



the praise and blame of worldlings, and concerning themselves solely with the Unique and Companionless One (God).

At that time there was in Ghaznīn Bābā Bilās¹ who was one of the enthusiastic God-knowers and immersed in the sea of contemplation and who spent his days in the cell and the hermitage of obscurity. His Highness frequently went to see him. And that seer of the workshop of holiness read temporal and spiritual supremacy in the lines of his forehead and congratulated him on his external and internal kingship, and gave him the good news of long life, and lofty distinctions. When it was near the time that he should obtain respite from the hunting and travelling in Ghaznīn he, in accordance with an indication from His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī, set about his return. The reason of his recal was that His Majesty Jahānbānī was ever engaged in business in Kābul. All his time was divided and apportioned, and not a moment of night or day was spent in frivolities or idleness. But together with his dispensing of justice, and comforting the brokenhearted and surveying the work of the kingdom, he took pleasure in travel and field-sports. One day he had gone riding to Zama² which is one of the delightful villages of Kābul, and had accidentally fallen from his horse, and sustained bodily injuries. As prudence is closely associated with 323 dominion, he, out of precaution and reflection on the end of things, sent a letter recalling His Majesty Shāhinshāh. By the happy influence of his advent His Majesty attained a perfect recovery.

¹ A variant gives Palās and this is the form used by Bayāzīd. He tells how Humāyān unsuccessfully tried to evade the saint when he visited Ghaznīn on his way to Qandahār; and how the saint questioned

him about his having put Hājī Muḥammad to death, Erskine MS. trs. p. 40.

² Called Zamzama at p. 260 last line. It lay N. of Kābul.



CHAPTER LV.

EXPEDITION OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ TO BANGASH,
AND CHASTISEMENT OF THE REBELLIOUS; REARING THE STANDARD OF
INTENTION FOR INDIA; CAPTURE OF M. KĀMRĀN, AND
RETURN TO KĀBUL, ETC.

In the winter of the end of 959 (November, 1552), His Majesty Jahānbānī determined upon proceeding to Bangash which is a winter-quarters for Kābul. The design of this expedition was both to chastise the rebels of that quarter, and also to recruit his army. For the sake of auspiciousness, he took with him His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, as being closely connected with his good fortune, and proceeded towards Gardīz and Bangash. The Afghāns received proper punishment, and their goods fell into the hands of the soldiery. The first tribe attacked was the 'Abdu-r-raḥmānī,¹ the last was the Barmazīd. Fath Shāh² Afghān,—who in his folly and unwisdom thought himself wise and led others astray,—fled from the onset of the victorious army, and on his way fell in with Mun'im Khān and a body of troops who were marching to join the king. All his goods and chattels came into the hands of the soldiery and he was wounded and forced to take flight. During this turmoil the delegates (*wukalā'*) of Sī. Adam Gakhar, the chief of the Gakhar clan, arrived with a letter and were graciously received. The contents of the letter were that M. Kāmrān had come in distress to his territory; that Sī. Adam, in whose head was the breath of loyalty, did not wish the Mīrzā to spend his days in this vagabond fashion; that if His Majesty would come, he would produce the Mīrzā in order that the latter might make amends for his crimes and become a

¹ Jarrett II. 407.

² Erskine says that he was reputed to belong to the *Cirāgh-kash* (lamp

extinguishing) sect. This is derived from Bayāzīd (62a), who adds that he lived in Tīrāh.



servant of dominion's threshold; and that Sl. Adam himself would also do homage.

Be it known that the Gakhars are a numerous clan and that they live between the Bihat (Jehlam) and the Indus. In the time of Sl. Zainu-l-'ābidīn of Kashmir, there came a Ghaznīn officer, named Malik Kid,¹ a kinsman of the ruler of Kābul, and took this country by force from the possession of the Kashmīrīs. He was succeeded by his son, Malik Kalān, and he again by his son Bīr (or Pīr).² After him came Tatār Khān who had much contest with Sher Khān and his son, Salīm Khān. He regarded himself as attached to His Majesty's family, for at the time when His Majesty Getī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī conquered India, he entered his service and did good work. He was especially devoted in the war with Rānā Sānkā. He had two sons, Sl. Sārang and Sl. Adam. After Sārang the headship of the tribe fell to Sl. Adam. The sons of Sārang Kamāl Khān and S'āid Khān submitted but were secretly disaffected. Jōgī Khān, a confidential servant of M. Kāmran, arrived with as Sl. Adam's ambassador and tendered a petition from the Mirzā, full of smooth and baseless words.

Abū-i-fazl, the writer of this compendium of wisdom, and the chronicler of the deeds of this noble family, has his mind fixed on the history of His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh and on the diffusion of information concerning his glorious rule. It is to satisfy the thirsty readers of this precious chronicle that he has given,—as a side-piece,—an account of the lofty line from Adam down till now, which is the era of the heir of the universe. It is indispensable to tell briefly the evil acts of M. Kāmran and of his receiving retribution therefor by his own acts.³ Although the dignity of this noble record is too exalted for the entry of such matters, yet in order to complete the narrative, it is impossible to avoid treating of the low as well as of the high.

Let it not be hidden from the listeners to these strange occurrences,—every one of which is a sermon from a sacred pulpit,—that when that morning, as has been related, M. Kāmran was defeated and escaped with a thousand risks from the hands of the swordsmen,

¹ Blochmann 456.

² The Gakhars say Tatār was grandson of Bīr and son of Pīlu.

³ A.F. means that he was blinded because he had blinded others.



he was unable to remain in any one place. From the ruin of his understanding,—the fruit of ingratitude,—and notwithstanding reverses, each of which might have guided him to the highway of auspiciousness,—he did not submit himself to a master so gracious and forgiving, when the dust of remorse and repentance should have covered his face and when he should have come, with shame and apology, to kiss the threshold and atone for his crimes,—but he, the destined pervert, went off to India for the purpose of presenting himself before Salīm Khān, son of Sher Khān, (who in addition to inborn ingratitude, had his brain perturbed by the wine of insouciance and the ferment of pride), and to obtain from him auxiliaries for his disloyalty. Good God! what kind of reason had he

325 to go to his deadly foe to compass the ruin of so great a friend? Why should he submit to indignities to this end? and wish him (Salīm) to assist him to contend with his benefactor? To sum up; evil thoughts brought the Mīrẓā to this, and with a few followers, he took the road to India. From the neighbourhood of the Khaibar, he sent Shāh Budāgh Khān to Salīm Khān who was in Ban,¹ a town of the Panjāb. The Mīrẓā's ambassador arrived there and performed his mission. Salīm Khān perceived that the success of the Mīrẓā's wishes was beyond his (Salīm's) power and therefore dissembled. He sent some money for expenses by the envoy and arranged that he (Kāmrān) should wait where he was, and he promised to send him help, and to assign him an income. Before the ambassador had returned to the Mīrẓā, Alī Muḥammad Asp also was sent to Salīm Khān. To sum up this long story, which might better have been shortened;—when the Mīrẓā arrived within four *kos* of Ban, Salīm Khān sent his own son, Āwāz Khān, Maulānā 'Abdu-l-lāh of Sultānpūr and a number of his officers to welcome him. The Mīrẓā was received by the Afghān leader (*i.e.*, Salīm) in a manner unfitting for enemies or street-dogs.² His companions were Bābā Jūjak, Mullā Shafāi, Bābā

¹ The Bīn of Erskine. Perhaps it is Bain in the Bannū country which is marked in Thoburn's map. It lies south of Edwardesābād. See too Jarrett II. 393. Raverty (Notes, etc., p. 354), mentions Ban as 19 miles north-east of Siālkōt and 8 miles south-west of Jammū. It is on the

east bank of the Cenāb. There is a "Bone" in the Salt Range. (Wanderings of a Naturalist, Adams, p. 134).

² Text 325. See Erskine II. 408 for an account of Kāmrān's humiliating reception.



Sa'īd Qibcāq, Shāh Budāgh,¹ 'Ālam Shāh, Rahmān Qulī Khān, Salih dīwāna, Hājī Yūsuf, 'Alī Muḥammad Asp, Tāmartāsh, Ghālib Khān, Abdāl Kūka and many other broken men whose names had better not be given. As the acts of ingrates and the thoughts of the unfaithful are not for good and meet with disaster in the end, whatever happened to them was the consequence of their actions. The Mīrzā was disgusted with the bad manners of this ignorant crew (*i.e.*, the Afghāns) and continually reproached Shāh Budāgh in private, who had instigated him to come.

When Salīm Khān's mind was at rest about the affairs of the Panjāb, he set off for Dihlī, taking the Mīrzā with him under false promises. He kept saying that he would let him go but did not do so. His idea was to imprison him in one of the strong forts of India. When the Mīrzā perceived how things were, and that there was no hope of assistance nor of his own release, he resolved to escape. He sent Jōgī Khān, his trusted servant, to Rāja Bakhū who was twelve *kos* from Mācīwāra and asked for help. The Rāja received the messenger kindly and promised his protection. One day when Salīm Khān had crossed the Mācīwāra river, the Mīrzā left Yūsuf 326 *aftābē* in his (Kāmran's) sleeping suit and arranged with Bābā Sa'īd to go on for a long time reciting something so that it might be supposed the Mīrzā was lying down. He himself changed his clothes and put a veil over his face and then went out by the enclosed side and hastened to the refuge which had been agreed upon. The Rāja gave him a proper reception and when it was reported that an army was coming to search for him, sent him on to the Rāja of Kahlūr whose was the safest place in the neighbourhood. He too, from fear of enemies, sent the Mīrzā on, giving him a guide to Jammū. But the Rāja of Jammū from the cautiousness of a landholder, would not allow him to enter his territory. Dismayed and confused, the Mīrzā went off to Mankōt. There he was almost captured, and again changing his apparel, he went on, in woman's garb, towards Kābul, in the company of an Afghān horse-dealer. Meditating evil, he went to Sl. Adam Gakhar thinking that perhaps he might induce the Gakhar tribe to act with him and to do things which ought not to be done. But Sl. Adam approved of loyalty. He kept the Mīrzā, by

¹ Blochmann 371. See also Raverty "Notes on Afghānistān," 359.



various pretexts, under surveillance and sent to represent the matter at the sublime Court. The Mirzā also, when he saw disappointing indications in the behaviour of the tribe, was compelled to adopt feline ways and to send a petition, as already stated. Though he tried to induce the Gakhars to join him, he had no success. He did not trouble himself about escaping because he had no refuge; moreover owing to the guard kept over him and to his own fatigue, he saw that it would be difficult to get away. He was obliged to subsist with this people and he learnt that every harmful thought becomes null and void which is entertained by the ill-wisher to a dominion adorned by the Divine splendour and safe-guarded by its protection; and that such an ill-wisher sinks into eternal punishment.

When the envoy of Sl. Adam had represented the state of affairs, His Majesty determined to make an expedition into India as far as the Gakhar country. He sent Khw. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd to guard and govern Kābul and marched on himself, taking the Shāhīnshāh with him, for the furtherance of good fortune. He bound the girdle of determination on the waist of energy that he might end the affair of M. Kāmran and ease the world from his strife and sin. When the standards of victory reached the Indus, he sent Qāzī Ḥamīd, the chief judge of the victorious camp, to Sl. Adam, requesting his presence. He also sent the Mirzā sage counsel and exhortations, to the effect that he should scour from his heart the rust of opposition and discord. When later, he crossed the Indus, there was no sign of Sl. Adam who apparently was affected by the misplaced apprehensions of a landholder. His Majesty despatched Mūn'im Khān to soothe him and bring him in. He also sent a few words to the Mirzā such as might guide him to fortune. Mūn'im Khān was moreover to ascertain from their actions and manners what were their secret thoughts and to report accordingly. He displayed his abilities and after cajolery and stratagem, Sl. Adam brought the Mirzā and did homage near Parhāla. His Majesty gave a feast which was kept up all night. Spite of so many crimes,—each one deserving condign punishment,—M. Kāmran was encompassed with favours. All loyal officers and prudent well-wishers represented that though the kindness and benevolence of His Majesty always required that in his Court, the mantle of pardon should clothe the great criminals,—yet foresight and firmness demanded that the oppressor and injurer of



mankind should receive his deserts, so that the dust of wickedness might be wiped from the face of men's safety. Fore-casting care made it proper that the outward appeasement of one man,—and he an ill-wisher,—should not be preferred to the satisfaction of many distinguished loyalists. What shock would there be to the wall of justice if, to bind up the broken-hearted and heal the wounds of lacerated breasts, the portrait of a tyrant were erased from the world's picture-gallery? Especially when this course involved thousands of advantages. The obliteration of this worthless figure would be in every way pleasing to God and in accordance with general laws. Such ingratitude and rebellion were not of the character to give hope of security or to permit his actions to be regarded as not done. The matter had passed beyond bounds; it could no longer be coped with (*tāqathā fāq shuda*). It was advisable for him and for all that he should become a traveller to the world of non-existence, that so God's creatures might be saved from thousands of ills and the record of his deeds become no blacker. People's goods had long been subject to plunder and rapine through the turmoils of this wicked rebel: their property and honour had gone to the winds of strife and the lives of so many men had been valued as dust; and the jewel of sincerity,—which is the neck-ornament of the virtues,—had been lost in the mists of trouble. Now the proper course was to release such a man from the claws of final retribution 328 and to give mankind tranquillity, under the shadow of justice.

His Majesty Jahānbānī looked to the wisdom and benevolence of the Causer of causes (God), and declined to engage in this affair. (Nor would he believe) that the world-adorning Initiator would, in spite of his omnipotence, make a man so unutterable, (i.e., as M. Kāmran). Besides taking this profound view, his discerning eye approved of the admonitions of His Majesty Getī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī and would not agree to the proposition. His officers, who had witnessed the various bloodsheds and strife caused by this insolent shedder of blood,—were again firm in their request: they took legal opinions which were attested by the law-officers; and they brought a paper signed by the great of realm and religion and laid it before His Majesty. These documents His Majesty sent to M. Kāmran who having read the record of his deeds and the punishment (proposed), returned the message that those who to-day had put their



seals for his death, were the men who had brought him to this pass. The spirit of clemency moved His Majesty and, spite of the general insistence and of the existence of so many reasons, would not let him shed the Mīrzā's blood. At length for the general welfare, a special order was issued and they deprived the Mīrzā of sight. 'Alī Dōst *bārbegī* (master of the ceremonies), Saiyid Muḥammad Pakna and Ghulām 'Alī *shash-angasht*¹ were told off for this duty.

They entered the Mīrzā's tent. He thought they had come to kill him and at once ran at them with his fists. 'Alī Dost said, "Mīrzā, compose yourself: the order is not for death. Why are you agitated? As justice demands,—for you blinded Saiyid 'Alī² and many other innocent persons,—you will behold in your own eyes the retaliation thereof." On hearing this, the Mīrzā agreed to submit to the royal commands and endured the insertion of the needle. They blinded both his eyes,—the sentinels of a seditious heart. These loyal servants took the precaution of using the lancet many times. The Mīrzā being thankful that his life was spared, uttered no remonstrance. With his natural kindness, His Majesty expressed his regrets and marched onwards. Many affectionate and loving words rose to his lips. This catastrophe occurred in the end of 960 (Nov.-Dec., 1553). Khw. Muḥammad Mūman of Farankhūd³ found the chronogram, *nīshṭar* (lancet) = 960).

On the same day, the Mīrzā sent to Mun'im Khān to request him by all means in his power, to obtain for him from His Majesty the services of Beg Mulūk. The petition was at once granted and Beg Mulūk was sent. The Mīrzā,—owing to the great affection he bore
329 him,—took his hands and placing them over his own sightless eyes, recited this verse;—

Though a veil be drawn over my eyes,

I behold thee with the eye which has oft seen thy face.

After this occurrence, His Majesty set off to chastise the Jānūhā⁴ who were vagabonds and impediments of the road. Tho

¹ i e., six-fingered or -toed.

² Kāmran did this at Tīrī after returning from Sind and before capturing Ghaznīn.

³ Text 328. Farankhūd is mentioned by Yāqūt as a village near

Samarkand. See too Blochmann 434n.

⁴ Blochmann 456n. They inhabited the Salt Range. Their proper name is Janjū'āh.



wretched rebels slipped their necks from the collar of obedience and were killed fighting with the heroes of victory. Khw. Q̄sim Maḥdī and others of the army of fortune attained the glory of martyrdom.

His mind being at rest about this affair, His Majesty resolved to go to Kashmīr, an intention he had cherished for years. His officers thought it inadvisable and abused Kashmīr, likening it to a well¹ or prison, in order to induce the holy heart to renounce the enterprise, for, they said, "The noise of the march of the army of fortune has caused commotion in India and Salīm Khān is coming to the Panjāb with great preparation; whilst on our side, there has been no due preparation." "If we go forward and the Afghān army approach us, how can we pass it and go on to Kashmīr? Perhaps the Kashmīrī affair will be a long one and if so and black-hearted Afghāns secure the passes, what will be the end of it? The proper thing is to give up the idea of the expedition and to return to Kābul now that the traitor has been removed from our midst. When military preparations have been made, we will set the foot of courage in the stirrup of energy and by the might of daily-waxing success, shall easily destroy the Afghāns." His Majesty heard these words, and gave them no heed but despatched His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh with many officers to protect Kābul and turned his own rein towards Kashmīr and desired to set forth. Acting on the evil teaching of their huckster-natured officers,—who looked to nothing but their own profit,—most of the servants and soldiers left their masters and set out for Kābul. Except officers, none remained to serve His Majesty. By this shameful conduct,—far removed from the path of loyalty and obedience,—the composure of the noble soul was disturbed. He ordered the trusty by all means to turn back the men and not to hesitate, if necessary, to put any to death. Meanwhile he sought an omen from the glorious Koran. It chanced that the story of the faithful Joseph came up. Those who had leave to speak, set themselves to explain this and considered it carefully. Khw. Ḥusain of Merv submitted that what had been said about Kashmīr,—*viz.*, that it was like a well or a prison,—was true; for the story of Joseph names both these things. 330

¹ Alluding to its girdle of mountains.



When disunion showed itself amongst those with him, His Majesty, being compelled to abandon his intention, moved towards Kābul. When he was encamped on the Indus, M. Kāmran petitioned to be allowed to go to the Hijāz. As His Majesty was now desirous of giving him pleasure, he consented. On the night of dismissing the Mīrzā¹ on his journey, he went with a number of chosen followers to his quarters. After paying due respects, the Mīrzā recited this verse.²

The fold of the poor man's turban brushes the sky,

When the shadow of a monarch like thee falls on his head.

Later on, this verse was on his tongue ;—

Whate'er comes on my life from thee is cause for thanks,—

Be it shaft of cruelty or dagger of tyranny.

Although the second couplet inclines to thanks, a critic can see that it runs over with censure. His Majesty who was a world of compassion and gentleness, took no heed of this but expressed commiseration. With his inspired tongue he said, "He who knoweth secrets and things hidden, is aware how much ashamed I am of this thing which did not come about with my goodwill.³ Would that

¹ A.F.'s account of this interview seems to be taken from Bayāzīd (I.O. MS. 64b.) but though he is often a servile copyist, he is rarely quite an accurate one. As I understand Bayāzīd, Kāmran said, "If people consider that His Majesty has dealt kindly with me, I attest the fact (*siḥ kardam*). Possibly a negative has slipped out here for it would be more to the point if Kāmran said, "Should people think His Majesty has not dealt kindly by me, I attest the contrary." A.F. makes Kāmran say, "If I were innocent, I would take the opportunity of this visit to attest my innocency." The text has *baḥal kardamī*, "I would absolve him:" and this is Erskine's reading of the passage. (A.N. MS. trs.). But after

referring to Bayāzīd and other sources, it seems to me that *siḥ* and not *baḥal* is written. This agrees with the context; "Were I innocent, I would take advantage of this public opportunity to assert the fact, but I well know I am guilty." It will be observed that Erskine renders the passage differently in his History (II. 417) and in his MS. trs.

² Imitated from the Gulistān III. 19. Blochmann quotes the lines (179).

³ I do not feel sure of the meaning, but I think that Humāyūn was gently hinting that as Kāmran, when in power, had blinded several people, he might, if successful against his brother, have blinded Humāyūn.



you had done it to me ere this happened." The Mirzā woke from the slumber of negligence and comprehended both the measure of his crimes and the extent of the princely mercies. He fell into a state of shame and supplication and asked Hājī Yūsuf what persons were present. Hājī Yūsuf named them, *viz.*, Tardī Beg Khān, Mun'im Khān, Bābūs Beg, Khw. Husain¹ of Merv, Mir 'Abdāl-hai, Mir 'Abdu-l-lāh, Khanjar Beg and 'Ārif Beg. The Mirzā said, "Friends, be ye all witnesses that if I knew myself innocent, I would assert the fact at this time of distinction when His Majesty visits me; but I am certain I was worthy of death. He has granted me life and has given me leave to depart to the Hijaz. For the beneficence and favour of His Majesty, I offer a thousand thanks because he has not exacted retribution commensurate with my wickedness and misconduct." After this he passed on to recommendations for his 331 children. His Majesty gladly promised to care for them. Having encompassed the Mirzā with kingly favours, he bade him adieu. It had been stipulated that the Mirzā should not lament in the presence and he therefore restrained himself, but, as soon as His Majesty had gone towards his own tent, he wept and lamented.

Next day an order was issued that any of the Mirzā's servants who wished to accompany him, might do so. No one came forward. Those who had boasted of their affection, abandoned it. Calma kūka,²—(who by his perfect loyalty and fidelity to His Majesty the *Shāhīnshāh* obtained the title of Khān 'Alam and who gave his life for his benefactor and the master of mortals, as will be told in its place),—was standing there. He was His Majesty's table-servant (*safarcī*) and the recipient of royal favour. His Majesty Jahānbānī asked him whether he would go with the Mirzā, or stay with him. The excellence of Court service and the abundance of royal favour notwithstanding, he preferred the path of fidelity to temporal delights and answered, "I see that it befits my position³ to serve the Mirzā in his dark days of helplessness and black nights of loneliness."

Chalmers translates, "Would that I had been the sufferer and you the author of the evil."

¹ See Badāonī III. 176, for account of this poet and also *Tabaqāt-i-akbarī*, Luck. ed. 396. Nizāmu-d-dīn says

he was son of a vizier and died in Kābul.

² Blochmann 378.

³ He was son of Hamdam a foster-brother of Kāmran, so that his fidelity was to the "milk-brotherhood."



His Majesty who was the touch-stone of knowledge of men and their accurate balance, highly approved of his faithfulness and though he set value on his services, he let him go. He made over to him the money and goods fixed upon for the expenses of the journey and sent him to the Mīrzā. Beg Muluk, notwithstanding his close connection with the Mīrzā went with him some stages only and then returned,—a proceeding exceedingly disapproved by His Majesty and, notwithstanding external agreeableness,¹ he became disregarded.

The Mīrzā went by the Indus to Tatta and thence to his destination (Mecca). He performed the pilgrimage three times, and on the 11th Zī'l-ḥijja, 964 (5th. Oct., 1557), at Mecca,² he was borne away to non-existence, uttering these words, in response to the Divine call, "Here I am for Thee."³

As the series of words about M. Kāmran has now been folded up, I hasten to my proper subject, and record that, as the evil Afghāns had destroyed the fort at Bīkrām, known as Peshāwūr, where His Majesty was encamped, he determined to rebuild it and leaving a body of his well-wishers in it, to proceed to Kābul :—for the completion of this fort would be the beginning of the conquest of India. The officers wanted to get back to Kābul and were unwilling on any account soever to delay in this place. His Majesty Jahānbānī set himself energetically to the task and in a short time, had the fort rebuilt. Pahlwān Dost *mīr barr* divided the work, according to orders, amongst the officers and it was soon finished. 332 Sikandar Khān Uzbek was left in charge and His Majesty moved towards Kābul.

Later on, the Afghāns made a great attack on the fort but Sikandar Khān defended it manfully, and they were repulsed. In

¹ *Baqabūl-i-shurātiki dāshī, mardūd-i-nazarhā shud*. This is from Bayāzīd, 65a whose words are ;—*u ān bī sa'ādai Beg Mulūk, cand mansil ki hamrūh-i-mīrzā raft, bī rukhshat judā shuda āmid in bawajūd-i-maqbūlī mardūd-i-khāshu 'amm shud*. It would seem from text I. 363 that he must have afterwards repented and gone upon the pilgrimage.

² *lie* Minnā in text, that being a valley in Mecca. The three *hajj* will be those of 961-963. That of 964 could not have been completed. See Asiatic Quarterly Review, July, 1899, p. 164.

³ See Hughes' Dictionary of Islām s.v. *talbiyah*. *Labbaik* may be said to correspond to Colonel Newcomb's *Adsum*.



the beginning of 961 (Dec., 1553), Kābul was made glorious by the arrival of His Majesty. The ladies came to wait upon him and offered congratulations. He however said that congratulations had their proper place and that the affair of M. Kāmran was not one for congratulation because it was as if he had struck at his own eyes. Gracious letters were issued to the officers. One was sent also to 'Abdu-r-rashīd, ruler of Kashghār, who had all along been mindful of kinship and amicably disposed. The letter told what had occurred and was sent by prudent hands. While His Majesty was superintending affairs of state and distributing rewards and punishments, a son was born to him from the chaste womb of Māh Jūjak Begam, in this year, on the night of Wednesday, 15th Jumāda'l-awwal (19th April, 1554), and after the passing of two *dāng*¹ of the sign Sagittarius. His Majesty named him Muḥammad Ḥakīm. As the chronograms² of his birth were both Abū'l-mafākhīr and Abū'l-fazāil, he received both patronymics (*kanyat*). The gates of joy were opened and thanks were rendered to God. At about the same time, Khānīsh Begam, daughter of Jūjūq M. of Khwārizm, gave birth to a son whom they named Ibrāhīm Sī. He soon went to the blessed country (*'ālam-i-qads*).

Verse.

He was a flash from high heaven :
Birth and death touched.

¹ Apparently meaning one-third of a degree.

² Both names yield 961 (1554).



CHAPTER LVI.

HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ'S JOURNEY TO QANDAHĀR AND HIS RETURN THEREFROM.

333 In the beginning of the winter of this year, His Majesty determined to go to Qandahār rather than to India, as a number of strife-mongers had made false representations about Bairām Khān. Accordingly he went there. The government of Kābul was entrusted to 'Alī Qulī Khān of Andarāb, and the Divine nursling, eye-pupil of the *Khilāfat*, prop of glory, His Majesty the *Shāhīnshāh* accompanied his father as far as Ghaznīn. The prince's *vakils*, who were in charge of Ghaznīn, were assiduous in discharging the duties of hospitality. When the royal standards moved onwards from Ghaznīn, the prince returned to Kābul. Bairām Khān recognised the advent of the king as a great favour and returned thanks for it, with a heart full of loyalty, he did homage at the village of *Shorāndām*, ten¹ leagues out from Qandahār, and His Majesty was convinced that the reports about him were not true. He arrived at Qandahār in an auspicious hour. Splendid feasts were held. Among the distinguished servants present there were *Shāh* Abū'l-ma'ālī, Mun'im Khān, *Khizr Khw.* Khān; Muhibb 'Alī Khān, (son of) Mir Khalifa, Ism'aīl Dūldai and Haidar Muḥammad ākhta-begī. Of the *Ahl-i-Sa'adat* (learned or literary men) there were Khw. Ḥusain of Merv, Maulānā 'Abdu-l-bāqī the *Ṣadr* and others. Bairām Khān neglected no punctilio of civility and the whole winter was spent in Qandahār in enjoyment. And during this time, whatever was necessary for the king's privy purse, was all defrayed by Bairām Khān. He had all the court servants brought into the houses of his own servants, where their entertainment was provided for. All this time His Majesty Jahānbānī enjoyed sensual and mental recreations² and pleasures spiritual and temporal and had feasts and entertainments and visited the

¹ Some MSS. read "two leagues."

² *Tanazzuhāt* which has for one of

its meanings, walking about in gardens.



hermitages of dervishes and the cells of pure religionists, and distributed largesse in accordance with their conditions. Among others, he frequently visited Maulānā Zainu-d-dīn Maḥmūd *Kamāngar*¹ (the bow-maker) who was one of the determined opponents of sensuality, and holy words were spoken on both sides. There were conversations about the attainment of desires in time and eternity.

Khw. Ghāzī, who had gone on an embassy to Persia and had come to Qandahār with presents before His Majesty had arrived there, returned to employment and was, on account of his meritorious services, raised to the lofty office of *diwān*. About the same time Mu‘azzam² Sl. came from Zamin-Dāwar and entered into service. Mihtar Qarā, who was one of the trusted followers of Muḥammad Khān of Herāt also came with valuable offerings and was received into service. He brought representations of fidelity and was encompassed with favours. And for the sake of the State and for the delight of hearts, he had a *qamargha* hunt in the neighbourhood of Shōrāndām. This pleased the officers and His Majesty took an omen from it for the capture of his desires. 334

One of the evil things which happened in Qandahār was the killing of Sher ‘Alī Beg by Shāh Abū’l-ma‘ālī. A brief account of the affair is, that about this time, Sher ‘Alī Beg, the father of Qarā Beg *mīr shīkār*, came without leave from Shāh Tahmāsp, the ruler of Persia, and entered the royal service. Shāh Abū’l-ma‘ālī, being intoxicated by Court-favour and by his honours and courage, set his foot outside the circle of moderation, and did extravagant things. And as the evil bigotry of rebellious people had damaged the brain of his faith, he frequently and openly said in the court of His Majesty Jahānbānī, that he would kill this heretical fellow. Out of the favour he bore him, His Majesty regarded this as a pleasantry and gave no heed to the matter. At length, Abū’l-ma‘ālī, being drunk with the wine of bigotry, one night attacked that stranger and poured his blood upon the ground! His Majesty was much displeased, but the close, though superficial relationship³ was a veil of faults and prevented him from punishing the evil deed.

¹ Blochmann, 539. Badāōnī III. 151. The fullest account of him is at Badāōnī I. 455. The saint really was a maker of bows. He

was a native of Bahadā in *Khu-rāsān*.

² Humāyūn’s brother-in-law.

³ Hāmāyūn called him “son.”

When the excellent loyalty of Bairām Khān was made clear and it became apparent to all that his foot was firm in the path of obedience and good service, His Majesty confirmed him in the government of Qandahār which it had been his recent intention to give to Mun'im Khān. He took Zamīn-Dāwar from Khw. Mu'azzam and gave it to Bahādur Khān, the brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān. His mind being now at rest about the affairs of his kingdom, he returned to Kābul with the intention of conquering Hindustān. He gave leave of absence to Bairām Khān in order that he might make preparations for this expedition and join him as soon as possible. His Majesty took Walī Beg¹ and Hājī Muḥammad Sistānī with him because people were continually telling tales of them and putting together the materials of strife. Near Ghaznī, he was met by His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh and it was a meeting like the conjunction² of favourable planets. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and Atka Khān (Shamsu-d-dīn) and many others did homage and at the end of 961 (Oct., 1554), Kābul received celestial glory by his advent.

335 At this time, Mun'im Khān was raised to the office of guardian of His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh. Though, from use and wont, His Majesty gave the name of guardian (*atālīq*) to the elder man, yet in reality he sent him like a child, to learn wisdom from that exhibitor of universal reason. Mun'im Khān returned thanks to Heaven for this great gift and prepared a glorious feast. He also tendered fitting gifts and arranged the materials of his own exaltation. In this year, Ulugh Beg, the son of Halhal Sī. arrived on the part of the ruler of Persia, and tendered gifts which were a cause of increasing joy. His Majesty continually looked after the administration of justice and also engaged himself in preparations for the conquest of Hindustān. At this time one of the dervishes who was famous in foreign lands (*wilāyat*) had sent a pair of boots as a gift: His Majesty Jahānbanī said that he drew an omen from these boots favourable to the conquest of Hindustān for it was a common saying that Turkistān is the head, Khurāsān the breast and Hindustān the foot (of the

¹ Blochmann, 374 and 518. Walī Beg was apparently a grand-nephew of Hājī Muḥammad Kōka.

² An allusion to Amīr Khusrāu's

poem on the meeting of Kaikūbād and his father, Nāsiru-d-dīn. Elliot III. 524.



He said this omen was like that mentioned by His Majesty Ṣāhib-qirānī, viz., that in the year in which he moved from Transoxiana to conquer Khurāsān and when he arrived at Andarkhūi, a village in which lived a dervish named Sangī Atā¹ who was famous for purity of heart and for his miracles,—His Majesty Ṣāhib-qirānī went to visit him. By way of already-made (*mā ḥazar*) breakfast, the dervish placed before him the breastbone of a sheep. His Majesty (Timūr) observed to his courtiers that he drew an omen, from this breast, for the conquest of Khurāsān because Khurāsān was called the breast of the world.

Bairām Khān arrived on the day following the feast of Ramzān (the 'Īd,—2nd Shawwal,—31st August). His Majesty, for the sake of giving greater pleasure and out of the affection he bore him, had the feast repeated and gave an entertainment more splendid than that of the 'Īd. On this joyful day, which was made the test day for horsemen and dextrous archers, the royal cavalier of the plain of fortune and nursling of the spring of glory, to wit, His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, felt disposed to engage for a time in shooting at the *qabaq* and to show his archer's skill to the generality and thus to lead them on the way of devotion. The first time he aimed at the *qabaq*,²—which experienced marksmen had failed to hit,—his arrow struck the ligature of the golden ball. At this all the people shouted. Such a thing appeared wonderful to the superficial, but what marvel was there in it to those who have beheld with awakened eyes the real spectacle of the mysteries of the lord of the world. How is it strange that he who is a mine of substantial wonders, should display external marvels? Bairām Khān composed an excellent ode on His Majesty's

¹ The *Zafarnāma* (Bib. Ind. ed. I. 310) gives the name of the dervish as Bābā Sankū. See also *Pétit de la Croix's* trs. ed. 1722, II. 315. The occurrence took place at Andarkhūi west of Balkh. The dervish did not exactly place the bone before Timūr as a *mā ḥazarī*, for he flung it at Timūr's head. A.F. speaks of the story as having been told by Timūr. In Timūr's *Memoirs* (trs. Stewart, p. 38) there is an allusion to an

omen taken from a sheep bone but nothing about a saint. Nor indeed is it necessary to regard A.F. as referring to the personal *Memoirs*. His words,—*ān tafā'ūlī li Ḥazrat Ṣāhib-qirānī farmūda būdand* may mean only "the omen which Timūr explained."

² For account of this sport see Bābar's *Mems.* Erskine, 21n. and *Vullers s.v.*



gabay-shooting and presented it at the feast. The opening couplet is as follows;—

Thine arrow has snatched the fastening of the ball from the crook:¹

It has made the curve like a meteor grazing the Pleiades.

During this time of enjoyment when the thought of the conquest of Hindūstān was lighting up the hearts of loyal servants,—petitions came from the faithful in Hindūstān and brought to the royal ears news of the death of Salīm Shāh and of the confusion of the country.

¹ The *kajak* is the wooden crook which in the game of *gabay*-shooting was attached to the pole and on which balls of gold or silver, or gourds were suspended. Bairām's verses are quoted, with variation, in the *Bahār-i-'ajam* s.v. *kajak*. The second line of the couplet is obscure. Amongst others, *hilāl* has the meanings of the young moon and of a spear-point: I presume it also may mean an arrow. Indeed *hilālī* means a crescent-headed arrow. The Lucknow editor understands by *hilāl*, the half-moon of the thumb nail which is contiguous to the thumb-stall (*zihgīr*) of archers. The

ṣūrat-i-parvīn of the couplet he explains as being the balls of the *gabay*,—for it seems that several were sometimes used: He would seem to understand the line, as "Thy finger has made the balls assume the appearance of the Pleiades, brushed by a meteor." Maulvi Abdūl Haq Abīd understands by *hilāl* the curved end of the *kajaks* or suspending rod. Badā'ūnī (I. 480) quotes Bairām's lines and says they, as well as similar ones by Jāhī Yatmān, are derived from an ode by Niḡārī of Tūn. See also Ranking's translation, 622. He states that the crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife.



CHAPTER LVII.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS AND MISFORTUNES WHICH TOOK PLACE
IN HINDŪSTĀN DURING THE DAYS OF CONFUSION.

As the thread of the story has been drawn out so far it is necessary that the chronicles give a short account of India so that the condition of impatient awaiting may not befall the intelligent members of the congregation of understanding. The brief account is, that when on 11th Rabī'ū-l-awwal, 952 (23rd May, 1545), Sher Khān, after having established his power by wickedness and tyranny and having ruled five years, two months and thirteen days,—went to the abode of nothingness, his younger son, Salīm Khān, eight days afterwards, took his father's seat by the instrumentality of the officers. He ruled eight years, two months and eight days. For some time he had to carry on a war with his elder brother 'Adil Khān and with Khwās Khān. This last was one of Sher Khān's slaves, and obtained¹ a reputation for sanctity among the commonalty by making a fair show, (*āblatarāzī*, perhaps, "plastering the boil") by trickery (*gurbzat*) and by seizing men's property and by distributing the acquisitions of the learned among the base and ignorant. As contention with one's own master,—even though he be worthless,—does not prosper, the schemes of those strifemongers did not succeed. Salīm Khān also contended for a time with the Niyāz tribe who ruled the Panjāb, their leader being Haibat Khān. They were overcome and in the defiles of the mountains of Kashmīr fell into the abyss of destruction. He also was occupied for some time in fighting with the Gakhars, and did not prevail, for his servants could not get the better of them, and they (the Gakhars) were loyal to the holy family (the Timūrids). He completed the fort

¹ See Erskine's translation of this passage, and his account of Khwās Khān. (II. 460). It would not be

uncharitable to suppose that Khwās Khān had not shown favour to A.F.'s father and family.



of Rohtās which Sher Khān had begun, and he had a presage of evil when he was in the Siwālik hills and founded the fort of Mānkōṭ as a refuge for himself. For a long time he laboured under apprehensions on account of the Afghān vagabonds and his own bad life, and spent his days in the fort of Guāliār. Though he dealt equitably with the peasantry, he treated the soldiers very harshly. On 22nd Zī'l-qa'da, 960 (October 30th, 1553), he died from a malignant ulcer which formed in one of his lower members owing to the issue of corrupt matter. According to his will, Firūz Khān, who was of tender age was appointed his successor, but after a few days Mubārīz Khān, who was Firūz's maternal uncle, put that innocent one to death, and himself assumed the sovereignty, taking the name of Muḥammad 'Ādil. He was the son of Nizām Khān, younger brother of Sher Khān. This Nizām had one son and three daughters, and a strange thing was that the son became a ruler and the husbands of the three daughters rose to high rank,—for one was Salīm Khān, another Sikandar Sūr, and the third was Ibrāhīm Sūr. A brief account of these last two will be given hereafter. Himū who, by evil speaking, evil plotting and calumny which, as rulers have to study mankind, gives them pleasure, and this to such an extent that the pleasure hides from their penetrating gaze constitutional faults and innate wickedness,¹ rose from low degree to high rank and became the prime minister of that tyrant, who spent all his time in sport and amusement and bodily lusts, and neglected affairs. Confusion was produced in the world. Now that we have come so far it is proper that a brief account should be given of Himū.

ACCOUNT OF HIMŪ.

Let him who searches out the marvels of God's power take a long view and get an instructive warning from the account of Himū. Outwardly he had neither rank (*hasb*) nor race (*nasab*), nor beauty of form, (*ṣūrat*) nor noble qualities (*sairat*). Perchance the incomparable Deity raised him to high position for some occult reason which was hidden from the eyes of the acute, or perhaps He sent one worse than themselves to chastise the wicked of the age. In short

¹ A.F. means that rulers have from their position to welcome evil-speaking as it is the only way in which

they can get information. A true reflection upon despotism but strange to come from A.F.



that evil-looking one of puny form and lofty designs was ranked among the petty hucksters of Rewārī¹ which is a township of Mewāt. For his family, (*nasab*), he belonged to the Dhūsar tribe which is the lowest class of hucksters in India. At the back of lanes he sold salt-petre (*nimak-i-shōr*) with thousands of mortifications (*ba hazārān bīnī-makī*) till at last he by means of astuteness, became a government huckster under Salīm Khān, of whom a short account has already been given. By masterpieces of feline trickery, he gradually made himself known to Salīm Khān by evil-speaking and business capacity. He was always getting people into trouble. Apparently he was behaving loyally towards his master, in reality he was seeking his own ends, and decking his own household with the goods of the op- 338 pressed. Avaunt; avaunt! he was preparing destruction for his lord and striking the axe into his own foot. Here the great ones of the world² made a big mistake for these much-occupied ones from their wishing to know about men give place to wicked talebearers, either in order to learn hidden things about them or to punish evil-doers. Though they make an engagement with themselves that they will not use the information for attacking the reputation and honour of the good and loyal, yet the outwardly well-seeming but inwardly base crew of men seize their opportunity and for their own advantage attack the loyal with their smooth tongues,—while the great sometimes, owing to the multiplicity of business, forget the engagements with themselves and become suspicious of the loyal and raze the foundations of their own power.

In short this wicked man soon got a place in Salīm Khān's affections by misrepresentation, and obtained a footing in the administration. When the measure of Salīm Khān's life was full, and the period of the sway of the evildoers of India had come to Mubārīz Khān aforesaid who was Salīm Khān's cousin, Hīmū found him careless of worldly affairs and annexed the whole of the administration and rose to lofty offices. Nothing remained to Mubārīz Khān, who was commonly known as 'Adlī (tyrant), except the name (of king). Hīmū undertook all appointments and dismissals, and the distribution of justice. In his foresight he got possession of

¹ In the Gūrgāon district and a railway-junction.

² The text has *dīnī*, of faith, but

surely this is a mistake for *danyā*, though it seems that *dīn* may also have a temporal meaning.



the treasures of Sher Khān and Salīm Khān and of their elephant-stud. He was freehanded in disposing of their accumulations. His base debtors worshipped him and did his behests. For some days he took the title of Rāi and then he fastened the title of Rāja on himself and assumed the style of the Rāja Bikramājī. Thus did he in his folly apply great names to himself. From foresight he preserved the nominal sovereignty for 'Adli' and waged great wars against his opponents. By his valour and daring he was victorious and performed great deeds. He became famous for courage and capability. By degrees he advanced so far as to venture to encounter the sublime army of His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh. But as this holy personality was the touchstone of the good and bad, his counterfeit coin was tested and his black existence annihilated by the lights of world-illuminating justice! This will be related in its proper place.

Now that one out of a thousand of Hīmū's evil behaviours has been described, I proceed to a brief account of Hindūstān.

When the sovereignty came to Mubārīz Khān, the affairs of
339 India became worse than before. In fact both father and son (*i.e.*, Sher Khān and Salīm) behaved properly in the management of affairs. Alas! that they should have spent their days in disloyalty and ingratitude! If these two had been servants of the sublime threshold of His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, and if the home administration had been entrusted to the father, and the guardianship of the marches to the son, they would have been encompassed with royal favours, and have gained, by good service, an existence which the wise regard as real life. Such workers deserved such a master. As for the vulgar form of rule which is brought about by rebellion, it is regarded by the wise as an existence inferior by many degrees to death.

In short when Salīm Khān died, Mubārīz Khān showed such behaviour as may no other person evince! Aḥmad Khān Sūr the sister's husband of Salīm Khān who had charge of the Panjab, became a claimant for the sovereignty and styled himself Sikandar Khān. And Muḥammad Khān, who was nearly connected with Sher Khān and was the Governor of Bengal, aimed at general supremacy. Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr who was also a relation, set about obtaining the rule of India while Shaj'at Khān, who was commonly known as Sajāwal Khān, raised his head high in Mālwa. The vagabond Afghāns gathered together and caused confusion. Sikandar



collected the army of the Panjāb and other vagabonds and meditated an attack upon Āgra. Mubārīz Khān and Ibrāhīm advanced with the same intention. At last by the wishes of Hīmū, Mubārīz Khān went off to the eastward, and a battle took place near Āgra, between Sikandar and Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm was defeated and had to retire, while his father Ghāzī Khān Sūr, who governed Bīāna, sheltered himself in the fort. Sikandar's affairs became prosperous, and he got possession of the country from the Indus to the Ganges. He collected an army and wished to march eastwards to dispose of the claimant to the throne and to become sole monarch. At this time the reverberation of the advance of His Majesty Jahānbānī Januāt-āshyānī for the conquest of India rose high. Tātār Khān and Hābīl Khān and a large body of troops were appointed to defend the Panjāb. Muḥammad Khān, the Governor of Bengal, determined to rid himself of Mubārīz Khān and other competitors. After some other events, a great battle took place near Capparghatta between him and Mubārīz Khān and Hīmū, and Muḥammad Khān fell. The treasures of Sher Khān and Salīm Khān came into Hīmū's hands. He sank into the enjoyment of corporeal pleasures, and in appearance his circumstances improved. At this time he fought battles with Ibrāhīm and other competitors. He was everywhere victorious. 340 And though he did not know how to ride a horse and was always carried about in an elephant-box (*ṣindūq-i-fīl* qr. *hauda*) he in his courage and audacity freely spent the money which had come of itself into his hands, and did great deeds such as men could not conceive. As Sikandar was established in Āgra, he went off to Bihār and Bengal. Khizr Khān, the son of Muḥammad Khān took his father's place and assumed a great title, calling himself SL Jalāl-d-dīn. He applied himself to the management of Bengal. Mubārīz Khān and Hīmū determined to go to Bengal, but spent some time in getting rid of their opponents. But I leave these details, which I have no inclination to describe in the closet of neglect, to proceed to my legitimate subject.



CHAPTER LVIII.

EXPEDITION OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ FOR THE
CONQUEST OF INDIA, AND VICTORY THEREOF BY THE DOMINION-
INCREASING AUSPICES OF THE KING OF KINGS (AKBAR).

Let it not be concealed from those waiting for strange impressions and the listeners for glorious news, that when the truth about the confusion in India and the tumult and uproar in this centre of peace and tranquillity, of which some hints have been already been given, again came to the hearing of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī, he addressed himself to the expedition, already determined upon in the recesses of his foreseeing mind, and having committed all the chaste ladies of his family in Kābul to the Divine protection, he appointed Shāh Walī bakāwat-begī the guardian of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm. The service of the ladies and the affairs of the province of Kābul were entrusted to Mun'im Khān, and His Majesty set out in the middle of Zū'l-ḥijja 961, (about 12th November, 1554), in a propitious hour and at a time which the heavenly motions made glorious, and the aspects of the stars made supreme. The nursling of Divine light, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh to wit, was then, as regards his elemental life, twelve years and eight¹ months old. The perfect understanding of that great one of both worlds was beyond computation. He was made the forefront of the army of spiritual and temporal victories. On the day of starting an omen was taken from the *divān* of Ḥafiz. As a great work was being unveiled the heralds of glad tidings from people and places spake loudly and with thousands of tongues. Among them this holy

¹ Text, *hasht*, but probably A.F. wrote *shash*, six, for Akbar was then barely 12½ lunar years old. Ac-

ording to our calendar he was only 12 years and 1 month old.



master-couplet (*shāhbait*) on the front of the noble page emerged as a preamble of victory and was like the writing on the forehead of dominion.

Verse.

“ Ask dominion from the auspicious bird (*murgh-i-humāyūn*) and from his shadow

¹ For the crow and the kite have not the master-plume of genius (text, *himmat*, but *Hāfiz*, apparently wrote *daulat*).

Though the practically wise applied this truthful verse to the 341 dominion and victory of His Majesty Jahānbānī, the far seeing of wisdom's Court understood it as announcing the great *khilafat* and the supreme sovereignty of His Majesty the *Shāhinsāh* and waited at the gate of the expectation of the upward ² flight of the holy bird. His Majesty Jahānbānī laid firm hold of the strong hand of the Divine favour and grasped the stout cable of heavenly tidings and went off with few men—they did not amount to 3000,—but with large help from the armies of Providence, which could not be calculated by intellectual accountants. Bairām Khān obtained leave

¹ The lines come from an ode of *Hāfiz* beginning *kastagānrā aṭṭalab bashid-u-quwwat nabūd*, Ed. Brockhaus II. 137 No. 216. The crow and the kite are taken to represent India. See Elliot. Hist. III. 546n. where we are told that the expression “cawing crows” is used by Baḍl Chād and Amīr *Khasrū* to signify Hindūs. No doubt the allusion as to their complexion, and Elliot's note may also explain an obscure passage of *Ḥaidar Mirzā's* (*Tar Rash*, Elias and Ross 399) where we are told that *Khawāja Nūrā* changed *Humāyūn* not to cast his shadow over a land where the parrot was less common than the kite. The translator's note to this passage seems erroneous. Though the parrot is common in India yet it is not so common as the kite, and

apparently the *Khawāja* meant to warn *Humāyūn* against going to Sind or remaining in India. He cannot have meant Persia, for *Humāyūn* went there, and *Ḥaidar* says that he did not go to a country where the parrot was rarer than the kite. See also the line of *Qāsim Kāhī* (*Badāonī* III. 173) where he says that he is not a kite or a crow that he should adorn India. The lines quoted by *Ḥaidar Mirzā* are given also by *Badāonī* (II. 49) and are applied by him to India. They come from an ode by *Hāfiz* which begins *Khūshast khilwat agar yār yār-i-manbāshid*, Brockhaus' ed. II. 109, No. 189.

² Apparently this means that they waited in expectation of *Humāyūn's* death.



for the purpose of setting some royal matters, and of arranging his equipment and remained in Kābul. His Majesty Jahānbānī went from Jalālābad¹ down the river on a raft, and encamped at Bīkrām (Peshawar) in the end of Muḥarram 962, (near end of December, 1554). Sikandar Khān Uzbek who had done good service, was made the subject of favours and on that day was raised to the rank of Khān. On 5th Šafar, (31st December, 1554), the bank of the river Sind, known as the Nīlāb, was made the camping ground, and three days were spent there. Here Bairām Khān arrived from Kābul, and with sundry intelligencers brought the good news that Tātār Khān Kāshī² who had been appointed with a large force to guard the fort of Rohtās had, in spite of the strength of the fort etc., fled merely on hearing of the uprearing of the royal standards on the borders of the Indus. His Majesty took into account the good offices, old and new, of Sulṭān Adam Gakhar and sent him a gracious letter inviting him to come and do homage. As he had not a happy star, he made landholder-like excuses and represented that he had concluded a treaty with Sikandar who had taken his son Lashkari along with him. Should he come and do homage, he would both break his compact, and incur the risk of having his son killed. The imperial servants represented that it was proper to order the victorious army to look after him (Sulṭān Adam) before advancing further, and that it was not wise to move on and leave such a disaffected person behind. His Majesty, who was a mine of gentleness and generosity, said that he belonged to a family which was faithful from of old, and that recently he had done good service, as already related, and that to punish him now was not in accordance with prestige, especially as he had used humble language and had made apologies.

When the grand army crossed the Indus, the Afghāns who were collected in the neighbourhood of Rohtās retreated and the army continued to advance. Every day a delightful spot presented itself, and cities and villages came under the shadow of justice and enjoyed the luxury of tranquillity. And now that we have come so far,

¹ Similarly Wood went on a raft from Jalālābad to Peshāwar, p. 280.

² Bāyazīd calls him Iskandar Sul-

tānī Quzāq. Many MSS. including Badāonī's, have Kāshī.



It is proper, before detailing events, to give the names of such of the companions of the stirrup of victory as were of high rank.

List.¹

When the army arrived at the auspicious town of Kalānūr, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, Ashraf Khān and Farḥat Khān were sent to Lahore to have the glorious name (of Humāyūn) proclaimed from the pulpit and placed upon the coinage, and also to give the

¹ The list is short compared with Bāyazīd's, I.O. M.S. 72 ff.)

1. Bairam Khān.
2. Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī.
3. Khizr Khw. Khān (Bāyazīd, Khizr Sl. Mughal.)
4. Tardī Beg Khān.
5. Sikandar Khān.
6. Khizr Khān Hazāra.
7. 'Abdu-l-lāh Khān Uzbek.
8. Mīrzā 'Abdu-l-lāh.
9. Muṣāḥib Beg.
10. 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī (or Sistānī).
11. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās.
12. Khw. Mu'azzam.
13. 'Alī Qulī Khān Andarābī.
14. Ḥaidar Muḥammad, *ākhta*. *begī*.
15. Bābūs Beg (Blochmann, 389)
16. Isma'īl Beg Dūldai.
17. Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān.
18. Mīrzā Nijāt.
19. Muḥammad Khān Jalāīr.
20. Sl. Ḥusain Khān.
21. Qandūq Sl.
22. Muḥammad Amīn *dīwāna*.
23. Shāh Qulī Nāranjī.
24. Tulak Khān.
25. Kākar 'Alī Khān.
26. Bāqī Beg *yālīsh-begī* (head of the guards).
27. La'l Khān Badaḥshāhī (Bāyazīd, an officer of Sulaimān).
28. Beg Muḥammad *ākhta-begī*.

29. Khw. Pādshāh *Marīz* (? sickly. Blochmann 459),
30. Kīcak Khw.
31. Khw. 'Abdu-l-bārī.
32. Khw. 'Abdu-l-lāh.
33. Mīr Mu'in.
34. Mīr, Ghanī.
35. Shāh Fakhr *u-d-dīn*.
36. Mīr Muḥsin *Dā'i*.
37. Khw. Ḥusain of Merv.
38. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥai.
39. Mīr 'Abdu-l-lāh *qānūnī*.
40. Khānjar Beg (Bāyazīd, a relation of Tardī Beg).
41. 'Arif Beg.
42. Khw. 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad.
43. Mīr Sayyid 'Alī.
44. Mullā 'Abdu-l-qādr.
45. Mullā Ilyās (Elias) of Ardabīl (astronomer).
46. Shaiḫ 'Abu-l-qāsim Jorjānī. (Bāyazīd, Asterābādī).
47. Maulānā 'Abdu-l-bāqī.
48. Afzal Khān, *mīr balahshī*.
49. Khw. 'Abdu-l-majīd *dīwān*.
50. Ashraf Khān *mīr munshī*.
51. Qāsim Makhlās.
52. Khw. 'Aṭā-u-llāh, *dīwān-i-bayūtāt*.
53. Khw. Abū'l-qāsim.
54. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān.
55. Mu'in Khān Farankhūdī (Blochmann 434).
56. Khw. Amīnu-d-dīn Maḥmūd.
57. Mulk Mukhtār.



inhabitants of that great city an order of protection from the mischief of strifemongers. Bairām Khān, Tardī Beg Khān, Iskandar Khān, Khizr Khān Hazāra, Ismā'il Beg Dūldai and a large troop were sent against Naṣīb Khān Panj Bhaiya (?) who was stationed
343 at Harhāna (Harīāna) while His Majesty himself went on to Lahore. The nobles of that country came forward to welcome him. They offered up thanks for this glorious favour and gave large presents. High and low were treated with royal favours according to their degree. On the 2nd Rabī'ṣ-ṣānī, (24th February, 1555), the illustrious city of Lahore, which is in fact a great city of India, was made glorious by his advent, and all classes and conditions of men were freed from the evils of the times, and attained the objects for which they had been long waiting on hope's highway.

In the end of this month news came that an Afghān named Shāhbāz Khān had collected a number of Afghāns in Dīpālpūr and was indulging in evil intentions. His Majesty Jahānbānī sent to that quarter Shāh Abū'l-Ma'ālī 'Alī Qulī Khān Shāibānī, 'Alī Qulī Khān Andarābī, Muḥammad Khān Jalāir and a number of brave officers. A hot engagement ensued, and both sides exposed their lives. The Sayyidzāda Abū'l-Ma'ālī who was intoxicated with the world and proud of his beauty, got into difficulty but 'Alī Qulī Khān and other heroes performed wonders. The enemy was defeated and many of them were levelled with the dust. The imperial servants returned victorious. Now that I have proceeded so far it is necessary that I give a brief account of the victorious army which was placed under the leadership of Bairām Khān.

Let it not be hidden from the inquirers into events that when Bairām Khān arrived near *pargana* Harhāna (Harīāna), Naṣīb Khān Afghān made a small resistance—suitable to his nature,—and then fled. Great booty in money and goods fell into the hands of the heroes. Families also were captured. As Bairām Khān had heard from His Majesty Jahānbānī that he had vowed there should be no imprisonment when he should, by God's help, conquer India, and that the servants of God should not be confined, he got on horseback and collected together all the families of the Afghāns and sent them with trustworthy people to Naṣīb Khān. And he sent as the proceeds of this victory, which might be regarded as the preface to countless others, presents of elephants, etc., with a petition of his



own to the world-protecting court of His Majesty Jahānbānī. Having offered up thanks for this agreeable victory, he left that place and advanced further. When he came near Jalandhar, the Afghāns thought it prudent to fly, and owing to the disputes which occurred in the victorious army, they were able to save their lives and the best of their property. The short account of this is that Tardī Beg Khān wanted to go after the dispersed Afghāns and Bairām Khān did not approve of this and did not give him permission. Tardī Beg Khān sent Bāltū Khān to Bairām Khān in order that by all means possible he might get leave to pursue them. Bāltū Beg came and delivered his message and Khawāja Mu'azzam Sulṭān spoke harshly and abused him. Bāltū Khān retorted and the Khawāja used his sword and wounded Bāltū Khān in the arm. When His Majesty heard of this he wrote a letter of admonition and sent Afzal Khān to explain matters. He conveyed His Majesty's counsels to the officers and brought about a reconciliation. Bairām Khān halted in Jalandhar, and assigned *parganas* in the neighbourhood to the various officers and sent them to their several posts. Sikandar Khān was appointed to Māciwāra. He went and thinking he had it in hand, advanced further, and took possession of Sihhind. Much property fell into his hands. Meanwhile Tātār Khān, Ḥabīl Khān, Naṣīb Khān, Mubārak Khān and a number of Afghān soldiers arrived from Delhi. Sikandar Khān did not think it prudent to remain in Sihhind and came to Jalandhar. Bairām Khān did not approve of this and was angry. He said that Sikandar should have kept his ground at Sihhind and have sent word to him. After much discussion the great officers took hold of the saddle-straps of the royal, everduring fortune and advanced from Jalandhar. When they came to the borders of Māciwāra, Tardī Muḥammad Khān and many officers did not think it advisable to cross the Satlaj. As the rainy season was near at hand the proper thing to do, they said, was to secure the ferries and to halt. When the violence of the rains was over, and the air had become temperate, they could cross the river. Bairām Khān and the farsighted perceived that it was right to cross the river and spoke properly in this sense. At length by the exertions of Mullā Pīr Muḥammad, Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr, Walī Beg and Ḥaidar Qulī Beg Shāmlū, Bairām Khān crossed the river. Tardī Beg Khān and the other officers were obliged to



do likewise. The army of fortune was divided into four bands.
345 The centre was controlled by Bairām Khān, the right wing by Khizr Khān Hazāra, the left wing by Tardī Beg Khān, while Sikandar Khān and a number of active men were appointed to the vanguard. As the desires of the prince of the world were limited to the laws of justice and were in accordance with the Divine Will, the work of his ministers was daily more and more victorious. When the Afghāns heard of the smallness of the victorious army and of its having crossed the river, they hastily came up with a large force. The two forces encountered one another towards evening and a great battle took place. The farseeing soldiers chose a place near Bijana¹ (?) for the battle field and stood firm. All distinguished themselves, but at last night intervened. Even then they continued to discharge arrows. By a happy chance, which was the beginning to the victory, fire broke out in a very large village of thatched houses and this was like the lighting of thousands of lamps for the guidance of the troops. It was found on inquiry that this Divine aid was wrought by the exertions of the enemy. And what they had thought was for their advantage turned to their loss. In fact by means of this illumination, which was the vanguard of victory, the conquering heroes obtained information concerning the position of the enemy and were enabled to work havoc with their arrows. The foe did not know the position of the victorious army and shot in the dark and at random. When about three watches of the night had passed, the enemy was unable to resist any longer and took to flight. A great victory was gained. Elephants and much other property fell into the hands of the imperial servants. The chief of the booty was sent with a loyal petition to the Court. Next day they advanced and halted in Sihhind and 'Alī Qulī Shāibānī who had come up with the rear, was sent on with a body of troops.

One of the wonderful things was that when His Majesty heard that Tātār Khān had arrived with a large and well equipped army

¹ Māciwāra is on the S. bank of the Satlaj. Firishta says they crossed the river and halted on the bank of the Pacwāra stream. Is Pacwāra the name of the side of the river opposite Māciwāra? *Jab* means

a trench and this may be the meaning here. Price read *bakrī*, as some MSS. have it, and translates "by the side of a considerable fresh water lake." It is probably a place-name.



at Māciwāra, he remarked to a number of eager spirits that the place was a great distance off and that whatever the Divine Will intended would take place before they could arrive. The best thing therefore was for them to take refuge at the sublime threshold and to implore victory from the almonry of Divine aid. At the same moment he raised high the hands of supplication and asked for the success of the advance forces of the royal army. Many days had not passed when the official report of the victory arrived and much booty was brought to the Court. On consideration, it was found 346 that the day of prayer and the day of victory coincided. He paid the devotions of thanksgiving for the Providential victory and opened the hand of liberality for mankind.

When Sikandar heard what had taken place, he marched against the royal army with 80,000 horse and a complete equipment. Bairām Khān with abundant prudence and courage remained firm in Sihhind and took measures to defend the fort. He sent representations one after the other requesting the advance of His Majesty. As the latter was at that time suffering from cholic, he sent in his room the parterre-adorned of the *khilāfat*, viz., His Majesty the *Shāhīnshāh* who always had victory at his stirrup. The cortège of this *khedive* of the world had not gone far from Lahore when His Majesty Jahānbānī perfectly recovered, and on account of the distress of separation, and also out of precaution joined in the march. He directed that Farhat Khān should be the *shiqdār*¹ of Lahore, Bābūs Beg the *faujdār* of the Panjāb, M. Shāh Sulṭān the *amīn* and Mihtar Jauhar the treasurer. On the night of 7th Rajab, (29th May, 1555), the territory of Sihhind was illuminated by the royal advent. The officers did homage, and the drums of rejoicing were beaten. For fifteen days the officers had kept their ground in the face of such a large army and had occupied themselves in garrison-work. The royal tents were erected in a garden near the city. The arrangements for battle were suitably made and the army was distributed into four divisions. One was called by the honoured name of His Majesty Jahānbānī; another by that of His Majesty the *Shāhīnshāh*; a third by that of *Shāh Abū'l-Ma'ālī*; the fourth was entrusted to Bairām Khān. Each division bound the girdle of effort on the waist of their lives. The heroes displayed a willingness to risk their lives, and on

¹ Revenue officer, Jarrett II. 49.



each side men drank the last draught in the cup of the sword. On both sides humanity and gentleness were practised so that the bodies of those who had sacrificed their lives, were reverently made over to their friends. The shortsighted looking to the plurality of the enemy and the paucity of the king's forces, became pale from unbecoming apprehensions, but the farsighted read the inscription of victory on the countenances of the imperial¹ servants and daily became more and more steadfast. Especially did His Majesty Jahānbānī, who was a world of resolution, hearten every one by fitting behaviour, and inspire them with courage.

¹ *Auliyā-i-daulat*, servant of the State, but here probably a periphrasis for Humāyūn and Akbar. See

Lumsden's Persian Grammar, Calcutta, 1810, II. 363.



CHAPTER LIX.

APPEARANCE OF GREAT MARVELS ; AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF GOOD 347
NEWS ON THE PART OF HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH ;
AND OTHER FORTUNATE OCCURENCES.

Though His Majesty the Shāhinshāh used his tender age as a veil and lived secluded, yet, as God the Creator willed that the real state of this great one of the age should be made manifest,—involuntarily did wondrous works, each of which was a competent witness to his lofty nature (*shāhīde ast'adil*), hasten to the world of manifestation. Among the unusual things which at this time revealed themselves on the part of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, was this, that he came out on the roof of a house in the city and contemplated with his clime-comprehending glance the hostile army. It was so great an army that no one could imagine its being defeated, but he said that in a short time "our" men would disperse it. His entourage who knew of his far-sight and had often beheld his marvels, rejoiced at this tidings, and offered thanks to God. Things like this look strange to custom-worshippers and formalists. But the worshippers of truth, and the esoteric do not regard this occurrence or hundreds like it as strange when coming from one so eminent temporally and spiritually.

At this time Khawāja 'Ambar Nāzir, who was an old servant, came from Kābul and applied for employment. His Majesty Jahān-bānī made him over to the nursling of Divine light. Forthwith he entered into his service and used to explain to him the manners and customs of India, and he brought Indians before the Unique of the age. As the star of the men of India was powerful, their ways became pleasing to him. This was the first time that he conceived an inclination for hunting with the *cīta* (hunting leopard), and the first place where he saw the sport. For Walī Beg the father of the



Khān Jahān¹ presented as *peshkash* a *cīta* which had come into his hands from the Afghāns at the battle of Māciwāra and was called Fateh**h**āz (the gamester of victory). The farseeing who were in his entourage made conjectures about countless victories on seeing this strange form. The keeper of this *cīta* was called Dūndū and on account of his good qualities, he received the title of Fateh**h** Khān.² And at this day when the insignificant well-wisher, Abū'l-faẓl, is writing this noble volume with a pen perfumed with sincerity,

348 Fateh**h** Khān is in the service of His Majesty the *Shahinshāh* and reckoned among the especial huntsmen. His Majesty who always dressed himself in outward disguises, and clothed himself in other garb, and kept his splendour hidden under various veils, made another screen for his beauty by his regard for this strange animal. But the rays of the sun and the fragrance of musk cannot be hid. On that day when fortune drew me to learn wisdom and to beatitude, and when by having the blessing of service, I became cognisant of the perfections of this chosen one of God, what prostrations of thanksgiving did I not perform, and what successes did I not obtain from this auspicious service! I was exalted spiritually and temporally, and I cleansed the chamber of my heart from superfluous desires. Now that the time of thanksgiving has arrived and that I wish to record my impressions—so that I may both give thanks and that a lamp of vision may be put in the path of the walkers in darkness, I am unaffectedly disturbed by the fact that I am in service and that there is a commercial nexus. Would that I had no outward acquaintance (with Akbar), and that I were not in the list of visible servants! so that the outwardly-seeing but inwardly-blind might not reckon this individual among the crowd of flatterers, and that men might, through my apparent exclusion be led to the goal and attain felicity. Good God! panegyrics have been written of old about ascetics who had not a tithe of the tenth part of the excellencies of this Khedive of the Age, nay, many of them had naught but external semblance, and yet, because there was no reciprocity in the matter, men void of insight imagine that these are not flatteries but are representations of the truth! But now, at this day, when the story of the Leader (*peshwā*) of mankind, whether

¹ Husain Quli, Blochmann, 329.² Blochmann, 523.



spiritual or temporal, is about to be told, I who have tracked the spirit of the age must bear on my heart's shoulder the burden of men's ill-understanding ! But forasmuch as my first thought was to pay in some small measure my debt of gratitude, I am not saddened by this man-troubling burden (*bār-i-mardamāzār*). And wherefore should I be ? And now rejoicing in my good intention I pass on as a swift nocturnal linkman ! Many have gained the Truth and ta'en the highway of loyalty ! I now leave this subject, to which there is no end, and return to the point in my narrative where I was.

In fine, His Majesty Jahānbānī waged a masterly war for about forty¹ days, and by taking thought, and by making preparations gave support to the hearts of the loyal and enabled them to adorn the field of battle. At length, on 2nd *Sh'abān* of the year in question (962), 22nd June, 1555, which was the watch-day (*naubat-i-taraddad*)² of the servants of His Majesty the *Shāhinshāh Khwāja Mu'azzam*, Atka *Khān* and others went forth and did manfully. On the other side *Kālā Pahār*, brother of *Iskandar*, came forward and 349 fought. Though it had not been intended that on that day there should be a general engagement, yet as something was to emerge from the curtain of fate, gradually the flames of conflict burst forth and rose high. The victorious troops advanced from all sides and steadily took post, so that there was a glorious battle-array.

Verse.

Two iron mountains moved from their places,
You'd say earth was moved from top to bottom,
Two armies drew their poniards in front of each other,
The centre and wings were drawn up in line,
The rush of arrows and the clash of swords,
Tore the marrow of elephants and the entrails (*zehra*, lit., gall-bladder)³ of tigers.

¹ *Humāyūn* had been less than thirty days at *Sihrind* for he arrived there on the night of 7th *Rajab*.

² I am not sure of the meaning of the word *taraddad* here. It usually means reiteration or returning. *Naubat* means relieving guard. Appar-

ently the meaning here is that the duty of keeping guard was with Akbar's division on that day. See *Badā'uni* I. 460 who uses the word *yazak*.

³ The gall-bladder is supposed to be the seat of courage, and *Jahāngir*



By the auspicious influence of the fortune of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, a great victory was gained, and much booty fell into the hands of the imperial servants. A large number of the luckless foe went to the world of non-existence. Sikandar went off with his men to the Dāman-i-kōh of the Panjāb. Khwāja Musāfirī,¹ one of the gallant men, came in his path. When Sikandar saw that a man was going to attack him, he turned, but though he put his hand to his sword, he could not draw it. After many attempts he disengaged himself from him and came away from that dangerous place. What else but this can happen to those intoxicated with the world and proud of their glory? His Majesty Jahānbānī in the midst of the worldly success, which is a wine that overthrows men, was wise and made supplications to God. And he conducted himself with perfect wisdom towards all classes. What marvel then that he was successful! Obedience to wisdom the Sultān (Sultān-i-khird) fits the work to the desire. Firstly; it makes the intention good. Secondly; effort is made in work suitable to one's condition. Thirdly; when good results are obtained the credit of them is not given to oneself. And no author is recognised except the omnipotent God. In fine His Majesty in order to teach the superficial, and in order to show respect to the various degrees of supplication, did not confine himself to inward thanksgiving, but had recourse to external acts, and prostrated himself in prayer to God. Though when India was last conquered, the victory of His Majesty Giti-sitānī Firdūs-makānī was a masterpiece, as has been already described, yet the wise and acute know that it was not like this present marvel. In fact² there have been few instances in past times of such a victory as this which was obtained by few against many and which came solely from the great throne of God. Just at the time of this victory there was an excessive storm of wind and rain. As this caused the destruction of a number of oppressors and ingrates, it may be regarded as belonging

speaks in his Memoirs of dissecting a tiger and a leopard in order to discover the source of their vigour.

¹ Apparently this is the Bābā Dost Khwāja Khizr Musāfirī mentioned by Bayāzīd at p. 82a as taking part afterwards in the defence of Kābul.

² See translation, *supra*, p. 246. The account given in the present chapter about the battle's being fought on the day assigned to Akbar's division explains the expression at p. 246 about the blessing of Akbar's personality.



to the successes of the servants of the State, and as a mark of the destruction of the contumacious. But as it prevented a pursuit of the fugitives and gave them after a thousand agonies a release from danger it may be regarded as a respite to an ill-fated crew.

When by Divine aid such a great gift had been revealed, His Majesty sat on the throne of justice and appraised the services of the loyal and devoted. In order to bring out the jewel of the sincere from the potsherd of service-sellers the question arose, in whose name should the proclamation of victory be recorded? An order was given that everyone should lay in his claim. Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī, who was drunk with the wine of negligence, wished that the record of the glorious victory should be in his name. Bairām Khān who was conscious that the coming to India was by his exertions, and who, up to the time of the victory, had, in opposition to a crowd of men, supported the world-adorning views of His Majesty Jahānbānī and had conducted the conquest of the countries and the uprooting of foes, was keenly desirous that the proclamation should bear his name. The farseeing and wise who knew that the victory was due to the felicity of His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh and nursling of Divine light, opened their eyes and ears in surprised contemplation of the speakers, and the experienced and the just, knowing that this great victory which had shed its rays on the day assigned to the watch (*naubat-i-mansūbān*) of the light of the garden of the *khilāfat* was due to the presence of his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, were astonished at the utterances of those men (Abū'l-ma'ālī and Bairām). At last, His Majesty Jahānbānī became by inspiration cognisant of the truth, and ordered the victory to be inscribed in the name of His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh and thereby gratified the loyal far and near.

One of the strange occurrences of this time was the arrest of Khawāja Mu'azzam. The brief account is that a letter containing some lines by the Khawāja came to hand. In his contemptible understanding and wickedness, he had written improper things to Sikandar and had represented himself as his well-wisher. His Majesty was greatly surprised and called upon the Khawāja for an explanation. As he could not deny, he said¹ that his well-wishing (*daulat-khwāhī*)

¹ Apparently he maintained that the expressions in the letter about loyalty referred to Humāyūn and

not to Sikandar. Price in his *Retrospect* gives a different rendering. His view is that Mu'azzam said he



referred to His Majesty and that he had purposely contrived that the letter should come into His Majesty's hand in order that he should show him more favour, and cause him to be the performer of good service. His Majesty ordered him into confinement and placed him in charge of Mir Qālī. After arranging the matters of Sihrind, His Majesty proceeded by way of Sāmāna towards Delhī. When he came to Sāmāna he sent Abū'l-Ma'ālī with a number of officers such as Muḥammad Qulī Khān Birlās, Ismā'il Beg Dūldai, Muṣāhib Beg, Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek, and others to Lahore so that if Sikandar should come out from the hills, they might hold him in check. The charge of the Panjāb was made over to Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī. On account of the pleasant climate of Sāmāna, and the violence of the rains ordered a halt there for some days. While then, a report came from Sikandar Khān Uzbek, stating that by God's help he had come to Delhi and that the enemy had not withstood him, but had fled. The proper thing now was to exalt the site of India's throne by establishing there the *masnad* of the Lord of the Age. On receipt of this news His Majesty marched from Samāna, and on Thursday 1 Ramazān, 20th July, 1555, alighted at Salimgarh which is on the north of Delhi and on the bank of the Jamūnā. On the fourth of the same month he entered the city and became established on the throne of the *khilafāt*.

On this day and while on the march His Majesty the Shāhinshāh struck a *nīlagāo* (an antelope, *portax pictus*) with his sword and took it as a prey so that the huntsmen were surprised,¹ while the acute obtained a sign of his capturing the booty of a sublime intention, and were made glad. His Majesty Jahānbānī who from the beginning of this blessed campaign till he came to Delhi and conquered India had given up the eating of animals now turned his thoughts towards the making a beginning (of eating flesh). On this day he rejoiced exceedingly and ordered that a piece of the *nīlagāo* be dried and kept in order that when after the Ramazān he should be disposed to eat animal food, he might make his first meal from this flesh. He then returned thanks to God.

wrote disloyally in order to give Humāyūn an opportunity of exercising his favourite virtue of forgiveness. Mir Qālī may mean the head-cook.

¹ B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has *ghīḡa* instead of *ḥairat-afzāi* so that the meaning would be "it became food for the huntsmen."



All the servants of the threshold of the *Khilāfat* received high offices and noble fiefs. Sirkār *Hiṣār* and its neighbourhood were given as a *jāgīr* to the servants¹ of His Majesty the *Shāhīnshāh*. Omen-takers recognized this as the fort² for the distresses of the world, and again drew a presage for the daily increasing dominion of His Highness. Bairām *Khān* was presented with *Sihhind* and various other *parganas*. Tardī Beg *Khān* was sent to Mewāt, Sikan-dar *Khān* to Agra, 'Alī Qulī *Khān* to Sambal, and Haidar Muḥammad *Khān* *Ākhta* Begī to Biāna, which is near Agra. By the blessing of the royal advent, and the beatitudes of the spiritual and temporal *khedive*, India was made a garden of dominion and auspiciousness. Mankind attained good fortune. His Majesty stayed in the fort of Delhi and was continually engaged in pleasing God, and he watered the rose-garden of sovereignty with the stream of justice. He forever kept before him obedience to the Creator, and the prosperity of his creatures and so adorned the throne of the *khilāfat*. 352

Among the occurrences which were the cause of increasing his joy, was the arrival of *Shāh Walī*³ Atka from Kābul. He brought news of the health of the chaste ladies, and also many details. He gave the joyful news that God had given a son to Māh Jūjak. His Majesty returned thanks to God for this good news and gave a feast and poured the coin of desire into the lap of mankind. He gave that rose of fortune the name of Farrukh Fāl, and rewarded *Shāh Walī* for his news by the title of Sultān and sent him back to Kābul with presents. He also gave him letters of greeting and affection.

Among the occurrences of this time was the arrival of Rustam *Khān* who was a leading man among the Afghāns. The brief account of this affair is that when the Atka *Khān* and a number of the royal servants proceeded towards *Hiṣār*, they halted on the day of *Khūrdād* 6th *Shahryūr*=Wednesday, 25th *Ramzān*, two kos from *Hiṣār*. Rustam *Khān*, Tātār *Khān*, Aḥmad *Khān*, Pir Muḥammad of Rohtak, Bijlī *Khān*, *Shihāb Khān*, Tāj *Khān*, Ādam *Khān* Qiyām *Khānī* and

¹ The meaning is that *Hiṣār* was given as an appanage to Akbar.

² B.M. Add. 27,247 has *iḥṣār* in which case the meaning is "the shutting off or restraining the evils of the world."

³ Perhaps this is the Walī Beg mentioned in Blochmann 518. He was son of Payanda (the part-translator of Bābar's memoirs?) and nephew of Hājī Muḥammad Koka.



a number of Afghāns came out of Hīṣār and prepared to fight. Though the Afghāns were nearly 2,000 in number and the royal servants about 400, a great engagement took place and by Divine help the victory was gained, and seventy of the enemy were killed. Rustam Khān fled and strengthened the fort of Hīṣār. The contenders of fortune besieged it for twenty-three days. When Rustam found himself in difficulties he came to terms. He was sent to Court along with about 700 men of note in the charge of Mīr Laṭīf and Khwāja Qāsim Makhlāṣ, and he did homage along with many others. After some time an order was given that he should get a proper *jāgīr*, but on the condition that his sons should be guarded in Bīkrām in order that they might enter on the path of favour and also that the road of vigilance and caution might not be abandoned. That simoleon rejected this condition, which was a means of confirming his obedience, and was about to abscond. When this was found out, he was imprisoned and committed to the charge of Beg Muḥammad Ṣhāk Āqā.

353 One of the occurrences of this time was the affair of Qambar Dīwāna. The short account is that he was one of the common men or rather of the unknown men of the camp. When after the victory of Sihrind, the royal standards went on to Delhi, this Qambar gathered together a number of his own set of vagabonds and indulged in plunder and rapine. Booty was continually coming into his hands, and was distributed by him, and out of cunning, he was continually sending petitions to the Court. Proceeding from Sihrind he went fighting on and got possession of Sambal. There he established himself and sent his adopted son, who had received the name of 'Ārifu-l-lāh to Budāōn. Rai Ḥusain Jalwānī, who was a leading officer among the Afghāns, was there and was got rid of without a struggle. From there Qambar 'Alī went on to Kānt Gōla¹ and devastated that country. There he fought an irregular (*bīṭuzukāna*, without method) battle with Rukn Khān a leading Afghān and was defeated. From there he came to Budāōn. Though this madman was always sending petitions and making representations of obedience and good

¹ Kānt o Gola, Blochmann 373. They are in Rohilkand, and nearly correspond to Shāhjahānpūr. Elliot

V. 498 note, and his Supp. Glossary II. 167.



service, his words and his deeds did not agree. He extended his feet beyond his carpet and made men Khāns and Sultāns of his own motion, and gave them standards and drums! Frenzy took possession of him and often from madness or assumed madness and fraud, he gave up his own house to be plundered. There continually appeared in him irregular proceedings which were allied to madness. When then facts repeatedly came to the notice of His Majesty he issued an order to 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī to send him to Court, and to punish him if he resisted. Just when the madman, having been defeated by Rukn Khān, had come to Budāōn, 'Alī Qulī Khān after having settled the affairs of Mīrat came to Sambal. After arranging matters there he came to Budāōn. Though he sent a person to call him, Qambar did not appear, and said "Just as you are a slave of the king, so am I one of the office-bearers of the expedition, and I have got this province by the sword." At last 'Alī Qulī Khān took to arms and when Qambar was defeated, he took refuge in the fort of Budāōn, and sent a petition to Court. When His Majesty got this account of him, he sent Qāsim Makhlaṣ to encompass him with favours and to bring him to kiss the threshold. Before Qāsim had reached Budāōn, and brought this message of deliverance, 'Alī Qulī Khān had killed him. The short account of this is that when Qambar strengthened the fort, and the siege was being protracted, 'Alī Qulī Khān sent to him Muḥammad Beg Turkamān and Mullā Ghiāṣu-d-dīn. He imprisoned these envoys, and they secretly won 354 over a number of people to their side and having by craft overcome the garrison, they made Qambar a prisoner. 'Alī Qulī Khān sent his head to Court. The just heart of the king was grieved at this and he sent a firmān of rebuke to 'Alī Qulī Khān. He asked why he went to war when he (Qambar) was making proffers of obedience and wished to submit, and why did he kill him without orders after getting him into his power? His Majesty repeatedly said to those near him that he had wished to see this man and that if he had found on the tablet of his forehead truth and rectitude, he would have shown him favour and have educated him.

One of the occurrences of this time was the ingratitude of M. Sulaimān. The brief account of this is that when the royal standards went off to India, Tardī Beg Khān, who held Andarāb and Ishkamish in his *jāgīr*, was ordered to join. Muqīm Khān remained behind



to look after the *jāgīr*. M. Sulaimān thought this a good opportunity to get hold of the territories. First, he tried craft, and sought to win over Muqīm Khān to his side. When this failed, the Mīrzā threw off the mask and besieged Andarāb. Muqīm Khān was compelled to come out with his family, and by fighting his way through he got away from that dangerous spot and came to Kābul. One of the occurrences of this time was the killing by Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Akhta Begī of Ghāzī Khān¹ the father of that Ibrāhīm who had had an itching desire for a throne. The story is as follows: When Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān was sent to Biāna, Ghāzī Khān, who was the governor, could not resist and took refuge in the fort. Relying upon the promises and engagements which were held out by Ḥaidar Muḥammad, he came out; but Ḥaidar Muḥammad fixed his eyes on his goods and chattels and broke his promise, and put him to death with the sword of injustice. When His Majesty Jahānbānī heard of this, it did not commend itself to his just mind. As he (*i.e.*, Humāyūn) was at a distance, and had only recently come to India he ostensibly refrained from inflicting punishment on him but he announced that Ḥaidar would never again bind² on his belt. And in truth what the fate-interpreting tongue had uttered remained in force till he left this world. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān who was the Mīr Biyūtāt (*i.e.*, officer in charge of buildings, &c.), was sent to inquire into the matter and to appraise the property. His Majesty went on, in ways well-pleasing to God, in taking care of his subjects, in building up the world, and in giving repose to mankind.

¹ In B.M. Add. 27,247 the words are differently and more grammatically arranged. The Ibrāhīm here referred to is the Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr who is described in text p. 339 as having contended for the throne of India with Sikandar and as having been defeated by him near Agra.

² Apparently the prophecy was that his arm would wither. Bayāzīd tells us that Ḥaidar's arm became

useless. Perhaps this was ascribed to Humāyūn's prophecy or curse, but Bayāzīd says it was in consequence of a wound that he received in Afghanistan. It seems that Humāyūn was regarded as one who had the power of imprecating disaster on those who had offended him. Another instance is given by Jauhar and Gulbadan Begam as having occurred in Sind.



CHAPTER LX.

EXPEDITION OF HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO THE PANJĀB IN 355
ACCORDANCE WITH THE ORDERS OF HIS MAJESTY
JAHĀNBĀNĪ JINNAT ĀSHAYĀNĪ.

During this time that the world-conquering soul of His Majesty Jahānbānī was managing with justice the territories of India, unpleasant reports about Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī came to the effect that being intoxicated with the harmful wine of the world he was troubling the people, and was conducting himself in ways contrary to the king's commands. As His Majesty Jahānbānī had a special regard for him he considered such reports as contrary to the truth and as inventions of the envious and malignant. But at length it was noised in the royal camp that Sikandar had come out from the hills and it became certain that this infatuated *Sayyidzāda* had without authority severed Farḥat Khān from the governorship of Lahore and had appointed one of his own creatures in his room. Also that he was laying hands on the royal treasure. By Divine inspiration the resolution became fixed in His Majesty Jahānbānī's holy soul, which was a mirror showing what was right for country and empire, that the Panjāb, which is one of the great provinces of India, should be made illustrious by the blessing of the protection and government of His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, and that, if it seemed proper, Abū-l-Ma'ālī should have *Hiṣār*¹ and its neighbourhood. Moreover as he was sending about this time for the chaste ladies from Kābul it was right that the Panjāb should be in the possession of His Majesty

¹ *Hiṣār*, we are told in the previous chapter, had been conferred on Akbar, and the meaning apparently is that if Akbar (and Bairām)

thought proper, *Hiṣār* might now be given to Abū-l-Ma'ālī, in exchange for the Panjāb.



the Shāhinshāh's servants. Though the army was large enough to quell Sikandar yet for political and personal reasons the name "auxiliary" was used. In the beginning of the year 963, November, 1555, in an auspicious hour which befitted the accession to the throne of the seven climes, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh the Divine nursling was appointed (to the Panjāb) according to the rules of sovereignty and splendour. Bairām Khān was nominally appointed as guardian of His Highness, but in fact the education of that support of dominion was committed to the fortunate auspices of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh. A number of loyal and faithful followers attended on his stirrup.

When they arrived at Sihrind the royal servants who were in Hiṣār Firūza obtained the blessing of service and were delighted. In that auspicious station Ustād 'Azīz Sistānī who for his good service and loyalty had received the title of Rūmī Khān¹ and had no equal in pyrotechny and in shooting with guns had the felicity of entering the Shāhinshāh's service. It was here that his shooting began and in a short time he became a master in this strange craft, 356 just as he is a master in every act and science. And wondrous masterpieces, such that volumes could not contain the accounts of them, were displayed by this exhibitor of perfections in this as in other acts. What shall I say or what shall I write about the totality of this holy personality? For without exception when any person who shall have studied some particular art or science, whether with mature scientists, or with master craftsmen, and whether in whole or in part, and have acquired practice therein by studying for years with able teachers enters the service of this scrutinising intellect and universal genius, he gets lost in contemplating his abundant knowledge and is struck with astonishment. And he thinks to himself that apparently His Majesty has spent all his time in nothing but this art. But afterwards he says no one could acquire such skill, it must be the gift of God! And one of the wonderful things is that he enters into contradictory dispositions and varied characters in one and the same *seance*, for this is not difficult to the world-adorning mind. What capacity have philosophers, or learned men,

¹ Perhaps the Rūmī Khān Ḥalabī, i.e., of Aleppo, mentioned in Blochmann



artists to keep his company except for a time and on their own subject? Such lofty understanding and such wide intelligence are not within human powers. Rather the power of an angel would not suffice. May Almighty God long preserve this glorious pearl for the alignment (*intizām*) of mortals!



CHAPTER LXI.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JAINNAT ĀSHAYĀNĪ, AND
DESCRIPTION OF SOME OF HIS REMARKABLE INVENTIONS
AND REGULATIONS.

As the affairs of the Panjāb had been happily arranged by the expedition of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh there, His Majesty Jahānbānī remained in Delhi and employed himself in the work of political administration. He gave his attention to the reconstruction of the territories, the extirpation of enemies and the conquest of other provinces. He repeatedly said that he would make several seats of government, and labour for the regulation of India. Delhi, Agra, Jannpūr, Māndū, Lahore, Qanauj and other suitable places would be chosen and in every place there would be an army under the charge of a prudent, farseeing, subject-cherishing, and just officer, so that there should be no need then for an auxiliary force. And he would not keep more than 12,000 horse attached to his own person. He also used to say that he would have embroidered gold and silver seats prepared to be used in the public assemblies by the princes and by such men of his entourage as were to be exalted by special honour so that they might sit upon them when an order to that effect was given. For it was likely that the affections of the great and worldly, who had not reached the palace of loyalty but still remained in the bazar of traffic, and of loss and gain, would not be captured merely by gifts of property, and that until their honour and prestige were increased they would not be won over.

From the beginning of his career till now his mind was exercised in strange inventions and in showing forth recondite truths. Among these was this that at the time when His Majesty Gēti Sitānī Firdūs Makānī proceeded from Kabul to Qandahār he left His Majesty Jahānbānī in Kābul to look after affairs. One day His Majesty was riding in the environs of the city and exploring the plains and



meadows. On the way he said to Maulānā Rūh Ullāh, who was his teacher, "it has occurred to me to take an augury from the names of three persons whom I may find on the road, and I shall build the foundations of my dominion (*ḍaulat*) thereon." The Maulānā said the name of one person would be enough. He replied "A secret inspiration has communicated itself to me." After going a little distance a wayfarer of mature age appeared and when they asked him his name, he replied "Murād *Khawāja*." After him another man appeared who was driving an ass loaded with wood. When they asked him his name he said "Daulat *Khawāja*." Upon this the inspired tongue (of Humāyūn) said that "if the name of the next person that comes be Sādat *Khawāja* it will be a strange and beautiful coincidence, and the star of joy (*murād*) will ascend from the horizon of auspiciousness (*sa'adat*)." At that very moment a man (a boy, in *Khwandamir's* account) appeared, who was grazing some cattle, and when they asked him what his name was he replied "Sa'adat *Khawāja*." The servants in attendance were astonished at this marvel, and all felt assured that the lord of auspicious fortune would by Divine favour attain to lofty rank and become possessed of dominion.¹

When these mysterious glad tidings were fulfilled and the rose garden of hope was made fresh and verdant by the stream of justice he founded his affairs, sacred and secular on joy (*murād*), dominion (*ḍaulat*) and auspiciousness (*sa'adat*). And he divided all the servants of the fortunate threshold, or rather all the inhabitants of his dominions into three classes. He called his brothers, and other relatives, his officers, his viziers, and all his soldiers *Ahl-i-ḍaulat*. For it was clear that without the help of this body of men the ladder of dominion and fortune could not be climbed. He called the philosophers, the 'ulamā, the chancellors (*ṣadūr*), the sayyids, the *shaiḥs*, the Qūzīs, the poets and the other learned men, the judges, nobles and skilful persons *Ahl-i-sa'adat*, because the honouring of these auspicious persons, and the association with them were a means of gaining everlasting auspiciousness. He called architects, painters,

¹ This story is given in Elliot V. 118 and 236 who remarks that it first appears in *Khwandamir*. Niẓām-ud-dīn and Ferishta assign it to the

period just before Humāyūn's conquest of India. *Khwandamir* calls the teacher Masihu-d-dīn Rūh-illāh.



358 musicians and singers *Ahl-i-murād*, because they were the delight of all the world. Similarly he divided the days of the week among the *Ahl-i-daulat*, *sa'ādat* and *murād*, to wit, Saturday and Thursday belonged to *Ahl-i-sa'ādat*, and on these two days his attention was given to the regulators of knowledge and devotion. The reason of appropriating those two days to the *Ahl-i-sa'ādat* was that Saturday is assigned to Saturn, and Saturn is the patron of *shāikhs* and ancient families. Thursday is Jupiter's day, and that is the star of learned men and of other noble orders. Sunday and Tuesday were assigned to the *Ahl-i-daulat*, and on them, royal affairs, and the management of world-government were transacted. The reason for thus assigning these two days was that Sunday appertains to the sun whose rays regulate rule and sovereignty, while Tuesday is Mars's day and Mars is the patron of soldiers. Monday and Tuesday were days of joy (*murād*). On these days boon-companions and favourites and others of the *Ahl-i-murād* were treated with special favour. The point in selecting these two days was that Monday is the Moon's day, and Wednesday is Mercury's. Both of these have a special connection with household matters (*amūr-i-biyūtāt*). Friday (*jam'a*), in accordance with its name, applied to all objects, and on it all the classes of humanity participated in the royal bounty.

One of the arrangements which characterised the *diwān*-days was that when the throne of the *khilāfat* was set up and His Majesty being seated thereon was advising the *Divān*, information was given to the people by beat of drum, and when he left the *Divān*, cannoniers announced the fact to the subjects by the discharge of cannon. And on these days keepers of the wardrobe¹ would bring several suits of apparel, (*dast-i-khelāt*), and the treasurers several bags of gold near to the palace, so that their might be no stoppage to the gifts and largesses. Several brave men stood armed, and with cuirasses on their breasts.

Another of his inventions was that of three golden arrows which were an allusion to the three divisions² of *sa'ādat*, *daulat* and *murād*. Each of these was assigned to one of the leaders of the three classes in order that he should supervise the works thereof. And it was provided that so long as each of the holders of these arrows

¹ *Karkīrāqciān*, Blochmann 87 n. 2
nd 616.

² *Sahm* which means both a division or segment, and an arrow.



exerted himself in the management of the duties appertaining to that division (*sahm*), which consisted in acting according to the will of God and in loyalty, he should be the subject of favour and should be secure on the *masnad* of authority. But if ever he should become intoxicated by the wine of grandeur and transgress the path of justice, or from some evil motive should avert his eyes from loyalty, and should restrict his zeal to the acquisition of wealth, the arrow of 359 his design would not reach the target of success and the writing of deposition would be drawn on the page of his condition, and he would meet with a fitting retribution. Mir Khwānd the chief chronicler (*Mir Muwarrikh*) has recorded in his *Qānūn-i-humāyūnī*¹ that in the time of his service the arrow of *sa'adat* was entrusted with absolute authority to the most excellent of the masters of learning and perfection—Maulānā Farghālī,² and the opening and shutting, the contraction and expansion, of the affairs of Sayyids, *Shaikhs*, 'Ulamā, Qāzīs, and teachers, and the inquiry into the claims of ecclesiastics (*arbāb-i-'amāim*, *lit.* wearers of large turbans), and the appointment and removal of those entrusted with the works of religion, and the assignment of stipends and *siyūrghāls* were all in his charge. The arrow of *daulat* was with the prop of sovereignty—Amir Hindū Beg, and the shutting and opening, the binding and unloosing of the great affairs of the officers and viziers, and of all the government-clerks, and those entrusted with civil affairs, and the fixing of the pay of the soldiers, and the appointment of the household servants rested with him. The arrow of *murād* and of the works of architecture was assigned to Amir Waisī. He had to look after the buildings and the arrangement of matters of pomp and pageantry and to care for the perfecting of the things of splendour and glory.

Another of his inventions was the distribution of arrows into twelve classes. Each order of men was assigned to an arrow. The arrangement was as follows: The twelfth arrow, which was of the finest gold, was reserved for the royal quiver, *i.e.*, for Humāyūn and Akbar. The eleventh was for the brothers and other kinsmen and such of the sons of kings as were servants of the threshold of dominion. The tenth arrow was for the Sayyids, the *Shaikhs*, and the

¹ Cf. Elliot V. 116 and B.M. MS. Vr. 1762, and Add. 30,774.

² This is the man of whom Haidar

Mirzā writes so severely, and who was drowned at Causā.



Shamā. The ninth for the great officers. The eighth was for the intimates (*maqarrabān*) and the *ankaciān* who held *manṣabs* (offices). The seventh for the other *ankaciān*.¹ The sixth for the heads of² clans. The fifth for the distinguished young volunteers. The fourth for the cashiers (Blochmann, 45). The third for the soldiers (*jūānān-i-jargah*). The second for artificers.³ The first for doorkeepers,⁴ watchmen, and the like.

Another of his inventions was his dividing the department of State into four classes corresponding to the four elements, *viz.*, Fire, Air, Water, and Earth. And for the transaction of the business of

¹ The word in text is unintelligible and is no doubt corrupt. A footnote says that on the margin of one MS. there is written *ایچکی* *ickī*, which is explained as meaning head-writer. Perhaps the copyist thought of, or wrote *bitikciān*, official writers, see Jarrett II. 47. The *n* in the text is clearly wrong, and this letter does not occur in A.F.'s original, *viz.*, *Khwāndamīr*, who has *ایچکیان* *Zekiān*, B.M. MS. Or. 1762, p. 138. Zeker gives *ایچی* meaning a brother-in-law, and perhaps this is the word, or it may be connected with *ایچکار* *ickār*, inner, and consequently intimate, or even with *ایچکی* *ickī* drink, or with *ایچکرة* meaning elegant, slender. From its following *maqarrabān* it clearly means intimate associates of some kind.

² *Sarkhailān-i-qabāil*. Elliot V. 123, renders the corresponding passage of *Khwāndamīr* "the harems and the well-behaved female attendants." But *Khwāndamīr*'s words are *ma'ʿalliq ast ba sarkhailān qabāil u yusbakiān* (i.e., *Uzbeks*) and apparently the 12 divisions had reference only to males. The fifth which Elliot renders young maid-

servants is in A.F.'s text *ikka jūānān-i-bahadur*, and perhaps means the volunteers or independent warriors (*Ekkahā*) referred to in Erskine's Supplementary Remarks, Hist. II. 541, as men who joined the service, either alone, or with a few followers, as volunteer soldiers of fortune. Perhaps these *Ekkahā* were the men afterwards called *Abadī* or *Aḥadī* in Akbar's time, see Blochmann, 20n and 161. *İka* *یکه* is a Mongolian word, and means great. Quatremère N. and E., XIV.

³ *Shāgird pezhagān*. This expression is often used for civilians or laymen attached to an army, such as shopkeepers, citizens, and the like.

⁴ *Khwandāmīr* has the word *darbānān* but he has not the word *pāsbānān*. Instead of *pāsbānān* he has *sārbānān*. See B.M. MSS. Or. 1762, p. 133 and Or. 5850, p. 196. The pages which should contain the account of the arrows are wanting in the translation in the B.M. MS. Add. 30774. There is a gap after p. 76 or 49b. A note at the end of Or. 5850 makes the curious mis-statement that the work is by Gulbadan Begam!



Each of these four departments a vizier was appointed. The artiller and the arrangements of armour and arms and of other things with which fire had to do were called the Fire Department. Khwāja 'Abdu l-Mulk was appointed to be vizier of it. The wardrobe (*karqīrāghāna*), the kitchen, the stable, and the necessary management of the mules and camels was called the Air Department. The charge of it was given to Khwāja Latīf Ullāh. The arrangements 360 of the *Sharbatkhāna*, the wine-cellar (*sūcīkhāna*), and of canals was called the Water Department. Khwāja Ḥasan was appointed the vizier thereof. The affairs of agriculture and of buildings¹ and the administration of exchequer-lands (*ṣabṭ-i-khālīṣāt*) and of some of the buildings (*bīyūtāt*) were called the Earth Department. The vizier was Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Mirzā Beg. In every one of the departments one of the Amīrs was employed. For instance, Amīr Nāṣir Qulī was the Mīr Sarkār, or head-officer, of the Fire Department and always wore red.

Another of the inventions of this time was that four large barges were set in the river Jamūna (Jumna) and that the master-carpenters constructed² on each of them a *cārtāq* (a square house) of two storeys and of very elegant shape. The barges were so joined together that the *cārtāqs* faced one another. Between every two of these four barges another *tāq* (platform) was made³ and thus there appeared an octagonal reservoir between the barges.

¹ *Imārāt*. Perhaps the word here means colonization or the settling of ryots, for we have buildings (*bīyūtāt*) mentioned immediately afterwards.

² The text says that the carpenters made the barges too, but I presume that the skill of the *ustādān-i-najjār* was chiefly shown in constructing the houses upon them. The *cārtāqs* are perhaps square buildings or they may be buildings with four pillars, see Vuillers *s.v.* *cārtāq*. But, as Quatremère points out N. and E., XIV. 498, the word *cār*, four, is often vaguely used.

³ *Lit.* were by the field of power made into fact. A.F. has been simply

copying Khwādamīr, and I confess I do not fully understand the description, or how the tank or reservoir was octagonal. I suppose, however, that the four barges formed a square and that the space between them, which was probably planked over, made a portion of the river into a tank. The corresponding passage of Khwādamīr is thus translated by Munshī Sadasūk Lāl, p. 90, of B.M. MS. Add. 30, 774:—

“The four boats which, according to royal directions, were made by the most clever carpenters in the water of the Jumna. In each of these boats there was made a large room



Another of his excellent inventions was his arrangement of shops and the putting up of a bazar on boats. This increased the amazement of the rare of intellect. In the year 939, 1532-33, when His Majesty went from Firūzābād-i-Dihlī (i.e., Delhi) to Agra, the capital, by way of the river, and was accompanied by most of the Amīrs and pillars of the State and all the *ikcīān*¹ and officers, a bazar of this kind was made and carried down the Jamūnā. Everyone could get what he wanted in that bazar.

In like manner the royal gardeners made, in accordance with orders, a garden on the river.

Another of his inventions was a movable² bridge.

Another of his wonderful inventions was a movable palace. This palace was composed of three storeys which were of cut beams. The master-carpenters had so joined the pieces together that whoever looked at them thought that the whole was of one piece. Whenever they wanted they could take it to pieces and convey it to any country. And the ladders (or steps) to the upper storey were so constructed that they could be opened out or shut up at pleasure.

One of the wonderful inventions of that holy mind was a cap (*tāj*) which was alike magnificent and agreeable to wear. The border (or margin) which went round the *tāj* had two divisions (*furja*), and each of these was in the form of the figure seven (V), and thus by there being two figures 7 (VV) the number 77 was produced, which

(having four doors or pillars) of two storeys exceedingly nice. The boats were joined together in such a manner that the four apartments stood opposite each other, and by the junction of each two boats another apartment was produced and between all the four a figure resembling a reservoir of octagonal form was made." Price says: "The four vessels were connected by a strong platform or some species of gallery in such a manner that the pavilions were placed in a situation exactly opposite to each other, perhaps in the form of a lozenge, and between each of the

vessels was interposed an additional pavilion, making altogether the number of eight and forming in the centre of the whole a beautiful tank or pond of water of eight sides."

¹ This is the word *ankacīān* already referred to. Possibly it may be here a mistake for *bitikcīān* or writers.

² This is described at length by Khwāndamīr, p. 139a, of Persian text and 112 of translation. It is perhaps characteristic of A.F. that this, perhaps, the only really useful work of Humāyūn, is left undescribed by him.



was the numerical value of the word 'izz. Here it was called the *tāj-i-izzat* or cap of honour. This was invented in Badakhshān¹ and 361 when His Majesty came to Agra and appeared before His Majesty Geti Sitānī Firdūs Makānī the latter was much pleased.

Another of his inventions was a tent (*khirgā*) which had twelve partitions corresponding to the signs of the Zodiac. Each mansion (*bury*) had lattices (*pinjarahā*)² through the interstices of which there shone the light of the stars of dominion. And there was another tent³ which was like the Heaven of Heavens which encompasses the heaven of the fixed stars. This surrounded the other tents and as the crystalline sphere (*i.e.*, the Heaven of Heavens) is undotted (with stars) so this tent was without lattices.

One of his pleasure-increasing inventions was the "carpet of mirth" (*basāt-i-nishāt*). This was a round carpet corresponding to the orbits of the spheres and the elemental spheres. The first circle which corresponded to the crystalline sphere was white, the second blue (*kabūd*), the third black, like Saturn, the fourth, which was the house of Jupiter, was light brown (*ṣandali*), the fifth, which was related to Mars, was ruby-coloured, the sixth, which was the house of the Sun, was golden, the seventh, which was the house of Venus, was bright green, the eighth, which was the station of

¹ The *tāj-i-izzat* according to *Khwandamīr* was not used only by Humāyūn, but was for the nobles also. Only Humāyūn's was all of one colour, whereas their's were of several colours. He may have invented it in Badakhshān, but the chronogram of its construction, *tāj-i-s'aādat*, given by *Khwandamīr* yields 939, or two years after Bābar's death.

² Blochmann 225, account of *pinjarahāsāz*, or lattice-work.

³ *Khwandamīr*'s description is at p. 122 of translation and 140 of Persian text. "A large tent which like the empyrean heaven that covers the inferior ones surrounded all the

petty tents and took them within itself like a cover. Like the crystalline sphere, on which there are no spots of the fixed stars and the planets, this had also no lattice or balcony round it." *Khwandamīr* explains that the outer tent was distinct from the inner one and could be used separately. The inner tent which represented the twelve signs of the Zodiac was perhaps the tent mentioned by Gulbadan Begam and called by her *mīhr-āmīz*, *i.e.*, associated with the sun. The word which Sadasūk Lāl has translated balcony is *qan'aāt*, so perhaps the outer tent had no flaps or side-walls.



Mercury, was bluish (*sūsanī*, i.e., lily, or iris-coloured). For the nature of Mercury is composite and when blue and rose are mixed the result is *sūsanī*. And the reason why *sūsanī* was chosen in preference to other colours was that several philosophers have called the colour of Mercury that of collyrium (*kuhlī*), and the *sūsanī* is nearer to collyrium than other mixed colours are. The ninth circle, which was the station of the Moon, was white. After the circle of the Moon came the region (*kura*, i.e., globe or sphere) of fire and air, then that of earth and water. The inhabited quarter of the earth was divided into seven climes. He himself occupied the golden circle (i.e., the one consecrated to the Sun) and there he adorned the throne of the *Khilāfat*. Each section (or group) was ordered to sit in accordance with the one of the seven planets which was appropriate to it in the circle which corresponded therewith. Thus, the Indian officers sate in the circle of Saturn, while the Sayyids and the 'Ulamā sate in the circle of Jupiter. The persons who occupied each circle made use of dice, on each side of which there was represented a human figure in a different position. According to each one's throw he assumed a position which corresponded to the figure that turned up. For example, if a standing figure turned up he stood, if a seated, he sate down, and if a reclining one he lay down. This was a means of increasing mirth.¹

Another of his excellent devices was the wearing of clothes each day corresponding to the colour of the planet of that day. Thus on Sunday he wore a yellow robe, which is the colour appropriated to the Sun, who is the regent thereof. On Monday² he wore

¹ Perhaps some will think that Humāyūn's courtiers, like Mr. Peter Magnus' friends, were easily amused. This carpet is described by *Khwāndamīr*, Persian text 155, translation 206: It appears to have been of enormous size, for, he says, that each of the seven circles had 200 grades (?) so that in all 1,400 persons could sit in it. The bright green, *sabz-rōshan*, which is given as the colour of the circle of Venus, is said in the dictionaries to be the name of a kind

of pigeon. Blochmann, pp. 294, 299, renders *sabz* by "bluish." Sadasūk Lāl renders *sūsanī* by violet. The expression *umrā-i-Hindī* used with reference to the circle of Saturn means Indian-born officers whether Hindus or Muḥammadans, for *Khwāndamīr* says that the *Mashā'ikh* also sat there.

² *Khwāndamīr* says that when the moon was near the full Humāyūn wore white.



gong, which is appropriate to the Moon, and so on. Another of his inventions was the drum¹ of justice. If the claim of anyone related to some dispute he beat the drum once. If his grievance consisted in the non-receipt of stipend, or wages he struck twice. If his goods and chattels (*māl-u-jihāt*) had been seized by oppression, or had been stolen, he complained by beating the drum thrice. If he had a claim of blood against anyone he beat the drum loudly four times. 332

The notes of the inventive genius of this *khedive* of holy type are many, but the above are enough to enable the understanding and the acute to comprehend the rare jewels of his soul. It is now better to abridge words and to come to the proper subject.

¹ This is an institution as old as Nūshirwān. *Kh*wāndāmīr makes the next sentence more intelligible by prefixing the word *andak* small to the word *makhāṣamat*, dispute or suit. In the Lucknow Museum there are

a number of large drums which came from Agra, and are said to belong to Akbar's time. Perhaps they are the remains of one of Hūmāyūn's institutions.



CHAPTER LXII.

INCIDENCE OF A FLASH OF INDICATION OF A JOURNEY TO THE WORLD
OF HOLINESS ON THE INWARD MIRROR OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ
JINNAT ĀSHIYĀNĪ, AND HIS DEPARTURE FOR THAT WORLD.

Let it not be concealed from inquiring minds that at about the time when His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, the young shoot of the parterre of insight, obtained leave to go to the Panjāb, there frequently rose on the lips of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī the mention of a departure to the world of holiness. Contrary to his laudable habit of regarding such references as unbecoming (*makrūh*), as being repugnant to the management of affairs, and of avoiding them in conversation, he now took pleasure in speaking on the subject. Seemingly the flash had pictured itself in the ante-chamber of his mystery-knowing heart. Among such references there was this that one day he quoted with commendation the true words of His Majesty Getī-sitānī Firdūs-Makānī, when he remarked in a meeting of friends that a servant of his used to say that whenever he saw the graves in Ghaznīn¹ he felt an inclination to die. Following up this, His Majesty would say that when he contemplated² Delhi and its shrines the words recurred to his memory, and he thought how sweet they were! At about the same time and when he was proceeding towards the eternal world he said to several of his familiars: "This day after paying my morning devotions a mysterious thing occurred and a secret inspiration brought this quatrain on my lips:"—

¹ "Here (Ghaznīn) is the last resting-place of Ḥakīm Sanāī and many other saintly personages." A.F. in Āin, Jarrett, II, 408.

² Probably Humāyūn was refer-

ring to a visit which he paid to the shrines and graves in and round Delhi in company with Sidi 'Alī shortly before his death. See p. 53 of the Admiral's book.



Verse.

“O God, make me wholly Thine.

Acquaint me with Thine attributes.

Tyrannous Reason hath crippled my soul.

Call me Thine own madman¹ and set me free.”

Tears fell from his truth-seeing eyes while he was reciting these lines, and complete detachment was manifested on his irradiated brows. About the time, too, when the Court was at Delhi, the eye-brightener of the *khilāfat*, to wit, His Majesty the *Shāhīnshāh*, one night beheld in a dream that someone was pulling up his² musky (i.e., black) locks. When he awoke he told the dream to *Māham* 363 *Anaga*, the mother of *Adham Khān*. She summoned all the skilled interpreters and asked them what the dream portended. When this question was put to His Majesty *Jahānbanī* he said: “Evil will be far from his (Akbar’s) head.” Afterwards he told them quietly of his own inevitable doom, and administered consolation to them. Constantly during those days he was uttering words which had for the organs of the farseeing among the courtiers the savour of a passage from this transitory world which all must quit, and which divided³ the joints and marrow of the faithful of soul. Among other things, he wrote with his own hand on the arch of his portico these opening lines of a poem by *Shāikh Āzarī*:—⁴

¹ Cf. Erskine, Hist., 535, note. His translation and account of the circumstances differ somewhat from the text. Apparently the poet contrasts the cold light of reason with the ecstasy of madness (or love). The translation in Erskine’s version of the *Akbarnāma* in the B.M. is nearer the original.

² The text has *ānhaṣrat*, which presumably stands for *Humāyūn*, but a footnote says that several MSS. have *īshān*, and all the MSS. that I have examined in the B.M., I.O., and R.A.S. have *īshān*, and so has the Lucknow edition. I have therefore adopted the variant. I think

that what Akbar saw must have been the pulling of his own locks, otherwise there would have been no cause for alarm on his account, and it is hardly likely that his father, then a man of 50, would have black hair.

³ I have paraphrased the passage. The literal translation is: “The faithful of soul were cut to pieces.”

⁴ The poetical name of *Jalāl-ud-dīn Ḥamza* of *Isfaraīn* or *Mīhrjān* near *Nīshāpūr*. He died in 866 A.H. Beale’s Or. Dict., 90. See also Rieu., Cat. I, 43a. According to the account there *Āzarī*, who took his poetical name from the month of his birth, was born at *Marv* and died in 866 A.H.—



Verse.

I've heard that on this gilded dome (the sky) 't is writ
The end¹ of all things is praiseworthy.

He also when near his departure reduced his consumption of opium, so much so that he said to his intimates "We'll see for how many more days two or three pellets (*habb*) will suffice." He had seven days' divided supply and wrapped in paper, and made over to his body-servants, and he said to them "this is all the opium we shall eat." On the day which was the first stage of his journey to the region of holiness and detachment, there remained four pellets. He sent for these, and partook² thereof in rosewater.

At the close³ of Friday Rabi'-al-awwal 963, Shāh

1461-62. Badaūnī, III, 193, says that Maulānā Bekasī is the authority for this story. He quotes the couplet.

¹ Another rendering might be: "To meditate on the end of all things is praiseworthy." Price translates: "Of all mankind the end is happy."

² The meaning is not quite clear. Probably A.F. means that Hūmāyūn took one of the four pellets along with rosewater. It is hardly likely that he would take four all at once. The day when he sent for the opium is clearly, I think, the day of the accident, and not of the death, and the time would be in the course of the day and before the accident, which occurred at evening. Probably the number four is dwelt upon as indicating that Hūmāyūn had set aside the exact number of pellets that would last till his death. If Friday was the day of the accident and he took one pill on that day, and survived till Monday, as Sidi 'Alī says, this would be the case. According to other authorities he died on the evening of Sunday, the 26th

January, or 13 Rabi'-al-awwal. This is the date given in the *Bādshāhnāma* of 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd, Bib. Ind. ed., p. 63.

³ *Akhir-i-rūz*. But perhaps the *izāfat* is wrong, and the translation should be: "At length, on Friday," &c. A.F. does not give the day of the month; but, as he says later on, that the officers concealed the accident (or at least its seriousness) for seventeen days and then proclaimed Akbar on 28 Rabi'-al-awwal, we may take it that the fall occurred on Friday, the 11th Rabi'-al-awwal, corresponding to 24th January, 1556. See Mrs. Beveridge's translation of Count Noer's Akbar, I. 67, note. The date, 11 Rabi'-al-awwal, given at the end of Stewart's translation of Jauhar is not in the original, and the whole sentence is an addition. There is a good deal of discrepancy about the dates of Hūmāyūn's fall and death, and on these points reference may be made to the note above quoted and also to Mr. C. J. Rodgers' note in the J.A.S.B. for 1871, Vol. XL, p. 133, and to Mr.



Bada'gh, ¹ 'Ālam² Shāh, Beg Mūlak,³ and others who had returned

Blochmann's remarks thereon. A.F.'s statement that the fall occurred on a Friday is supported by the circumstance that a number of worshippers were assembled at the adjoining mosque, as would naturally be the case on a Friday, and also by the testimony of Kātibi-Rūmī, the Turkish admiral, Sidi 'Alī Rāis. He was in Delhi at the time; and, though he does not expressly say so, he was apparently present at the last audience. His words (Vambéry's translation, Luzac, 1899, p. 55) are: "All was ready for the start (the Admiral's). Humāyūn had given audience on Friday evening, when, upon leaving his castle of pleasure, the Muezzin, announced the Ezan just as he was descending the staircase. It was his wont, whenever he heard the summons, to bow the knee in holy reverence. He did so now, but unfortunately fell down several steps, and received great injuries to his head and arm." Truly the proverb rightly says, 'There is no guarding against fate.'

"Everything was confusion in the palace, but for two days they kept the matter secret. It was announced to the outer world that the sovereign was in good health, and alms were distributed amongst the poor. On the third day, however, that was on the Monday, he died of his wounds."

It seems to me probable that the Turkish Admiral is the person referred to by A.F. as Caghatāi Khān. No officer of Humāyūn's or Akbar's

of that name is mentioned anywhere, and Sidi 'Alī may have got the sobriquet of Caghatāi Khān on account of his proficiency in the Caghatāi language. See the Turkish publisher's preface, Vambéry, l.c., p. XVII. Sidi 'Alī, too, had just come from Gujrāt. Another reason for believing Friday to be the day, is that Friday was Humāyūn's day for holding receptions and granting audiences. See A.N.Cap., LXII. On the whole then, unless it can be established astronomically that Venus did not rise on Friday, 24th January 1556, I think we may take that to be the day of the accident. This date is further corroborated by Sidi 'Alī's statement that he left for Lahore on a Thursday in the middle of Rabī'-al-awwal. He did not leave till after the death, and Thursday would be the 17th Rabī'-al-awwal. Vambéry's translation, contrary to that of Diez, makes Thursday the day of the Admiral's arrival at Lahore, but this is clearly wrong.

With regard to the place and circumstances of the accident there is

¹ Blochmann, 371 and 382.

² If this was Khān 'Ālam Calma Beg, Blochmann, 378, he must have returned from Mecca before Kāmran's death. But perhaps it is not. 'Ālam Shāh is mentioned at p. 325 of text as one of those who accompanied Kāmran to India.

³ It would seem from this as if Beg Mūlak had repented and gone after Kāmran.



from the Hijāz, and Caghatāi Khān and some men from Gujrāt came and made reports. Also Pahlwān Dōst Mir Barr, and Maulānā Asad came from Kābul with representations from Mun'im Khān. At the end of the day he came out on the roof of the library which had recently been fitted up, and gave the people who were assembled at the chief mosque the blessing of performing homage (*kornish*). For a considerable time he asked questions about Holy Mecca and about Gujrāt and Kābul.

After that he sent for all the mathematicians, for it was expected that Venus would rise on that night and he wished to observe her.

a good account by Mr. Rodgers in the paper already referred to. He corrects the mistakes of Elphinstone and Marshman. I visited the place in September, 1899. The building is known as the Sher Mandal from having been built by Sher Shāh and is described by Syed Ahmad in his Aṣār Ṣanādīd (see also Garçin de Tassy's translation). It is an octagonal building of red stone and has two storeys. But the first is now solid, i.e., has no room in it. It has inside stairs leading up to the second storey, which is an octagonal room fitted with niches (*tāq*), which perhaps were used as bookshelves. From this two separate flights of steps lead up to the roof, on which there is a small open cupola supported on eight pillars. One of the flights is shown by the guides as that from which Humāyūn fell. There is a turn in the stairs and the steps are of granite, a foot high, and steep and narrow. The stairs open out, it should be stated, in the body of the roof, so that Humāyūn fell through the roof rather than off it. He certainly did not fall over the parapet. "The stairs come up on both sides of the cupola, in the space interven-

ing between it and the parapet." (Rodgers). Presumably Humāyūn's intention was to sit down on the part of the roof which formed the first step of the stair, and to rest his feet on the second step (*Zina-i-duwām*). It was the cold weather and so he would naturally be wearing a long dressing-gown. The guides say that the body was wrapped in cotton. As we know from the Maaṣir Raḥīmī it was brought away from Delhi when Hīmūn defeated Tardī Beg and got possession of the city. It was kept for a time at Sirhind and then brought back and kept near the Purāna Qila' till the grand tomb, built by Humāyūn's widow, Hājī Begam, was ready.

The Sher Mandal is to the south of Delhi and about four miles from the railway station. It is near the Jamīna and was still nearer it in old times. Hard by, is the Jama' Masjid of Sher Shāh, and Humāyūn's tomb is not far off. The reason probably why Humāyūn was then residing at the Sher Mandal was because that neighbourhood is the site of the city of Dīnpanāh, which was founded by Humāyūn in earlier and happier days.



It was his excellent intention that when Venus rose and the moment became auspicious he would hold a grand assembly and make promotions of officers. At the beginning of the evening he wished to descend and when he came to the second¹ step, a reciter (*muqrī*), by name Miskīn (wretched), raised an untimely call to prayer. His Majesty, out of respect to the call, wished to sit down where he was. As the steps (*darjāt*) of the stair (*zīnā*) were sharp (*tez*) and the stones slippery (*laghzanda*) his blessed foot caught in the skirt of his robe at the moment of sitting down and his good staff slipped. He lost his feet and fell upon his head, his right temple receiving a severe blow, so that some drops of blood issued from his right ear. As he possessed a heart acquainted with mysteries he immediately, and in order that he might give comfort and also make dispositions for the world, sent an affectionate dispatch containing a report of his welfare to the nursing of the light of fortune by the hands of Naẓr² Shāikh Cūlī. 364

One of the wondrous flashes of his (Akbar's) intelligence was that in the middle of that very day (the day of the accident, not of the announcement) he had³ said to some of his suite that a great misfortune would happen to an eminent man and that probably he would die.

The loyalists who were on the spot endeavoured to conceal⁴ the

¹ *Zīna-i-duwām*. The exact meaning of the expression is doubtful. Naturally one would think that it referred to the second step of the top stair, but *zīna* means a stair rather than a step, and the word *darjāt* as used just below to mean the steps. Perhaps A.F. means the second flight of steps counting from below, or he may have supposed that the fall was from the lower or second flight of steps. The stairs are certainly very steep and awkward and might easily cause a nasty fall.

² "The recital of the *āzān* must be listened to with great reverence. If a person be walking at the time

he should stand still; if reclining sit up." Hughes' Dict. of Islam, 286.

³ Bayāzīd enters him on his list as Shāikh Naẓr Cūlī Turkistānī and says that after the conquest of India Akbar made him Mīr 'Ādī. Presumably Naẓr was his name, and Cūlī his title, from having been with Humāyūn in the desert. The *Mīrāt-i-'Ālam*, B.M. Add., 7657, p. 971a, gives a copy of the letter which Naẓr Shāikh conveyed. See translation of it in Blochmann's remarks on Rodgers' paper l.c.

⁴ *Mīfarmānd*. This is the formula used by A.F. when mentioning Akbar's utterances.



terrible occurrence and took measures to send information to the heir-apparent of the *masnad* of the *khilāfat* and to collect the principal officers who had obtained leave to various parts of the kingdom. With extreme prudence they kept this life-destroying event from the public for seventeen days. Those who were present at court and the counsellors of the threshold of the *khilāfat*, viz., *Khizr Khwāja Khān*, 'Alī Qulī Khān, Latīf Mīrzā, *Khizr Khān* Hazāra, Qūdūq Khān, Qambar 'Alī Beg, *Ashraf Khān*, Afzal Khān, who were in the list of helpful ministers (*wuzarāi kifāyāt pēsha*) and *Khwāja Husain* of Merv, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Hāi, Pēshrau Khān, Mihtar Khān, and after some days Tardi Beg Khān, who inscribed on his heart's tablet the office of Amīr-al-Umarā' ¹ (Blochmann, 240) assembled together and on the 28th of the same month, 11th February, 1556, they recited the *khutba* in the famous name and lofty titles of the *Khedive* of the age, and so healed and mended the distracted world and gave the terrene and terrestrials a message of enduring restoration. The stewards of heaven, who had been in expectation of this, rejoiced, 'and the desires of the administrators of the natural world were accomplished. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Hāi Ṣadr recited this couplet:—

Verse.

If the world's new year be destroyed,
Let the hundred-leaved red rose remain.

Several persons had recited this verse, and it had become well known and had been made the subject of conversation at assemblies. A strange thing was that at the same time one of the literate (*fazlā*) had found the second line ² to give the date of the accession of the *Khedive* of the Age, but this was by writing the word *gul* with an *ī*, *gūlī*, though in one sense the ordinary orthography does not lend itself to this form. And during the days of concealing this fatal affair they on one occasion dressed up Mullā Bēkasī ³ in the clothes

¹ That is, no doubt, they endeavoured to conceal the gravity of the accident. This agrees with what Sidi 'Alī tells us.

² The second line yields 953 and if 1 be added it yields 10 more or 963. I think the meaning is that 'Abdu-

l-Hāi uttered the verse without any thought of its being a chronogram, and that the strange thing was that it was afterwards found that a slight alteration made it into a chronogram.

³ Sidi 'Alī Reis, the Turkish ad-



of the deceased (*lit.* that pardoned pinnacle) and brought him out on the top of the terrace (*ainān*) which was His Majesty's place of sitting, and showed him to the people with his face towards the river. The people performed the *kornish* and were in some measure relieved from their distress and confusion.

When the sad misfortune was made known a great disturbance and trouble, such as was natural at a crisis like this, arose. The officers exerted themselves to soothe hearts and give people confidence and did what was proper at this time of dispersion both in respect of friends and of foes. They did what they could to mend the breach and to cement the crack. And how could the boad (*'aqd*) of the eternal fortune of this noble family not attain corroboration and shape when the world-adorning glory of the personality of His Majesty the *Shāhinshāh*, the true heir of sovereignty, had seized the summit of the throne of the *khilāfat* of the terrene and of terrestrials. Good God! How could it enter into the circle of the thoughts and imaginings of the farseeing that a being so wondrous in his perfections and so befriended of fortune, at once the arranger of the visible world and the acquirer of spirituality, should so soon leave this earth? But as the time had come when the Creator would give rejuvenescence to the old world and give a new education to mankind,—a time which had not arrived in many cycles of the past,—of necessity He designed to exhibit the nobly-constituted and consummate paragon who should be the perfection of mortals. Con-

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miral, l.c. 57, tells this story and confirms A.F.'s account. He calls the representative Mullā Bī and says he bore a striking resemblance to Humāyūn, though he was of slighter ("shorter," in Diez) make. Sīdī 'Alī says the deception took place on the Tuesday, and he gives himself the credit of having suggested the concealment. But Gulbadan Begam tells us that the same thing was done when her father died. Badā'ūnī, III, 192, has an account of Bēkasī, i.e., I presume the orphan or destitute one, but singularly enough

he says nothing about his impersonation of Humāyūn. Bēkasī seems to have been a native of Ghaznīn and he died at Peshawar in 973, 1566. He was a poet, and Badā'ūnī gives specimens of his verses. It is interesting to find Sīdī 'Alī confirming A.F. in the small matter of the impersonation's having taken place on the riverside.

In F. H. Diez's translation, in his *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, Berlin, 1815, p. 209, the name is given as Mullā Bīkjissi. His translation seems to be better than Vambéry's.



sequently the occurrence of this unavoidable event, though in the eyes of the superficial a subject of mourning and sorrow, might be reckoned by the eyes of the mature of vision as a treasury of glory and beauty. For by the bounteous presence of this sublime pearl of sovereignty the visible and invisible worlds became again glorious, and the market-square of dominion, spiritual and temporal, became active. And as the lofty intelligence of this lord of the age was come to perfection, and the constituent elements of the rule of this great-thoughted one had been put in order and the die of dominion had turned up inscribed with his name, seeing that with real ancestorhood he wore the vesture of sonship, if the ruler of the age (Humāyūn) had on account of his right-seeing and good qualities been preserved in the prison of visible life, it must have followed that, on account of the submission to the noblest, which is proper according to the rules of wisdom, this eminent one of the age (Humāyūn) should submit to the nursing of light (Akbar). But as the robe of fatherhood is an imposing one and cometh from God, it could not harmonise with obedience to the offspring. Also the happiness of children cannot be recorded in the book of fate except when they submit to their fathers and obey their behests. Consequently it was unavoidable that the beginning of the feast of fortune should be the lord of the earth's leaving this world.

In fine, after giving consolations and congratulations, the imperial servants who were collected in Delhi separated in order to unite distracted hearts, and each hastened to his own place. Tardī Beg Khān, who in concert with them was at Delhi, in order to arrange the affairs of this city, sent the insignia of sovereignty along with Ghulām 'Alī Shashangasht and other trusty servants to the world-protecting court and made declarations of obedience and devotion. M. Abū-l-Qāsim,¹ the son of M. Kāmran, was also sent to do homage.

¹ This apparently is the same person as the Ibrāhīm mentioned as having, when a child, wrestled with Akbar. He probably had his name

changed when he became father of a son. I regret to say that Akbar afterwards had him put to death in Gwālār.



CHAPTER LXIII.

OF THE DOMINION-INCREASING ACTS OF HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH FROM THE TIME OF HIS FELICITOUS SETTING OUT FOR THE PANJĀB TILL HIS SACRED ACCESSION.

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The brief account of the fortune-encompassing condition of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh from the time of his being dispatched to the Panjāb till his glorious accession is that when the standards of fortune were turned towards the Panjāb the Atka Khān and other servants came from Ḥiṣār Firūza and met him on the way, in accordance with an intimation to that effect, and had the honour of paying their respects. When fortune's equipage arrived at Sihriṇḍ all the king's¹ servants who had been appointed as auxiliaries to Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī, such as Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Muṣāhib Beg, Khawāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Farḥat Khān, Tāhir Muḥammad, son of Mīr Khurd, and Mihtar Taimūr Shārbataī, came away without leave (from Abū-l-M'aālī) on hearing of the advance of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and hastened to obtain the bliss of service, for they had been troubled by the evil fellowship of that ill-regulated young man. They were favourably received. Sikandar, who had come out of the hills, withdrew to them again before the victorious army had encamped. The infatuated Mīr who had marched out to put him down hastened back to Lahore. When it became certain that the province had been given to His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and that he was proceeding thither, Abu-l-M'aālī felt constrained to come with a body of troops to the bank of the Sultānpūr river (the Bīās) and to do homage. His Majesty out of kindness, and in order to ratify the favour that had been shown by His Majesty Jahānbānī himself indicated to Abū-l-M'aālī that he should take a seat

¹ That is, Humāyūn's servants.
The Atka Khān and others who came

from Ḥiṣār were Akbar's special retainers.



in the high assemblage, and encompassed him with favours. But inasmuch as the easily intoxicated Mir had been made drunk by one gulp of the world's wine he, after obtaining leave and returning to his quarters sent a message that "my position¹ with His Majesty Jahānbānī is universally known; and especially your Highness may recollect that at the *qamargha* (ring-hunt) in Jūi² Shāhī I ate with His Majesty Jahānbānī in the same place and off the same plate; you were present, and had your portion (*alūsh*) sent to you. Taking then my position into consideration, why, when I came to your habitation, was a separate rug put down for me, and why was there a separate tablecloth? "His Majesty a mine of sense and urbasity, smiled at his ignorance, and said to Hāji Muḥammad Sistānī who had brought the message "Tell him the regulations of State and the laws of love are distinct, you have not with me the position that you had with His Majesty Jahānbānī. 'Tis strange that you have not discriminated between these two positions, and have complained." The Mir was greatly abashed.

His Majesty went on towards the hills in order to extirpate Sikandar who was stated to be in Mānkot and its neighbourhood.

When the army of fortune encamped near Hariāna a swift courier arrived and apprized Bairām Khān of His Majesty Jahānbānī's fall. Bairām Khān did not think it expedient to advance further, and moved the army to Kalānūr in order that they might halt for some days in that pleasant place. Near Kalānūr Naẓr Shāikh Cūli arrived and produced the sublime mandate³ (*firmān*). Just about this time the tidings of the inevitable events reached the royal hearing, and His Majesty displayed the weeping and lamentation which befitted the condition of affection and love. The distress and internal affliction which were experienced by that lofty-souled one exceeded human conception. Bairām Khān, Atka Khān and Māham Anaga essayed to comfort him, but as his sorrow sprang from excessive love what they regarded as topics of consolation only augmented his grief. This

¹ Humāyūn used to call him son.

² This was Akbar's appanage, which makes the favour shown to Abū-l-M'aālī the more striking.

³ The *Mirāt-i-ālam* B.M. Add.

7657, p. 271a, gives what purports to be the substance of the letter. There is a translation of the passage in J.A.S.B., Vol. XL. for 1871.