. He constantly sent chosen servants of his court such as Peshrau K., Jamīl, Ṣāliḥ, Zainu-d-dīn,[1] and Tārā Chand, by relays of horses, and so increased

[1] Badayūnī 291, who says that Zainu-d-dīn was a relative of Shahbāz K., and that he brought a lac of rupees to Rajah Todar Mal. Tārā Cand is perhaps the son of the treasurer Bhagwān Dās.

courage and activity. The water of the powerful Fortune cooled the ardour of the enemy, and the deluge of annihilation destroyed the cohesion of those headless and footless ones. During the two months that the wicked rebels came and sate round the fortress, their condition daily grew worse. Though the Khān A'ẓīm, Shahbāz K. and other officers did not arrive, yet the rebels were alarmed by the news of their coming, and their position ceased to be prosperous. The cautious and far-sighted, who had not decided for a pitched battle, determined to come out of the fort and bring the
320 jewel of bravery to the market, and to adorn the battlefield by deeds of valour. On hearing of this, the wicked and empty-headed rebels set themselves on 15 Amardād (25 July 1580) to take flight and went into the desert of vagabondage. Some of the victorious soldiers thought this was a stratagem to encourage them and induce them to come out. They were not aware that the rebels had lost their power, and were hastening away to put themselves in safety before the arrival of the imperial troops. Though the far-sighted ones of the camp knew the real facts, yet, out of caution, they did not put their foot outside. Next day, after much discussion, they came out of their entrenchments. Muḥibb 'Alī K., Mihr 'Alī K. and other brave combatants formed the vanguard. From want of knowledge, and from circumspection, they moved forward in an irresolute manner (with two minds). At length, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, who was in the hill country, and was seeking for a means of joining, as has already been mentioned, arrived with 1200 horse, and represented the confusion of the enemy. The miserable plight of the foe became patent to the whole army, and another kind[1] of apprehension occurred to them. In spite of abundance of evil thoughts, the small amount of feeling, and the active bazaar of double-facedness, the heavenly aid brightened their countenances. When the brilliancy[2] and the victoriousness of the imperial officers, and of the pious servants came to the august hearing, he returned thanks to God and joined devotion with joy.

Now that the narration has come thus far, it is necessary that

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[1] Presumably that the enemy would not stand.

[2] The word *ẓahrūzī* ظهروزي, which is not in the dictionaries, occurs again here. See above, p. 250, and below, p. 331.

the pen should write something about the condition of Bengal, and that the book of instruction for the seekers after enlightenment should be completed.

Events of that Country.

When the work of the makers of counterfeit had been tested, and their unjust balances had been detected, the ill-fated ones regarded the depth of their fall as the height of their ascension. Some of them stayed in the country and ended in eternal ruin, and many hastened to the damaging field of battle, as has been related. Qīyā K.[1] in Orissa, Murād K. in Fatḥābād, and M. Nijāt K. in Satgāon, had the words of good service on their tongues, but they made not a single step from the wide expanse of talk to the pure spot of action. Before the veil of his honour was rent, Murād K.[2] died a natural death. Mukund, the landholder of that part of the country, invited his sons as his guests, and put them to death, and laid hold of his estate. Qīyā K.'s days ended in failure, for they mixed[3] the poisonous herbs of annihilation with the draught of life. The landholders of that country got the upper hand. Qatlū marched against M. Nijāt, who made an unsuccessful fight in Selīmābād and fled to the protection of Partāb Bār[4] Firingī. Time instructed the double-faced ones by punishment, and suitable retribution. About this time Bābāī Qāqshāl was smitten with a sore disease, but in spite of his dangerous condition he sent Hamzabān to help (*bar sū*) M. Nijāt. He heard in midway of the success of 321
Qatlū and hastened thither. Near Mangalkot[5] he had an engagement with Qatlū. He was defeated, and with blistered feet departed

[1] A sentence very similar to this occurs at p. 291. Nijat or Niyābat K., as we learn from the T. M'aṣūmī, Malet 135, had been married to Nāhīd Begam's daughter, but was separated from her. She afterwards married M. Bāqī of Sind and was killed.

[2] B. 374 and J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 229.

[3] It appears from the Iqbālnāma that he was poisoned. But this does not agree with the account given at p. 341 of text. But it does agree with A. F.'s language here. Perhaps both Qīyā Khāns were in Orissa, viz. Qīyā K. Gang and Qīyā K. Ḥasan. See B. 343 and 464.

[4] If this is Tavares, he must have left Akbar's service. See. B. 440, n. 1. The Iqbālnāma calls him Tāb Bār.

[5] A town N. E. Bardwan. B. 440.

to the desert of ruin. Bābā prepared for revenge, and Qatlū came forward with plausible speeches and wiles. As the stewards of fate bring one misfortune after another on those who are disloyal to eternal dominion, the illness of that ringleader of sedition, and capital of the family of turbulence, ended in the incurable pain of cancer.[1] Every day they put two *sirs* of flesh into the wound to feed the maggots (*jānwarān*). When he had awakened somewhat from the long sleep of neglect and infatuation he said constantly, "My wickedness and faithlessness to my salt have brought me to this wretched state." When the Bihar rebels heard of his mortal disease, they dispersed. M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain and Jabbārī and some evil-doers went to Bengal. M'aṣūm K. Kabulī and a set of ill-fated ones went under the guidance of the zamindar of Gidhaur to Bihar. 'Arab Bahādur and Nūram, the son of Tarkhān, and some others, applied themselves to brigandage. Soon their reputation was spilt by the might of Fortune. Caudhrī[2] Kishna was conveying treasure for the assistance of the prosperous (the imperialists). 'Arab, Nūram and others hurried off to plunder it, but he (Kishna) skilfully hastened on and arrived at the fort of Patna. They invested the fort, Bahādur[3] K. defended it loyally. At this time, when the officers were praying for victory, and were proceeding slowly in pursuit of the enemy, they got this news, and left the route of M'aṣūm K. and went off to Patna. They agreed that the main army should proceed, stage by stage, according to proper rules, while some active men should press forward. M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī begged for this service. As Rajah Todar Mal was distressed by his evil thoughts he granted him leave, but from farsight he appointed Muḥibb 'Alī K. and Mihr 'Alī K. to follow him with some loyal troops. At a time when the rebels had taken the outworks[4] of the fort, and the position of the garrison had become

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[1] *Khārah*. Cancer in the face, B. 369 n. 1, qu. lupus, or leprosy? A.F. describes it as if it were the morbus pedicularis.

[2] Caudhrī was a name apparently for those in charge of the mints. The I.O. MSS. have kishta. This agrees with the Iqbālnāma which has "Kishta Mangāl, one of the trusty treasurers (Khazancīān) of the king." He was conveying the money from the court.

[3] B. 495.

[4] The text has *nakhastan qil'a* without any iẓāfat. I have taken the phrase to mean the outworks.

critical, the above-named arrived and opened the hand of valour. The rebels made some resistance and were defeated, and by the Divine protection, no harm came to the forts or the treasure. Though M'aṣūm K. had done good service, yet without the approval of the imperial servants he cherished evil thoughts and went off to Jaunpur. On the way he took Ḥājīpūr from the servants of Bahādur.[1] On the day when fortune was adverse, and the victorious army was hotly engaged, that evil-doer had come out of Tirhut and seized many places. From that time Sarkār Ḥājīpūr was in his possession.

But perhaps the meaning is they had nearly taken the fort.

[1] This must be the Bahādur son of Badakhshī, who set up as a king in Tirhut. The I.O. MSS. have no conjunction before the words "on that day" *ānrūz*, though the text has so *ūnrūz*. I suppose that Bahādur's taking of Ḥājīpūr refers to some earlier period. See the author of Iqbālnāma's remarks about Bahādur at end of his abridgment of this chapter. Near the same place he mentions that the name of 'Āṣī was given to M'aṣūm Kabulī by Akbar, and that he shall henceforth call him by that name. It appears from Stewart's Hist. of Bengal, etc., that Todar Mal caused the dispersion of the rebels by inducing the zamindars to refuse their supplies.

CHAPTER LIV.

322 M'aṣūm K. Kabulī makes a night attack, and is defeated.

At the time when the disturbance caused by 'Arab Bahādur was put down, the victorious army departed from Serāi[1] Rānī to Bihar in order to settle the affair of M'aṣūm K. Kabulī, and to clear the garden of the land of the weeds and rubbish of rebellion. Owing to the continual occurrence of clouds and rain it halted on the bank of the Pun-pun. When the weather moderated, it proceeded onward on the road of service. The rebel came out of Bihār and proceeded towards the foot[2] of the northern hill country. On 15 Mihr (end of September 1580) the army reached the town of Gaya. At dawn the enemy left that place and halted at the flourishing city[3] of Bahīra. Next day the imperialists marched four kos and encamped. On account of the great amount of water the arrangements for encamp-

[1] This must be the Rānī Serai of Tiefenthaler I. 420. He says it is six kos (miles) from the town of Bihār and also six kos from the south bank of the Ganges. It must then be to the N. of Bihār.

[2] *Ba damana-i-kohistān-i-shimālī.* By the northern hill-country is meant hills south of Gaya and in Hazāribāgh, etc. This is shown by the 'Ain text I. 416, J. II. 149, where the breadth of the province of Bihār from North to South is stated as extending from Tirhut to the northern hill country, *shimālī kohsār.* M'aṣūm had gone off from before Monghyr to the South and West of Bihār under the guidance of the Rajah of Gīdhaur, text, p. 321. But he was unable to maintain his ground against Todar Mal and so was marching southwards towards Hazāribāgh. The imperialists pursued him, and did this somewhat too hastily and carelessly for he turned back upon them near Shergotty(?) and made a night attack in which he was nearly successful.

[3] *M'amūra-i-shahr Bahīra.* There does not seem to be any place of this name at the present day. But I conjecture that it is Shergotty, the name of which is properly "Shahr ghātī," a large and well-known place at the foot of the ghats or mountain-passes leading from the Highlands of Chutia Nāgpūr to the plain of Bihār. Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1885, I. 169. In the Ain it is called Ghātī Bihar (not Ghātisār as in J.). It may, however, be Pahra or Kātī Bahra, both of which places are entered in J. II. 154.

ing were not carried out. The impetuosity of the combatants, and the paucity of the enemy led many into neglect. That sedition-monger was two farsangs off. Though rumours of his evil designs were current, and experienced and alert men spoke about keeping the soldiers in order, they were not successful. But Rajah Todar Mal in his quarters and Ṣādiq 'Alī in his, did not lose the thread of foresight, and remained ready for battle. That night was the watch of Ulugh[1] K. Habshī and his force. The leader slept on the bed of negligence, and sent his somnolent servants to be watchful! The enemy who had lost courage, recovered it on seeing the ill-timed cautiousness of the imperialists, and their slow-marching, and set themselves to make a disturbance. As they did not find in themselves the power to fight by day, they thought of behaving like owls and of making an attack in the darkness of night. When a watch of the night had passed, they attacked with a large force. They defeated the neglectful vanguard, and Māh Beg and some Abyssinians were slain. Their presumption increased, and they laid hands on the imperial camp, and the deluge of turbulence reached the quarters of Ṣādiq K. He stood firm and behaved bravely; the heroes who loved their reputation devoted their lives.

Verse.

I'll not call them two armies, but two mountains of Qāf.
They stood drawn up in the arena.
So hot was the engagement
That steel swords made the rocks soft.

At this time when things were in the balance, and loss showed its face from afar, Kamāl K. faujdār brought up two elephants swift as the wind, and imparted lustre to the battle. The evil-doers fell into confusion, and the breeze of victory began to blow on the rosebush of the hopes of the good servants. The roses of the battlefield bloomed from being watered by the cheerful of countenance. Great deeds were done by the courageous, and by the sky-high elephants. Every arrow that reached the elephants was **323** regarded by them as an incitement to activity and increased their spirit. They cast down with their trunks the enemy's horsemen.

[1] B. 437. See Badayūnī, Lowe 292, and Elliot V. 418.

Eighty-two arrows stuck in one elephant, and fifty-five in another. Many of the imperial servants were wounded, but owing to the Divine protection none were fatally injured. By the help of heaven a great victory revealed its countenance. If the narrowness of their energy had been a little widened, and they had followed up their victory, this would have been the last revolution of the heavens for the enemy. But the country was full of water, and their enterprise was at a low level, and the roads were full of jungle. The victorious troops were on their guard till morning. When the sun took possession of the earth, they came out of camp and halted near the city of Bahīra, and though they knew that the enemy was three *kos* off, they did not pursue them.

One of the occurrences was that the Khān 'Āzim joined the army. Inasmuch as the incomparable Deity increases the fortune of the world's lord, the great rebellion had subsided before the armies effected a junction. The daily increase of dominion was impressed on high and low. The cause of the delay in the arrival of the Kokaltāsh was that when he crossed at Causa, he was detained by the rebellion of Dalpat Ujjainiya. His short-sighted companions represented his power in exaggerated terms, and he listened to them and set himself to punish that presumptuous one. About the same time Shahbāz K. arrived, and the Khān 'Āzim also kept him back, and represented to him the necessity for punishing the landholder. As the celestial superintendents were engaged in displaying [1] the wonders of daily-increasing fortune, the plannin s of the imperial servants were not happy, and the effects of their energies were stayed by the performance of this part of their work. Jagdespūr, the seat of the rebel, was plundered. The forests which also contained miry places were a help to the rebels. The imperialists halted there, and tested their valour in daily engagements. Meanwhile babblers caused a dissension between the Khān 'Āzim and Shahbāz K. and the light of concord became dark. The Kokaltāsh withdrew his

[1] The meaning is that heaven was showing the wondrous good fortune of Akbar by allowing his servants to make mistakes and yet producing eventual success. Dalpat was the successor of Gajpatī. Apparently he was Gajpatī's uncle. He is reckoned as the 74th Ujjainiah chief, Gajpatī being the 73rd, Dalpat, or Dalpatī, or Dulīp Shah is said to have been Rajah from 1577 to 1601. See B. 513 and n.

hand from the work, and went off towards the army, on the 18th, i.e. the day after the night-attack, he joined the camp, and a fresh lustre was given to affairs.

One of the occurrences was the death of S'aādat 'Alī K. 'Arab Bahādur and some rebels marched against Shahbāz K. The officers out of caution sent S'aādat 'Alī K., Qamar K., Payinda and Rustam with auxiliary troops. On their arrival, the rebels dispersed. 324
Shahbāz K. placed troops here and there for the protection of the country, and he assigned the fort of Kant,[1] which is a dependency of Rohtās, to S'aādat 'Alī K., Payinda, Rustam and the landholder Rūp Narain. 'Arab and Dalpat had their opportunity and made an attack. A great engagement took place. Though they could not guard the fort, they guarded their honour and staked their short lives in a worthy manner. Though S'aādat 'Alī K. had, at the beginning of the rebellion, been a kindler of strife, yet he spent his last breath in loyalty. 'Arab, from his depraved disposition, drank some of his blood. He stained his forehead with some of it, and gave new lustre to villainy.

One of the occurrences was the departure of many rebels from the province of Bihar. When the Khān 'Āzim joined the army of fortune there was great rejoicing. The evil-doers relinquished the idea of battle and hastened off in failure to Bengal, though, owing to the evil thoughts of some, they were not pursued, nor was an expedition made into Bengal, so that the ingrates might have had their wings and feathers burnt off and have received the retribution due to their deeds. But proper steps were taken for the reducing Bihar into order, and there was profound peace in that territory. On the[2] 20th Muḥibb 'Alī K. was sent off and the country was made over to his watchfulness from Shahr Bahīra to Rohtās. Saiyid Mozaffar and Mīr M'aṣūm[3] of Bhakar and other servants accom-

[1] So in text. But apparently it is the Kot of the Ain J. II. 157 which is described as having a stone (*sangīn*) fort. Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1885, p. 181, thinks that Kot must be the "well-known hillfort of Bijaygarh on a high platform overlooking the Sone." It is up-stream from Rohtās, fifty miles S Benares and nine from the Sone, and is in the Mirzapūr district. It is the fort which was occupied for a time by Chait Singh.

[2] The I.O. MSS. support the variant "the 8th," in which case presumably Ābān is meant.

[3] The well-known historian and writer of inscriptions. B. 514.

panied him. On that day the army halted in Gaya, in the neighbourhood of Rajgaṛha. Dost Muḥammad[1] Bābā Dost—who from his evil fate had colluded with the rebels—became, by a happy star, ashamed and repented, and joined with 200 men. When the victorious army came near Ghīāṣpūr, the news arrived that 'Arab had been defeated by Shahbāz K. and was going to the province of Sārangpūr,[2] and that he was oppressing the weak. Accordingly Shāham K. and a number of men who had fiefs in that part were sent off in order to inflict punishment on him. Ghāzi K. Badakhshī was left with a body of troops in Bihar.[3] When a report came of the seditiousness of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, Tarson K. was sent off to Jaunpur. Ṣādiq K., S. Farīd Bokhārī, Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Ṭaiyib K. and others were sent off to Monghyr in order to clear that country of rebels, and to give peace to the peasantry. The Khān 'Āẓim, Rajah Todar Mal and others proceeded to Patna and Ḥājīpūr. At this time Shahbāz K., before the officers joined
325 him, set up a shop of his own. As he had chastised Dalpat and 'Arab, and had taken Ḥājīpūr by force from the servants of Bahādur, he became self-conceited and presumptuous. When M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī went to Jaunpur, Bahādur had shown activity and taken possession of it (Ḥājīpūr). If his common-sense had not been injured he should have joined the imperial servants and acted in concert with them. By working together they would have carried matters through. Success, which in the pure soul brings with it humility and supplication, had the contrary effect on him, and led him to commit the acts of an enemy. The first thing was that he made some delay in surrendering Ḥājīpūr, which had been assigned from the sublime court to the Kokaltāsh. He was induced to give it up by the tact and skill of Rajah Todar Mal. The Khān 'Āẓim and the Rajah took up their quarters in Ḥājīpūr, and Shahbāz K. stayed in Patna. The former spent their time in trouble (*sirgirānī*) and in using blandishments[4] (*'aṣḥāfaroshī*), while that newly-

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that he had formerly been the *vakīl* of Mun'im K.

[2] The I.O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. have not the termination *pūr*, but only Sarang. Is Sārangarh in Sambhalpur meant, or is it Sāran?

[3] The city of Bihar, says the Iqbālnāma.

[4] I suppose this refers to attempts to soothe Shahbāz. Or it may mean

infatuated one employed himself in adorning his shop[1] and in managing matters. From his increasing dignities and giving of fiefs, many of the officers turned towards him. The Khān 'Āẓim was disgusted with everything (withdrew his heart from everything) and the Rajah postponed[2] everything. The whole of the affairs of the province devolved upon Shahbāz K. Though right-thinking persons intervened, in no way could the thread of unity be duplicated,[3] or the path of conciliation trodden. Though they represented that by the wondrous working of fate, the imperial troops had been divided into two portions, and had indulged their own wishes and not taken the path of concord and that the indispensable thing now was that one portion should take upon itself the charge of Bengal, and another the guarding of Bihar up to the capital, yet inasmuch as self-interest had let fall a veil over the eyes of truth-seeking, and broad and right-thinking was hidden, the remarks had no effect The Khān 'Āẓim and the Rajah and some officers went off to Tirhut. Though the pretext was that they wished to put down Bahādur, but in reality they sought to get away from Shahbāz K. When they had gone a little way, they sent Ghāzī K. in advance. The rebel (Bahādur) made ready for battle, and was defeated, and his home and family were captured. Shāhbāz K. went off with a large army to Jaunpūr. Though he too was moved by a desire for separation, and for being free from daily discussions, yet he gave out that he wished to guide M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī to service.

One of the occurrences was the dying of Sharafud-dīn Husain M. Though the leaders of the victorious army were self-willed, the wondrous fortune (of Akbar) still displayed her countenance. When

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that they did nothing, but only practised amiable speeches.

[1] This metaphor about keeping a shop and setting off the wares to the best advantage was a favourite with Akbar and A. F.

[2] Lit. threw things into the foundation or into the reserve (*farḥ*).

[3] A. F.'s language here is tortuous and his metaphors obscure. Apparently, the phrase *rishta-i-ikja-hatī dotāī nagirift* means that the thread of singleness of action and concord could not be made of two strands, i.e. Shahbāz, and the K. 'Āẓim and the Rajah. And this, although it was suggested to them that circumstances favoured them, by allowing them independence of action, for there were two distinct fields for their energies, viz. Bengal and Bihar.

M'aṣūm K. Kābulī fled to Bengal, dissension broke out between him and the Mīrzā, and each lay in ambush for the other. The Mīrzā
326 became haughty on account of abundant plunder, and of the pressure of flatterers (lit. dog-flies). That fox (M'aṣūm) had recourse to deception and blandishments, and by craft contrived to poison him. The Mīrzā had an Indian boy named Maḥmūd whom, from a regard to externals, and ignorance of human nature, he loved. M'aṣūm corrupted him by money, and he mixed poison with the Mīrzā's opium (*khashkhāsh*). In a short time he died and his contemporaries were quit of his troubling.

One of the occurrences was the death of Dastam K.[1] In the previous year he had been sent to put down the disaffected, and to support the oppressed in the province of Ajmere, and he had performed the task with zeal and devotion. At this time, Ucla the son of Bhalbhadr, Mohan, Sūr Dās and Tilūksī, the brother's sons of Rajah Bihārī Mal, came thither from the Panjab without permission, and stirred up strife in the town of Lūnī,[2] which was their home. That excellent (*farohīda*) man out of respect for the Kachwāhas tried the effect of advice. Inasmuch as a rough file is of use for an unfinished article (*angāra*) and a smooth one for a polished surface,

[1] See B. 398. Bayazīd Biyāt calls 99b Dastam or Dostam's (B. 620) mother Tūkhta, and tells how Akbar on one occasion borrowed a needle from her to take thorns out of his feet.

[2] B. has an elaborate note about the sites mentioned by A. F., p. 398, n. 1. There is a Lūnī entered in the Ain as belonging to Sarkār Delhi, J. II, p. 288, but I suppose it cannot be the place alluded to here. Ranthanbor is now in Jaipūr. There is a Bolī entered in Sarkār Ranthanbor, J. II. 274, which B. supposes to be the Lūnī of text. There is a Sherpūr marked on the Govt. map of Jaipūr, between the Banās and the Cambal. These are the variants for Lūnī of Lālī and Nālī. I think it is almost certain that B. is right in identifying Lūnī and Bolī. The latter, besides being mentioned in the Ain, is referred to in Bābar's statement of the revenues of India, where we have Sarkār Ranthanbor including Bolī, etc. See Erskine's Hist. of India, I. 274. The place where the fight took place is called in text Thorī, but the Iqbālnāma has Bhorī, and this seems to be the correct reading, for we have Bhorī Bhara in J. II. 274 and Bhorī Pahārī in *id.* 102. It would seem from Akbar's remark that Dastam and he met when the latter was only three years old, and presumably, therefore, when Akbar was with his uncles in Kabul or Qandahar.

gentleness and conciliation did not suit those turbulent ones, but increased their wickedness, and put a new head to their refractoriness. At this time Ādam Tājband brought an order from court that Dastam K. should bring them into the road (of submission) by warnings and threats, and that if they did not accept these, he was to punish them. He did not make plans and acted hastily. Without collecting soldiers he hastened to their abode. On 10 Ābān he fell in with the enemy in the village of Thorī and engaged them. Mohan Dās, Sūr Dās, and Tilūksī attacked the vanguard, which was commanded by Miskīn 'Alī. He fell from his horse, but got up and fought bravely. Dastam K. on perceiving this sent forward most of his companions. There was a hot engagement. Mohan Dās and Sūr Dās were killed, and Tilūksī fell in another part of the field. Ucla, who was the ringleader, took refuge in a field of millet (*jawār*) and was watching his opportunity. Suddenly he came out of his ambush, and calling out "Dastam Khān," came to the battlefield. He turned to fight, and did not regard the fewness of his men. The scoundrel inflicted a severe wound on him with a spear, and Dastam, in spite of the dangerous wound, killed him with his sword, and himself fell senseless on the ground. Just then some of his men came up and set him upon his horse. As the engagement was hot, he said nothing about his injury, but encouraged his men. They addressed themselves to the fight and slew many. The rest of the **327** enemy fled, and the houses of the rebels were plundered. By the blessing of daily-increasing fortune a great victory was gained. When the fight was done they halted near the same place. Next day at the time of return he died in the town of Sherpūr. He yielded up his life in good service and with the beauty of loyalty and bravery, and, by the spilling of a short life, acquired an eternal name. The world's lord lamented for a while, but from his lordship of the spiritual world he moved to the garden of resignation. By various acts of kindness and by cordial words he soothed somewhat the agitated mind of his mother and said, "From the beginning of the springtide of my existence I spent (only) three years without him, but with that exception he held a place in the ante-chamber of favour. He did his work and understood my position (or perhaps men's dispositions). All are aware that secluded, chaste one has spent many years without him. It appears that his loss is harder

for us,[1] and that it is she who should minister comfort to me." He spoke many choice words. May the incomparable Deity preserve him on the throne and make him successful spiritually and temporally. He bestowed many favours on the survivors of the deceased, and the sorrowful had a new joy. He sent M. Khān to manage the country and bestowed Rantanbhor on him as a fief. He hung many jewels of counsel on the ears of his reason.

Also at this time Khwāja Shāh Mansūr was distinguished by the royal favour. It has been mentioned why he had been removed from the Viziership and sent to the prison of schooling. As it appeared that in the writing of accounts and demanding of arrears there was no fault of the Khwāja's except the thought of increasing the revenue and a failure to recognize the circumstances of the time, he was again exalted to that high office, and the jewel of his understanding was polished by good counsels.

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Vizier (Wazīr) K. to Oudh. As that province was without a great officer, H. M. ordered that the peasantry and soldiers should be succoured. He went off in the end of the month, and many choice servants and soldiers accompanied him.

One of the occurrences was that Niyābat K. received punishment. That base man was the son of Mīr Hāshim of Nīshāpūr, and had the
328 name of 'Arab. He had been brought up from an early age in the service of the world's lord, and been exalted by great confidence. For some time he managed the crown-lands. The accountants brought a charge of arrears against him, and the slave of gold preferred disobedience to service, and by his own acts fell into eternal ruin. He made long the arm of sedition and besieged the town of Kara. Ilyās K. Lauka[2] with a few servants of Ismā'īl Qulī K. fought a battle, and bravely drank the last draught. Many could not believe in his shamelessness, and some rejoiced in it. On hearing of this, H. M. sent off, on 3 Āzar, Isma'īl Qulī K. 'Abdulmuttalib, S. Jamāl, Bakhtiyār and other loyal servants. Wazīr K. and the other officers of the province were ordered to act with concord and activity, and to inflict retribution on him. When the

[1] Text has *bar ao*, but I.O. MSS. and Cawnpore edition have *bar mā*.

[2] Perhaps Langā.

army approached, and opened the hand of superior strength, that futile fellow strengthened some of the forts and went off to Arail. Wazīr K. and some brave men addressed himself to the taking of it, and in the first place proceeded to take Ilahābās (Allahabad). Ism'aīl Qūlī K. and others followed up Niyābat K., and near the river of Kantīt,[1] Muṭṭalib K. and S. Jamāl arrived before the others and adorned the field of battle. From every side brave men met together, and bought with their lives the valuable goods of honour. Friends and foes praised each other's strength of arm.

Verse.

First with arrows from both sides
They made a single hair into a hundred strands.
When they wearied of the cuirass-splitting arrow
They drew their swords from the sheaths.

The victorious army was nearly suffering loss. Suddenly Ism'aīl Qūlī K. arrived with some brave and experienced men and the fire-temple of battle was rekindled. By the help of God, matters were changed and victory ensued. Many of the enemy were killed, and that turbulent one trod the desert of failure, and sate in the corner of disgrace. Various kinds of plunder were obtained, and his houses were soon seized.

One of the occurrences was (the display of) the physical might of the world's lord. He had ordered that every day distinguished[2] wrestlers should contend in his presence. This gave pleasure to many who were present at the public audiences. One day Jag Sobhā and Haibat Tahamtan contended, and astonished the spectators. Haibat, who was strong, abandoned the rules of wrestling and in a 329

[1] The text has Kasht, and Badayūnī has Gasht, a dependency of Patna, Lowe 298. But as B. has pointed out, 425, n. 2, Gasht is a mistake for Kantīt in Allahabad Sarkār, J. II. 161, and Patna for Pannah. The river "āb" of Kantīt must be the Ganges. The mistake also occurs in Elliot V. 420. Badayūnī says Niyābat dismounted Jamāl Bakhtiyār and then spared his life. After his defeat Niyābat went off to Oudh to M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī. Kantīt is entered under Sarkār Ilāhābās in J. II. 161. For Karā or Karrah, often called Corah, see I. G. XIV. 416. It is 42 miles N. W. Allahabad.

[2] See the chapters about pahlwāns or wrestlers in B. 253.

demon-like fashion applied his strength, and tore off the fingers of his antagonist. Inasmuch as the administration of punishment rests in the first instance on the holy personality of kings, the world's lord put his fist into the face of that misbehaver. By the might of the shadow of the hand of God that gigantic form fell senseless like a weakling. The powerful of body were amazed, and the superficial had their attention directed to realities.

CHAPTER LV.

The tearing of the veil of reverence by M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, and his soilure in the dusthole of failure.

It has been stated that that wretch separated, in his presumption, from the army of fortune, and kicked against fortune. He came to Jaunpūr and occupied himself in evil thoughts. Fly-like beings and slaves of gold gathered round the poisoned honey. Though for a long time past sedition had been oozing out from his behaviour, and he used to make evil speeches, yet, on this day when the disturbance caused by the rebels in Bengal and Bihar had subsided, and their power had been scattered, and when it was time for him to weave a screen over his evil deeds, he, from innate wickedness, and a demoniacal disposition, totally severed the woof and warp of shame, and seated himself in the melancholy abode of misfortune! Sound reason is withdrawn from those for whom the time of retribution has arrived, and their eyes of warning become dim. The counsels of the time do not give them clearness of vision: they think loss is gain, and proper what is bad! The circumstances of that turbulent man illustrate this view. The increasing of eternal fortune (Akbar's) and the losses of the rebels, together with the report of the coming to the Panjab of Ḥakīm M. and the design of H. M. to proceed thither, called forth his ingratitude and presumption from the straits of his bosom to the open ground of demonstration. He forcibly took Jaunpūr from the servants of Tarson K. For a long time his misconduct was not credited at Court. How could a head on which so much bounty had been shed, be the bearer of so much unpleasantness? And how could a brain which had received so much truth be filled with the smoke of delusion? But when fortune is darkened, the lamp of wisdom grows cold, and safety is sought in nothingness, and repose in loss. Obligations of old standing are placed in the privy chamber of oblivion. The weight of desires, and the levity of wrath, cast the man headlong 330
into the dark ravine of failure.

Verse.

Wherever lust sets a firm foot
The pleasant place of life is disordered.
When desire is firmly fixed in the heart
Fidelity's foundation remains not in her place.

When successive instances of his wickedness had occurred, the noble graciousness of H.M. decided that some prudent men should be sent to bring him to the station of bliss, so that he might either join the army, or turn the face of supplication towards the court. But advice only increased his madness, and his excuses became materials for strifemongering. Inasmuch as it is the rule of H.M. to walk circumspectly, an order was issued that if M'aṣūm could not bring himself to do either of those two things, he should withdraw from Jaunpūr and proceed to Oudh, and regard it as his fief and look after it. That evil-starred one thought he was saved, and hastened off to that province. In appearance he obeyed the order, in reality he got an opportunity for accumulating the materials of disturbance. Though the imperial servants reported some of his misdeeds, they were not listened to on account of its being the market-day of graciousness! Shagūna Qarāwal and some intimates were sent to inquire into his condition, for many well-meaning persons have become objects of suspicion on account of the negligence of rulers and the malignity and self-seeking of their servants, and been ruined in their reputation and their lives. They (the servants) have made the matter a means of selling their own goods and so have developed another market.

The envoys, owing to their small wisdom and great covetousness, represented the wicked seller of wiles as loyal and serviceable and said that he was in some unsteadiness on account of the untrue reports, but that if one or two magnanimous courtiers were sent to him and soothed him, he would come to court and produce thousands of the goods of submissiveness. The world's lord from his noble nature credited these representations and sent off on this service Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram and Rajah Bīrbar. When they arrived in the neighbourhood, they, from foresight, sent a conciliatory letter, conveying the news of H.M.'s graciousness. That man, whose fate was somnolent, came out from behind the screen of respect, and

used improper language. Perceiving that the affair was past remedy, they returned. Before they reached the court Shahbāz K. arrived with the army of fortune and laid the dust of sedition. The presumptuous one became a vagabond in the desert of defeat. Every one to whom the Incomparable Deity grants reason-increasing auspiciousness obtains long life and happiness, and those who wish ill to his fortune are stained with the dust of failure. Whoever peruses ancient records, or holds reasonable converse with the guardians of speech—who adorn the library of the heart—perceives this. Or he can do so by opening the eye of enlightenment and studying with a fair mind a portion of the record of the World's Lord. A fresh example is afforded by the circumstances of the overthrow of this man of turbulent brain. Owing to the disappearance of the department of skill, and the absence of any enlightened intermediary, the abundance of sedition-mongering sophists, the friendship of flatterers, and the fault-finding with others, there was no banquet of concord among the officers of the victorious army. Why should I say this? There was not even any tact, which is indispensable in the social state. The prosperity of the imperial servants was without any such regulating principle! The Khān Ā'zim and Rajah Todar Mal went off to Tirhut, and Shāhbāz K. hastened to Jaunpūr. The conquest of Bengal and the chastisement of the rebels became hidden under the veil of delay. Owing to daily-increasing Fortune, that which might have been a matter of loss to prestige became the material of increased victory (bahrūzī) and auspiciousness. When Shāhbāz K. reached the town of Bihīya[1] the news came that 'Arab Bahādur had been defeated by Tarson K.'s men and was in that neighbourhood, and was oppressing the weak. Some active men were sent and they inflicted suitable punishment on him. From thence he went to Jagdespūr and set himself to punish the refractory in that quarter. At this time it became certain that M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī had gone wrong, and that Niyābat K. and 'Arab were backing him. Of necessity he hasted to Oudh, and sent a wise 331

[1] There is a variant, but probably Bihīya is right. It is in the Shahabad district and now a railway station. Shahbāz might pass through Bihīya on his way from Patna to Jaunpūr if he kept to the south side of the Ganges.

letter (to M'aṣūm) along with an acute man. Its purport was that he should arrest 'Arab, Niyābat K. and Shāh Dāna, and go with them to court, or go himself in advance so that the veil over his actions might not be discarded and that his evil actions might be turned into good ones. Inasmuch as the lamp of his wisdom had grown cold, and his fortune had gone to sleep, he regarded the counsel as fiction, and increased his folly. He sent his family and household across the Sarū (the Sarjū) to a difficult country, and prepared for war in company with distracted Turks.[1] Shāhbāz K. prepared for battle. He himself was in the centre, Tarsoa K. was on the right wing, Mihtar K., Pahār K., Saiyid Ābdullah K. and Qamar K. were on the left. Mihr 'Alī K. Sildoz, Jīwan K. Koka, Mīr Abul Qāsim, and Mīr Abul M'aāli took front rank in the van. Mufākhar Muḥammad and some experienced soldiers formed the reserve. The sagacious enemy chose a difficult ground. 'Arab commanded the right wing, Shāh Dānā and 'Ābdī the left wing. M. Qulī Toqbāī and a party of ill-
332 fated ones were in the van. Niyābat K. had his place in the *altamsh*. He himself (M'aṣūm) remained in ambush.

On 13 Bahman (22nd January 1581) when a watch of the day had passed an engagement took place near Sultānpūr[2] Bilahrī, 25 kos from Awadh (the city of, i e. Ajodya or Faiẓābād).

(*Quatrain*)

The van of the victorious army pushed forward, and the *altamsh* supported it, and the enemy was defeated. M. Qulī stepped towards the abode of annihilation, and carried off his life to the lodging of dishonour. The combatants of the right wing, also, by great efforts, drove off the foe. At this time M'aṣūm K. approached the centre (Shahbāz's) and stirred up the dust of battle. Shahbāz K. lost heart and took the road of flight. On receiving this news the right wing and the van turned back. By the wondrous work of the adorners of fortune (i.e. Akbar's mystic helpers) a cry arose

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[1] There is the variant buzurgān and it is supported by I. O. 236. M.S. 235 has zarbandagān. It is not likely that Turkān is right.

[2] Bilahrī and Sultānpūr are mentioned separately in J. II. 174. B. in Errata corrects his Bilkarī to Bilahrī. See Oudh Gazetteer III. 428. Bilahrī is now known as Barausna. The old pargana of Sultānpūr is divided by the Gumtī into S. Barausna and S. Mīranpūr.

that M'aṣūm K. had been killed, and the enemy's opportunity was dissipated. When that brainless one (M'aṣūm) had gone some distance he came (back) to the field of battle. He could see no trace of his men and sank into the depths of bewilderment. Suddenly an army appeared, drawn up in battle array. The confused man thought it was his own troops and joyfully proceeded towards them. He found that it was the left wing of the victorious army. His bewilderment and despair increased. The beginning of the battle had taken place on low ground, full of trees. When the enemy[1] had been routed, the troops proceeded to plunder their camp. The Baegoṭī clan who were attached to that body (the left imperial wing) also joined in the plundering. Like a flood they swept away the quarters of the foundationless wretches. The plunderers[1] had come to the field of battle when that rebel came there. Though his comrades represented to him that those men (the left wing) were not aware of the condition of Shahbaz K., and that the suitable thing was to pause a little, as when the facts were known, they would disperse of themselves; he did not listen to them and proceeded to attack. He was unsuccessful, and returned wounded. He drew rein on some high ground, which really was low (past, i.e. base). Though the field had been gained by the strenuous servants of fortune, yet they had not the energy to take a few steps and seize the loitered. That ill-fated one recited the verse of despair and went to his camp. As he could see no sign of it, he was overwhelmed with grief. With a darkened mind and in wretched plight externally, he went off to Awadh. The victorious left wing heard of the rest of the troops having given way and encamped at Akbarpūr[3] twelve *kos* from Awadh. They sent swift messengers to convey the news of victory to Shahbāz 333
K. and the other leaders. Shahbāz K. in his alarm had drawn rein

[1] *Ghanāīm*. I take this word to refer to the imperial troops who had just plundered M'aṣūm's camp. The author of the Iqbālnāma seems to have so understood it for he has *baghanaim nā maḥṣūr*, with boundless plunder.

[2] *dil bāī dādan*. This is the phrase which occurs in Vol. II, p. 53.

[3] In the Faizabad district. See I.G.V. 180. It is E. N. E. Sulṭanpūr. See "Oude Gazetteer," I. 14 and 15. It seems to have been founded by Akbar and had a bridge which was apparently built in 976 (1568-69) under the supervision of Muḥammad Muḥsin.

at Jaunpur thirty *kos* from the field of battle. The right wing and the van halted in Surhirpūr twelve *kos* from the battle-field. It was solely by H.M.'s good fortune that such a great defeat[1] fell upon the enemy. As the leader of the victorious army was exalted by the world's wine, such a crop-sickness of sorrow fell upon him. On the 21st the celestial news reached H.M and he returned thanks to God. The worthy servants were rewarded by divers favours. There was abundant collyrium for the eye of the heart, and the clearness of vision acquired fresh lustre.

One of the occurrences was the Shāhinshāh's giving special attention to Divine matters. No time passed without his taking into consideration the world of bliss, or without his giving a penetrating glance to the acts of the ancients. The whole of his noble energies was directed towards the subsidence of the turbulence of schisms, and to the removal of the mists of contest. In the holy temple of his head—which is an explanation of the Divine privy chamber—he was grieved by the varieties of religions, and he was in search of what was pleasing to God. He stepped aside from the untruthfulness of the religion-splitting deceivers and hypocrites. The heart and tongue of this Unique of the world of creation always sang this strain of supplication.

Verse.

O God, show the way of approach to Thee,
Show one glory of that heart-entrancing beauty,
Write on the heart the letters worthy to be read,
Show us the picture worthy to be seen.

On the 25th he removed the veil from many secluded verities and brought out the truth to the hall of manifestation, and said with his wondrous tongue, "If this repose should be effected, and

[1] A. F.'s account of the battle is confused and he does not, like the T. A. and Badayūnī, ascribe the victory to Tarson Muḥammad. He makes him command the right wing, but it is to the left wing that he ascribes the victory. Cf. Elliot V. 421 and Badayūnī, Lowe 298. B. 400 has Shahbāz fighting all the way to Jaunpūr, but I think that the word fighting is a clerical error, and that B. wrote "flying." Neither A.F. nor the Maasir says anything about Shahbāz fighting his way up to Jaunpūr.

it should be impressed on all that the doing the will of God was an indispensable duty, how could sufficient thanksgiving be paid therefore? Where is the strength to give praise for this? But in accordance with the saying of the wise of old." 'If all cannot be effected, all should not be abandoned,' it occurs to us that we and all those around us can do one thing in proportion to our strength, and can regard that as the material of bliss. Therefore it appears to us that as our ancestors made a twelve years' cycle, in every year, one good action may be performed. (1) In the[1] Sicqān year, mice should not be injured. (2) In the Ūd year, endeavours should be made to strengthen oxen and they should be presented to cultivators. (3) In the Pārs year, one should refrain from capturing leopards, and from hunting with them (4) In the Tawishqān year, one should refrain from eating or hunting hares. (5) In the Loiy year, one should adopt 334
the same practice with regard to fish. (6) In the Yīlān year, one should not injure serpents. (7) In the Yūnt year, horses should not be killed or eaten, and presents should be made of them (8) In the Qūī year, the same with regard to sheep. (9) In the Mūcūn[2] year, apes should not be hunted, and those caught should be set free. (10) In the Takhāqū year, cocks should not be killed, nor used in fighting. (11) In the Yīt year, dogs should not be employed in hunting, and attention should be paid to the nurturing of this faithful animal, especially the friendless ones of the streets. (12) In the Tangūz year, hogs should not be injured. Likewise, some good work after this fashion should be done in every month of the lunar year.

(1) Muḥarram. Living creatures should not be killed. (2) Ṣafr. Prisoners should be set free. (3) Rabī-al-awwal. Thirty selected needy persons should be given presents. (4) Rabī-'al-akhir. The bodily elements should be kept cleansed, and pleasures not be indulged in. (5) Jamādī-al-awwal. One should not adorn oneself in gorgeous raiment nor in woven silk. (6) Jamādī-al-ākhir. One should not use leather. (7) Rajab. One should according to his

[1] A.F. gives an account of the Turkī era in the Ain. J. II. 20. In the Persian text of the Ain I 273 the names of the years are spelt, letter by letter.

[2] So in text, but a mistake: the true reading is either Bīj or Bīch as in Lucknow ed., or Maimān.

ability help forty persons of his own age. (8) Sh'abān. Every day one should put away oppression by oneself or by others. (9) Ramẓān One should feed and clothe thirty indigent persons. (10) Shawwāl. One should repeat 1000 times every day the names of the Creator. (11) Ẕiq'ada. One should watch the first night, and every day one should make presents to and cherish some persons of another Faith than his own. (12) Ẕiḥajj. Thirty useful buildings should be erected. Continually, such good practices should be kept up according to years and months." The farsighted and intelligent person well knows that these institutions of the world's lord are intended for the tribes of mankind who have left the way of bliss and are sunk in the pit of formalism and evil ways. His world protectiveness keenly feels this desire. As for the ocean of enlightenment and treasure-house of wisdom, he, as regards the sovereignty of the outer world and the Caliphate of the spiritual universe, holds a continual darbār in the temple of wisdom.

Verse.

O God, do Thou exalt this enlightened King,
The exalter of diadem and throne.
Build his throne on the top of the sky,
Do what he and his fortune desire.

One of the occurrences was the death of Bahādur Baskī.[1] He was at the head of the rebels of Bengal. In the province of Bihar he, in league with Jān Muḥammad Bihsūdī and some reprobates, practised tyranny. When the mist of dissension (lit. two colours) arose among the officers, and the march of the victorious army to Bengal was postponed, Ṣādiq K. and some gallant men took their stand in the neighbourhood of Monghyr. Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Bābū Manklī, Abā Bikr, and Bāqir Anṣārī went to Bhagalpur, and spread out the carpet of neglect. Those ill-fated ones (Bahādur and his companions) became bold and attacked them, and they were unable to resist and returned to Monghyr. Ṣādiq K. sent some alert and

[1] The text has بسکی. I.O. MS. 236 has *paskī*. There is the variant Khweshgī. This is not the son of S'aīd Badakhshī. He did not die till the 26th year when he was executed by Akbar. See text 374. I believe the word to be Bangī, a chewer of bhāng. One MS. has *bangī*.

experienced men to give them battle. By good fortune, Bahādur, 335
who was the ringleader, was killed, while the other rebels fled to Bengal. The pleasant land of Bihar was swept and cleansed of weeds and rubbish. The mandrake[1] grew up instead of the thorn, and the season of joy became active.

[1] *mardam giyā*. The plant is supposed to resemble a man, and possibly the word is here used metaphorically for man. Cf. Isaiah lv. 13. The mandrake is also called mihrgiyā, and is regarded as an aphrodisiac.

CHAPTER LVI.

Expedition to the Punjab, and the failure and return of Ḥakīm M. to Kabul.

Assuredly the stewards of the privy chamber of fate impel him who is of wide capacity, and great kindness, and who is possessed of great power together with right thinking, to leave to the Deity the amendment of the evil and seditious. If the latter are of a good nature they recall them from their wickedness and send them to make supplications at the Court of the world's lord. Otherwise they confound their evil wishes and deliver them over to failure. The case of this young man of disturbed brain illustrates this. Although reports of his misfeasance reached the ears of H.M. he did not address himself to punish him. He used to say to his servants, "He is a memorial[1] of H.M. Jahānbānī. A son can be acquired but how can a brother be obtained?" He from drunkenness and the intoxication of youth was inflamed of mind, and nourished the thought of contending against God-given dominion. He did not know that a great fire could not be put out by a little water, and that the medicine for a scratch cannot be the plaster for an old gangrene. At the time when the rebels in the eastern provinces were stirring up the dust of dissension, as has already been described, though the imperial servants urged an expedition to that quarter, this did not find acceptance. The reason why it did not obtain assent was because it had flashed upon the holy heart that that evil-wisher would stir up strife in the Panjab. So it turned out, and mortals obtained collyrium for their vision. The Mīrzā desired in the previous year to make confusion in the tranquil land of India. M. Sulaimān diverted him to Badakhshān, and his success there increased his audacity. The idle talk of the rebels of the
336 eastern provinces added to this In the middle of Āẕar (December 1580), he sent a body of troops under the command of Ḥājī Nūru-

[1] See J. III. 383, where this remark is repeated.

d-dīn, and the latter crossed the Indus. M. Yūsuf K. the fiefholder in that country sent an army under the command of Ḥasan Beg. S'aīd K. Gakkar and some strenuous men joined this force. As owing to the rapidity of movement a large army had not arrived, it was thought that battle would be given after some days. But who can restrain the augmenters of fortune? In a short time a battle took place, and the enemy was defeated. When the imperial army was about to encamp, a herd of deer suddenly appeared, and Ḥasan Beg was seized by a love of sport. He shot one with an arrow and hastened after it with some companions. On the other side, the fates had stirred up the leader of the other army to come out to see the spectacle. Ḥasan Beg and Ḥājī Nūru-d-dīn encountered one another, and by good fortune the latter was wounded and put to flight. All at once the disturbance ceased. Some of the ill-fated ones were captured, and many lost their lives in the river. The leaven of the rebellious ones was chilled [1] in the neighbourhood of Peshawar and became extinct. He was one of the base wretches of Ḥiṣār. For a time he had behaved ungratefully to the court of Muḥammad Ḥusain [2] M., and when the latter died, he, by a thousand efforts, flung himself among the evil-thinkers of Kabul and acquired some measure of trust.

Though the warlike servants received the reward of their good conduct, yet as it was clear that M. Yūsuf [3] K. did not use foresight and prudence in the management of the frontier: he was removed, and the administration of the neighbourhood of the Indus was made over to Kuar Mān Singh. He marched from Siālkot to manage the country, and from foresight and skill he sent some troops in advance under the charge of Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī. At Rāwalpindi he heard of the arrival of Shādmān on the bank of the Indus. He quickly proceeded to engage him. A battle took place, and by the strength of H. M.'s fortune the enemy was punished. When the Mīrzā heard of the catastrophe of Nūru-d-dīn it did not awaken him from his

[1] *gazak shuda*. Gazak means a relish to wine, and also the turning cold of a wound. I presume the latter is the meaning here.

[2] Son of Sulṭan Ḥusain M. the governor of Qandahar and nephew of Ṭahmāsp. Muḥammad Ḥusain went to Persia and was put to death by Ismā'īl II. See Maaṣir III. 246.

[3] Apparently this is the Yūsuf K. who was afterwards thought fit to govern Kashmīr. B. 346.

somnolence, and he dispatched Shādmān, whom he regarded as the sword of his army, with a large force. On 6 Dai that presumptuous one crossed the Indus and proceeded to besiege the fort of Nīlāb.[1] Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī and other servants of Kuar Mān Singh exerted themselves to defend it. When the Kuar arrived, he made over the van to Alū Khān Kachwāha and the *altamsh* to his own brother Sūraj Singh. The enemy was in the slumber of neglect. They were aroused by the sound of the kettledrums and sought to engage. On the 12th the battlefield was adorned. The lovers of honour and
337 enemies of their lives strove with one another in a marvellous manner. By the strength of daily-increasing fortune the breeze of victory began to blow. It appears that in the hand-to-hand combats which test men, Rājah Sūraj Singh discomfited the enemy's leader (Shādmān), who was wounded and had to tread with blistered feet the desert of failure. He died in the neighbourhood. He was the son of Sulaimān Beg of Andijān, and his grandfather was Loqmān Beg, who was an honoured servant of H.M. Firdūs Makānī. His mother had watched over the Mīrzā's cradle, and he himself had grown up with the Mīrzā. From his bravery, and success in war, he was highly regarded among the Afghan tribe. On hearing the news, H.M. returned thanks to God, and said to those around him, "It appears that our expedition to the province of the Punjab is near at hand. Though the celestial executants have done our work without our exertions, and are doing it, yet we know that the management of affairs is the helping of God. When the Mīrzā hears of the death of Shādmān, he will, without delay, come to India. The right thing for the time is to take steps for the expedition of the officers of sovereignty." From foresight and knowledge of affairs he sent forward Rai Rai Singh, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl and other loyal officers. An order was also given to the officers of the Indus that if the Mīrzā should proceed to cross the river, they were not to oppose him and to put off an engagement. By the guidance of the Divine kindness, the standards of fortune would shortly cast the shadow of justice on that country. As it had flashed

[1] Elphinstone in his account of Cabul I. 147 says Neelaub is a town fifteen miles below Attock. It is mentioned in J. II. 325 as a place in the Sind Sagar Dūāb.

upon the heart conjoined with heaven, so did it shine forth. On 14 Bahman news reached the royal hearing of the coming of the Mirzā to the Punjab. The astrologers, under H.M.'s directions, held a meeting to determine the auspicious moment. H.M. paid some attention to the arrangement of the affairs of the capital. And in order that he might keep a watch over the eastern provinces, he stated that for the repose of the kingdom he would leave the pearl of the crown, Sulṭān Selīm, with some high officers, and would go himself to the Punjab. The prince begged through H.H. Miriam-Makānī that he might accompany H.M. The sovereign granted his request and appointed to that high office Sulṭān Daniel. He appointed Sulṭān Khwāja, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, S. Ibrāhīm and many others to serve the prince. On the 28th corresponding to Monday, 2 Muḥarram 989, 6th February 1581, at an hour which able astrologers approved of, he set off for that province. Fortune accompanied his rein, and victory his stirrup. The star of success shone, and the whiteness of the morning of dominion came out.

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(*Verses.*)

The far-seeing ones of the court gave him the news of victory. The takers of omens who knew the stars made inquiries of the heavens. From caution and foresight the places of the combatants were determined, and the warlike equipments were made ready. The baton-holders (i.e. guards)[1] of Thursday and Friday took their places under the shadow of the august standards. The officers of Saturday and Wednesday were on the right wing, and those of Monday and Tuesday were on the left. The warriors of Sunday were in the van. At the beginning of this expedition, news came of a fresh victory and gave joy and repose to the superficial and to the spiritually illuminated.

[1] This means that they were in the centre. The passage may be compared with that at the end of Ain 17 of the 1st Book, B. 48, but the arrangement is different. See also B. 115. The word for guards is *kāhkdārān*. According to B. 115 it would appear that 15 was the strength of each guard.

CHAPTER LVII.

VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS, AND THE VAGABONDAGE IN THE DESERT OF FAILURE OF M'AṢŪM K. FARANKHŪDI.

Shahbāz K. was by his success and his failure awakened from the dream of self-admiration and proceeded on with skill and activity. He took the right road, and was soon ready for battle. The wicked ingrate, whose time for prudence and shame had come, fell into a profound slumber, and set about gathering his forces. He spent in ingratitude the accumulated treasures of this enduring dominion. He sent for his household and the men whom he had sent into places difficult of access. His idea was that he was promoting the cohesion of men, while those who knew, let their lips run over with laughter because he was seeking the means of destroying his reputation. The warriors of fortune formed into line and proceeded against the enemy. That shameless and turbulent one also came out of his quarters. In the centre Jajhār K. Khāṣa Khel brought to the market the substance of wickedness. 'Arab had the right wing of those who had lost their honour. Niyābat K. swaggered in the left wing. Shāh Dāna was in the van of failure. M'aṣūm himself was in the reserve and was accumulating the materials for his own destruction. On 24 Bahman (2nd February 1581) the brave and fortunate soldiers decked the battlefield seven *kos*
339 from the town of Awadh. The wretch prepared stratagems, and delayed in advancing. Most were of opinion that on that day there would not be a fight. The army which was aided by heaven set about intrenching themselves. Just then that wily one, whose fortune was somnolent, came forward in quest of battle. The heroes rapidly turned their attention to combat. First, the van charged with mountain-like elephants and drove off the enemy's van. The enemy's right wing pressed against the imperial left wing, but at last was nearly being defeated by the firmness of the imperialists, when their courage was reinvigorated by their reserve. By the jugglery of fate things were nearly becoming serious for the victors

(the imperialists), when the van and the *altamsh* came up after driving off their opponents. By the help of God the rebels disgraced themselves and fled. The imperial right wing also prevailed over the enemy's left, and cleared the field of that evil crew. Some noted elephants who in the previous battle had fallen into the hands of the enemy, turned round and did good service, and contributed to the victory. By the wondrous working of fate, the lamps of joy were lighted up eleven[1] days after the first battle, and he who was ruined in faith and fortune retreated in confusion to Awadh. All his possessions—which formed the element of his intoxication—fell into the hands of the imperial servants, and most of those who had gone astray received enlightenment and took the path of bliss, and turned aside from the defiles of ingratitude. Shahbāz K. thought his victory a great boon and did not stir half a step from the field of battle. Either he had not the courage, or prudence suggested this course. Either there was not time, or the foolish fancies of cowards prevailed. Owing to this inopportune halting the disheartened enemy escaped, and the termination of affairs was somewhat postponed. M'aṣūm after a thousand distresses reached his home. Though he wished to lay his hand on his heart, which was in a thousand pieces, and to draw his foot within the skirt of patience, he did not find in himself the necessary resolution. Suddenly he heard a false report about Shahbāz K. and he came a little to himself. Apparently some active men of the victorious army had plundered a suburb of the city and turned back. 'Arab came with a few men, and engaged them, and some of the imperialists were killed. Fly-like persons spread the report that Shahbāz K. was among them. The wicked one came forward on hearing this news and soon found that it was a mistake. He set himself to watch the inside and outside of the city, and to make safe the towers and walls. As his star was con- 340
sumed, his designs continually failed, and whatever he thought would be good became injurious. For instance, he placed a gun on the top of the gate and made it ready. Owing to the wrath of God,

[1] The text has fifteen, but as the first battle was fought on 13th Bahman and the second on the 24th id. *panzdaham* must be a mistake for *yāzdaham*, as is very often the case. The English date is 2nd February 1581.

as soon[1] as it was fired off the roof (of the gateway) split and so conveyed the news of failure. The deceitful mercenaries dispersed, and M'aṣūm fell into evil case. His comrades were ready to fly, and the might of the world-conquering army continually increased. He had not the strength to come out of that wall of misfortune. Nor could he remain in those defiles of difficulty. On account of his numerous family he did not sever[2] the thread of association (did not die?). At this crisis 'Arab and Niyābat K. and Shāh Dāna—who were the mainstay of his infatuation—separated themselves. They shod[3] their horses backwards and went off by cross roads. That man who was deserving of vagabondage (M'aṣūm) left his household and his accumulations of many years and fled. When he had gone some way he chose to separate from the double-faced ones who accompanied him and set off with seven companions. They all disguised themselves by shaving[4] off the hair on their faces, etc., and he departed like a madman to obscurity and ruin. At the time of failure the zamindar of Gawāric[5] joined them, and out of old acquaintance took him to his house. By pretended friendship, and by humouring their folly, he took from them what money and goods they possessed, and then sacrificing the maintenance of old obligations to brigandage,[6] he dismissed them. M'aṣūm sometimes rode himself, and sometimes mounted his son. He crossed the Sarū (the Gogra or Sarjū) in a wretched condition. Rajah Mān, the landholder of that part of the country, took him to his house, and helped him. Shahbāz K. heard of this and held out threats and promises to induce

[1] *Bām dirham shikast.* The Iqbālnāma has bām-i-darwāza, so that apparently *bām* does not mean the roof of the gun.

[2] Presumably this means that he did not commit suicide.

[3] نعل و اژون برسنه را چلپا (چلیپا) در نوشتند

Probably the expression is used metaphorically.

[4] *cār zarb shuda.* Cf. text 307 and translation, p. 574, of vol. I. The Iqbālnama has *qalandar wār* "like Calendars."

[5] Text گورج. But apparently it is the Gawārca of J. II. 174 and Ain text I. 435. The word is Gawāric. It is a pargana in the Gonda district. See *Oude Gazetteer.*

[6] *qaṣṣāqī.* But this is not the word in the I.O. MSS. Apparently the true reading is افتراقي (or it may be firāqī) iftarāqī "separation" and the meaning is "giving a sorry ending to old obligations." The Iqbālnāma says he kept him 2 or 3 days.

him to deliver up M'aṣūm or to kill him. He refused,[1] but secretly consigned him to vagabondage, giving him some companions under pretext of their being guides. On account of the jewels which, it was supposed, he possessed, he arranged to have him killed. M'aṣūm read on their foreheads what was intended, and corrupted them by gold, and made wide steps to the abode of obscurity. On the day after the victory Shahbāz K. entered the city of Awadh and the whole of his family, etc. fell into his hands. One hundred and fifty elephants were captured, and everything that M'aṣūm possessed, whether of physical goods or of honour, was plundered. An instructive lesson was given to mankind, and the evil consequences of ingratitude were again impressed on the heart of the age. The news was communicated in the neighbourhood of the capital, and the far-seeing ones of the court regarded it as the presage of other victories. H. M. offered up thanksgivings to God and exalted the loyal servants by great favours. From abundant kindness he ordered that Shahbāz K. should preserve the family of the rebel, for what crime had these weak and secluded ones done in this insurrection? 341

It was reported that M'aṣūm would convey himself by the skirts of the northern mountains to the rebellious Kābulīs. Out of caution Qulij K. was sent off with some active men to that neighbourhood. On 10 Isfandarmaz Delhi was distinguished by H. M.'s advent, and the shrines of the saints were illuminated by his intercessions. Hitherto the advance camp had not preceded by more than four *kos*. It was now ordered that it should precede by not less than six *kos*. On the 12th the royal standards cast their shade on the town of Sonpat (28m. N.W. Delhi). Qulij K. came back from his expedition and did homage. The vagabondage and wretchedness of the turbulent-brained one (M'aṣūm) were confirmed.

One of the occurrences was that the cup of the life of Qiyā K. Kang (or Gang) became full. From the time that the pleasant land of Bengal became stained with rebellion, he with some brave and loyal men was passing his days in Orissa. Though he had not the ability to calm the disturbance, yet he kept that country free from

[1] *ba rāh-i-inkār shitāft.* "He hastened along the path of denial." Apparently the meaning is that he only ostensibly refused, but in reality meditated the putting him to death.

the dust of opposition. At the time when it became denuded of the imperial troops, Qutlū K. with a large force showed fight and gained the upper hand. Qiyā K. brought together warlike materials and took refuge in a fort. On account of the length of the war, and the desertion of his comrades, he fell into distress. At last he, together with some heroes who loved their honour, made a good fight and gathered an eternal good name.[1]

On the 17th[2] H.M. encamped near Thānesar. As he pays little regard to himself and always seeks the company of the servants of God he visited the cell of S. Jalāl, who had spent his life in the worship of God, and whom men regarded as a saint. The Shaikh made his supplications according to the measure of his knowledge and represented, "At this day our wishes are bound up in the assistance of the truthful throne-occupant. For his pleasure, the heavens revolve." He implored his blessing and begged for a statement of truths. The world's Lord made some acute remarks and solved some difficulties. He (Akbar) discoursed eloquently. Many heart-impressing words illuminated the holy temple of the dervish. At a hint from H.M. the author of this noble volume asked the Shaikh, saying, "You have spent a long life, and have enjoyed the society of the good. Can you tell of a cure for melancholy?" And have you obtained a remedy for a heart distracted by opposing desires?
342 At first he answered by tears, and then he recited this verse.

Verse.[3]

Oh, for sweet content, Oh, Oh!
It has closed to pride the path of both worlds!

[1] There were two Qiyā K.—Qiyā Gang, and Qiyā Ṣāḥib Ḥasan. It seems that Qiyā and his companions sallied forth, and as the Iqbālnāma expresses it, bought everlasting glory with the coin of life.

[2] The 17th Isfandarmaz, 28 February 1581.

[3] I am not sure if I have understood the verse correctly, and if the saint wished to extol resignation or renunciation (istighnā) or to regret it. The interjection "Ah" occurs thrice and seems to be intended to express sorrow. However the lines may mean, "Hail contentment, for has closed the path of ambition for both worlds." There is an account of the Shaikh in Badayūnī, Lowe 322, and in III.3. He says he was the successor of S. 'Abdu-l-quddūs Gangohī, and that he attained the age of 93. He died in 989 (1582). See also J. III. 374 where there is an account of

One of the occurrences was the death of Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr the Diwan. Alexander Zu-al-qarnīn was accustomed to say to his special intimates, "Boon companions and jesters are of one class. Their business is nothing but to promote mirth by means of witticisms and wonderful stories, without regard to their truth. They replenish with oil the lamp of enjoyment, and by effective hits enhance pleasure, and trick out the bride of delight in every limb (*ba har haft*, lit. with all seven. See Vullers II, 1458[b]). The class of the pillars of the court, who are, as it were, the hand and arms, is different. All their business is to arrange for ministering to the dissensions of the world, and curing the aged, old, and stricken ones of the Age. They utter things which may heal the distractions of the time and may compose what is confused and so tranquillize the world. They make joy allied with security, and if purchasers be not at hand, they meditate remedies in silence and right thinking. Every evil which occurs to the palace of dominion is chiefly occasioned by those two classes leaving their proper work." He also continually said to his officers, "Whoever, with the idea of flattering us, leaves the highway of truth, and lets drop the reins of right consideration, and promotes our prosperity by harsh dealings with the soldiers and subjects, and who seeks by improper means, and incorrect statements, to increase the treasures of dominion will assuredly cause the stewards of destiny to turn our hearts from him, and will receive condign punishment." The case of the Khwāja is a fresh instance of this. From love of office and cupidity he was always laying hold of trifles in financial matters, and dis-

'Abdu-l-qaddūs, and B. 538 where the Shaikh is called Jalālu-d dīn. See also the Khazīna-al Aṣfiyā, vol. I. p. 440, where it is stated that the saint died at the age of 95 on 14 Zi-ḥajja 989 (9 January 1582). He was originally from Balkh and belonged to the Cistī order. See also the Safīna-al-auliyā of Dārā Shikoh ed. Newal Kishore, p. 101. It is curious that Dārā says nothing about his great-grandfather's visit to the Shaikh. The Iqbālnāma tells the story and helps us towards understanding it. It says that A.F. asked the Shaikh, at the end of the interview, what was the remedy for the pain of search (dardṭalab) and the near way to the attainment of desires; the Shaikh wept and then repeated the lines. The Iqbālnāma adds that the Shaikh was respected by all, that for eighty years he read the whole of the Qoran every day, and that he never went out of his cell.

playing harshness. Sympathy with debtors (?) never touched the hem of his heart. His whole idea was to fill his own house. He advanced his business by fair speeches while behaving badly. All at once he fell into an evil state and sank into the pit of annihilation. He did not know that wrong-doing is not permanent, and that a lamp is not brightened by the application of water. Before this, some *parwānas* (orders) in the handwriting of M. Ḥakīm's munshī were found among the effects of Shādmān, who had been killed. Kuar Mān Singh sent these to court. One of them was addressed to the Khwāja, and its purport was that petitions of unanimity and well-wishing were increasing the estimation (of the Mīrzā for the Khwāja). Shortly proceedings would be taken to recognize them. The tolerant sovereign regarded those papers as the work of forgers, and did not show them to the Khwāja. In the
343 neighbourhood of Sonpat, Malik Ṣānī,[1] an old servant of the Mīrzā, came to court with his family, and it was reported that they (i.e. the Mīrzā) had sent him in order that he might make a pretence of indignation, and act as a spy,[2] and also win over the hearts of the simple, and increase the activity of the wicked. From foresight and caution—which constitute the strength of the arm of power, and give might to the hand of fortune—he (Khwāja Manṣūr) was suspended. On that day many one-sided expressions of the Khwāja came to light, and the dust of uneasiness rose high. Fortune aided in stirring up strife, and the times were critical. He was called into the privy chamber, and the letter was read to him. As his star was sinking, his answers increased the suspicions against him. He was not allowed[3] to communicate with others, and circumspection was exercised. On the 19th (Isfāndarmaẓ) Malik 'Alī the chief-constable of the camp (kotwāl-i-urdū) produced several letters, and these increased the suspicions against the Khwāja. From these letters it appeared that the soldiers (*sipāh*) of the Khwāja who be-

[1] Text Malik Māul, but the MSS. and the T. A. show that the variant Ṣānī is right.

[2] Text *cāplūsī*, but the variant *jāsūsī* is supported by MSS. and by the Iqbālnāma.

[3] *az tikhtilāṭ bās dāshtand*. From the Iqbālnāma etc. it appears that it was the Khwāja, and not Malik Ṣānī, who was thus dealt with. Some MSS. add that the Khwāja was imprisoned, and this is supported by the Iqbālnāma.

longed to Fīrūzpūr—which was the Khwāja's fief—had opened negotiations with the Mīrzā (Ḥakīm) and would soon join him. At this news the wrath of the sovereign blazed forth, and an order was given that if the Khwāja would engage to produce the man (the writer) and give proper security for this, he should remain, as before, in prison. Otherwise, he was to be put to death in order that the short-sighted and covetous might be punished, and that a lesson might be given to the wicked and those of crooked mind. He in reply uttered injudicious words, and could not furnish security. Out of kindness H.M. ordered that if Khwāja Sulaimān,[1] who was related to him by marriage and had a brotherly friendship for him, would engage for him, his security should be accepted. That cowardly one was struck with terror, and turned round, and from fear of his own life went aside. Inasmuch as the time was confused owing to the presence of envious people, and the season was critical, and the grandees were plotting against his life, of necessity an order was passed for capitally punishing him. The servants[2] were bound by an order and hung him on a tree near the serai of Kot Kachwāha. From want of understanding and narrow-mindedness (*qabiy'at dosti*), Turk and Tājīk (i.e. all classes) were pleased, and there was great rejoicing in the camp. It generally happens that envious and artful persons who are self-interested act in this way, and that there is retribution for selfishness and for evil-mindedness towards the weak.

Verse.

Be not severe in the world's work,
For every oppressor has a severe death (?).
Beware, and have pity on the weak,
Be afraid of the severity of fortune.

He was contentious, or had not the art of living. He ruined the houses of men in order to improve his own. For his own advantage he destroyed a number of poor people. He did not read the signs of the times, and did not distinguish between the season of conciliation and that of strictness. But there is seldom found

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that when Akbar found out his error, K. Sulaimān fell into disgrace.

[2] *Khidmat-pazīrān*. The servants meant are the Khidmatiyyas of B. 252.

such an acute accountant and one so laborious, so discriminating, and so plausible of speech. If he had had a little piety to God, a little
344 loyalty to the lord of the universe, some kindness to the people, and a little absence of cupidity and injuriousness, he never would have come to this end from the wrath of the Shahinshāh, nor have been caught in this illustration of the Divine anger. The appreciative monarch often uttered with his pearling tongue, "From that day the market of accounts was flat and the thread of accounting dropped from the hand." He assigned the office of Vizier to Qulij K., and gave orders that Zain K. Kokaltāsh and Ḥakīm Abū-l fatḥ should also be present in the Vizier's office, and should superintend matters.

Notes.

In Faiẓi's poems B.M. MS. Add. 25981, p. 282*b*, and also on p. 287 of another B.M. MS. of the same author there is an epigram which describes the joy of the public at being delivered from Mangūr's tyranny.

NOTE ABOUT SHĀH MANṢŪR'S DEATH.

The story of Shāh Manṣūr is a very sad one, and throws a lurid light on the morals of Akbar's officers. A.F.'s account is, as usual, obscure, and has to be explained by the T.A., the Iqbālnāma, Badayūnī, Lowe 300, and the Maasir. al-Umarā I. 653. See also Noor's Akbar, Mrs. Beveridge's translation, II. 52. We learn from the T.A., Elliot V. 422, and from A.F., that Mān Singh sent to Akbar some letters that he had found in Shādmān's portfolio. Shādmān was defeated and killed near the Indus on 12 Dai (about 22 December 1580) and Akbar got the news before leaving Fatḥpūr. Presumably Mān Singh sent the letters he had found in Shādman's portfolio along with the news of the victory. The T.A. tells us there were three of them, viz. one from M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm to Ḥakīm-al-mulk, one to Muḥammad Qāsim Mīr Baḥr, and one to Khwāja Manṣūr. They purported to be replies by Ḥakīm M. to friendly letters received from these three persons. We are told by A.F., p. 342, that Akbar considered these letters to be forgeries, and did not show them to Manṣūr. They either were forgeries, or very stale documents, for one of them was addressed to Ḥakīm-al-mulk who had gone off to Mecca in August 1580 (see A.N. 317). Possibly, however, the person meant is Ḥakīm Ain-al-mulk the faujdār of Sambal. See text III. 348. From Fatḥpūr Akbar moved out to Bād Serai 15 kos off, and there he heard of Shahbāz's victory near the city of Ajodya (Elliot V. 422). He continued his march and reached Delhi on 10 Isfandārmaz (about 20 February 1581). Two days later he was at Sonpat, 28 m. N.W. Delhi, and here it was that Malik Ṣānī formerly in the service of

M. Ḥakīm, arrived, and as the T.A. informs us, put up at the quarters of Manṣūr (Sonpat is the place mentioned by A.F. The T.A. says Panipat, which is a station some 25 m. further on). Here Akbar, whose former suspicions had been increased by Malik Ṣānī's arrival, showed Manṣūr the papers that had been found in Shādmān's portfolio. On 17 Isfandarmaz (about 27 February) Akbar reached Thānesar and had the interview with Jalāl S. From there he went on to Shahabad in the Ambāla district, and here it was that the kotwāl of the camp, Malik[1] 'Alī, produced on 19 Isfandarmaz the letters which he said had been obtained in Sirhind from a courier of Sharaf Beg who was Khwāja Manṣūr's agent and in charge of his estate at Fīrūzpūr. These letters sealed Manṣūr's fate and led to his being hanged at Koṭ Kacwāha, which according to Blochmann 431, n. 2, is a village on the road from Karnāl to Ludhiāna. Presumably it is near Shāhābād. The Khulāṣat Tawārīkh states that it was between Shāhābād and Paṭiāla. The same authority denies that Todar Mal had any hand in the intrigues against the Khwāja. It adds that Akbar found out his mistake ten days afterwards. We are told by Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 426, that the letters on which Manṣūr was hanged were forged by Shahbāz K.'s brother Karam Ullah. According to the Maaṣir I. 157, Karam Ullah was the tool of Todar Mal. The Maaṣir gives the chronogram of Manṣūr's death Ṣānī Manṣūr Ḥallāj, "A second Manṣūr Ḥallāj," alluding to the martyrdom of this Ṣūfī in A.D. 922. The B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247, Rieu's Cat. I. 247, contains some remarkable variations from the Bib. Ind. text and from most MSS., in its account of Shāh Manṣūr's death. It is evidently a different recension. One valuable thing is that in several places it gives the corresponding Hijra date instead of only the Divine era dates as in the Bib. Ind. text. Thus at p. 343 it tells us that 19 Isfandarmaz, which it calls the Farwardīn day, corresponds to 23 Muḥarram. Consequently it was 28 February 1581. Then it adds that the letters were obtained by Malik 'Alī from the enemy's camp. It also states that two days before—viz. 17 Isfandarmaz, Sunday, 21 Muḥarram—Pāk Dās was made *dīwān*. It also says that Akbar did not want to put Manṣūr to death, but was induced to do so by Rajah Bīrbar and others, and it adds that Manṣūr was hanged on a *Kaikar*, i.e. bābul or acacia tree. The explanation of his death too is differently worded. A.F. in this MS. admits more clearly than in text that Manṣūr was wrongly convicted and suggests that he must have committed sins on former occasions (in a previous life?).

[1] Probably this is the Khwāja Malik 'Alī mentioned at B. 515. The title Mīr Shab may mean that he was the night-watch.

CHAPTER LVIII.

The failure of Hakīm M. and his hasty return to Kabul.

The enlightened[1] gatherers of experience, and the illuminated souls of those who walk with circumspection, do not accept truths in advance of evidence, and do not hasten on to beliefs with poverty in arguments. Every great man, who at the time of increase of realm and power keeps the rose-garden of his heart fresh and verdant by the irrigating waters of justice, and who regards his prosperity as material for supplication to God and gives to his thoughts and actions the adornment of auspiciousness, and who regards himself as a trustee appointed by God, and watches over soldier and subject, and who applies the balm of soothing speech and kindness to the distressed and broken, shall assuredly have his wishes accomplished without having to entreat the help of sellers of service and will execute easily difficult enterprises. These things are apparent in the early career of the world's lord, and this noble record tells somewhat of them. The ruin of the Mīrzā is a fresh instance of this, and will be recognized as such by the awakened and fortunate.

When some disaffection arose in India, and the fire of discord attacked part of it, the villains of that country and the foolish ones of Afghanistan[2] bewildered that misguided young man and led him to indulge in vain thoughts. He sent some soldiers and stirred up strife. Retribution followed, and he ought to have awaked from his somnolence, and have felt ashamed and have endeavoured to remedy his backslidings. On the contrary, he hastened to make war.

When he crossed the Indus, the officers of that quarter obeyed

[1] There are variants, and the paragraph is obscure. Apparently it means that prudent people do not believe without evidence, and that Akbar's career furnished the necessary evidence of the statement that great men who are good attain their ends without the help of self-interested persons.

[2] Text Zābulistān. At p. 408 of J. II. A.F. says that Ghaznīn was formerly called Zābulistān and that some reckon Qandahar as included in it.

the royal command and gathered together at Lahore and prepared to defend the fort. M. Yūsuf[1] K. put down his foot to defend Rohtās and no one joined the evil-thoughted one. Far less did any of the enlightened ones. He read the writing of failure on the soldiers,[2] and he did not see any of the peasantry inclined towards him. Hopelessness from time to time augmented his anguish. He 345
pleased himself with the lies of foolish talkers, and spent his days in idle fancies. He brayed the wind in a mortar, and sifted water with a sieve! At last he came to besiege Lahore. By untimely efforts he laboured to open the knot of his own destruction! Though the retreat of the imperialists rejoiced him for a time, yet he had heard much of the deeds of those lovers of honour and foes of life. Their not fighting at this time encouraged his hopes. He trembled at the courage and activity of the world's lord, but was supported by not hearing of his advance.

When the moment chosen by heaven arrived, H.M. turned his sun towards the Panjab. Joy circulated in the brain of the age.....

Verse.

The world's lord marched on tranquilly, hunting by the way. Though he advanced from stage to stage, no report came of his (M. Ḥakīm's) having fled. No dust of apprehension clouded his soul. The evil-minded rejoiced from thinking that he (M. Hakīm) intended to fight, while the auspicious and acute were glad from the thought that he would be defeated. With his pearl-laden tongue he (Akbar) said, "Something tells me that his standing his ground comes from his not believing that the royal standards are approaching. Idle talkers have impressed a different opinion on him. Probably when we reach Sirhind, we shall hear of his flight." What that knower of the secrets of destiny had said, came to pass. On the same[3] day that the standards left the capital the Mīrzā stirred

[1] B. 346. He was a Saiyid of Mashhad.

[2] The soldiers meant are Akbar's, and the sentence means that M. Ḥakīm did not find any readiness on their part to mutiny.

[3] If Ferishta is correct, this statement is not quite correct. Akbar left Fathpūr on 2 Muḥarram 989 (6 February) and Ferishta says M. Ḥakīm arrived at Lahore on 11 Muḥarram 989—15 February, 1581. In Add. MS. 27. 247 it is stated that M. Ḥakīm arrived at Lahore 2 Muḥarram, stayed 22 days, and left on Monday the 23rd Muḥarram.

up the dust of strife near Lahore and spent twenty [1] days in melancholy joy in that garden of Mahdī Qāsim K., *and shot arrows at an imaginary target.* S'aid K., Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Kuar Mān Singh, Saiyid Hāmid K. (Bokhārī), Muḥammad Zamān and other fiefholders of the Panjab strengthened the fort somewhat and prepared for war. As the order was, not to engage, they abode in the batteries and from prudence they restrained the beturbaned (i.e. the
346 learned) foolish talkers of the city from making confusion. By the help of God they prevented the gates from being opened.[2] Several times did Sher Khwāja, Nād 'Alī, Qorbān 'Alī and Mīr Sikandar make attacks from the side of the besiegers, but they received[3] buffets from God's hand. The Mīrzā became from time to time more distressed on account of the non-advancement of the work, and showed dissatisfaction with his prating companions. Suddenly his brain was worsened by the sound of the approach of the Shāhinshāh. He quickly turned to fly. He crossed the Rāvī one kos above Mahdī Qāsim K.'s garden and hastened off in confusion to Kabul. On that night he halted for a while in the neighbourhood of Shāham 'Alī, and then crossed the Cenāb near Jalālābād.[4] Many of his companions lost their lives in that crossing. Near Bhera he crossed the Bihat, and many also perished in its waves. He crossed the Indus by the way of Khīp[5] and returned to his own country. When H.M.

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[1] The variant "twenty days" is supported by the I.O. MSS. and by Add. 27, 247. That MS. says, 324*b*, that M. Ḥakīm reached Lahore on the day of Zamyād the 28th (Bahman) Divine month of the 25th year corresponding to 2 Muḥarram (6th February, 1681), and that he left it on 19 Isfandarmaz—Monday, 23 Muḥarram. This makes his stay there to have been 22 days.

[2] Probably the meaning is—"they, the turbaned citizens, relying on God, wanted to open the gates and fight."

[3] *Mālish yāftand.* I think this must mean "were punished," and that these are names of M. Ḥakīm's men, and the Ikbālnāma takes this view. See also p. 363 where Sher Khwājah plunders the royal treasure. But B. 508 speaks of a Nādī 'Alī serving against M. Ḥakīm in the 26th year. He did join Akbar afterwards, but in the end of the 25th year he was on M. Ḥakīm's side.

[4] The Iqbālnāma has Jalālpūr, and says that M. Ḥakīm plundered Bhera. Add. 27, 247, says he crossed on a raft.

[5] There is the variant Khīt. But I believe the word to be Karpah, the Carrapa of Elphinstone. See J. II. 401 n., and A. N. II. 239.

heard of this, his royal clemency was put in motion and an order was issued that the army should refrain from pursuit lest in the rush of waters the Mírzá's boat should be sunk, and his condition pass beyond the power of remedies. "If that unfortunate one does not understand matters, and does not acquire enlightenment, why shall we, who have such glory of wisdom, erase his existence. Possibly he may in time gain sense, and the highway of vision may be manifested to him. Moreover in the balance of appreciation a brother is weightier than a son (because the former cannot be replaced).

(Here follow about five lines of rhetoric.)

On the 24th (Isfandarmaz ?) the army encamped at Sirhind and H.M. rested in the delightful gardens[1] of that city.

One of the occurrences was the revival of the laws of administration. Inasmuch as the far-seeing prince from time to time gives a new foundation to prudence, and regards the improvement of the world as the worship of God, on this occasion a pleasant thought occurred to him. An order was issued that the *jágírdárs shiqdárs*, and *dároghás* of the empire should reduce to writing the numbers and the occupations of the inhabitants, village by village, and should classify[2] them. They were not to allow any one to live without some trade or occupation, and they were to look narrowly into 347
the income and expenditure of men—who are composed of the good and the bad—so that in a short space of time the outwardly good, but inwardly bad, might be discovered, and the false, gold-incrusted coin might be brought to the place of weighment. By this enlightened order there was a market-day of graciousness, and the wide territory of India received a great calm. On the 28th he crossed the Sutlej at Macíwára by a noble bridge. In that neighbourhood the Panjab officers did homage. Each was exalted by special favours. Thanksgivings were offered up for the successful results.

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[1] *Bágh-i-dilkusha*. Probably the allusion is to the gardens of Háfiz Raknah. See J. II. 281.

[2] This passage about the census is translated in Elliot VI. 61.

Elliot renders this—"that these lists should all be collected together," and perhaps the true meaning is that the lists should be digested and made into a general statement.

CHAPTER LIX.

BEGINNING OF THE 26TH DIVINE YEAR FROM HOLY ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR ARDIBIHISHT OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

Verse.

The dominion-flag of the New Year was unfurled on the plain,
The bounty of the Holy Spirit was shed from on high.
Such an air it was that Paradise halted in surprise.[1]
Such an earth that heaven rose up in astonishment.

On the night of Thursday, 5 Ṣafar 989, 10 or 11 March 1581, after the passing of 6 hours 22 minutes, the light-dispenser of the spiritual and physical world, the lord of the visible and invisible universe, cast a glance of favour on the Sign of Aries. The material and spiritual kingdoms became full of light. A feast of joy was prepared, and there was a loud sound of delight. As the protection of the community is a thing inscribed on the frontispiece of sovereignty, it struck his celestial mind that, as by the aid of heaven the pleasant land of the Panjab had been swept and cleansed of the weeds and rubbish of sedition-mongers, so might the inhabitants of the banks of the Indus be refreshed by the irrigation of justice, and the sorrow of the afflicted be ended. Also some prudent and diplomatic persons had been sent and had by salutary counsels amended the disposition of the Mīrzā. Wise words spoken close at hand make an impression such as thousands spoken from a distance do not make. H.M. also had the intention of laying the foundation of a lofty fortress on the bank of the river so that the savages of that region might speedily acquire bliss, and the imperial servants might receive protection. With this holy design he proceeded towards that quarter.

348 One of the occurrences was that H.M. turned his thoughts

[1] Text *takhyīr*, "giving the preference," but the I.O. MSS. have *taḥayyur* "being astonished."

towards Nagarkot.[1] When he heard of the wonders of that ancient place of pilgrimage, and especially of the restoration there of tongues that had been cut off, his truth-seeking heart was attracted towards that place. At this time, when he was near that spot, the wondrous tale again occurred to him, and on the 15th[2] (Farwardīn) he went thither with a few special intimates to see the marvel. At the first stage Rajah Jai Cand the ruler of the fort came and was exalted by doing homage. When a watch of the night had passed, H.M., in order to give men a rest, alighted in the town of Desūha.[3] Rajah Bīrbar, who was the fief-holder there, came and offered presents. The difficulties of the way and the rugged defiles had somewhat fatigued the companions of dominion, but from awe of the Divine majesty—which is a powerful closer of the tongue—no one ventured to say anything. During that night a spiritual[4] form—which had wondrous powers—appeared in the secret place of dreams. It recited the lofty rank of the world's lord and restrained[5] him from his intention. In the morning he mentioned the vision and returned. A great delight took possession of every one.

Between Khokowāl[6] and Kānwāhan[6] he crossed the Beās by a bridge, and on the 17th arrived at the pleasant city of Kalānūr. He enjoyed himself in its garden.[7]

One of the occurrences was the defeat of 'Arab Bahādur. When M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī went to ruin from his ill-fatedness, 'Arab Bahādur, Niyābat K., and Shāh Dāna and many evil-minded

[1] Kāngra. See I. G. XIV. 397, J. II. 312 and J. III. 306, where there is a good deal said about Nagarkot. See also Murray's Guide to the Panjab. A.F., B. 114, records how a recluse who cut off his tongue and flung it towards the threshold of Akbar's palace had it restored.

[2] B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247, has 11th day of Khūr corresponding to Tuesday, 15 Ṣafar (21 March 1581).

[3] J. II. 316. The Dasūya of the I.G. XI. 194.

[4] B.M. MS. 27, 247, calls her Mahāmāyā and says that the goddess said that she and a 100 like her were not worthy of Akbar's visit.

[5] In the Bārī Dūāb, J. II. 319. Gladwin has Ghoghowal and the Khulāṣa-t-Tawārīkh seems to have Gobindwāl, which approaches the variant Khondwāl.

[6] The text has Kānwadahan, the Khulāsat has Kānūwahan, which, it says, is a royal hunting-place. See the "India of Aurangzīb" by Jadū Nāth Sarkār, p. 103.

[7] Called by Add. 27, 247 Bāgh Rūḥafzā (the inspiriting garden).

persons stirred up the dust of sedition in Sambal. Their idea was that they might collect the accumulations of that province and make them a means for increasing their wickedness. If they did not succeed in this, they would convey themselves by night to M. Ḥakīm. Ḥakīm Ain-al-mulk the faujdār of that country heard of this and set himself to strengthen the fort of Bareilly, and to collect troops. The above-mentioned persons thought they would bring him over to their side and so held out hopes and threats to him. They soon saw that they had failed and came to attack the fort. Ḥakīm by firmness and wisdom gained the victory. Night came on, and those black-thoughted ones lost their way and postponed matters till daylight. As there was broken ground, and a report of the approach of troops, the evil-doers withdrew from the investment of the fort and went off to some distance. That wise officer sent an intelligent spy to their camp that he might let himself fall into the
349 hands of the enemy's scouts. After much ill-treatment he said, and confirmed the statement by an oath, that the imperialists were gathering together from all sides and were going to make a night attack, and had sent him to convey news. The plot succeeded, and at midnight they departed. The garrison rejoiced, and roses bloomed on the cheek of joy, and the drums of joy beat high. In a short space of time, Bakhtiyār[1] Beg came from Budāon, and S. Muḥammad Ghaznavī from Shamsābād, S. Muazzam and Mīr Abu-l-hasan from Amroha, Ghulām Ḥusain from Selīmpūr, Qāsim from Lakhnau,[2] and Maulāna Maḥmūd and Abu-l-Qāsim from Sambal. The imperial servants had a fortunate time. Ḥakīm sought for an engagement. The bewildered enemy, who were in the desert of failure, and the demon-haunted rebels, though they had gone far off from that place, yet they opened the hand of plunder in the confines of the country and troubled the weak. They looked upon oppression of the feeble as if it were daring, and stretched out long arms. The Rajah of Kumāon Rām Sāh, Mukut Sen, Rajah Karn and many crooked-minded zamindars and presumptuous and empty-

[1] B. 204. Apparently he was a son of the unfortunate Shāh Manṣūr.

[2] I presume that though it is spelt without an r in the MSS. this is Lakhor in Sambhal. See Elliot IV. 384 n., and Supplemental Glossary II. 136.

brained ones assembled together and stirred up strife. Ḥakīm first disseminated dissension among them, and brought Rām Sāh, Mukut Sen, and Rajah Karn into the way of good service. By their instrumentality, also, Niyābat K. joined the victorious army. In the confines of Aklī the lovers of work prepared for battle, and guarded their fame. They preserved the respect of the new-comers by giving them the name of the vanguard (*harāwal*). In fact, Bakhtiyār Beg and some noted men formed the advance-party. The battle began by Shah Dāna's falling upon the vanguard. Bakhtiyār Beg and some loyal warriors stood manfully shoulder to shoulder, and brave men joined them from every side. The fortune of the Shāhinshāh brought the news of victory. The enemy were stained with the dust of failure and fled. Saiyid Miyān and Saiyid Muṣṭafa and many ill-fated ones went headlong to the pit of annihilation.

The world's lord made a bridge over the Rāvī at Kālānūr and crossed it. Then he crossed the Cenāb at Rāmgarh. The Bihat (the Jhilam) he crossed by a bridge between Jhilam ferry and Rasūlpūr. He stayed for some days near the Bihat in the enjoyment of hunting. The landholders of that country obtained their wishes. At this time, when there was a daily market for the springtide of justice, and the fountain of fortune grew larger every day, on 10 Ardībisht he made a delightful garden. H.M. always 350
gives attention to material and spiritual culture . . . . . He crossed over to the town of Nandana [1] for the purpose of hunting. As it had good soil and water he thought of making a garden. In a short time this was excellently accomplished. For the sake of enjoyment he went to the top of the fort, which is an ancient building and lofty as the genius of exalted saints.

Also at this time he visited the shrine of Bālnāth [2] Tillah. It is

[1] Perhaps the Nandon of J. II. 317 and the Nādon of Tiefenthaler I. 111. The Iqbālnāma has Dāman-i-Koh Kirḥāk. Perhaps Kirḥāk should be read Kirjhāk or Girjhāk, J. II. 324 and n. 1, and so the place may be the Bucephala of Alexander and the present Jalālpur. Possibly Jalālpur got its name from Jalāludīn Akbar. See I.G. XIV. 15. The Khulāṣa-t-Tawārīkh in its account of the Bihat or Jhilam has Girjhāk u Nandiya.

[2] J. II. 31 and n. 1. Originally the temple was dedicated to the sun: it is now devoted to the worship of Śiva. See Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, 165. In Mr.

loftily situated and near Rohtās. It is so old that its beginning is not known. It is regarded as the prayer-spot of Bālnāth Jogī, and is held in veneration, and visited by many people. In the extensive country of India there are various ways of obtaining deliverance (*āzādī*). One set are called Jogīs. Their tenets are according to the Pātanjal[1] Canon, of which some account has been given in the final volume.

They place[2] eternal existence in the kingdom of annihilation, and act, in many respects, contrary to customs. Many are distinguished for contentment and innocence, and, one by one, attain to enlightenment. Bālnāth was at the head of these enthusiasts. They say he was the younger brother of Rām Cand, and it is commonly said that he became an ascetic, and that he chose this place in order to mortify his passions. In short, the world's lord did not regard his own spiritual beauty, and searched for servants of God, and always offered up supplications to God with every body of men who seemed to have attained the truth, or wherever men offered up prayer. With this view he went to that retreat[3] of worshippers of God. The company of ascetics in that neighbourhood obtained enlightenment from the glory of the presence of the world's lord. On the 31st the advent of the Shāhinghāh conferred eternal bliss on the quarters of M. Yūsuf K. The famous fortress of Rohtās was in his fief. As H.M. was in the neighbourhood he begged that he would visit him. H.M. graciously consented. Presents were tendered, and eternal bliss accepted. Though it was the general opinion that H.M. should stay there some days, yet as he considered that the nearer he came
351 to Kabulistān, the better would the affair of the governor of that country be transacted, he marched on to Sind-sāgar which is known as Nīlāb.

One of the occurrences was the death of the eunuch Khwāja

Oman's recent work on the Mystics, etc., of India there is an account and a photograph of Tilla Jogī.

[1] See J. III. 177 for a long account of Patanjal's system. He wrote a commentary on Pānini.

[2] Apparently the meaning is that they place happiness in the extinction of the passions. *Nīstī* seems to correspond to Nirūddha. See J. II. 179.

[3] There is the variant Khairpūra. This was the name of a place outside Fathpūr Sikrī where poor Hindus were fed.

'Ālam. He was a hard taskmaster. Several pahlwāns (wrestlers) were under his charge. At the stage (?) of Kharbūza (?) he beat one of them with a stick, and in retaliation the latter put an end to him with a dagger. The Shāhinshāh lamented the death of that old servant, and capitally punished his murderer. The lamp of enlightenment was thus kindled for many, and a road was opened for the presumptuous and crooked in their ways.

CHAPTER LX.

Arrival of the army on the bank of the Indus.

H.M. encamped on the bank of the Indus on 13 Khurdād, and soldiers and subjects returned thanks to heaven. Every one received special favours, and the Afghan tribe, who were bewildered in the desert of ingratitude, rubbed the forehead of good service. As the object which H.M. held before himself was the amendment of M. Ḥakīm, a gracious order was issued, and that was an irradiation of right-thinking and of counsel, and graciousness. He dispatched skilful, loyal and sweetly-spoken persons in order that they might in the first place not make a parade of their own wisdom, but deliver the whole of their message (to M. Ḥakīm), and afterwards should utter good words.

Verse.

Hearts of steel can be made soft
By the strength of warm expressions.

Though the perversity of his mind was evident to the wise, yet H.M. thought that "the withholding again of our troops from pursuing him, and the various favours we have shown may induce him to accept advice, and to come to the garden of truth." But the understanding of every one whose fortune slumbers, and whose reason is flattered in the bitter-land of lust, swiftly carries him to destruction. The biography of this young man of slumbrous intellect shows this.

The gist of the message was, "Whenever a majestic prince who has abundance of power withholds his hand from chastisement and addresses himself to counselling, and the utterance of truth, and has
352 no other design than to show good will and graciousness, those who are fortunate and of happy star, but who have made a slip, come to his assembly with ashamed faces and hearts receptive of truth, and amend their conduct by submission and supplication. The wicked and evil-fated ones remain in their dark and dangerous position, and make use of subterfuges and tricks, and gloss over their evil deeds.

Now let that brother, who holds the position of a son, receive knowledge, and gather eternal bliss. Princes of illustrious houses, and the great men of every land receive radiance from our benevolence. Why shall he who is so connected with us sit in the defile of irrecognition? How long shall he do so? How long will he, in company with base people, move about in the hollow of loss? It behoves him not to give ear to the buzzings of fly-like men, but to come and do homage at our threshold so that our love for him may be impressed on all, far or near, and that he may spend the few days of life in a proper manner, and that his worldly rank and future position may be exalted, and that he may end his days with a good name. The wretched and tiny ant is not withheld by feebleness from entering on the desert of purpose; perchance it may after the manner of the fortunate arrive at the pinnacle of desire! Why should a son of man possessed of such enlightenment fall into the fool's sleep of carelessness and not make even half a step in the wide plain of search?

Verse.

There are many steps to the lofty roof,
Why are you contented with one?
If you cannot fully succeed, struggle
In the path, it will not hurt you.

If you design to be successful, what experience can be gained by testing oneself only. How long will you keep yourself on the edge of the sword? If from shame and evil behaviour you do not come to court, and out of fear do not apply your heart to service, the tale of our daily-increasing graciousness from the beginning of our reign till now—which is the vernal season of fortune—and of our bounty and our forgiveness of great criminals, is patent to all, far and near!"

Inasmuch as the distracted ones of the desert of destruction hear with difficulty the words of counsel, he, from somnolence of fortune, and unwisdom, regarded the pleasing speech of enlightenment as deception, and returned an inglorious reply. As it was the market-day of gentleness, H.M. forgave him, and intimated that if his heart and tongue were in unison in the matter of good service, but out of fancies he could not for some days appear in person, he

should send one of his sons along with the chaste Bakhtu-n-nisā[1] Begum. If from narrowness of heart and ignorance he could not
353 even do this, he should send Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī with some leading officers to execute oaths and treaties. Assuredly this would be accepted by H.M. and be a reason for forgiving and returning.

As counsel had no effect on slumbrous ears, an order was issued that Rājah Mān Singh and some brave and loyal men should cross the Indus and proceed to Peshawar, and bring to submission the refractory ones of that quarter. As H.M.'s sole desire was that the slumbrous-witted one should learn wisdom by the majesty of the imperial army, Prince Sulṭān Murād and many officers were sent off on 11 Tīr (end of June 1581) that they might cross the river and proceed slowly towards Peshawar. If the Mīrzā should waken up and take the road of obedience, they were by various favours to inspire him with hope. Otherwise they were to hasten on to Kabulistān. For greater security the troops were put into battle-array. The centre was adorned by the light of the Caliphate (Murād), M. Yūsuf K., Rai Rai Singh, Rai Durgā, Gūjar K., Sūraj Singh, Madan Cohān, S. 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, Bālkā Rai,[2] Rām Cand, Thākur Sai, Selīm K., Kākar 'Alī, Saiyid Muḥammad Manjī, Karm Ullah Kambū,[3] Prithī Rāj, Rām Dās Cohān, Mathrā Dās, Sānwal Dās, Kala Kacwāha, Askaran, Kajra, Hazāra Beg, S. Walī Jalāl, Mīr Muḥasan and a large number of brave men and cavaliers took part in this army. The left[4] wing was commanded by Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, Makhṣūṣ K., Saiyid Mahdī Qāsim, Abū-l-qāsim Tamkīn, 'Arab Saiyid Ḥusain, Ḥasan 'Alī Beg, 'Abdullah Bilūc and others. The right wing was commanded by Qulīj K., Jalāl K., S. Jamāl

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[1] Wife of Abū-l-maālī, and afterwards of K. Naqshbandī (Gulbadan's Memoirs, p. 214).

[2] Variant Bānkā, which seems right. See B. 495. He died suddenly at Burhānpūr in the beginning of 1601. See III. 786, 2nd last line, where he is called Akhīrāj, and the note giving Faiẓī S.'s account.

[3] This is the brother of Shahbāz K. who, according to the T.A., Elliot V. 426, forged the letters for which Shāh Manṣūr was hanged.

[4] It would seem as if here and also in the account of Shahbāz's first fight with M'aṣūm, A. F.'s copyist and others put left for right. He would surely not begin by mentioning the left wing, and the Iqbālnāma has in this place "right wing" (*baranghar*).

Bakhtiyār, Nūr Qulīj, M. Faulād, Jamāl K. Bilūc, S. Gakhar, Malik Darvesh Jūnoha, 'Ālam Noḥānī, Maulānā Ilhadād Ambaroha, Shahbāz K. Lodī, and others.

Rajāh Mān Singh, Naurang K., Shīroyah K., Mādhū Singh, Muḥammad Beg Taklū, Mān Singh Darbārī, Jagmāl Silahdār, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Surjan, Pahlwān 'Alī, Sakat Singh, Jagat Rai, Rām Cand, Bhagwān Dās, S. Kabīr, Jabbār Qulī, Naqīb Dīwāna and others were in the van. Out of graciousness and innate kindness again was a rescript of advice—such as might be an amulet of fortune—sent along with Ḥājī Ḥabību-l-lah Kāshī. (The letter) stated that "the time for an expedition to that province (Kabul) was passing away and that a large army would have some difficulty in the defiles. It behoved him to perform one of the ceremonies of sub- 354
mission so that the army might return from Bigrām, and that he (the Mīrzā) might have a good name and that favours might be shown him." The sole apprehension of H.M. was that the Mīrzā might be alarmed by the might of the victorious army, and resort to the desert of failure, and seek help from aliens. Inasmuch as foresight is the sun of the portico of fortune, an order was issued to the officers that they should make a bridge over the river. The able servants busied themselves in collecting boats, and the hebdomadal watchmen, and the high officers exerted themselves to construct river-stages[1] since if from ill-fortune the Mīrzā should listen to babblers, and take the road of loss to himself, and not listen to commands, it would be necessary that the august cavalcade should also go to that province.

One of the occurrences was the death of Fatḥ Dost, the son of 'Alī Dost[2] Bārbegī. He had a disposition for service and he outwardly displayed the jewel of purity. He frequently represented to the writer that he wished to become a disciple of H.M. and asked him to represent the matter so that his wish might be fulfilled. As this reader of the lines of the forehead did not find that his heart and tongue were in accord, he used to put him off. At this time, when the standards of fortune had reached the bank of the Indus, he spoke to me about having the thing done. The far-sighted Khedive came to know of this, and made inquiries of this least of

[1] *manāzil-i-daryā*. Pontoons?

[2] B. 403, where he is wrongly called Fatḥ Daulat. His father is referred to in B. 533.

men. I described the circumstances, and he smiled and approved From good intention I represented that as the gracious sovereign had come to know of the case, perhaps the great boon (of discipleship) might have the effect of converting him, and might lead him to bliss. He said, "Although a felicitous day (*rūzbihī*) does not shine on his forehead, yet I'll grant his request. The becoming a disciple of this supplicant to God is a test of men, and brings out their internal qualities. He administered the *shast*[1] according to holy rites, and recited with his pearl-filled tongue

"The pure shast and the pure glance err not."

He gave him weighty counsels. As he was not pure of soul, and his heart did not accord with his tongue, he in the course of two days ceased to exist.

The negligent, heavy sleepers were awakened somewhat. He had intimacy with a certain person and went to drink wine with him in a pleasure-house in the neighbourhood. Jealous and turbulent men came upon him and killed him. They said that Maṭṭalīb[2] K. was mixed up in the affair. They brought that young man out of his house, and Maṭṭalīb K. was taken to the place of examination. They deferred the investigation until the arrival of his father (i.e. 'Alī Dost Bārbegī).

355 One of the occurrences was the founding the fort of Atak[3] Benares. It was the secret design of the world-adorner that when

[1] See B. 166 where the line is given, and where *shast* is *shast*. The process of initiation is described there. The Ayin variant text I. 160 of *narasad* for *nakanad* is supported in the I.O. MSS. of the Akbarnāma. The story of Fatḥ K.'s murder is fully told in the Iqbālnāma. He had been drinking with a *cela* named Ḥasan Beg. After the murder Ḥasan was sent for and was found in Maṭṭalīb's house, and hence he was suspected. Ḥasan was beaten and imprisoned, and Maṭṭalīb was kept till the arrival of Fatḥ K.'s father, but the latter declined to prosecute, saying it was his son who was in fault!

[2] See Maasir II. 769 and B. 403. Maṭṭalīb was eventually pardoned. The young man is Ḥasan Beg, who, as the Iqbālnāma tells us, was found in Maṭṭalīb's house.

[3] Pronounced Uttak. B. tells us that the name was chosen by Akbar to rhyme with Katak (Cuttack) the other frontier town. Indeed this is what A.F. here says. Apparently Katak was then known as Katak Benares.