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THE AKBARNAMA

OF
ABUL FAZLA HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT
OF HIS PREDECESSORS

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN

BY

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One of the occurrences was that Shaiikh¹ 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 Shaiikh 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 Mozaffar Husain M. When the world-conquering standards displayed the conquest of Gujarāt, each of the Mirzās received his punishment and was an outcast in the desert of ruin. Gulrukh Sultan Begam, the mother of Mozaffar Husain, 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 mahālāt*, which probably means that she was chief wife, or favourite. Her name was Gohara-n-nisā.

² There is the variant Rāp, 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 Rāp Khwas 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 *Shāhin-shāh*, 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-roof² 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 rejected³ was successfully carried out without their assistance. Why did they grieve⁴ and lose courage? If grief had seized those

¹ The two I. O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. have "Zamiyād, 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 Qatbu-d-dīn and the others who had gone off hastily to their fiefs in Gujarāt.

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

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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.

the result of their own misconduct. A. F. seems to be referring especially to Qutbu-d-din 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

Husain. 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 HUSAIN 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 Husain as a fresh instance of this).

207 The brief account of this event is as follows: Wazir K. was 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 Campanir and came to Ahmadabad. He was, in conjunction with Wazir K., engaged in administering justice there when the tumult of disaffection rose high. Mihr Āli Kulābī, who was a servant of Ibrāhīm Husain, 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 Sharif¹ K., placed the stain of infidelity on their foreheads and joined Mihr Āli. 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. Wazir K. was preparing to shut himself up in Ahmadābād, but

¹ B. 383 Bāz Bahādur is the only son of Sharif 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 (*gaṣba*), 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 Hāshim¹ the Khālṣa 'āmīl 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 Yahyā Naqshbandī, Wajīha-ul-mulk, and others ornamented the right wing; Rajah Todar Mal, Rūp Rai Gujrātī, Shaikh Wali, 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 cira-gari*) 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 Mīhr '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 *Shāhīnshāh'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. Moẓaffar 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 Sultan² 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 Tahmāsp*. 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. Madhūkar 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 be properly performed. Accordingly, as at this time the afore-said 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, Šādiq K., Rajah Askaran,¹ the Motha Rajah,² Ulugh K.³ Hābshī 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.

.....

.....

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Rai Lonkaran⁴ and Rajah Birbar. It has been mentioned that these two trustworthy servants had been sent from Dibālpūr 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 Shahrnkh M. That cupola of chastity the Khānim, who was the Mirzā's mother, had from farsightedness and intelligence perceived

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 Shāhīnshāh, and had formed a close intimacy with him from her early years. But she was terrified on account of the proceedings of M. Suhaimān, 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 and spiritual ruler would injure the honour and life of Shahrukh M. 211 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 Mirzā for his son¹ and exalt him. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān 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 Hakīm '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 ancestral² 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 busy³ 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 Shukra nisā.

² This refers to Akbar's idea of

reconquering the countries which had belonged to his grandfather.

³ *Takāpūi 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 'Iraq, 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 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 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 ruler of Iran had not been mentioned with honour, H.M. conveyed to him valuable admonitions in reproof thereof. 212

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. Alf. B. 206. See the account of the murder in the A.N. III, 527. Badayūnī. Lowe 273, mentions M. Fūlād Barlās being sent on an embassy to 'Abdullah K. along with Khawāja Khātīb, 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 Hakīm 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 Karoha² 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 Fath³ 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 Nizāmu-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 Fathpūr 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 Ahmad¹ the second son of S. Selim of Fathpūr. 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 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.² 213

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 amida* as if the meaning were that if S. Ahmad 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 *nyāmīda*, and I think the meaning is that whatever happened, Ahmad 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 Hāmid 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 Bāsāwar¹ the Rajah and many of the chief officers kissed the threshold. The Rajah told a thousand stories of the wondrous fortune of the Shāhīnshāh, 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

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 HUSAIN 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 Husain 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 'Ali 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 Mirzā 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. Wazir K.¹ in reliance on the Divine power marched out of Aḥmādābad and hastened to that district. In Pīrpūr² his confidence was shaken by the disgraceful conduct of

¹ B. 353 (Vair K.).

apparently this is correct. J. II.

² There is the variant Bīrpūr, and

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 Dībāzar 8 *Shahriyūr*, Divine month, the ill-fated 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 dying 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 Mīr '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 Shāhīnshāh'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 Husain 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 peshekāsh 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 Maṅṣūr 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 weighed¹ 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 Mir 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 Muḥāhid 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 near-

ly coincided with the *'urs* or anniversary of the death of the Ajmere saint which occurred on 6 Rajab, J. III, 362.



thāna dār of Mohi 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 protected¹ 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 Rustum-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 sleepers²¹⁷ there.² Near the tomb of Saiyid Husain 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 *Shahinshāh* 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 Mīrtha. 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 Salāmi Saiyids of Shīrāz. His grandfather Mīr Ghīyāṣ-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 Sultān Quṭb-d-dīn the grandson of the Sultān Aḥmad after whom Aḥmadābād is named, and then returned to his own native land.³ He came again to Gujarat to the dominions of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarha at the time of the commotion of Shāh Ism‘ail (Ism‘ail I). He was accompanied by his two sons Mīr Kamalu-d-dīn and Mīr Quṭb-d-dīn, and

¹ *Zīnhārīān*, "Persons under protection." But there is also the reading *dāhahāi* "villages."

² Apparently what is meant is that he said prayers (*fātīha*) for the repose of the souls of departed men.

It was Tāragārh that he visited. The shrine of the martyred Saiyid Husain is still there. See Rajputana G. II, 16.

³ Blochmann 506.

settled there and died there, after leaving a good name. Mir Abū Turāb the son of Mir Kamālū-d-dīn¹ 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 Mir Hāj) five lacs of rupees and 10,000 *Khilāts* were made over to him for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Hījāz. 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., Tāhir K., Saif-al-mulk, Mir Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb K., Qamar K., Firūz, Shaiḥ M'ūazzam, Shaiḥ 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 Qutbu-d-dīn, and Kamālū-d-dīn was his uncle. See also Rieu's Persian Catalogue, III 967b.

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 Idar and control the borders. The same authority adds the epithet Kabulī to the name of Firūz, mentioned in text. Perhaps the meaning of the passage about Wazīr is that he and Shihābu-d-dīn were to meet at Idar 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 *Bāmri*¹ (?) which is a dependency of *Mirta*² it was brought to his notice that the country was lying waste

¹ There is the variant *Māmri*. 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 Shabbāz K.'s report was read and it appeared that he wanted some experienced men to take charge of the passes, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Fathpūrī was sent there with troops in order that he might take post in the territory of Lādlāi¹ and reduce to obedience the recalcitrants of that country, and that Shabbāz K. might exert himself in suppressing the Rānā.

spelt Merath and placed in Sarkār Nāgor.

¹ B. 403. The text has Lawalālī. Maasir, II. 571 in its account of S. Ibrāhīm has Lādlāi. Perhaps it is the Lāroālah of J. II. 203, and if so, was on the Betwa and in the Sarkār of Canderi 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 Tabaqāt A., Newal K. ed., 485. Lawalālī 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 Māhrôt.¹ From a desire to cherish the lowly he visited the dwelling of Narāyan Dās the
221 brother of Rāpsi. On the 27th he encamped at Amber,² and on the same day the ambassadors of Quṭb-al-mulk³ produced choice presents. Among them was the elephant Fath 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.

¹ In Ajmere J. II. 273.

² The old capital of Jaipur.

³ The title of the Golconda

Sultans. The Sultan here meant was Ibrāhīm Qutb 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 (*gīt*) as well as to civilize the soul (*dīl*), 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 Manahar¹ 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 lakelet³ of discourse!

When the rays of the world-warming sun fall upon moist 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 (*bulhār*). 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

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¹ He was a poet and wrote under the name of Tausanī (a mettled steed). He was also called Muḥammad Manahar. See Badayūnī III. 201. For Manoharpūr, see I. G. XVII, 200. It is 28 m. N. N. E. Jaipur. 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 *Tāzūk*, p. 8. See

Rogers' translation, pp. 17 and 321.

² *Zū zanab*, 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 perihelion 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 stratum¹ 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 holds² a spear, or resembles a horned animal, etc.

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 *niyāzīk*,

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-najūm* and *zūāt al-azūāb*.² Each one of them had a different name in accordance with its difference in form. For instance, they called the hairy one *zū-zūāba* and the tailed one *zū-zanab*. 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 *zū-zūāba* (possessed of forelocks) and the *zū-zanab* (the tailed) are regarded as the most malefic. Ptolemy says that the *zū-zūāba* and the sun are eleven Signs apart. Some of the Greeks are of the opinion that the *zū-zūāba* show themselves in the morning towards the east, and that the *zū-zanab* 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

Probably then all that A.F. means by *niyāzūk* is spear-shaped comets. The next word, which Jarrett translates by luminous streams, is *umidha* عمدة in the original, and this is the plural of paucity of عمود pillar. The next expression is *zūāt al-qarūn*, lit. possessed of horns, but which J. renders "meteors." This corresponds to the *ke shāhkhā dāshā bāshid*, "which possessed 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 *zūāt-al-qarūn*, so that the phrase reads "horned pillars." There is an account of a comet in the *Tuzuk Jahāngīrī* 250, Elliot VI. 363.

¹ *Ṣawābet* 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 *Ṣābit* 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 *ṣawānī*, *ṣawānī* ثواني which is the plural of *ṣāniyat* 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 wondrous¹ 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 lunar³ eclipse to the extent of eleven digits $\frac{11}{12}$. 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 Qāid⁴ and Borāq and others illustrate this subject. Accordingly for a long time people reckoned their years and months⁵ from it. In 803 (1400) a tailed comet appeared in the zenith of Asia Minor (Rūm). Maulāna 'Abdullah Lisān, and Muḥīu-d-dīn⁶ Maghrabī and other astronomers of the time represented to Sāhib 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-agar*. 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 Borak of Ney

Elias' introduction to the T.R., pp. 34, 35. Kaidu was a grandson of Oktāi, and Borak a great-grandson of Caghatāi. He died in 1270. See also Vambéry's *History of Bokhara*, 152, 153.

⁵ *Sāl u mah-i derīn*. I.O. MS. 236 has *salmaḥ*. 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 Maulāna '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 Arghūn¹ the Shāh of Badakhshān and S. Zainu-d-dīn Khāfi¹ died during this calamity. The contest between M. Shāhrukh and Sikandar the son of Qarā Yūsuf 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 phenomenon² is as follows: On

¹ Both were sons of Shāhrukh, but according to Beale, Ibrāhīm 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 Khāfi was a famous saint. He died in Shawāl 838, April 1435, B. 592, note.

² *Mauhibat*, 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 Tahmāsp, the putting to death of Sultan Haider, and the arrival at power of Shāh Ism'ail. The brief account of this is that the Shāh—the cupola of paradise—died in Qazwīn on 5 Khirdād.² Sultan Haider, 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 (*nāmīhrēbān*) sister Pari Khānim,³ and Ism'ail 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 Ibrāhīm,⁶ together with eleven⁷ of his own brothers.

M.S. 235 seems to have moībat موبیت, which means a country visited by pestilence.

¹ *Bāhlarrūg māl bashimāt*. 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, transla-

tion 1662, p. 346, Ism'ail was imprisoned for having made war on the Turks without authority.

⁵ A fort in the district of Tūs, Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, I, 514, ed. 1815, says he was told that Kakha is the modern Sheshah. Kakha is however mentioned by Reclus as being a large town.

⁶ Son of Bahrām M. and cousin of Ism'ail.

⁷ According to Olearius, Tahmāsp 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 nagushta*) 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 Tahmāsp* went to the holy world before the appearance of the marvel (the comet), and after it had appeared, *Shāh Ism'ail* went to annihilation. He died after having spent one year and five months in bloodshed, dishonour and lust (*badmīhrī*). Many are agreed that he was poisoned by *Parī Khānim*.¹ During the lifetime of *Shāh Tahmāsp* she was the centre of affairs, and she expected to have still more authority during the rule of this ill-fated and noxious one (*Ism'ail*). 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 one² (*Parī Khānim*) plotted with the mother of *Husain Beg Halwācī Oghli* from whose hands he (*Ism'ail*) took his mixtures 225 and electuaries. On the night of *Bahman 2 Āzar*, 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 *Husain Beg* which were close by. *Sharif Qazwīnī* brought to him

¹ Malcolm calls *Parī K.* the favourite sultana of *Tahmāsp*, and this error is repeated by Oliver, J.A.S.B. 1887, p. 42. She really was *S. Tahmāsp's* second daughter, and was betrothed to *Badī-uz-zamān*, son of *Bahrām M.* See the *Ālam 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 *koīān khīrad*, and possibly it refers to *Ism'ail*; 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 (*huqqa*) 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 Husain Beg's mother there was no fear. He took some of it, and gave some to Husain 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 Wardi¹ 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 Ḥakīm 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)

226 The condition of this inwardly-disturbed one is impressed upon 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



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 dervish-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 Pari Khānim, but she understood the spirit of the age and refrained from the high office, and referred them to Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda the eldest son of Shāh Tahmāsp, and whose blindness had saved his life in the time of the bloodshedding Shāh. Her sole idea was that he should nominally be the Sultan 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 Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda—who was the real mother of Shāh Ism'ail—that they should get rid of this turbulent strife-monger. When Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda approached Qazwīn, Pari 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, Shamkhāl 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 Aṣṣhūr, who was ostensibly a friend (*az dostān rasmi*) 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 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 Āzar, Divine month, in the neighbourhood of the town of Kotputlī,² Moẓaffar K., Rajah Todar Mal and Khwāja Shāh Mansūr 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 Shujāʿat K., Mir Muʿizzu-l-mulk and other servants. The mints of the imperial dominions which had been under the charge of *caudha-*

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 ʿarāī B.M. MS., Add., 16, 684, 65b, that both Parī K. and Shamkhāl were put to death. The text has *haqiqat-guzīn-i-ʿIrāq* and I.O. MS. 236 has *haqiqi-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, 1, 2, *maqanna gazīn*. مقننه گزین "the veiled one." The expression "the veiled

one of ʿIrāq" thus corresponds to that used a little above where Parī K. is called "the lady of Irān, *bānū Irān*."

² Text has Kotbūqlī, but the variant Kotpūtīlī 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. Kotpūtīlī is in Jaipur and about 60 m. N.E. the city of Jai-putr, I.G., XVI, 3.

ris¹ were divided. The directorship of this weighty business was assigned to Khawāja² ‘Abdu-s-samad *Shīrīnqalm* in Fathpūr, the capital of the empire. The mint at Lahore was assigned to Mozaffar K., that in Bengal³ to Rajah Todar Mal, that in Jaunpūr to Khawāja ‘Imādu-d-dīn Husain, that in Patna⁴ to Asaf K. On the same day it was ordered that square⁵ rupees should be coined. On 9 Āzar 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 Nizām⁷ the hermit, and conferred eternal joy on that vaunter⁸ 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. Nizām). 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 Tānda 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 Nārnaol is described in Tiefenthaler I. 212. He says it was rich and populous until Jai Singh took it from the Muhamma-

dans. 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. Nizām of Amethi. He is described in Badayūni III, 15, while S. Nizām of Narnol is described at id., p. 26. He belonged to the Cistī order.

⁸ *Dukkān arāī sāda tūh*. The expression seems intended as a sneer. According to the Bahār-i-‘ajam *dukkān arāī* 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 Nizāmu-d-dīn quotes a verse apropos of it. Evidently Akbar was then a keen inquirer, and Nizāmu-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 Āzar, Divine month, the capital of Delhi was glorified by the Shāhīngshāh's advent. First of all he circumambulated the holy shrine of H.M. Jinnat 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 Farīd¹ 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 Bāwālī² 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 Hāji³ Ḥabibullah. 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 Rowārī, 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-dīn¹ 'Alī 'Aṣaf 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 Jahan-gir's reign.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE DEFEAT OF RAJAH MADHUKAR BY THE DAILY-INCREASING FORTUNE OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

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 Ṣādiq² 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 (*jāngalburī*) and proceeded to the town of Undeah (*Orchha* of I.G.). When they came near the fort of Karhara, Parmān Parmānand Panwār, 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 Shāhinshāh is to cherish the humble and to accept excuses, the imperial servants observed this principle and gave him protection. When they had

¹ Muasir-al-umarā II, 131, and B. 488.

² B. 355, 356. The *Iqbāl-nāma*

says he was accompanied by the Mota Rajah, Rajah Āskaran and Qāsim 'Alī K.



untied this difficult knot, they advanced farther. 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 Unḍ-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. Sādiq K. led one body and Qāsim 'Alī K., Ulugh K., and S. Firūz 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, Sādiq K. crossed with a body of active men and a noble engagement took place.

230

Masnavi.

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. Sādiq K.

¹ B. 356 has Dasthārā. The Maasir has "the river Sawā, which is known by the name of Satḍhārā." 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 Iqbāl-nāma 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. Sādiq 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 Sildoz distinguished themselves in single combat. Horal Deo, the Rajah's eldest son, was killed by a ball from a *gajnal*.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. Sādiq 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 Iqbāl-nāma. Apparently Sādiq K. recrossed the river, thinking his camp in danger, and then Madhukar took advantage of his departure to attack the van-

guard which had, by Sādiq's retracting his steps, become the rearguard.

² A gun carried by an elephant. B. 113, first paragraph.

³ The Iqbāl-nāma 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 Qāsim¹ 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 cortège 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 Sātgaon. The family of Dāūd was there, and Matī² and Jamshīd belonging to his Khāshkhail (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. Khāshkhail. See infra A.N. 259. He

surrendered to Khān Jahān at Gwās, and was put to death there.

royal servants. Jamshīd and the other Afghans 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 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 Sāt-gāon 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 Hīṣār to hunt, and spread the shadow of his justice over that city. The house of Mihr 'Alī Sildoz 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 Shāikh Farīd Shākrganj and on an indication from his *pīr* had settled there in order to guide inquirers. Whenever the Shāikh (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-aṣṣiyā* I, p. 285, and also in J. III, 379, where he is called S. Jamālū-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 Nizāmu-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 Nizāmu-d-din (Auliya). 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 Muhammad Amīn¹ arrived and did homage. He was of a noble family in Yazd 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 (*tajrid*), and knew the 'Azdi,² 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 threshold of fortune and by the instrumentality of court-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 233

¹ This is the Mullā Muhammad Yazdī of Badayūnī, and who, he says, got the name of Yazīdī (in allusion to the Yazīd who killed Husain). 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 Akbār who made him Ṣadr of Jaunpūr (A.N. text III, 231). 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. 309 he speaks of his having been drowned, and implies that this was an accident. The word 'Azdi either refers to the distinguished men of the tribe of 'Azd, see D'Herbelot s.v. Azd, or to the work called the Muwāqif 'Azdiā 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-nabi, who was the centre of *ahl-i-sa'adat* (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 Husain 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 *Mirzā* 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 'Ali 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 Maqṣūd 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. 'Abdunnabi. 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 integrity¹ of the *Shāikh* 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-nabi was ap-

pointed 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

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 Gohāna² to S. Farid Bokhārī that when the august cortège 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 investigation³ and criticism to prudent servants. He

¹ Cf. B. 269 beginning of first para. Badayūnī 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 worship¹ 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 Šadārat of the Punjab was conferred on Maulānā Abdulla Sultānpūrī, 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 was³ 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-surpassing⁴ 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 wolfish⁵

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 Šadr 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 Sūnnām is a town in the Patialā 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 jāhān gushāī, jān gushāī "soul-opening."

⁵ Gurgūhōī. 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 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 hoped² 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 Raḥmān³ Qulī Qūshbegī. For a while he had, in virtue of his leadership of the spiritual world, while in the midst of material calculations, been swimming⁴ in the ocean of Vision (shahūd). When he

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 (kāṁ 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 راجا Racman, and there is the variant *caman* راج. But it is clear from the I.O. MSS. and the Bib. Ind. text, p. 196, that the name really is Raḥmān or Raḥmān,

i.e. The Merciful, which is one of the names of God. At p. 196, Raḥman Qulī Qūshbegī (i.e. falconer) is described as coming from the Hījāz 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 Bakḥshī. See B. 528 and A. N. III, 247. Perhaps he is the same as Ism'ā'il K. who is described as the father of Raḥmān Qulī Beg by Ma'sūm 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 muḥāsibā 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 township¹ (*gasba*) 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 (*śūrat-i-namūdāri*). 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 (*Rāhmān 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!

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 *gasba* occasionally as equivalent to *pargana* or district.

² Text *azālī*, 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* *ازت* "yours," or "of you,"

and I believe this to be the true reading, for it is stated in Forbes's *Hindustani Dictionary* that *تہار* *tihāra* and *tihāri*, Hindi *तिहार*, means "your" in the old Brāj 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 Isfandarmaz, Divine month, a bridge was made from the neighbourhood of Lakhi² 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 cortège alighted at Patan (Pākpattan). The sovereign paid a visit to the shrine of S. Farīd Shākrganj.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 Šūfī Nāšir from Balkh and Mullā Mushfiq⁴ from Bokhara had

¹ This quatrain seems to be Faiẓi's: cf. B. 561.

² J. II. 332, where it is called Qiyāmpūr Lakhi. 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-ānārā cūn sha'ra-i-in'i-yār girifta." The expression about their coming to know that they had wasted their lives,



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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.

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 'aḥr 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 Rāvi 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 (Fathpūr Sikrī). He knew the outer world and was skilful in its management. It was ordered that he should come from the thānadārī of Laḍlāi¹ 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'at² 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 Lāzhlālī.

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 Shah 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 stumbling¹ 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, 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 evil¹ 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, sought² out petty reasons. As one of the ancients has sung:—

Quatrain.

I went to kill the horse with my sword,
He said, "First hear this my excellent excuse:
I'm neither the earth's³ bull that I can support the world,
Nor the fourth sphere that I can draw the sun.

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One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Komulmīr.* 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 Shāhīnshāh, it became with a little effort the resting-place of the victorious army. When Shāhbāz 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 *Kamālī* "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 sālī* "revenge and questionings," and id. 236 seems to have *bakamīn u sālī* "with inquiries and questionings."

³ *Gāo-i-zamīn*. The bull which bears the earth on its horns.

* *Kohlīmr* in text, the Konbhal-mīr 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. Kumbhalgarh.

stranger thought of it, Shabbāz 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 ghāzis, 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 (Shabbāz K.) made over the fort to Ghāzi 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

¹ I.G. XV. 198.

² The *Maasir* II. 593 says the Rānā escaped in the dress of a San-yāsī, 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 Ciniot¹ 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, Pūndarik,³ a special (*Khāṣa*) elephant, was lost in the depths (*ẓ'harifhā*) of the river. The deep-seeing (*ẓ'harifuigāh*) sovereign regarded diminution⁴ 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 litter⁶ (*sukhpāl*), and holding communion with his God. By the blessing of the shadow of the blessing of the *Shāhīnshāh* 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 *Iqbāl-nāma* 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 *khābar* "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, Pūndarikā, 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 con-

sumption 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 *supāri* 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 breathings¹ on a mirror and then put it into a fire. From the wondrous effect of the breath² 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.

240 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 cast their eyes on the remoteness and strength of their country and taken the path of ruin. As the world-adorning sun of Divine³ 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 excuses⁴ 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 *Damgīrāi*. It also means assistance, or power. See J. III, 366, where the original of the words "miraculous powers" is *damgīrāi*. 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-peshṭāq*. The sun-picture of the portico. See B. 50.

⁴ The *Iqbāl-nāma* gives the names of two of the Bilūci 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

¹ Cf. B. 263 and Lowe 261 and 282. It was Qāzī '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 Tuncak 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 Šādiq 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 Naqāreī (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 QAMARGHA¹ 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 (*kashashhā*, 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 Urdibihisht, 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 Farid'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 Urdi-

bihisht corresponding to 14 Šafar (986), i.e. 22 April 1578, 15 Urdibihisht corresponding to Friday 17 Šafar, 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 Girjhāk¹ 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 Hājī 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 tongues³ 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

¹ Kirjhāk in text. J. II, 324 and n. 6. It is the Hindu name for Jalālpūr, L.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 Urdibihight corresponding to Sunday 26 Šafar, 4 May 1578. It mentions M. Yūsuf K., Naurang K. and Aṣaf 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 qawī* "a strong attraction" is used, as in the T.A.

² B.M. M.S. gives 17 Urdibihight

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 Bada-yūnī, Lowe 261, and by Nizāmū-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 Bada-yūnī 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. Nizāmū-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 ecstasy 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 toppers 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. There¹ 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 carried² 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

and garden to be made there." The preparation for the *Qanargha* 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 Shāhinshāh—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 order¹ 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 time² 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 Selim 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.

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 Koc¹ (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 Urdibihit, corresponding to Rabi' al awwal. On 1 Khurdād or Monday 4 Rabi' al awwal news came of the arrival of Miriam Makānī. Though Nizāmu-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 Bishua (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 Sīlārāi, 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 Kāmru (Kām rūp).

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 Qatū in Selīmābād (or Sulaimān-ābād) 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 Nashūrna 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 Sātgaon. 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. Partāb Bār 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 Darbār-Akbarī, p. 67, has Tāb Bārro 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 فرونگی که از اعیان بازارگانان
ببازار بنگاله است سعادت باز یافت او
بالسوزبا زن خون از لیک اختری حیوثرزده

خوی ستوده شهر بارگشت و باراستگی 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 *yāftand* is used. I cannot make out what the name really is, though possibly it is Louisa or Isabella. The author of the Darbār Akbarī has Bāsūbārān باسوباران. That is, he has *ran* instead of *zan* (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 sūd u ziyān lehuul* "with his own profit and loss!" and has *yāft* instead of *yāftand* (according to the English numbering the page is 518a). The lady's name also appears in MSS. as Nashūrna, Nasūrtā and Basūrbā. 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 Bahādur 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 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 Hijāz, 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 Sakina 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

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 Maḥḥaqī and Sūfī Nāzīr. Add. B.M. 27, 247, calls him Martāza Bāqa.



justice. When the mysterious¹ 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 Mirzā 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 enure him by various instructions." On this account he nominated that veiled one of the palace of chastity, who was the Mirzā'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 Mirzā 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 Iqbāl-nāma 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 Sidri¹ (?) and went off in company with Mir 'Alī K. Sildoz and Mir Abu Issac² Ṣafvī.

At the same time the ambassadors³ of Shābrukh M. obtained leave, and 'Abdulla⁴ K. and 'Ābdī Khwāja were sent off to encourage and soothe the Badakhshis. It has already been mentioned that the Khānim had sent, on behalf of the Mirzā, skilful persons, and apologized for the disorders of that country (Badakhshān). When the facts were known, the disturbances created by the Mirzā 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 musicians⁵ came forth with their melodies, and for a time his angust 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, that⁶ cavalier of the plain of vision experienced a trans-

¹ Or Sahīdrī?

² B. 523. He was the son of Rūfī-ud-dīn Ṣafavī who was connected by marriage with A.F.'s father. See J. III, 423.

³ 'Abdu-r raḥmān Beg and M. 'Ashiq. 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. Ghaṇṣ 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 *gusehita* "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 Anūptalāo¹ with money. In the special apartments (courtyard?) (*daulat khāna-i-khāṣ*) of Fathpūr 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 Tōdar Mal reported that it would be filled by the time the royal standards arrived, that seventeen krons of *dāms* had been counted out, and that it was estimated that this quantity² would suffice to fill it.

¹ The tank or reservoir (*hauz*) was made or completed in 983 (1575-76). Lowe 204. Badayūnī, after mentioning the tank, goes on to speak of Jalāl K. Kūrī, and we know that he was killed at the end of 983. B. 476. Anūptalāo means "the unparalleled tank."

² *Misl-i-ān*. I am rather inclined to think that A.F. means by this expression that another seventeen krons would be required. This would make the amount agree with the statement in Jahangir's Memoirs. T.J. 260, that it took thirty-four krons, 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 Rūnā 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.

to fill it. He calls it the Kapūr tank and says it was 36 by 36 cubits and $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits deep. The B.M. M.S. Add. 27, 247 has *hamēn qadr dīgar khvāhūd gan id* "another equal amount would fill it," and the Iqbāl-nāma 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 Fathpūr Sikrī 1894-98, Chapter I, there is an account of a Ḥauz or tank in the Mahāl-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 *zara'* 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-Khāṣ. 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 Iqbāl-nāma 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, Tāzūk 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 Tibārah, 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 Rāvi. From there an embassy was dispatched to the ruler of Kashmīr. As 'Alī K.³ the governor (*hākīm*) of that country had not hastened to the highway of obedience, H.M. sent on the 24th Mullā⁴ 'Ishqī of Ghazni and Qāzī Ṣadru-d dīn⁵ of Lahore in order that they might guide that sitter in the hills to obedience. Next day he halted in that pleasant spot (Kalānūr⁶) 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'aīd⁸ 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'aid 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 Saiyid Moẓaffar were sent to Jalandhar 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'aāsh*) and could not get it was to be sent to court. He would get one sufficient for him from the crown lands. 248

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 'Arzī 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.

¹ *Darbār-i-shāhistān*. Presumably this is the appointment formerly held by 'Imād K. in the 20th year,

text 142, where it is called the *darbār-i-mashkūi*. He must have vacated it when he went on pilgrimage.

and the other Bilūci chiefs from ignorance and savagery ran away. They had not beheld¹ 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 *jāgirs* 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 *tan khwāh* 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. to the government of Bhakar. During the Mālwa expedition news had come to Dīlālpūr that Saiyid Muḥammad Mir 'Adl had died. H.M. sent them I'tmād K. the eunuch, who was distinguished² for justice and ability. He in an able manner conducted an army to Sehwan,³ and after being successful returned after making peace.

¹ Apparently A.F. means that the Bilūcis were so ignorant of the splendour of Akbar's court that they thought they would be impressed and kept as his servants.

² B. 488 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 Fazl. Elliot I, 243.

³ The text has *Sahsawān*, but the variant *Sehwan* 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 supply¹ 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 Faṭḥ² 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, 13 note, "In order to equip his contingent, he collected his rents and 'outstandings, as it appears, with 'much harshness.' The Iqbāl-nāma puts it somewhat differently, saying that Itimād'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 Maṣṣir I, 90, says that when

Maqṣūd, who was blind of an eye, represented his poverty to Itimād, the latter told him that he deserved to have his blind eye pissed upon, and that Maqṣūd drew his dagger and killed him. The Maṣṣir 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 Rabi-al-awwal 986, or 17 May 1578.

² It appears from the Iqbāl-nāma that this is Faṭḥ or Fattu K. Masnad 'Alī, 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 poetry¹ 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 Sultānpūr, Khizrābād. 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 Jūnat Ashiyānī. Then after a time he re-entered the boat and weighed anchor. As the peasantry of that neighbourhood complained of the revenue officers (*ʿamalguzārān*) he left Moẓaffar K. and Shāh Manṣūr there to dispense justice to them, and then join him.

removing the Afghans from the Panjab. In the T. Mʿāṣūmī, Elliot I, 244, he is called Faṭḥ K. Bahādur.

¹ *Hukamāi nāla u istidlāl*. Perhaps *hukamāi 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 besit 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 Faṭḥ Ullah, who was one of his servants, to Gujarat to bring Qutb-u-d-dīn K. to Court. From the time that M. Koka, in full reliance on the Shāhīnshāh's kindness, had gone into retirement, the secret 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

I have only guessed at the meaning of this clause for the word *bahrūzī* بہرُوزی 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 *Sādat pazhūh* 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 *firūzī*, both meaning a blue crystal. See also p. 394, where we are told that Akbar exerted himself anew to develop (*dar bahrūzī*) Sultan Selīm.

advice, he remained in the same disturbed state. Accordingly Qutbu-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 Daudā in the town of Hājīpūr. Next day he reached Mūl-Manahar-nagar,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 young² 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-faiṣ Faizī 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!

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 *Shāhīnshāh*'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) Naurang K., *Shīroya* K., Husain K., Maqbūl K., Faṭḥ Ullah the *sherbatdār*, 'Abdulla Bilūc, Hilāl Aftābcī, *Shākīr* K. Ābdār, Maḥmud K. *Khawās*. They travelled 120 kos in two days¹ and reached the capital in the end of the month.

Also at this time a report came from Gujarat from the imperial² servants to the effect that the caravan² 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 (*Faṭhpūr Sikri*).

¹ The T.A. Elliot V, 408, says Akbar left Delhi on 1st Rajab and travelling 30 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 Faṭhpūr in the evening of Friday 9 Rajab. According to this account he took four days. The statement in Lowe 262, "at day-break," 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 Marisand 29 *Shahriyūr*, night of 8 (should be 6) Rajab, which is that of the anniversary, and arrived at Faṭhpūr on 30 *Shahriyūr* or Friday 9 Rajab. 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 Selima 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 mentioned¹ 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 this² time, when the centre of the Caliphate (Fathpūr Sikrī)

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 59, begins here.



was glorified by H. M.'s advent, the former institutions were renewed, and the temple of Divine knowledge was on Thursday¹ nights illuminated by the light² 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. Sūfi, philosopher, orator, jurist, Sunni, Shīa, Brahman, Jati,⁴ Sīūrā⁵ Cārbak,⁶ Nazarene, Jew, Šabi (Sabian?), 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 Shābān (3 October 1578).

⁴ For Yati, the clergy or ascetics

among the Jains. J. III, 205, and note.

⁵ Sīūrā. 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 Šabiān. 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 (*farārū*) 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 Shahinshāh'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 beautiful¹ 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 (*ladunī*) wisdom is represented by the Holy Personality of the *Shāhins̄hāh*. 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 first³ 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;

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 رديف Rodolī, and not رديف, and that the letter *lām* has been mistaken for a *yā*. Cf. Elliot VI, 60, n. 2. The Bib. Ind. text has رديف and gives the variant رويق Ruyiq. 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 رولفو Rodolfū, the points and the sākin being carefully marked. I.O. MS. 235 has 522a رديف. 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 Sikri 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. Badayūni, 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 Badayūni 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 *he* 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 suppositions, 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, "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 persons, from intimacy with those who adorn their outside, but are inwardly bad, think that outward semblance, and the letter of Muhammadanism, 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

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¹ *Beshṭar*, but perhaps *peṣṭar* (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

peṣṭar 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 Muhammadan. 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 truth, for sincerity is not situated in the forehead.

The first² 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 afterward³ 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 *peṣh ār* 'produce' and *peṣhānī* '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 *āngah* "afterwards" here.

⁴ *girāu* in text, but apparently *gird* in I.O., 236.



various religions, and described their various excellencies. The acnte 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 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 righteousness² yield up their lives merely on hearing of the inevitable lot of their husbands. Many sensualists³ 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.

¹ It is *daniya*, "the world," in text, but the I.O. MSS. have *dīnī*, "belonging to faith." See Badayānī, Lowe 299, for a reference to the four degrees of devotion.

² *Rūh-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 *khābar-i-*

guzashtan khudra badarogh rasanāda "spread a false report of their own death." The same MS., says 'Abdul Hai 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 said¹ 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 unfruitfully 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 gharīs, 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 Maṣūr (Hullā)

and Pharoah. See Jarrett III, 394. 'Abdu-l-Ḥai Feringhī is casually mentioned by Jahangir in his Memoirs, p. 324, S. Ahmad, 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 $1\frac{1}{2}$ *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 *gharis* apart for this work. He also spends two *pahars* 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 $2\frac{1}{2}$ *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 2 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 Mangūr, 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.

258 One of the occurrences was the commencement of the opening of the treasury of the Anupālāo. 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 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 miraculous¹ 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 *pāṭbandagī* of the I.O. MSS. in preference to the *yābandagī* of the text.

² *damgīrā*. This word is not explained in the dictionaries, but means help, especially of a miraculous kind.

See its use in this sense in the 'Ain, text, II, 216, where in the account of Jalālū-d-dīn Tabrizī we are told that he was saved from the effects of an accusation, by the *damgīrā* of S. Bahān-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 Shāhīnshāh'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 Naral¹ and Karīmdād Mūsāzai waited for an opportunity of making a disturbance in the country of Bhātī.² Isā³ the zamindar of that country spent his time in dissimulation. Shāh Bardī also, the admiral (*mīr nawāra*), raised the head of presumption. The able servant (Khān Jahān) led an army thither. In the neighbourhood of the town (*qasba*) of Gwās,⁴ Naulaka⁵ the mother of Dāūd, and her dependants, and also Mahmūd K. Khāshkhail, 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 vagabond⁶ in the desert of insubordination, accepted good counsels and became

¹ Variant, Taral, and this is supported by Iqbāl-nāma 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 *bhātā*, ebb-tide.

³ J. II, 117, and B. 342, and n., A.N. III, 432.

⁴ Khās in J. II, 137, and in text of Ain, 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 Bhāwāl¹ 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. 'Isā 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 Kiyāra² Sundar, and a hot engagement took place on the borders of Kastal³. 'Isā 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 brought out a crowd⁵ 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. Muḥamād⁶ 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, Tila 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 Riyāzn-s-salāṭīn has Kathora Sundar. Possibly the river meant is one near Egara Sunda or thana Niklī in the Maimansingh district.

³ Variant Kaithal. I cannot identify it.

⁴ Can this be the Rajah Pratāp-ditya 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 Qatī 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, 535, 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 Śiḥhatpūr 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 Gadai was brought before H.M., and it appeared that he had twenty-five children from one wife. Apropos of this H.M. said, "A Bilāci 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 (*keṣā*) 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 Qawwāl¹ 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 Bahjūi in I.O. MS. 236. There is the variant Bachhūi. 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. 'Aziz Kokaltash 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 Ābān, 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 Mādhukar to court. It has already¹ 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. Sādiq 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 Ābān, Divine month, Sādiq 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 Mozaffar Husain M. at Court in chains. It has been mentioned that at the instigation of

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 Maqṣūd¹ 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. Qutbu-d-din K. sent Khawājagī Fath 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 Āzar, 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 distinguished² by the favour of the Shadow of God. Next day, Qutbu-d-din 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'aid 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-

¹ The I.A. Elliot V, 410, and Bada-yūnī, Lowe 274, calls him Maqṣūd Janharī, 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 Moẓaffar 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 Husain, S. Taimur Badakhshī, Mirzāda '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 occurrences¹ 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 Siḥḥat-pūr. 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 Dāī, 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.

¹ See B. 266 and 200, 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.

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 Shahinshah 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 Tarkhān² and was appointed to the office of Šadr. 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.

¹ B. 423, A.N. 436, and Badāyūnī, 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. Nūru-d-dīn also had this title. See Badāyūnī 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 *tahiyāt* from the Begams, that is, from Gulbadan Begam and Selima 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 Mir Hāj. 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 Yahyā 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 grandson¹ of Khwāja Ahrār, 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 (*nazr u ta’ulluh*), 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 Qulij 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. Hājī Ibrāhīm was made Šadr 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 punishment³ accordingly, as will be mentioned in its proper place. Also at this time Khwāja Ghiāsu-d-dīn ‘Alī Aṣaf K. was sent to Malwa⁴ and Gujarat. Inasmuch as it is indispensable that a ruler should send

¹ Nabīra pisarī. See Bādāyūnī III, 99, who says he was three removes from K. Ahrār. Apparently by "one remove" A. F. means that he was grandson, for the Khwājagān Khwāja was Kh. Ahrār's eldest son.

² A. F. describes Sultan Khwāja in nearly similar terms, A.N. III, 436. Bādāyūnī II, 261, says four lacs of rupees were made over to K. Yahyā 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 Bādāyūnī, Lowe II, 286, who hints that it was a murder and not a suicide. He died in 994.

⁴ The Iqbāl-nāma says he was sent there as *bakhshī*.