



of Shamla¹ in the territory of Nārnaul.² His son Hasan developed some nobleness³ and from trading took to soldiering. For a long time he was in the service of Rāimal, the grandfather of Rāisāl Darbārī,⁴ who is at present honoured by being in the service of his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh. From there he went to Caund⁵ in the territory of Sahasrām and became a servant of Naṣir Khān Lūhānī who was an officer of Sikandar Lōdī. By service and ability he surpassed his fellows, and when Naṣir Khān died, he entered the service of his brother Daulat Khān. After that he was enrolled among the followers of Baban who was one of the grandees of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī, and achieved a certain amount of distinction. Many things¹⁴ were accomplished by his management. His son Farīd pained his own father by his arrogance and evil disposition, and separated from him. For a time he was in the service of Tāj Khān Lōdī and for a while he was in Oudh in the service of Qāsim Husain Uzbek. For a long time he was servant of Sultān Junaid Barlās.⁶ One day Sultān Junaid Barlās had taken occasion to introduce him and two other Afghans who were in his service to his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī. As soon as the farseeing glance of his Majesty fell upon him he remarked "Sultān Barlās, the eyes of this Afghān, (pointing to Farīd) indicate turbulence and strife-mongering, he ought to be confined." He received the other two favourably. Farīd got apprehensive on seeing his Majesty Gītī-sitānī's look, and fled before Sultān (Junaid) could make him over to his men. Meanwhile his father died and his property fell into his hands. In the territory of Sahasrām, and in the jungles of Caund, which is a pargana of Rohtās, he began to give trouble by practising theft,⁷

¹ Or Simla, according to some. A pencil note to Chalmers' MS. translation has Shamly 55 miles N. of Dihli.

² In the district of Agra. Jarrett, II, 193.

³ *Ba qadr rashdī paidā kard.*

⁴ Blochmann, 419.

⁵ The text has Jūna. Caund or Cānd is correct. See Beames J.A.S.B. for 1895, p. 81. It was in Sarkār Rohtās.

⁶ He was governor of Kara Mānik-pār (in Allāhābād) under Bābar and was younger brother of Bābar's Vizier Nizāmu-d-dīn. Dorn l.c. 92. He died in 943, (1536-37). See Firishta.

⁷ These charges may be exaggerated, but they are corroborated by Shēr Shāh's alleged confession to Mallā Khān, Elliot IV, 393n.



robbery and murder. In a short space of time he by craft and unrighteousness surpassed the rebels of the age. Accordingly Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt sent him a subsidy by the hands of merchants and summoned him to his side. Farid made the money into capital for sedition, and sent excuses for not going. He occupied himself in usurpations, attacks and in plundering towns and villages. In a short time many rascals and vagabonds gathered round him. Meanwhile the governor¹ of Bihār who was one of the Lūhānī nobles, departed this life, and there was no one left to take up the thread of his duties. Shēr Khān and his vagabonds made a raid and got hold of much property. Then he returned to his own place, and suddenly attacked Ulugh Mīrzā, who was near Sirwa (Sirū). By craft he got the better of him. From there he turned and attacked Benares, and when he had acquired troops and property he went to Patna and took possession of that country. He fought a battle at Sūrajgarh² which is the boundary of the territories of the ruler of Bengal, and won a victory. That country also came into his hands. For a year he carried on war against Nusrat Shāh,³ the ruler of Bengal, and for a long while he besieged Gaur.⁴

One remarkable circumstance was that Shēr Khān came to hear of an eminent astrologer in the service of the Rājā of Orissa. As he had vain and rebellious thoughts he sent for this astrologer to get information about his success. The Rājā would not let him go, but the astrologer wrote to Shēr Khān that he would not prevail over Bengal till the lapse of a year, and that he would prevail on a particular day, on which the Ganges would be fordable for an hour.

149 By fate, what was written came to pass.⁵

¹ This is Sultān Muḥammad, son of Durgā Lūhānī. Stewart's Bengal 131. Khāfi Khān calls him Bahādur Khān Lūhānī, B.b. Ind. ed. I. 89. In Dorn's History and in Stewart he is called Pīrkhān.

² In Monghyr and at the east end of that district. But apparently this is a slip of the author for Tēhāgarhī in the Sonthal Parganas. See Jarrett II, 116 and note.

³ Text, *nasīb* but this is wrong. See Jarrett II, 147n. and *Riyāzu-s-salātīn*, Bib. Ind. text 139.

⁴ The text has Gōrakhpūr, but a note says that many MSS. have Gaur. The context and history show that Gaur is right. See Stewart's Bengal, 120. Gaur capitulated in 1537 to Shēr Shāh's son.

⁵ See Erskine's note on this prediction II, 135n. Apparently the pre-



Verse.

I heard from a sage that wisdom is plentiful,
But that it is scattered about among mankind.

During the time that the royal standards were engaged in conquering Mālwa and Gujrāt, Shēr Khān seized his opportunity and made great progress. The above is a sketch of the beginning of his career. The remainder of his story, the last of his actions, and his wretched end will be narrated in a parenthesis of the account of his Majesty Jahānbānī, so that the authors of strife and contention may take warning therefrom.¹

In fine, as the idea of an expedition to the eastern provinces had become fixed in the mind of his Majesty Jahānbānī, Mīr Faqr 'Alī, who had been one of the great officers of his Majesty Firdausmakānī Giti-sitānī was appointed to the charge of Dihlī while Agra was entrusted to Mīr Muḥammad Bakhshī, who was one of the trusted servants of the State. Yādgar Nāsir Mīrzā, his Majesty's cousin, was sent to Kālpī which was his *jāīgīr* in order to manage that quarter. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Mīrzā² who was married to his Majesty's sister Gulrang Bēgam and was the progenitor of Salīma Sulṭān Bēgam, was appointed to the charge of Qanauj. His Majesty having in this manner arranged the officers of his kingdom went off to the eastward by boat, along with his chaste and veiled

diction must refer to something that occurred at the siege of Gaur, which was situated on an old channel of the Ganges, for we do not hear that the real Ganges became fordable on the days of Causā and Qanauj.

¹ A.F.'s moralising is rather misplaced. Was Shēr Khān's death when engaged in a holy war and in the hour of victory, as pitiable as the slip on a stair which ended Humāyūn's days?

² The *Ma'āsir-i-raḥīmī* (MS. A. S. B. 194a) says that Nūru-d-dīn was the son of Mīrzā 'Alā'u-d-daula who was related to Khawjā Ḥasan 'Attār who again was son of Khawjā 'Alā'u-d-

dīn who was the first Khalīfa of the Naqshbandī order. The Gulrang Bēgam whom Nūru-d-dīn married was Humāyūn's half-sister, being a daughter of Dildār Bēgam and full-sister of Hindāl and Gulbadan Bēgam. Her daughter Salīma was first married to Bairām and afterwards to Akbar. Bairām received Salīma in marriage as a reward for his helping Humāyūn to conquer India, and also perhaps because they were related. Salīma's great-grand-mother, Pāshā Bēgam being a daughter of Bairām's ancestor 'Alī Shukr who belonged to the Turkomāns of the Black Sheep.



consorts. Mirzā 'Askarī and Mirzā Hindāl accompanied him, while among the officers were Ibrāhīm Bēg Cābūq,¹ Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg, Khusrāu Bēg Kōkaltāsh, Tardī Bēg Khān, Qūc Bēg,² Tardī Bēg of Etāwā, Bairām Khān, Qāsim Husain Khān Uzbek, Būcakā Bēg, Zāhid Bēg, Dōst Bēg, Bēg Mirak, Hājī Muḥammad (son of) Bābā Qushqa,³ Yā'qūb Bēg, Nihāl Bēg, Rōshan Bēg, Muḡhul Bēg and a large number of other distinguished men. The army proceeded by land and by water whilst his Majesty, sometimes sitting in a boat and sometimes riding on horse-back, deliberated on the affairs of state and proceeded towards the fort of Cunār where was Shēr Khān. When the army drew nigh to Cunār, M. Muḥammad Zamān came from Gujrāt with the dust of confusion on his forehead and the drops of shame on his cheek, and had the happiness to be permitted to kiss the lofty threshold. The brief account of this occurrence is as follows. His Majesty's dear sister Ma'sūma Sulṭān Bēgam,⁴ the Mirzā's wife, had in Agra petitioned about the Mirzā's guilt and had received an order of reconciliation. His Majesty from his innate goodness, drew the line of forgiveness over his offences and directed that he should be sent for. When the Mirzā arrived near the grand army, a number of high officers were sent to meet him, and when he was a day's journey off, M. 'Askarī and M. Hindāl went out in accordance with the lofty commands and embraced him. M. 'Askarī saluting him by raising his hand up to his breast, while M. Hindāl saluted⁵ by putting his hand on his head. They brought the Mirzā with respect to the camp and that day the Mirzā, in accordance with the king's command, was conveyed to his own tent. Next day he was brought to the lofty pavilion and having done homage, was treated with royal favours. Twice was he exalted in one assemblage by a special *khil'at*, a belt, a sword and a horse. Bravo! At the

¹ Blochmann 332, who writes Jābūq. Probably *cābūq* 'celer,' is the correct reading. Perhaps he is the Ibrāhīm Bēgik of the *Tur. Rash.* Elias and Ross, 470, and described there as father of Jahāngīr Qulī.

² Blochmann 455, Bābar 95 and 363.

³ Qushqa is a Turkish word meaning the star on a horse's forehead. Bābar

Qushqa was a servant of Bābar, 364.

⁴ Half-sister of Humāyūn, being the daughter of Ma'sūma, the daughter of Sulṭān Aḥmad and who married her cousin Bābar. Bābar 208.

⁵ See Blochmann 158 for A.F.'s account of the *taslīm*. 'Askarī being the elder brother did not salute so humbly as Hindāl.



gate of God's elect, sins are requited (*lit.* bought) by benefits, and wickednesses are reckoned as virtues. There is such plenty in the store-house of divine grace that His peculiar mercies are co-ordinate with offenders; in proportion as they increase their crimes and sins do they obtain increase of grace and forgiveness. This attribute is the more appropriate to princes in that they are the shadows of God, so that by passing over offences no harm is done to the breadth of their mercy and the amplitude of their power; and the wretch who is ashamed of his evil deeds, obtains an order of release from the pit of torture. In short his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat Āshyānī, in spite of rebellion so great that (even) to pardon it were improper, became an expounder of the Divine ethics and returned good for evil. God be praised! His Majesty, the Shāhinshāh of the Age, (Akbar) hath these noble qualities and weighty ethics; they are part of his nature and of the essence of his holy soul, and in the meting out of punishment he practises a consideration and hesitation such as no other king has been adorned with from the cycle of Adam until now. In this book a few instances will be given out of many. May God Almighty increase daily this family and may He, in reward of this generous nature bestow plenteous blessings on his Majesty's life and dominion!

In short when Shēr Khān was apprized of the uprearing of the victorious standards, he left his son Qutb Khān and many others in Cunār, and after strengthening the fort, departed to Bengal. He conquered that country in war and obtained much booty. When the world-conquering army of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī encamped near Cunār, he applied himself to the taking of the fortress. Rūmī Khān who was the paragon of the age for overcoming grand forts and sky-high castles, and who had left Sultān Bahādur after the victory of Mandasōr, and been enrolled as one of his Majesty's servants, and exalted by the office of Mīr Ātash (Director of Ordnance) constructed a covered way (*sābat*) upon boats and arranged such a roof (*saṭha*) with strong partitions (?) on the top of a platform of planks that the ingenious and skilful bit the finger of astonishment in admiration of the workmanship.¹ And

¹ See Nizāmu-d-dīn's account, Elliot V, 200. It is more detailed and more intelligible than A.F.'s. Ap-

parently Rūmī Khān built a wooden tower so lofty that when placed on boats and conveyed across the river



he carried such mines under the walls that when they were fired, Time and the Terrene (*zamīn ū zamān*) were shaken. Qutb Khān fled, and the remainder of the garrison asked for quarter and came out. The fort fell into the possession of the king's servants. As for those admitted to quarter, they were about 2,000 in number, though his Majesty Jahānbanī had ratified Rūmī Khān's promise and had pardoned (?) them, yet Mu'ayyid Bēg Dūldai,¹ who was one of the confidential officers, added to the order that their hands should be cut off, and represented that this was the king's command; such was the usurpation² of authority that he displayed! His Majesty Jahānbanī censured him for this. Rūmī Khān received royal favours, and his influence and renown were increased. In return for his services the fort was made over to him, but in a few days he became by destiny an object of envy to the world and passed away, poisoned.

When his mind was free of this affair, the expedition to Bengal presented itself before him. Naṣīb Shāh,³ the ruler of Bengal, came

to the foot of the hill, it enabled the assailants to get to the wall under cover. See also Janhar, Stewart 10, and Tiefenthaler's plate I, 450, No. XXIX which shows a wall coming down to the water's edge.

¹ Dorn's History of the Afghans, p. 112, calls him the son of Sulṭān Mahmūd, and the Chronicle of Shēr Shāh says the same thing but adds the epithet Dūldai. Garcin de Tassy, p. 84. Dūldai is a division of the Barlās tribe. Blochmann 388n. Nizāmu-d-dīn says that only the artillerymen had their hands cut off, and that this was done by Humāyūn's orders. It is impossible that 2,000 men could have their hands cut off without Humāyūn's becoming acquainted with the fact while the brutality was going on. Janhar, (Stewart 10), who is perhaps the most to be trusted, as he was with Humāyūn at the time, says that

Rūmī Khān caused the hands of the artillerymen to be cut off, and that Humāyūn was very angry with him on this account. The same authority says that Rūmī Khān's floating battery, &c., did little execution. Bayāzid 21b. tells us that Mu'ayyid died in Kābul shortly after the first taking of it, to the universal joy of the army, who regarded him as a Satan and as the cause of the loss of India, &c.

² I am not sure of the meaning but think that *tahakkum* is used in the sense of fancied or self-assumed authority. B. M. MS. has a *ki* at the end of the words which perhaps is an improvement, the meaning then being that M. Bēg so far usurped authority that Humāyūn had to rebuke him.

³ Naṣīb is apparently intended for Nuṣrat, but both names appear to be wrong. Nuṣrat died in 943



wounded to the world-protecting Court, and implored help against Shēr Khān. This was an additional reason for conquering Bengal, and another call to him to proceed there. His Majesty comforted him by his princely sympathy, and distinguished him by royal favours. As the expedition had now been determined upon, Jaunpūr and its territory was made over to Mīr Hindū Bēg who was one of the great officers, while Cunār was given to Mīrak Bēg. Preparations having been made, the army proceeded by land and water. When Patna became the camping ground, the loyal servants of the Court represented that the rainy season had arrived, and that if his Majesty delayed the Bengal expedition until this season had passed over, this would be consonant with the rules of conquest, since the passage of cavalry into Bengal at this season was very difficult, and would be productive of destruction to the soldiers. The ruler of Bengal looked to his own interests and represented that Shēr Khān had not yet confirmed himself in Bengal, and that to march speedily against him would be a means of extirpating him 152 with ease. His Majesty out of consideration for this oppressed one, and from the plausibility of his statements, gave orders for the advance. In Bhāgalpūr he divided the army, sending M. Hindāl across the river with 5000 or 6000 men to march along its banks on that side. When the army had encamped at Monghyr, news came that Jalāl Khān, the son of Shēr Khān, who after his father's death took the name of Salim Khān,¹ with Khawāṣṣ Khān, Barmazīd,² Sarmast Khān,³ Haibat Khān Niyāzī,⁴ and Bahār Khān⁵ with about 15,000 men had come to Garhī which is, as it were, the gate of Bengal, and that having strengthened it they were meditating strife and sedition.

A.H., or earlier, and the King of Bengal who fled, wounded, to Humāyūn, was Maḥmūd or Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh, another of the 18 sons of the famous Husain Shāh. No Naṣīb appears in the list of kings of Bengal, but probably there was such a name for there is a quarter of the town of Murshidābād called Naṣībpur.

¹ Elsewhere A. F. calls him Islām Khān.

² Barmazīd Goor, Dorn, 128.

³ An Afghān tribe, Jarrett II. 403.

⁴ This according to Dorn, 93, was a title given by Shēr Khān to Ḥabīb Khān Kakar.

⁵ Or Pahār.



The account of this affair is as follows: When Shēr Khān heard of the approach of the imperial army he could not bring himself to fight but went off by way of Jhārkhand,¹ so that when the grand army came into Bengal, he might go to Bihār and stir up commotion in that province, and also that he might place the spoils of Bengal in safety. He left Jalāl Khān and a large body of men near Garhī and arranged that when the conquering army approached and he himself had got to Shērpūr,² they should make haste to join him, and should avoid fighting. His Majesty deputed from Bhāgalpūr Ibrāhīm Bēg Cābūq, Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg, Bairām Bēg, Nahāl Bēg, Rōshan Bēg, Gurg 'Alī Bēg, Bacaka Bahādur, and a large force consisting of about 5000 or 6000 men. When the imperial army arrived in the neighbourhood of Garhī, Jalāl Khān departed from his father's instructions, got together his army and attacked the camp. The men of it had not put themselves in order for fighting so as to combat properly. They were not properly drawn up, and the enemy was numerous. Nor were the former ready for battle. Bairām Khān turned several times and attacked the enemy, and dispersed them. He made gallant efforts but from want of management he was not properly supported, and things did not go satisfactorily. 'Alī Khān Mahāwani,³ Haidar Bakhshī and several other officers attained the glory of martyrdom. When this news came to the hearing of his Majesty, he rapidly proceeded to the spot. On the way the sea-adorning boat which was his special barge, was sunk at Colgong. When the royal army came near the black-fated Afghāns, the wretches fled. Mīrza Hindāl, who had been appointed to Tirhut and Purniyā was, at his own request, permitted to depart to his new

¹ Jhārkhand is sometimes identified with Chātia Nāgpūr. It also represents the jungle *mahals* of Midnapūr. It seems to me not improbable that the name here is a mistake for Bharkūnda in Bīrbhām. See Beames's *Notes on Akbar's Sarkārs J.*, R. A. S., January, 1896, p. 97 and *Jarrett II*, 139. Bharkūnda was in *sarkār Sharifābād*. *Dorn* p. 107, speaks of Shēr Khān's retreating to the mountains of Bercund,

and *Garcin de Tassy's Chronicle* of Shēr Shāh (76) is to the same effect. If the Shērpūr mentioned later be Shērpūr Atāl, Bharkūnda is more likely to be right than Jhārkhand.

² There are several Shērpūrs, but Shērpūr Atāl is probably the one meant. *Blochmann* 341, *Jarrett II*, 140, and text *Āin I*, 407.

³ Possibly the name is Mahāwatī.



for, so that he should come from thence with a proper equipment to Bengal. His Majesty Jahānbānī proceeded from there, march by march, to Bengal, and by the Divine aid conquered it in 945.¹ Shēr Khān and the other Afghāns having taken the choicest treasures of Bengal² went off by Jhārkhand towards Rohtās, and got possession of it by means of stratagem.

SHĒR KHĀN'S TAKING OF FORT ROHTĀS.

The short account of this is as follows: When Shēr Khān arrived in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, which is a very strong fort, he sent messengers to Rājā Cintāman,³ a *brahman*, the owner of the fort, reminding him of past favours, and after making a foundation of friendship, he represented to him that he was in a difficulty, and begged him to treat him with humanity and to receive his family and dependants into the fort, and thus make him (Shēr Khān) pledged to be his benefactor. By a hundred flatteries and deceptions the simple-minded Rājā was persuaded by the tricks of that juggler. He, a stranger to friendship's realm, prepared six hundred litters, and placed in each two armed youths, while maidservants were placed on every side of the litters. By this stratagem⁴ he introduced his soldiers and took the fort. Having placed his family and soldiers there, he extended the arm of sedition and blocked the road to Bengal.

HISTORY OF HUMĀYŪN (RESUMED).

His Majesty Jahānbānī found the climate of Bengal agreeable and sat down to enjoy himself. The army finding a plentiful country gathered the materials of insouciance. At this time too M. Hindāl was led by evil companions and authors of strife to entertain wicked designs, and went off in the height of the rains and without permission, towards Agra. Though admonitory mandates were

¹ 30th May, 1538, to 18th May, 1539. Apparently Gaur was taken during the rains and probably in June, 1538.

² Bangāla. Probably here and elsewhere Gaur, and not the province, is meant.

³ Nizāmu-d-dīn and Khāfi Khān call him Har Kishan. Dorn, 93,

speaks of the Rājā of Rohtās having a *brahman* named Churāman who had much influence with him and who was won over by Shēr Khān.

⁴ According to Dorn, 110, the story of the litters is false.

sent to him they were without effect. After some days he arrived at the capital and arranged his seditious plans. In the inner-chamber of his brain, which was void of the divine halo, he concocted the desire of sovereignty. Shēr Khān, seeing the propitiousness of the time, extended his strife and sedition. He came and besieged Benares; he soon took it and put to death Mīr Faḡlī the governor. From there he went to Jaunpūr which was held by Bābā Bēg Jalāir, the father of Shāham Khān, he having been appointed after the death of Hindū Bēg. Bābā Bēg brought Jaunpūr under discipline and sedulously strengthened it. Yūsuf Bēg, son of Ibrāhim Bēg Cābūq, was marching from Oudh to Bengal. He joined Bābā Bēg, but was always scouring the country with an advanced guard and was ever in quest of an engagement. Jalāl Khān got news of this, and made a rapid march with 2,000 or 3,000 men. Yūsuf Bēg saw the dust of the army and was eager to fight. Though his comrades pointed out to him the largeness of the enemy and the smallness of his own force, it was of no avail, and he bravely drank the last draught in the neighbourhood of Jaunpūr. Next day the enemy invested Jaunpūr. Bābā Khān Jalāir gave proof of courage and skill in defending it, and sent off reports to the Mīrzās and officers. He also made repeated representations to the Court (at Gaur). Mīr Faqr 'Alī came from Dihlī to Agra, and proffered sound advice to M. Hindāl. After much discussion he brought away the Mīrzā from Agra to the other side of the river. He also appointed Muḥammad Bakhshī to give what help the time allowed of, in despatching Mīrzā Hindāl quickly to Jaunpūr. Mīr Faqr 'Alī then went off from there to Kālpī to get Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā equipped for the army, and to arrange for a meeting of the Mīrzās in the territory of Karra,¹ and for a march onwards from there. At this time Khusrau Bēg Kōkaltāsh, Hājī Muḥammad (son of) Bābā Qushqa, Zahid Bēg, Mīrzā Nāzar and many others, out of crookedness and strife-mongering absconded from Bengal and came to M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad who had been left in Kanauj. The Mīrzā reported their arrival to M. Hindāl, and requested that they should be personally

¹ Agra in text, but Lucknow ed. and Price have Karra (4 miles W.N.W. Allāhābād) and this is clear-

ly right. Tiefenthaler I, 235 has a plan of Karra.



received. M. Hindāl sent friendly letters to them by Muḥammad Ghāzī Tughbāi,¹ who was one of the Mirzā's confidants. He also wrote explanations of their arrival to Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā and Mīr Faqr 'Alī. The officers who were with M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, did not wait for an answer but came on to Kūl ('Aligarh) which was in Zāhid Bēg's fief. Hindāl's messenger heard of this on his way and hastened to join them. These short-sighted disloyalists opened their raving mouths and plainly said, "Henceforth we do not serve the king; if you, as you have already purposed, will have the *khutba* read in your own name, we will enter into your service and render you faithful allegiance; otherwise we shall go to Mirzā Kāmran where happiness and a welcome are waiting for us (*lit.* are in our bosom)." Muḥammad Ghāzī Tughbāi returned and secretly delivered the officers' message and said, that one of two things was inevitable. Either Hindāl must have the *khutba* read in his own name and send for and caress the officers, or they must be laid hold of by stratagem and be confined. M. Hindāl, whose head was always itching after folly, looked upon this opinion as a valuable find, and with promises of kind treatment sent for those irreflecting traitors and spoke soothingly to them, and confirmed them in their evil imaginings.

When the alienation of Benares and Jaunpūr was reported to his Majesty Jahānbānī and the deceitful designs of M. Hindāl became known to him, he despatched Shāikh Buhlūl who was one of the great Shāikhs of India and the recipient of royal favours, 155 from Bengal that he might proceed quickly to the capital, and by sage advice restrain the Mirzā from evil thoughts and induce him to act with one accord in extirpating the Afghāns. The Shāikh arrived post-haste, just when the officers were propounding their wicked schemes and were near drawing M. Hindāl away from the straight path. M. Hindāl went out to welcome him and brought him with honour and respect to his own house. The Shāikh's weighty words strengthened M. Hindāl in the intention of serving with which he had gone forth. Next day Muḥammad Bakhshī was brought in order that all the preparations for the army—gold, camels, horses, accoutrements—might be made. Muḥammad Bakhshī represented that there was no money for the soldiers, but that there

¹ Or Tughbāi. It is the name of an Afghān tribe. Jarrett II, 403.



was abundance of materials and stores, and that he would carry out everything as was desired. Four or five days had not passed since this conversation when M. Nūru-d-dīn came in haste from Qanauj. And apparently all that the officers had plotted together was strengthened by his coming. Muḥammad Ghāzī Tughbāi was sent a second time to the officers and they reiterated what they had said before, and made this condition, that, as an indication that their proposals had been accepted, Shaiḡh Buhlāl, who was the king's envoy and was confounding their schemes, should be publicly put to death, so that everyone might be assured that M. Hindāl had separated himself from the king, and that they (the officers) might serve him with minds at ease. The Shaiḡh was engaged in arranging for the march of the army, and was looking after the ordering of the accoutrements, when the messenger¹ returned. In accord with M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad the unbecoming proposal was ratified, and M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad seized the Shaiḡh, by M. Hindāl's orders, in his house and taking him across the river, ordered him to be beheaded² in a sandy spot near the Royal Garden. The abandoned officers came and did homage to the Mirzā, and in an inauspicious hour and in a time of confusion the *khutba* was read in M. Hindāl's name. The troops then marched³ on. Though the chaste Dildār Āghāca Bēgam, M. Hindāl's venerable mother, and the other Bēgams counselled him, it was absolutely of no avail. The tongue of his actions uttered this verse.

“Advice of man is wind in mine ear,
But 'tis a wind that fans my fire.”

¹ i.e., Tughbāi. He had gone to 'Aligarh where the officers still were, being afraid to come on until Hindāl had proved his adhesion to their schemes.

² Badāonī describes this occurrence and gives the chronogram “Assuredly he died a martyr,” *faqīd māta shahīdan*=945 (1538). Shaiḡh Buhlāl or Pāl was one of the great saints of India and elder

brother of Muḥammad Ghāus of Gwālyār. Badāonī I. 4. M. Haidar speaks disparagingly of him as merely a sorcerer, (p. 398,) but apparently never saw him, and was prejudiced against him because Humāyūn's attachment to Buhlāl had made him neglect Khawāja Nūra, Haidar's patron saint.

³ Presumably towards Dihli.



When M. Hindāl had the *khufba* read in his name and came before his mother, that cupola of chastity had a blue¹ cloth over her breast. The Mirzā said, "What kind of dress is that you have donned at such a time of rejoicing?" That cupola of chastity replied, out of her foresight, "Why do you regard me? I am wearing mourning for you; you are young (he was only 19) and have, from the 156 instigation of irreflecting sedition-mongers, lost the true way; you have girded your loins for your own destruction." Muhammad Bakhshī² came and said, "You have killed the *Shāikh*; why do you delay about me?" The Mirzā treated him kindly and took him with him. When Yādgar Nāsir Mirzā and Mir Faqr 'Alī heard of this bad business they made a rapid march from Kālpī *via* Gwālyār, and coming to Dihlī took measures to strengthen the city and to provide for the fort. The Mirzā had reached Hamīdpūr, near Firōzābād³ when the news came that Yādgar Nāsir Mirzā and Mir Faqr 'Alī had arrived at Dihlī. The Mirzā and the officers consulted together and proceeded to invest Dihlī. Many of the petty *jāgīrdārs* round about came and did homage to the Mirzā, and he made march after march and besieged Dihlī. Yādgar Nāsir Mirzā and Mir Faqr 'Alī exerted themselves in holding the fort, and sent an account of affairs to M. Kāmran and begged him to come and quell the sedition. He set out from Lāhor and when he came near Sōupat,⁴ M. Hindāl hurried off to the province of Agra without having accomplished his purpose. When M. Kāmran approached Dihlī Mir Faqr 'Alī came and had an interview with him, while Yādgar Nāsir Mirzā continued to hold the fort as before. Mir Faqr 'Alī induced M. Kāmran to proceed to Agra, and M. Hindāl not having the resolution to remain there went off to Alwar. M. Kāmran, after he came to Agra, desired that cupola of chastity, Dildār Āghāca Bēgam to soothe M. Hindāl and to

¹ *kabūd* the sign of mourning.

² Also called Sultān Muḥammad, (A.N., I. 259,) and perhaps the Bakhshī called Sultān Muḥammad of Badakhshān. Blochmann 528. He was a servant of Bābar. (348 and 364.)

³ 24 miles east of Agra. A pencil note to Chalmer's MS. suggests either Umīdpūr 8 miles W. by N. Firōzā-

bād, or Muḥammadīpūr, 8 miles S. E. Firōzābād. Y. Nāsir Mirzā and Faqr 'Alī went by the West of Dihlī and Hindāl by the East, but he must have been very remiss to let them get from Kālpī to Dihlī before him.

⁴ I. G. 28 miles N. N. W. Dihlī. Jarrett II, 287, where it is spelt Sōnīpat.



recall him to obedience. That matron (*kadbānū*), the pavilion of chastity, brought M. Hindāl from Alwar and introduced him to M. Kāmran with his shroud (*fūta*) round his neck. The Mirzā (Kāmran) behaved with propriety, and next day he forgave the seditious officers and held a levee for them. The Mirzās and officers joined together and crossed the Jumna in order to put down the rebellion of Shēr Khān. But as auspiciousness did not guide those highborn ones they did not obtain the blessing of such a glorious service.

In fact when by celestial aid the country of Bengal had come into possession of the imperial servants, and its capital had become the headquarters of the army, and the great officers had obtained large territories in fief, they gathered the materials of enjoyment and pleasure and opened the gates of negligence in the front of their lives. The pillars of sovereignty paid less attention to administration, and strife-mongers, of which wretches this wide world is never free, raised the head of discord and sedition. The time was at hand when slumbering strife should lift up her downcast eyelashes. Fissures found their way into the foundation of circumspection.

157 Information such as could be depended upon did not come to headquarters, or if one thing out of many became known to any of the confidants, he had not the courage to communicate it, for the arrangement then was that no particle of unpleasantness should be bruited in the august assemblage. When by degrees the truth about the rebellion in Hindūstān was conveyed by real well-wishers, who, in disregard of their own advantage, represented the true facts, his Majesty Jahānbānī called together the pillars of the state and determined on the return of the Grand Army. Though from excessive rain the country was under water, and the rivers were tempestuous, and it was not the season for campaigning, yet on account of the emergency it was considered that a return was necessary for the preservation of the empire. The charge of Bengal was ordered to be entrusted to Zāhid Bēg,¹ but that worthless one took up the presumptuous ways of an old servant, and having given

¹ He was married to a sister of Humāyūn's favourite wife Bēgha Bēgam otherwise Hājī Bēgam and presumed thereupon. Jauhar, 13.

Some years afterwards he was governor of Ghaznīn and was put to death by Kāmran.



way to evil desires, absconded and joined Mirzā Hindāl. His Majesty made over Bengal to Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg and left a large force to support him. He then in the height¹ of the rains turned his bridle and set out for the capital (Agra).

When Shēr Khān heard of the returning of the royal army, and of the departure of the Mirzās from Agra he withdrew from Jaunpūr and proceeded towards Rohtās. His plan was that if the sublime standards should come against him, he should avoid a battle and return by the Jhārkhand route, by which he had come, and aim at Bengal, (qr. Gaur the capital). And if this should not happen (that Humāyūn's army should follow him) and if the imperial army should proceed towards Agra and an opportunity offered itself, he would follow in its wake and attempt a night attack. When the sublime army of his Majesty Jahānbānī arrived at Tirhut,² Shēr Khān came to know the smallness of the force and the disorganization of the royal camp, and waxed audacious (*shīrak*)³ and advanced with a large and fully equipped army.

He got under his control all the country round about the army, and no one was able to procure information about the enemy's manoeuvres. Ibn 'Alī Qarāwalbēgī (chief scout) went and brought authentic news which were communicated to his Majesty through

¹ This is not very intelligible. The rains of 946, (1539,) cannot be meant, for the battle of Causa did not take place till 27th June, 1539, and after Humāyūn had been encamped in the neighbourhood for 2 or 3 months. I suppose Humāyūn must have left Gaur in the end of the rains of 1538, i.e., in September or October, and before the country was sufficiently dried up. But if so, he must have marched very slowly indeed not to get to Causa till March or April. The Hindūstānī chronicler of Shēr Shāh, Garcin de Tassy, says Humāyūn left Bengal when the sun was entering the sign of the Bull (i.e., in April). The same phrase 'ain-i-bārān,

height of the rains, has been already used at p. 151, with reference to Hindāl's departure, though that must have taken place a considerable time before Humāyūn left Gaur.

² There is the variant Narhan, but neither form seems correct, both being too far east. Price has Purthū which he conceives may be Patna, and a pencil note to Chalmer's suggests Pārniyū. This last seems most likely. Humāyūn does not seem to have advanced on the N. bank of the Ganges beyond over against Monghir.

³ A pun, *shīrak* meaning a little *shēr* tiger.



M. Muḥammad Zamān. Though the grand army had crossed the Ganges, and was marching to the capital, yet when news was brought of Shēr Khān's arrival and of his being close by, the flames of the royal wrath were kindled, and out of his perfect majesty and dominion he turned his reins towards him. Though it was represented to him that at such a time, when the army was in the highest degree without equipment—it having travelled such a distance through mud—it was improper to march against the foe and to hasten to the field of battle and that what was proper was to halt somewhere and recruit the army and then to undertake the crushing of the enemy,—such views were not acceptable to his Majesty and so he crossed the Ganges and marched against the foe.

It behoves us to know that it is an ancient canon and fixed principle that, when the stewards of the kingdom of Divine destiny assign to an individual an article of price, they open beforehand the gates of failure and cast him into a tumult of anguish, so that felicity may not remove the unique pearl from its place, and that by this experience sorrow may be fulfilled and things brought to an equilibrium. Accordingly,—as the apparition of the light-increasing star of mortals, which by showing itself in dreamland from out of Qācūli Bahādur's bosom had exalted the vigilant by the blessing of expectation, was drawing nigh,—the countenances of the thoughts of the meditative and farseeing are not scarred if before this there appeared some misfortunes. Thus did such things happen at the hands of sundry black-hearted, unwashed Afghāns, to a force which might have conquered the universe. Thus was it that, contrary to the advice of ministers, the army marched against the Afghāns, and came face to face with Shēr Khān at the village of Bihīya¹ which is a dependency of Bhōjpūr.² There a black³ river called the Karmnāsā (Text, Kanbās) flowed between the two armies. The royal army made a bridge over it and crossed. Though the royal army was small and many were without equipments, it was victorious in every skirmish, and the Afghāns were slaughtered on every side. But the period of encountering and slaying was pro-

¹ Fatḥpūr Bihia. Beames J.A.S.B., 1885, 6. Jarrett II. 157.

² In Shāhābād.

³ An allusion to the evil reputation

of the Karmnāsā, or Destroyer of merit, among the Hindūs. See Bābar, 408.



longed, and the great brethren, (Humāyūn's brothers), one of whom could have conquered a clime, placed, out of shortsightedness, a stumbling block in the way of their own fortune, and did not act harmoniously. The blessedness of learning what service was at such a crisis did not help their destiny. Though admonitory rescripts were sent to them, the impressions on these inspired tablets took no form in the minds of those iron-hearts. Shēr Khān, out of craft, sometimes sent influential persons to the sublime porte to knock at the door of peace, and sometimes cherished wicked thoughts of war. At length he deceitfully and fraudulently left a body of infantry and inefficient men, together with his artillery, in face while he himself marched two stages to the rear and then encamped. The royal army, which had all along been victorious, did not understand the craft of that trickster, so they followed and encamped. When an event is going to happen in accordance with destiny, carelessness 159 on the part of the sagacious comes in to help. In this way great remissness ensued in keeping watch. At length Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā showed utter negligence on a night when it was his watch. That fox (Shēr Khān) who was waiting for an opportunity, made a night march and in the morning presented himself at the rear of the camp. His army was divided into three bands (*ṭup*), one led by himself, one by Jalāl Khān, and one by Khawāss Khān. The royal troops had not time to buckle their saddles or to close their cuirasses. His Majesty Jahānbānū when he became apprized of the army's negligence, was confounded by this specimen of fate's workshop, and the thread of resource dropped from his hand. As he was mounting, Bābā Jalāir and Qūc Bēg¹ arrived, and he bade them go quickly and bring away the noble lady Hājī Bēgam.² Those two faithful and zealous servants drank the wholesome sherbet of martyrdom at the door of honour's enclosure. Mir Pahlwān Badakhshī also and many others obtained the blessing of offering up their lives around the enclosure of chastity. The time was very brief; her Highness could not come out, but as the Divine protection and defence was her surety and safe-

¹ See Errata, but according to some MSS. Tardī Bēg Qūc Bēg is one man's name.

² Daughter of Yādgar Taghāi, uncle

of Humāyūn's mother. She was, in her youth, his chief wife, and was greatly revered by Akbar.



guard, the boisterous blasts of the evil-minded could not impinge on the sanctuary of the harem of chastity, nor the mists of black-hearted men touch the hem of the curtain of the illustrious recluses. Divine¹ spirits from the glorious sanctuary of sublimity defended the veiled ones of the chamber of chastity with the wands of the door-keepers of² jealousy; wicked thoughts did not find their way into the hearts of those wretches, and Shēr Khān sent³ off with all honour that cupola of chastity in perfect security and observance of seclusion.

In fine, when his Majesty came to the bridge, he found it broken. There being no other resource he plunged with his steed into the water like a river-traversing crocodile. By fate he got separated from his horse. Just then, as Providence was watching over his Majesty, a water-carrier became the Elijah⁴ of his course, and by the help of his (the water-carrier's) swimming, he emerged from that whirlpool to the shore of safety. On the way his Majesty asked him his name. He answered, "Nizām." His Majesty replied, "A very Nizām Auliya."⁵ He showed him kindness and favour and promised that when he safely sate upon the throne, he would give him royalty for half a day. This anguish-fraught affair (*qiz̄sa-i-pur-ghuṣṣa*) occurred on 9th Šafar, 946, (7th June, 1539), on the bank of the Ganges at the Causa⁶ ferry. M. Muḥammad Zamān, Maulānā Muḥammad Parghali,⁷
160 Maulānā Qāsim 'Alī Šadr, Maulānā Jalāl of Tatta and many officers and (learned) learned men sank in the waters of annihilation. His Majesty in company with M. 'Askarī and a few others rapidly proceeded to Agra. M. Kāmraṇ was exalted by kissing the threshold, and after some days, M. Hindāl was brought from Alwar by the intervention of M. Kāmraṇ and his (Hindāl's) mother, and did homage

¹ *Nufūs-i-nāmūs-i-ilāhī*.

² This recalls the expression *shihna-i-ghairat*, p. 2 of text.

³ Shēr Khān eventually sent her to Humāyūn in Afghānistān, when the latter returned from Persia.

⁴ Khizr or Elijah is said to have discovered the water of life. A. F. however distinguishes between Khizr and Elias. Jarrett III, 375 and 377.

It is mentioned in Roebach's Oriental Proverbs, Part II, Sec. I, 91, that Khwāja Khizr is considered in India to be the guide of those who have lost their way.

⁵ A famous Dihli saint.

⁶ In Shāhābād. Beames, J. A. S. B. l.c.

⁷ See *Tār. Rash.* 398 and 469 for some severe remarks on this man.



with shame and downcast looks. His Majesty from his innate clemency forgave his offences and made many inquiries about his welfare. When from causes beyond control a destined event suddenly made its appearance, he at once sought to remedy it. He engaged himself in collecting arms and in retrieving the position. Officers and soldiers came from the provinces and had the honour of performing their obeisances. At this time the honest water-carrier presented himself at the foot of the throne in reliance on the great promise. His Majesty Jahānbānī, who was the crown-giver and throne-conferrer of the land of generosity and urbanity, when he saw the friendless water-carrier afar off, immediately gave his Cyrus (*khusrāu*)-covenant a place on the throne of fulfilment, and having vacated the seat of sovereignty in favour of the Elijah of the path, he set the water-carrier, in accordance with his promise, upon the throne for half a day, thereby equalling him to the monarch of midday. Having excepted sundry kingly powers and functions which his capacity could not have comprehended, he exalted him by conferring on him the dignity of command, and wiped away, with the swelling sea of munificence, the dust of want from the countenance of his condition and of that of his tribe. Every order which during that incumbency on the kingly throne, issued from the water-carrier, was executed forthwith. M. Kāmran on beholding such loftiness of soul displayed the wrinkle of cavil on the forehead of criticism, and a pretext (for displeasure) was furnished to his trouble-seeking heart.

After this affair of deceit (that of Causa) Shēr Khān made an attack on Bengal. He came to the extremity of Bihār, and then halted there and sent Jalāl Khān with a force of troublers against Bengal. In a short time there was a battle with Jahāngīr Qulī Khān who bravely maintained the contest. Inasmuch however, as the design of Providence was otherwise, the Bengal officers did not act harmoniously in putting down the rebellion, but sought their own comfort and did not combine in this war. After struggles and trials Jahāngīr Qulī was unable to keep the field, and had to retreat and take refuge with the landholders (*zamīndārān*). He came forth thence on a false

¹ The Persians call the sun *Pādshāh-i-Nimrūz*, and A. F. seems to pun upon this and also on the

circumstance that *Nimrūz* is a name for *Sīstān* and *Mekrān*.



161 treaty and engagement and was despatched, along with many others, to the plains of annihilation. Shēr Khān being at ease about Bengal went towards Jaunpūr. This he subdued and made long the arm of strife. He sent his younger son, Quṭb Khān, with a large body of vagabonds against Kālpī and Etāwa. When news of this reached the august ears, Yādgar Nāsir, M. Qāsim Husain Khān Uzbek, who held these parts in fief, and Iskandar¹ Sultān, who had charge for M. Kāmran of some estates in Kālpī, were sent against Quṭb Khān. These lions of bravery's field encountered the foxy tricksters and fought a great battle. By the Divine aid, they gained the victory and Quṭb Khān was slain.

His Majesty Jahānbānī stayed for a while in Agra, the capital, arranging his troops, and conciliating his brothers and relatives and amending their secret dispositions. Though he washed the dust-stained cheek of Kāmran with the limpid waters of counsel, he could in no wise cleanse it, and however much he scoured the rust of contrariety with the burnisher of advice, the brightness of concord could by no means be developed in the mirror of his fortune. And in such a crisis, when, even if there were internal dissension, outward concord was necessary to safeguard his own fortunes, and at such a time, when together with other resources he had 20,000 tried soldiers with him, and when by the abounding and beneficent favours and prestige of his Majesty Jahānbānī, territory from Kābul to Dāwar Zamīn² in the north, and to Samāna³ in the south was in his possession, he, being contentious and wanting in his duty to so eminent a king, elder brother and benefactor, alleged illness and with abundance of carelessness and absence of circumspection, held himself aloof from such important service. Almighty God returned to him in this workshop of recompenses (this world), the fruit of his deeds and in the forefront of life he beheld by his own⁴ eyes the punishment of his actions. Some of these results will be briefly described with the pen of manifestation in their proper place.

¹ Probably the son of Sa'id Khān referred to in the *Tār. Rash.*, 340, 467, &c.

² Dāwar Zamīn, or Zamīn Dāwar is in Afghānistān, N.-W. Qandahar.

³ In Sihhind, Panjāb. Jarrett II. 296.

⁴ Alluding to Kāmran's being blinded by Humāyūn.

*Hemistich.*

When his fortune was departed, the omen came true.

He had some chronic diseases, and instead of being aroused by those secret monitions, he out of perversity, grew stubborn¹ in the path of discontent against his benefactor, and in the displeasing of his superior. First he sent Khwāja Kalān Bēg with a large force to Lāhor, and then turning away from the *qibla* of fortune, himself followed him. He became an author and architect of destruction and detriment, drawing² evil on friends and attracting good to foes. Though his Majesty Jahānbānī said, "Prince, if you may not give the blessing of companionship and must throw away such an opportunity, make your men join me," the Mirzā in direct opposition to his Majesty's desire perverted even the king's men and took 162 them with him. Mirzā Haidar, son of M. Husain Gūrgān,³ who was the cousin⁴ of his Majesty Giti-sitānī Firdaus-makānī, had come with M. Kāmran to Agra, and had enjoyed the privilege of serving his Majesty Jahānbānī, and had been treated with abundant favours. Mirzā Kāmran made his own ailment an excuse and laboured to induce him (Haidar) to accompany him. The Mirzā showed himself favourably inclined towards M. Kāmran and proceeded to excuse himself (to Humāyūn), and out of want of consideration brought forward the matter of leave. His Majesty observed, "If kindred be the point for consideration, you are equally related to us both; if loyalty and truth be regarded, the tie to me is closer. If glory and manliness be sought, you should accompany me for I am marching against the foe. As to what M. Kāmran is representing about his illness, you are not a physician nor a druggist, that you should go with him. What the Mirzā imagines about Lāhor's being a place of safety, is idle for, if anything is clear as the result of his holding back from this expedition, it is that he will not find a corner of safety in India. Your action cannot be divested of two difficulties. Should I succeed, what face can you put on the matter or what

¹ Kāmran persuaded himself that Humāyūn had tried to poison him.

² Cf. *Tār. Rash.*, 474; "giving strength to the enemy, and preparing defeat for his friends."

³ Or Kūrkān, i.e. son-in-law. See *Tār. Rash.*, 278 and Mr. Elias's note.

⁴ *Khālasāda*, maternal aunt's son. His mother was younger sister of Bābar's mother.



respect will you have? You will not from shame be able to lift your head from the ground, so that death will be preferable to life. If, which God forbid, the result be otherwise, it will be impossible for you to remain in Lāhor. Whoever has suggested such a thing to M. Kāmran is either wrong in his brain, or he is treacherous and has concealed the truth and entered on the path of flattering."¹ In fine, M. Haidar happily found the path of good counsel and gloriously associated himself with the army of honour. M. Kāmran out of his abundant forces contributed 3,000 men under the command (*bāshliqī*) of M. 'Abdu-l-lāh Mughul, and did not himself obtain the blessing of service.

¹ This account is abridged from the *Tār. Rash.* See Eliās & Ross,

472 *et seq.*



CHAPTER XXVI.

MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHIYĀNĪ'S ARMY FROM
AGRA, THE CAPITAL, TO THE EASTERN PROVINCES FOR SUP-
PRESSING SHĒR KHĀN'S REBELLION; THE RETURN AFTER
CONTESTS, AND THE ADMONITORY EVENTS WHICH
FOLLOWED.

As the wondrous artists of fate's picture gallery pursue divers methods of painting and decoration, it is matter for thanksgiving and not for complaint if their workmanship on this occasion be not in accordance with desires. Hence God the world-artificer removed concord from the illustrious brotherhood and converted combination into separation. His Majesty went with few forces against many 163 enemies, and out of a stout heart and native courage heeded not the paucity of friends and the plurality of foes.

When the sublime army reached Bhōjpūr,¹ Shēr Khān came with a numerous force to the other side of the Ganges and encamped. His Majesty determined to cross the river with his small army, and in a short time a bridge was put together at the Bhōjpūr ferry. About 150 heroes made themselves ready for the fray and plunged into the river like sea-lions, heedless of the waves and whirlpools. Like river-traversing crocodiles they rushed into the treacherous deep and crossing over, routed the numerous enemy. After giving proof of their courage and accomplishing their object, they were returning to the camp, and when they came near the bridge the Afghāns brought forward the elephant Girdbāz,² which had remained with the enemy at the battle of Causa, to break down the bridge. That enormous elephant approached the head of the bridge and broke

¹ This is the Bhōjpūr in Sarkār Qanauj. J. J. J. II, 184. It is in the Farukhābād District, 8 miles south-

east of Farukhābād and 31 miles north-west (upstream) of Qanauj.

² Chalmers' MS. has Girdbād.



its supports. Just then a cannon ball from the royal camp amputated¹ the legs of the elephant Girdbāz, and the enemy which was pressing on, was put to flight. The gallant men who had signified their devotion returned in safety.² The plan of campaign was that the army should march along the river bank to Qanauj. They proceeded warily and slowly, march by march. On the way the enemy's boats came in sight. A gun was fired from the royal artillery, and a large boat of the foe was broken to pieces, and was shivered by the dashing of the waves of vengeance. For more than a month the armies confronted one another near Qanauj. At length Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and his sons³ Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā—who traced their genealogy up to Šahib Qirānī, and were daughter's⁴ grandsons of Sultān Husain Mirzā and had been exalted by serving Giti-sitānī Firdausmakānī, and who, after his death, had set themselves in opposition to his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī, (as has already been alluded to)—finding neither glory nor profit in vain strife, and that strife-mongering against their benefactor was unsuccessful, returned to the threshold of his Majesty Jahānbānī and proffered the prostration of obedience. His Majesty from his perfect kindness and liberality regarded their committed offences as uncommitted, forgave them and treated them with royal favours. But as they were radically bad and ungrateful, they again out of worthlessness and inaptitude took to flight at such a crisis and withdrew their feet from the sphere of constancy and patience. They also pointed the way of desertion to other wretches, so that many took the path of disloyalty and withdrew themselves. To his Majesty Jahānbānī it appeared the proper course to cross the river and to engage at any cost, so that any form which was to emerge from the screen of secrecy might show its full face. If they delayed, things might take another (*i. e.* adverse) turn and a large number might desert. With the view then of putting an obstacle in the way of desertion, a bridge was made and a crossing

¹ Chalmers is probably right in translating this "deprived the elephant of one of its legs."

² It would seem however that Humāyūn did not succeed in crossing the river with his main army, though presumably that was the

reason for making this bridge.

³ See *Errata* to text.

⁴ Sultāna Bēgam, the eldest daughter of Sultān Husain of Herāt. Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā was her grandson, Bābar 181 and *Tār. Rash.* 474.



ordered. A trench was dug in front of the army, and the artillery carriages were put into position and redoubts (*mūrcalhā*) constructed. Opposite to this, Shēr Khān drew up a crowd of rebels and encamped after digging a trench. Every day the young men on each side came out and engaged. Meanwhile the sun entered Cancer,¹ and the rainy season began. The clouds gathered with tumult, like rutting² elephants, and distilled moisture. The encampment became flooded, and they were compelled to seek for high ground which should be free from water and mud, and where the tents, the artillery-park, &c. might be placed. It was arranged that the army should be drawn out on the morning of the 'Āshār day, (10th Muharram) and that if the enemy should come out of his trenches and advance, they would fight, and if he remained stationary, they would encamp in the selected spot. With this view they mounted their horses on 10th Muharram 947 (17th May, 1540), and drew up their lines. Muḥammad Khān Rūmī and the sons³ of Ustād 'Alī Qulī and Ustād Aḥmad Rūmī, and Ḥasan Khālfāt, who were the directors of the artillery, arranged the gun-carriages and mortars, and stretched chains according to rule. The centre was dignified by the presence of his Majesty; M. Hindāl had the fore-centre; M. 'Askarī the right wing, and Yādgar Nāṣir Mīrzā the left.

M. Haidar writes* in his *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* "His Majesty on that day stationed me on his left so that my right was close to his left, and from me up to the end of the left centre there were twenty-seven bannerets.⁵ Shēr Khān arranged his forces in five divisions, two, which were the largest, stood in front of the trench, and then advanced. Jalāl Khān, Sarmath Khān, and all the Niyāzīs faced in front of M. Hindāl. Mubāraz Khān, Bahādur Khān, Rāi Ḥusain Jalwānī and

¹ This is a mistake. The sun does not enter Cancer till after the middle of June, and the battle was fought on 17th May. It is true this is old style, but even then the ordinary beginning of the rains had not arrived. Perhaps it was only a May storm.

² A. F. here alludes apparently to the moisture which exudes from ele-

phant's foreheads when they are in heat. Blochmann, 120.

³ Apparently it should be M. K. Rūmī, son of Ustād 'Alī Qulī. Ustād 'Alī Qulī was Bābar's artilleryman.

⁴ The quotation is not exact. See *Tār. Rash.* 475 *et seq.* and Erskine's Hist. II, 187.

⁵ Lit. Tūgh-bearing Amis.



all the Kararānī faced Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā and Qāsim Ḥusain Khān. Khawāṣṣ Khān, Barmazīd and many others came opposite M. 'Askarī. 165 The first encounter was between M. Hindāl and Jalāl Khān. A wondrous hand to hand fight occurred and Jalāl Khān fell from his horse. The royal left wing¹ drove back the enemy to their centre. When Shēr Khān saw this, he made an onset in person with a large force, while Khawāṣṣ Khān and his companions fell upon M. 'Askarī. As soon as the Afghāns attacked, many officers did not stand their ground but gave way. His Majesty twice attacked the foe and threw them into confusion. Though it is not reckoned that the king himself should share in a fray, yet at that time of testing manhood, how could rules be adhered to? Hence two lances were broken in his Majesty's hands on that occasion and the claims of endeavour and courage were satisfied. But the brothers did not show brotherhood, and the captains did not keep the foot of fortitude in the circle of steadfastness, but from superfluity of naughtiness were negligent, and brought disaster on their lord. It would seem as though when this externally and internally great man, who saw with the eyes of truth and was capable of contemplating mysteries, went on this expedition with such a small army, full of hypocrisy, empty of sincerity, it had crossed his lofty mind that it was many degrees better to hasten to the city of annihilation on the steed of valour and to urge on the horse of his life to the goal of nothingness, than to be courteous to friendship-affecting enemies, to league oneself in hypocrisy with them, and to play the game (*nard*) of altercation (*radd ū badl*) with unfair gamesters. Better a mirage (*sarāb*) than a river (*ābī*) which must be drunk² in company with those wretches (*ābrūyān*)! Such to men of the world clearly appeared to be the case from his method of personal onset. Some of the loyal and single-hearted smote the hand of intercession and solicitude on the stirrup of dominion and forcibly withdrew him. This I say looking to the processes of the world of secondary causes. But in the world of reality, it was God, the world adorning, who withdrew him! Inasmuch as the ascension of the

¹ Text, *Jarānghār* probably for *Jawānghār*. Apparently however the word should be *varānghār* for it was the right wing under Hindāl

which was successful. Jauhar 21.

² *Kharda* in text, but see *Errata*, Cf. with this about the mirage, text, p. 182, top line.



birth-star and the glorious celebration of the apparition of his Majesty, the king of kings (Akbar), were drawing nigh, the wondrous Creator manifested such strange marvels! One school of sages considers that such events are intended to quicken the attention and to arouse the noble-minded, and are not of the nature of recompense for actions. Accordingly it was held by ancient philosophers that worldly calamities were a process of polishing for the elect, and of rusting for the crowd. A number of the enlightened and pure-hearted are of opinion that such occurrences are a process of education. When the stewards of fate's workshop are advancing a chosen vessel to a lofty rank, they first make him compact of all worldly states, of joy and sorrow, health and sickness, ease and labour, expansion and contraction, so that he may be fitted for the lofty rank of sovereignty. And many of the swift traversers of the fields of contemplation are agreed that the reason of such trials is because it is God's will that whenever the boon of greatness is to be bestowed on an auspicious one and the time of attaining that blessing be close at hand, there should be in that period's antechamber a station of labours, and a vent of trials; and that the dust of blemish should mark the skirts of his grandeur and glory so that when he hath ascended to the perfect stage and the most distant height, this mole-stain may prove his charm¹ against the fatal² eye. To speak more clearly; as the times of the appearances of the Holy Light in mortal manifesters and human ascension-points—such as was the holy office of her Majesty Alanquā—were made resplendent in mysterious withdrawals and apparitions of divers individuals, and so planted themselves in the visible³ world, and were acquiring, under God's special supervision, the acmé of development, so,—now that the period of the showing forth of the final cause of that Light, to wit, the holy incarnation of his Majesty, the king of kings, was at hand,—untoward occurrences were made the prophylactic charm of this great blessing.

¹ *Sipand*, wild rue. Blochmann 139n. and 577n and Cf. Jarrett III, 425 and note. Herklots in his Glossary says *Ispand* is the seeds of the Mehndi or *Lawsonia inermis*, generally thrown into the fire along with benzoin and mustard seed.

² *'Ainu-l-kamāl*, the perfect eye, or an eye capable of killing by its glance. Lane 2211a and 2423a.

³ The text has *'ālam-i-mulk-i-shahādāt* but 3 B. M. M. S. have *mulk ū shahādāt*.



Such was the beauteous fashioning of Creation's workshop! And now I return from the unveiling of mysteries to the thread of my narrative.

In fine, when defeat (*shikastī*), which was to lay the foundation of the righting (*durustī*) of the world, made its appearance, the officers fled without fighting to the bank of the Ganges, which was about four miles (a *farsakh*) distant, and as the requital of their disloyalty and ingratitude, sank in the whirlpool of disappointment, giving the vessels of their lives to the boisterous waters of annihilation in recompense of their unrighteousness. His Majesty Jahānbānī mounted with firm foot on an elephant and proceeded across the river. He descended from the elephant at the water's edge and was looking around for an exit. As the bank was high, no way out presented itself. One of the soldiers who had been saved out of the whirlpool came there and seizing his Majesty's sacred hand drew him up. In truth he then, by help of heaven's favouring hand, drew to himself fortune and power. His Majesty asked him his name and birthplace. He made answer "My name is *Shamsu-d-dīn* Muḥammad, my birthplace is *Ghazni*, and I am a servant of M. Kāmran." His Majesty made him hopeful of princely favours. Just then Muqaddam Bēg,¹ one of M. Kāmran's officers, recognised his Majesty and enrolled² himself among those who had received the gospel of good fortune. Acting upon this, he brought forward his horse, and obtained the news of distinction from royal promises. His Majesty proceeded from there towards Agra, and was joined on the way by the Mirzās. When they came to the environs of Bhangāpūr³ the villagers closed the market against the king's men, and behaved in an unruly manner, attacking every one who fell into their hands. When the august mind was informed of this, M. 'Askarī, Yādgar Nāsir M. and M. Hindāl were ordered to attack the villains and to chastise them. Nearly 3,000 horse and foot of the insolent knaves had gathered together. When the royal order arrived, M. 'Askarī delayed

¹ Apparently all that is meant is that he entered Humāyūn's service.

² Probably the man mentioned in Bābar's Mem. 400 and 401 as a servant of *Khawāja Kalān*.

³ See Erskine, Hist. II, 192n. The

place meant is Bhangāon in the Mainpūri district, and on the Grand Trunk Road. Jarrett II, 184, where it is spelt Bhūgāon (note by Mr. Irvine.)



to proceed and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā gave him some strokes with his whip, saying that it was from his discord that things had come to such a pass. Still he did not take warning, and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and M. Hindāl obeyed and went against the crowd. A great fight ensued, and a large number of the ill-fated villagers (*gūwārān*) were killed. The Mīrzas after giving them a lesson returned, and M. 'Askarī who had come to complain, was reprehended. His Majesty Jahānbānī hastened on to Agra. The provinces were in confusion and sedition raised its head on every side. Next morning his Majesty proceeded to the dwelling of that great exemplar, Mīr Rafī',¹ who was sprung from the Ṣafavī Sayyids, and was incomparable for knowledge and wisdom, and was the choice favourite of princes. He took counsel with him, and the final conclusion of his Majesty was that he should go towards the Panjāb. If M. Kāmraṇ were helped by the sovereignty of reason and auspiciousness, and should bind on himself the girdle of good service and come actively forward to help, the rift of strife might still be closed. With this right intention he proceeded to Lāhor. M. 'Askarī went to Sambal and M. Hindāl to Alwar. On 18th Muḥarram (26th May, 1540) Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān joined the king near Dihlī through the influence of Bēg Mīrak, and a large body of men collected for the king's service. On the 20th he again set out, and on the 22nd M. Hindāl and M. Ḥaidar joined him in Rohtak.² On the 23rd his Majesty halted there. The garrison shut the gate of the city in his face, thereby opening the doors of disgrace for themselves. His Majesty addressed himself to the attack and in a short space of time chastised the garrison. On 17th Ṣafar the army arrived at Sīhrind and on the 20th Mīr Faqr 'Alī closed life's litter while on the march. When the army approached Lāhor and were near Daulat Khān's *sarāī*, M. Kāmraṇ came forward to meet him and did homage. His Majesty alighted in the garden of Khwāja Dōst Munshī which is the most charming spot

¹ A. F.'s mother belonged to this family. Cf. Jarrett III. 423, where Mīr Rafī' is called Mīr Rafī'u-d-dīn Ṣafavī of Ij (Shīraz). See also Bābar's Mem. 345, 349. A. F. speaks in the *Āīn* of his being one of the Ḥasan and Ḥusainī Sayyids. He

died in 954. Jarrett l.c. Rafī' was one of the doctors who encouraged Sher Shāh to break his word to Purān Mall and the garrison of Raisīn.

² In the Panjāb, 42 miles north-west of Dihlī.



168 in Lāhor, while M. Hindāl took up his quarters in the garden of Khwāja Ghāzī, who was then M. Kāmran's *dīvān*. After that M. 'Askarī came from Sambal and settled himself in the house of Amīr Walī Bēg. At this time the fortunate Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad who had given his hand at the river-bank, arrived and was exalted by princely favours. On the 1st¹ Rabi'ū-l-awwal, 947, all the noble brothers and Amīrs and other servants collected but in spite of so many lessons and celestial warnings, these fine fellows (*axiẓān*) were not taught and did not bind the girdle of sincerity on the waist of resolve. Several times they gathered together on his Majesty's service, and deliberated and made vows and promises of unity and concord, and took the great and godly as their witnesses. Khwāja Khawānd² Maḥmūd, brother of Khwāja 'Abdu-l-ḥaqq and Mir Abu-l-baqā frequently took part in the deliberations. At length one day all the Mīrzās, nobles and grandees having been assembled, wrote out a deed (*taẓkira*) of concord and unanimity, and to this auspicious minute all the officers gave their signatures.

When this record of confidence had been executed, the deliberations began. His Majesty gave lofty counsels and uttered excellent words. With his pearly tongue he said,³ "The miserable end of those who deviate from the straight highway of concord is known to all. Especially since not long ago when Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā beat the drum of death in Khurāsān, he left eighteen⁴ capable and fortune-favoured sons and yet, in spite of all their array of wealth, in consequence of fraternal discord, the kingdom of Khurāsān (which for so many years had been a centre of peace), became in a short space a centre of calamities and was transferred to Shāhī Bēg. No trace remained of any of the sons except of Badī'ū-z-zamān who went⁵ to Turkey, and all the sons of the Mīrzā had been reviled and reprobated by

¹ Three days after this Humāyūn had a vision in which the coming birth of Akbar was announced. A. N. 13. Cf. Gulbadan's account, f. 39b.

² See *Tār. Rash.*, 395, where he is called Ḥazrat Maḥdūmī Nūra. Abdu-l-ḥaqq was his younger brother.

³ An exaggeration, which occurs also in the *Tār. Rash.* (B. M. Ms.

Or. 157, 348b) SL Ḥusain had fourteen sons and of these, seven (according to Khwānd Amīr) died before their father.

⁴ A. F. gives Humāyūn the credit of this speech, but the *Tār. Rash.*, from which he no doubt copied it, ascribes it to Ḥaidar. See p. 478.

⁵ He too, it seems, went there as



high and low. With what difficulty had his Majesty Giti-sitānī-Firdaus-makānī conquered a Hindūstān—so vast a country! If through your disunion it pass from our possession into the hands of nobodies (*nākasān*) what will the wise say of you? Now is the time to sink the head into the bosom of good counsel and to exsert it from jealousy's collar, so that you may attain headship among mankind, and be a means of gaining the favour of God."

Every one of the authors of compact and of the lords of confederacy forgot the recent agreements, and each declaimed according to his own good pleasure. M. Kāmran said, "What occurs to me is that the king and all the Mirzās should spend some days unencumbered in the mountains while I take their families to Kābul. When I have put them into safety, I shall return and join you." M. Hindāl and 169 Yādgīr Naṣīr Mirzā said, "At present we cannot fight the Afghāns. The thing to do now is to go to Bhakkar and to subdue that country. By its means we shall conquer Gujrāt, and when these two kingdoms have fallen into our hands and we have brought the business to an end, the deliverance of this country (India) will be effected in an admirable manner." M. Haidar said, "It is proper that all the Mirzās should settle down after securing the slopes from the mountains of Sihhind to those of Sārang.¹ I engage that with a small force I will in two months get possession of Kashmīr. When that news comes, let every man send his belongings to Kashmīr, for there is no safer place. It will take Shēr Khān four months to arrive and he will not be able to bring into the hill country the gun-carriages and

a prisoner, having been taken by Sultān Salīm. He died many years before this speech was made, of plague, in 926. Possibly the reference was to his son Muḥammad. Zamān, who served Bābar and survived till the battle of Chausa in 1539.

¹ See *Tār. Rash.*, 479n. Mr. Elias is no doubt right in considering that Sārang is not a place-name. There is an Afghān tribe in the Salt Range called the Sārangzāi, (Temple, J. A. S. B., 1880, pp. 101 and 106), and

perhaps Haidar M. referred to them rather than to an individual. His idea was that the Mughuls should occupy the lower ranges between the Indus and Kashmīr, i.e., from Sihhind in the S. E. to Rawalpindī on the N. W. For Sultān Sārang, see Blochmann 456; and Delmerick, J. A. S. B. 1871, p. 87. He was Sultān Ādam's brother and must have died in Shēr Shāh's time, for it was Sultān Ādam who delivered up Kāmran to Humāyūn.



cannon which are the support¹ of his warfare. In a short time the Afghān army will be ruined.”

As their words and their hearts were not in unison, the meeting ended without any conclusive speech. Whatever proposals were brought forward, and whatever sound advice his Majesty communicated in the hope that perchance the lamp of wisdom might be lighted for M. Kāmran and that he would turn away from his dark ideas and come to the abode of candour, the Mīrzā did not alter what he had said. All his endeavour was that every one should be ruined, and he counted it a gain that he himself might go to Kābul and secure a corner for his own enjoyment. He was perpetually occupied with evil thoughts, and fortune-conferring words did not arouse him. Ostensibly he breathed unanimity and would say, “I shall come forth in some fortunate hour and shall gird on the belt of courage and fight the foe with singleness of heart.” But secretly he was strengthening the foundations of opposition, and this to such an extent that out of wickedness and blindness, he privately sent Qāzī ‘Abdu-l-lāh his *ṣadr* to Shēr Khān, that he might establish friendly relations with him, and made a contract of affection with him. He sought the fulfilment of his desires from the help of enemies, and he wrote a letter to the effect that if the Panjāb were secured to him as formerly, he would soon bring affairs to a successful issue!

After these occurrences Shēr Khān came to Dihlī, but did not advance further. He saw that what had happened was due to his good fortune, and was apprehensive lest if he went on further, his affairs would retrograde. He was extremely frightened about the combination which he heard was making progress in Lāhor. Meanwhile the seditious *ṣadr* (*ṣadr-i-pur-ghadar*) who added vile malice to natural baseness, arrived. Shēr Khān whose centre was pivoted in
170 craft, warmly embraced him, and was a thousand times emboldened² by the good news of disunion. He gave him an answer in accordance with the Mīrzā’s requests. That wretch (the *ṣadr*) instigated him to make a hostile advance, and held out prospects of desertion. Shēr Khān sent a crafty fellow along with him to ascertain the real state of affairs and then return. M. Kāmran received Shēr Khān’s am-

¹ Babār’s Mem, 416, mentions that the Bengalis, i.e., the Afghāns, are

famous for their skill in artillery.

² Lit. one heart became a thousand.



ambassador in the garden at Lāhor, and held a feast on that day. He also by entreaties induced his Majesty Jahānbānī to come there. That crude, short-sighted Mirzā again sent the same wretch (his *ṣadr*) to Shēr Khān. On this occasion the betrayer of his salt came to the bank of the Sultānpūr river, and brought forward disloyal proposals and encouraged Shēr Khān to cross the river. Thereupon Muẓaffar Turkmān, who was stationed on outpost duty near the Sultānpūr river, came and reported to his Majesty that the enemy had crossed the river (the Bīās) and killed his brother's son Junaid Bēg, who from his qualities of mind and body was a *persona grata* at Court.

In the end of Jumāda-l-ākhir his Majesty Jahānbānī and the Mirzās crossed the Lāhor river (the Rāwī), which was fordable, and marched stage by stage to the Cīnāb. As his Majesty Jahānbānī was resolved to attempt Kashmīr, he sent a body of troops in advance with M. Ḥaidar to that province. For, when M. Kāmran made a rapid march to Qandahār to contend with Sām Mirzā, he left M. Ḥaidar in charge of Lāhor. Khwāja Hājī, 'Abdu-l-makrī,' Zangī Cak, and many of the nobles were opposed to the ruler of Kashmīr and came to Lāhor in order that by their intimacy with M. Ḥaidar they might obtain an army from M. Kāmran and so get possession of Kashmīr. Though M. Ḥaidar exerted himself, their wish was not fulfilled. When M. Hindāl raised a disturbance by having the *khutba* read in his own name, and M. Kāmran marched from Lāhor to Agra, M. Ḥaidar by great exertions contrived to raise an army and to despatch it from the capital¹ under the charge of Bābā Jūjak² who was one of Kāmran's superior officers. His design was that this force should proceed to Kashmīr under the guidance of the Kashmīrī nobles aforesaid, and take possession thereof. Bābā Jūjak was negligent in setting out and meanwhile the disaster of Causa ferry, which was a blow to eternal dominion, came to be known. He gave

¹ Text, Bākri, but the variant Makrī is right. Zangī is Runkī in text.

² Agra. See *Tār. Rash.* 482.

³ *Tār. Rash.*, Cūcak Ḥaidar does not say he was an officer of Kāmran and apparently he was a Kashmīrī. It appears from Niẓāmu-d-dīn and

from Jarrett II, 390, that there was an expedition before this from the Panjāb and that Kāmran sent one, Muḥammad Bēg into Kashmīr but that after plundering he had to return. Apparently this was not long after Humāyūn's accession.



- up the expedition, and the Kashmīrī nobles tarried in Naushahr,¹ Rajauri and the hollows of the hills in the expectation of some event.
- 171 But they were continually writing letters to M. Haidar full of the advantages of conquering Kashmīr, and the Mīrzā used to bring these to his Majesty Jahānbānī's notice. His holy heart grew daily more and more eager to visit the charming country of Kashmīr, and meanwhile he gave permission to the Mīrzā to proceed in the first place to Naushahr with a body of troops. If the Kashmīrī nobles, who were always urging the expedition; should come forward, Sikandar Tūpēi, who was a fief-holder in that neighbourhood, was to join him with his troops. When he got to the passes, Amīr Khwāja Kalān, who was one of the high officers of his Majesty Gīti-sitānī Firdaus-makānī, and of whom some account has already been given, was to come and help. As soon as the news of Khwāja Kalān Bēg's arrival should reach his Majesty Jahānbānī he would proceed in person towards that province. His Majesty was on the bank (the right or west bank) of the Cināb when M. Kāmran and 'Askarī Mīrzā went off to Kābul with Khw. Abdu-l-haqq and Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd. Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā, Ulugh Bēg Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā on hearing, in the territory of Multān, about the separation, joined M. Kāmran on the bank of the Indus. In the beginning of Rajab, 947, M. Hindāl, Yādgar Nāṣir Mīrzā and Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān succeeded by importunity in taking his Majesty Jahānbānī off to Sind, though his intention had been to march to Kashmīr. Khwāja Kalān Bēg, who had promised to accompany his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī, went off from Siyālkūt and joined M. Kāmran. Sikandar Tūpēi withdrew to the Sārang hills. In the same Rajab, after his Majesty Jahānbānī had gone towards Sind at the Mīrzā's instigation they, after going some stages, left him out of thoughtlessness and the suggestions of Bēg Mirak, who had abandoned his service and joined them. Meanwhile Qāzī 'Abdu-l-lāh arrived with some Afghāns. M. Hindāl's scouts seized them and brought them before him. The ill-fated Afghāns were put to death, but the wretch 'Abdu-l-lāh having still some breaths of his life remaining, escaped punishment at the intercession of Mīr Bābā²

¹ In the Peshawar district.

² I believe this to be the father of Ḥamīda, Akbar's mother. See Gulbadan who calls Ḥamīda's father

Mīr Bābā Dōst. As he was a teacher in Hindāl's service he might naturally intercede for a learned man.



For twenty days the Mīrzās wandered in the desert of astonishment. They had no idea what to do or where to go. They were severed from fortune and auspiciousness, and having left dominion's fellowship, they had lost their object. As they had not followed the path of purpose, they were astonished and confounded. His Majesty Jahānbānī had gone by way of the desert towards Bhakkar, and was wending his way according to guess and conjecture. They found no water, and there was no grain, but went on under the guidance of endurance and with the rations (*zād*) of reliance upon God. At length one day they heard the sound of a kettle-drum. On inquiry, it was found that M. Hindāl and Yādgar Nāsir Mīrzā were three *kōs* away and were pacing the valley of search. His Majesty Jahānbānī sent Mīr Abū'l-baqā, who had left the society of M. Kāmran, and become a companion of the sublime army, to the Mīrzās to give them information about the camping ground, and to speak wise words and advise them to come and kiss the sublime threshold. The Mīr in accordance with these instructions counselled the Mīrzās and acted as their guide to the blessing of service. They proceeded in harmony towards Bhakkar. Khawāṣṣ Khān and a large army of Afghāns was coming up in the rear, but though the imperial army was very small, the former had not the courage to give battle. In the end of Sha'bān (last days of 1540) when the camp reached Ūc¹ the Amīr Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Ḥusainī, who was the frontispiece of Sayyids and of the 'Ulamā of the age, expired and was buried there. His Majesty grieved much for his death, but as this evil earth is a scene of departure and dismissal (*guḏāshṭanī u guḏāshṭanī*), he displayed that resignation to the Divine command which is the ornament of those whose regard is fixed on the station of submission (*maqām-i-taslīm*). When they had encamped near the residence of Bakhshūi Langā one of the landholders and grandees of that part, an order of grace and a mandate of favour was sent together with a glorious *khil'at* by Bāg Muḥammad Bakāwal, and Kacak Bēg, and hopes were held out that he should receive the title of Khān Jahān, a flag and a kettle-drum, and he was invited to do loyal service and to send corn to the camp. He came forth to meet the envoys, saluted them, and behaved with

¹ That is, arrived opposite Ūc for they were travelling down the west

side of the Cīnāb and between it and the Indus.



respect. Though he had not the good fortune to come and kiss the threshold, yet with regard to what was ordered, he showed obedience and alacrity, and also sent a proper present. Likewise he arranged for traders to bring articles for sale at the royal camp, and he provided many boats for crossing the river on the way to Bhakkar. Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā went on with the advance guard, and on 28th Ramaẓān (26th January, 1541), the army reached the neighbourhood of Bhakkar. Two days before this Qāzī Ghīyāṣu-d-dīn of Jām, who was connected with the illustrious family,¹ and was adorned with gifts and graces, was raised to the office of *ṣadr*.

173 When by God's help they had passed through so many perils on the way and had reached the territory of Bhakkar, they pitched their tents at Lūhri (Rūhri) which is on the river bank² and opposite Bhakkar. His Majesty took up his quarters in a garden on the environs which was unequalled for pleasantness and delight. Charming houses had been erected there and were made illustrious by his presence. The other gardens and houses were divided among his followers. M. Hindāl went four or five *kōs* and encamped, and some days afterwards made his station on the other side of the river. Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā also settled afterwards on that side. Sultān Maḥmūd of Bhakkar, who was a servant of Mirzā Shāh Husain Bēg Arghūn, laid waste the Bhakkar territory and strengthened the fort. He also took away the boats from this (the east) side of the river, and anchored them under the fort. This Shāh Husain Bēg was the son of the Mirzā Shāh Bēg Arghūn who, when his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī took Qandahār from him came to Tatta and Bhakkar and brought all that country into his subjection.

When the majestic army established the light (*far*) of its rendezvous at Lūhri, a lofty mandate was sent to Sultān Maḥmūd calling upon him to pay his respects and to deliver up the fort to the royal servants. He represented in reply that he was the servant of Mirzā Shāh Husain, and that so long as the latter did not come, it would not be consistent with loyalty for him to present himself, nor could

¹ Humāyūn's mother was connected with Ahmad Jām, and so was his wife, the mother of Akbar. Ghīyāṣu-d-dīn wrote a *Maulādnāma*, or account of Akbar's birth. Bloch-

mann 382, and Maāṣir III. 231 in account of Mīr 'Alī Akbar. Ghīyāṣu-d-dīn afterwards deserted Humāyūn.

² On the east bank.



he make over the fort without Shāh Husain's permission. Such and such like were the expressions of inability that he used. His Majesty accepted his excuses, and sent Amīr Tāhir ṣadr and Mīr Samandar, two of his confidential servants, to M. Shāh Husain at Tatta, and dignified him by promises of favour. M. Shāh Husain received the envoys with respect, and sent Shāikh Mirak, the flower of the descendants of Shāikh Purān whom all the Arghūns reverence and rely upon from old times, as a messenger, and with a suitable present, to accompany the royal ambassadors to the Court. He represented that the district of Bhakkar yielded little, while that of Hājkan' was rich and populous and possessed much corn; that it was fitting that his Majesty should turn his reins towards it and take it into his possession, and that in that way the army would be comfortable, and also he (Shāh Husain) would be at hand with his service. It was a fortunate and auspicious circumstance for him that his Majesty should now come to those parts, and that in course of time his fears and apprehensions would disappear and he would do himself the honour of paying his respects. He also represented that after he had had the gratification of paying his respects, his Majesty would, with a little exertion, be able to bring Gujrāt into his possession, when the other territories of Hindūstān would fall into his hands. That sordid one converted duties (*huqūq*) into disobediences (*'uqūq*) and coming forth by the door of deceit and dissimulation, made a display of false though fair-seeming expressions. His Majesty appointed M. Hindāl to Pātar² and its territory, and himself spent five or six months in the 174

¹ Jarrett II. 340.

² In Sarkār Siwastān (Sehwān) and lower down the Indus then Bhakkar. Jarrett II. 340, where it is spelt Bātar, but with the variant Pātar. Nizāmu-d-dīn says it is 50 *kos* from Lūhri. Jauhar, 30, says it is 20 miles west of the Indus. It is perhaps the Pir Patta of Burnes's journey to Kabul, p. 10. The best account of it is in Major-General Haig's Indus Delta (1894), p. 91, note. He says "The ruins of the town of Pāt, where in August, 1541,

Humāyūn married Ḥamīda, and where some time later (since 1545) his brother Kāmran married the daughter of Shāh Huseyn lies a little to the east of the present village of that name in the Kakar Pargana, and bears the name of Pāt-kuhnā (old Pāt). On the west side of the old site, and separating it from the new village, is an old channel, now containing standing water. In this channel, says a local chronicle relating to that part of the country, the river ran at the time of



pleasant spot of Lūhrī in the hope that the ruler of Tatta would enter on the right path. During this interval he honoured M. Hindāl by visiting him in his camp at Pātar.

As the period of the appearance of the light of fortune and the rise of the star of glory and grandeur,—which should give grace to spiritual and physical beauty and be the perfect beautifier of this world and the next,—were approaching, so did the apparatus for the attainment of this grand blessing and the notes of the existence of this supreme gift become more and more prepared. The waiting eyes of the heavenly saints of many thousands of years were brightened by the bounteous advent of that nursling of light, and the dim evening of earthly hopes assumed the beauty of the morning from the glory of the coming light of that great pearl of the Caliphate's diadem. For it was on this expedition and in a most excellent season and point of time, that in the year 948¹ he brought Her Highness Maryam-makānī, the sacred and noble lady, the glory of whose chastity and purity and the light of whose sovereignty and sainthood, show forth from her lustrous brow, into the bond of matrimony, with lordly ceremonies and royal rites. A festival of fortune was arranged, and coins from the treasury of gifts were showered on the head of the world, and hearts were rejoiced by blissful favours. Khwāja Hījri² of Jām rendered good service in this auspicious affair. Thereafter the yoke-fellows of blessing and fortune proceeded towards the camp. For a time the territory of Bhakkar was their place of residence. Gradually, owing to the disloyalty of the landholders, corn became dear

Humāyūn's visit, so that coming from Babar (a little to the south of Rōhrī) by Bhētānī in Kandhārā and Darbelo, he had no water to cross. The river now runs (or did a few years ago) 5 or 6 miles east, and also 3 miles south of Pāt. The place gave its name to an extensive and very fertile tract of country in former times."

¹ A. F. does not give the month and day. Gulbadan says, p. 436, that the marriage took place at midday on a Monday in the begin-

ning of Jumāda'l-awwal, 948, and that Humāyūn himself took the astrolabe and calculated the auspicious moment.

² See Badā'ūnī III. 336. Hājri was a religious poet, and apparently the meaning is that he celebrated the marriage in verse. He was a descendant of Aḥmad Jām. He called himself Ḥasan Hījri, the last being an assumed name and signifying apparently that he was one who lived apart.



and the country was made desolate. Imbecile apprehensions and improper schemes passed into the minds of the *Mirzās* who were his Majesty's companions,—such thoughts as might be entertained and impressed on the minds of the insincere—till at length *M. Hindāl*, at the instigation of *Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā* who was always secretly in opposition, and by the stirring up of *Qarāca Khān* who held the government of *Qandahār* on *M. Kāmran's* behalf, set off and went to *Qandahār*. He also sent a man to *Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā* to tell him of his own departure, and to call upon him to do likewise.

When his Majesty heard of this he went on Tuesday, 18th *Jumāda'l-awwal*, 948 (September,¹ 1541), to the quarters of *Mir Abū'l-baqā* and held a conference with him. He then sent him, under the most respectful circumstances, as an envoy to *Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā*, that he might bring him from the danger-spot of error to the straight path of rectitude. The *Mir* went and by judicious counsels brought the *Mirzā* back from the path of opposition to the highway of concord, and by his faithful and truthful utterances withheld him from improper schemes. He settled that the *Mirzā* should cross the river and acknowledge service, and should henceforth remain steadily in the fore-court of submission and devotion. The conditions were that when *Hindūstān* should be conquered, the *Mirzā* should get one-third, and that when they arrived at *Kābul*, he should have *Ghaznī*, *Carkh* and *Lōhghar*,² which his Majesty *Giti-sitānī*, *Firdaus-makānī* had given to the *Mirzā's* mother.³ On Wednesday the *Mir* proceeded to return after fulfilling his mission. The men of the fort of *Bhakkar* got news of his departure and sent a force against his boat, and discharged a shower of arrows on the *Mir*. He received several dangerous wounds, and died next day. His Majesty *Jahānbānī* was exceedingly grieved at this, and said with his truth-speaking tongue, that the oppositions and contumacies of brothers, the ingratitude of those whom his salt had nourished, and the helplessness of comrades and friends whereby the kingdom of India had been lost and many troubles had appeared, were all but one side to (*i.e.*,

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¹ 18th *Jumāda'l-awwal* would apparently be 11th September, 1541, but then the 18th was a Saturday, not a Tuesday. Perhaps A. F. wrote 13th.

² *Bābar's* Mems. 148. Jarrett II. 406.

³ *Bābar's* sister-in-law, widow of his youngest brother *Nāṣir Mirzā*.



were all equalled or balanced by) the loss of the Mir; nay, those calamities did not equal this one. And in truth the Mir's eminence was such as he in his appreciation declared it to be.¹ But inasmuch as passing wisdom and right-thinking were rooted in his Majesty Jahānbānī's sacred person and were supreme there, an event like this, which might have been a place of stumbling to the saints of faith and might, made him draw nigh to perfect wisdom and swayed him to submission and resignation. Even in such a wisdom-robbing catastrophe, which might have displaced many a man's foot of patience, this wise and God-fearing one took counsel with God-given reason and submitted to the Divine will. Or if by reason of the onsets of circumstance, and the constraining power of his temperament, he could not attain to this blissful retreat, he put aside sighing and crying, as is the manner of those whose hearts are tied and bound to outer things, and was contented with the narrow pass (*tangnāī*) of long-suffering patience. Praise be to God that though his Majesty was at first, owing to his humanity, somewhat overcome by cares and afflictions, yet under the guidance of right reason he became cheerful under worldly troubles and recognised good in the Divine decrees, according to the fashion of the pious and steady of eye who bind nosegays and gather fruit in the rose-garden of submission and resignation, and who come to contemplate with truth-discerning eyes the flowers of such gardens. Five or six days after this presaging disaster, Yādgar Nāṣir Mīrzā crossed the river and had the good fortune to do homage to his Majesty Jahānbānī, who gave him a gracious reception. Meantime Shaiḡh Mirak, the ambassador from Tatta, received his *congé* and a rescript was sent to the ruler of Tatta, to the effect that his representations were accepted on condition that he faithfully came and did homage. The ruler of Tatta for a time gave out that he was coming. As his words were unilluminated by sincerity's lamp, they did not attain the glory of performance. At length his Majesty Jahānbānī granted Bhakkar and its territory to Yādgar Nāṣir Mīrzā and in the beginning of Jumāda'l-ākhir, 948,

¹ It was the Mir who made the remark which led to Bābar's devoting himself for Humāyūn's recovery from sickness, so Humāyūn may have thought he was indebted to him for

his life. The Mir is mentioned in the *Tār. Rash.* 478. It was he also who arranged about the marriage of Humāyūn and Hamīda. See Gulbadan's *Mems.* p. 43b.



(latter half of September, 1541), marched against Tatta. Having given to the Mīrzā that bad country which by the benediction of kingly justice had turned its face towards civilization and became rich in corn and vegetables, he moved forward. Near the castle of Sehwan, Faḡl Bēg the brother of Mun'im Khān, Tarash Bēg, elder brother of Shāham Khān, and others, to the number of about twenty were proceeding by boat when a party came out from the castle and attacked them. They disembarked and assaulted the foe who fled into the castle. Some of these tigers of valour's forest went up to the fort, but as they were not supported, they withdrew and joined the camp. On 17th Rajab his Majesty Jahānbānī reached Sehwan and invested the castle. Previous to this, the garrison had laid waste the buildings and gardens in the environs. During the siege the ruler of Tatta advanced, and blocking the way, prevented corn from reaching the camp. Owing to the protracted siege and the scanty supplies of corn, the base and dishonest began to desert and even the feet of great men, whose notions of rectitude had departed, came to slide from their places. For instance, Mīr Tāhīr ṣadr, Khwāja Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn of Jām, and Maulānā 'Abdu-l-baqī went off to the ruler of Tatta's camp, while Mīr Barka, Mīrzā Ḥasan, Zafar 'Alī, son of Faqr 'Alī Bēg, and Khwāja Muḥibb 'Alī *Bakhshī* hastened off to Yādgar Nāṣir Mīrzā. At this time it came to his Majesty's ears that Mun'im Khān, Faḡl Bēg and many others had joined together and were intending to withdraw. His Majesty as a precautionary measure imprisoned Mun'im Khān, their ringleader. I shall now stop this 177 part of the narrative, and give some account of Yādgar Nāṣir Mīrzā.

Account of Yādgar Nāṣir Mīrzā.

He made Lūhrī his residence when his Majesty left him at Bhakkar. Twice did the garrison attack him by surprise, and, willing or unwilling, the Mīrzā showed courage in these engagements. Muḥammad 'Alī Qābūcī (i.e., door-keeper) and Shēr-dīl, both of them related to Mun'im Khān, bravely drained the wholesome cup of martyrdom. On a third occasion, they (the enemy) had the daring to leave their boats and draw up their forces on the sands. On this occasion the Mīrzā's men showed such superiority that nearly 300 or 400 of the enemy were killed, and the hot sand was saturated with the evil blood of those victims. Such fear fell upon the enemy that they did not again venture to come



out. Mīrzā Shāh Husain increased his craft and led the Mīrzā out of the straight path. He sent his seal-bearer, Bābar Qulī, to him, representing that he was old and had no sympathiser,¹ that he would give him his daughter in marriage and make over his treasures to him, that he did not wish to spend uselessly the few remaining days of his borrowed life, and that they two together might conquer Gujrāt. In fine he deceived that simpleton by lying promises,² and the latter being void of understanding and crooked in thought, stained his forehead with disloyalty. If he had had a particle of magnanimity or a glimmering of discernment, he would never even for valid promises have planted his foot in the circle of disloyalty, nor have hearkened to the interested representations of the perfidious, but would have practised honesty and kept his head erect!

When his Majesty Jahānbānī saw the straits to which the army was reduced, he sent a messenger to Yādgar Nāsir Mīrzā requesting him to fall quickly upon the ruler of Tatta, who was blocking up the way, so that the army might emerge from the strait of difficulty into ample space. Though the Mīrzā had in his heart become alienated, yet he preserved appearances a little by sending out an advance-camp. But with the same crudity of thought, he delayed and loitered in marching out. Thereupon his Majesty Jahānbānī sent Shāikh 'Abdu-l-ghafūr, who was sprung from the Shāikhs of Turkistān, and whom his Majesty had made one of his intimates,³ to contrive that

¹ Shāh Husain never had more than two wives, and from the first he soon passed. He never had a son.

² "The lying promises of 'Urqūb." See Lane, 2032n.

³ *Yakī az muqarrabān-i-lhud sākh-ta būdand*. There are three variants, from *muqarrabān*: *Mulāsimān*, *Mīr Mālān* and *Mīr Pālān*. Apparently *Mīr Mālān* is right for Erskine has it in his MS. trs. B.M. Add. 26,607, and Nizāmu-d-dīn describes 'Abdu-l-ghafūr as Humāyūn's *Mīr-i-māl*, i. e., (according to Blochmann VI), keeper of the privy purse. See also D'Herbelot s. v. *Mirimal*. 'Abdu-l-

ghafūr is perhaps the man mentioned in Blochmann 538, and whom Nizāmu-d-dīn also names in the list of learned men and of whom he says that he for a long time taught in *pargana* 'Azīmpūr. See also Badā'uni III. 42. Evidently his language was unbecoming because he frightened Yādgar by giving him a bad account of Humāyūn's position. Nizāmu-d-dīn says that 'Abdu-l-ghafūr gave such a description of the Emperor's difficulties that Yādgar and his men thought it best to await the taking of Bhakkar.



the Mirzā should advance quickly. But that worthless fellow walked crookedly and as the saying is,—

Verse.¹

This very road on which you are going leads (also) to Turkistān.

He perverted his mission and by his improper language so affected 178 the short-sighted Mirzā that he even neglected appearances and recalled his advance-camp. When his Majesty Jahānbānī perceived that the times were so unpropitious, and that the army's difficulties were beyond conception, he saw that it was useless to remain longer near the fort (Sehwān), and proceeded on 17th Zi'l-qa'da (23rd February, 1542), towards Bhakkar and Lūhrī. At this juncture one of Yādgār Nāsir Mirzā's censurable acts was, that at the instigation of the ruler of Tatta, he seized and sent to him Gandam² and Hāla, who were loyal zamīndārs, and had shown their loyalty by collecting boats, &c. That³ unrighteous one put them to death in punishment for the meritorious act of this service. His Majesty passed over this vile act and a hundred like it and was always for conciliation, thinking that perchance he (the Mirzā) would write words of regret on the page of his actions and come into the house of amendment. When the sublime standards reached the borders of Lūhrī, Yādgār Nāsir Mirzā came out with a body of men to attack the camp. His Majesty on hearing

¹ *Gulistān* Book II, Story 6. The whole verse is—

“O Arab, I fear you'll never reach
the *Ka'ba*,

The road you're on leads (also ?) to
Turkistān.”

The meaning is not very clear, but I think it is, that all depends on how the face is set. The road leads to the *Ka'ba*, but also to Turkistān, i.e., in the opposite direction. I do not know if A. F. means to charge 'Abdul-ghafūr with treachery, or only with awkwardness. Probably the latter is meant, the envoy having by his bad driving, made the Mirza go back instead of forward. Perhaps there

is a point in the envoy's belonging to Turkistān.

² This story is told at greater length by Nizāmu-d-dīn. Elliot V. 210. Hāla is the name of a division in Sind (*Hughes' Gazetteer*, 185) and perhaps Gandam is a place name also. The Zamīndārs' offence was that they enabled Humāyūn to cross the river from Bhakkar by raising some sunken boats. *Gandam* means wheat and Price so renders it, but here it seems to be a person's name.

³ The clause begins with *tā* and perhaps what is meant is that they were sent in order to be put to death and not that this actually occurred.



this immediately got on horseback. Hāshim Bēg, who was one of the Mīrẓā's right-thinking confidants, on hearing of this shameful proceeding, went quickly to him and violently seizing his rein, turned him back. He chided and reproved him, and speaking bitterly and harshly, said "Apparently gentlemanly feeling, shame, respect and reverence have left the world. In what religion and by what canons of reason and sense, is it allowable to exhibit such levity and to set oneself up against one's benefactor?"

Verse.

Good was that commander's saying,
Watch the measure of thy work,
Plant thy foot on the pedestal of thy ability,
So that thou make thyself a place on the sky-top.
Whoever does not quit his own affairs,
Eats the fruit of whate'er he sows in this world.

By such wise counsels he brought the Mīrẓā back to Bandar¹ Laharī. Meanwhile many, such as Qāsim Husain Sulṭān, followed the path of error, and separated from his Majesty, and came over to Yādgar Nāṣir Mīrẓā's side.

Return to the main narrative.

When by the requirements of the mysteries of Divine wisdom and by the subtleties of eternal counsel, which arrange within the cover of every failure (*nāmūrādī*) many materials of success (*asbāb-i-murād*), there was no form of success in Sind and when the decisive test for
179 man's unmanliness had been applied, and the disloyalty of the army, the unhelpfulness of brothers, the folly of kindred and the unfavourableness of fortune had been revealed, his Majesty desired to don the dress of the recluse and the ascetic and to strike with the foot of longing into the desert path of the travellers on God's way, and to take up the circumambulation² (*ḥalqa*) of the *ka'ba* of purpose and

¹ This is either a mistake, or an unusual expression. Bandar Laharī is not Lāhrī or Rāhrī on the Indus, but a seaport at the mouth of the river and in *sarkār* Tatta. Jarrett II. 339. Bhakkar is placed by A. F. in Multān. Jarrett. 327.

² *Ḥalqa-i-ka'ba-i-murād*. *Ḥalqa* means a ring and also a doorknocker but I suppose the meaning here is that Humāyūn thought of going to Mecca and making a devotional circuit round the *ka'ba*.



the thread of the skirt of resolution, or to retire into a hermitage, preferring the cell of ease to the beholding of his contemporaries, and wishing to be far removed from this world full of care (*āsīb*) and worldlings full of craft (*farīb*). All his right-thinking comrades who in weal and woe had waited on his stirrup and kept close to the reins of his society, besought him to abandon this idea and represented that the thing to be done now was to cast the shadow of fortune's *Humā*¹ on the country of Māldēō and there to recruit his spirits, for Māldēō had repeatedly sent representations of devotion and made protestations of loyalty; that he had an army and an arsenal; that evidently he regarded this as a favourable opportunity and that when he was at the stirrup of good fortune, he would become a spring of good service, and that by degrees, the secret hopes and wishes of his Majesty's well-wishers would be fulfilled. His Majesty from a regard to the ideas of these faithful ones ordered a march towards that country. He sent a gracious rescript, together with salutary counsels, by Ibrāhīm Bēg Īshāk Āqā to Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā, for perchance he might become conscious of his base acts and come to tread the path of repentance, and might depart from villany and display the grace of propriety. The following verse was endorsed on the letter:

Verse.

O thou moon-cheeked one, others' eye and lamp,
I burn! How long wilt thou plaster others' scars?

As the slumbrous-witted Mīrzā did not possess an awakening spirit, the expostulation made no impression on him. With the same old vain hopes he took the road of disloyalty and stayed behind in Lūhrī. His Majesty Jahānbānī proceeded to Ūc on 21st Muḥarram 949, and from thence went towards Māldēō on 18th² Rabī'u-l-awwal, and on the 14th idem halted at the foot of Dilāwār.³ On the 20th

¹ Cf. *Tar. Rash.* 399, where Khwāja Nūr bids Humāyūn not to throw his shadow in a country where the parrot was rarer than the kite. Probably by this the saint meant Gaur where Humāyūn was wasting his time. The saying is a common one, and is to be found in the *Amwār-i-suhailī*.

² A note to text suggests that 18

is a mistake for 13. Possibly the dates 18 and 14 have been transposed.

³ In Bahāwalpūr, Panjāb. I. G. Text, Dīwarāwal. See Jarrett II. 331, where it is spelt Dīwār-i-awwal. See Raverty J.A.S.B. 1892, p. 184, note 74, and id. Extra No. 1897, 423, and note 463.



180 he encamped at Haṣalpūr,¹ and on 17th Rabī'ū-l-ākhir he encamped twelve *kōs* from Bikānīr. On the way the far-seeing members of his retinue became apprehensive of the deceit and perfidy of Māldēō and represented this to his Majesty. They continually suggested that cautious action which is the illaminated border of fortune's rescript. At length Mīr Samandar, who was at the head of men of sense, was sent on rapidly to Māldēō. He returned when he had penetrated the secrets of his heart, and represented that though Māldēō was making protestations of sincerity, it was evident that he did not possess the true light. When the standards of fortune approached his territory, Sankāi (or Sangāi) of Nāgōr, who was one of Māldēō's confidants, came to the camp under pretext of trade and sought to purchase a valuable² diamond. As his demeanour did not savour of rectitude, his Majesty Jahānbānī bade them impress on this (would-be) buyer that such jewels were not to be obtained by purchase. They either fell by the shimmer of the flashing sword into the hands of him for whom Providence destined them, or were obtained by the favour of great monarchs. In fine, his Majesty was rendered even more cautious by the arrival of this cheat, and applauded the acuteness of Samandar. Again acting on vigilance and prudence which are the net with which princes work, especially in times of trouble and difficulty, he sent Rāi Māl Sūnī with instructions to go quickly to where Māldēō was and to report what he discovered. If unable to write, he was to communicate by means of a pre-arranged signal. That is, the signal of Māldēō's faithfulness was to be the messenger's clasping all his five fingers, and that of opposition and hypocrisy was to be the clasping of his little finger. The camp moved on two or three stages from Phalūdī³ which is thirty *kōs*

¹ Text, Wāṣilpūr, but see Errata. It is however Wāṣilpūr in three B. M. MSS.

² This seems to be an allusion to the stone known as Bābar's Diamond but which should be rather known as Humāyūn's. Humāyūn carried it with him in his wanderings, and presented it to Shāh Ṭahmāsp. In Humāyūn's remarks there is a play on the word *jauhar*

which means both a jewel and the wave-markings or lustre of a sword. *Jauhar Aftūbēi*, p. 38, mentions that two of Humāyūn's attendants told Māldēō that Humāyūn had valuable jewels, and instigated him to demand them.

³ Jarrett II. 276. "Phalodi, a salt marsh in the north-west corner of the State, near the Jesalmīr frontier," Rājputānā Gazetteer II. 224, also



from Jodhpūr, the abode of Māldēō, and stopped at the Kūl-i-jōgī (the recluse's pond). Rāi Mal Sūnī's courier arrived there, and clasped his little finger. This signal explained the state of matters, and afterwards it clearly appeared that the thoughts of this black-fated scoundrel were deceit and perfidy, and that he had an evil intention in sending a large body of men under pretence of setting off the welcome. His Majesty turned his reins towards Phalūdī. ~~For many people are of opinion that Māldēō was in the first instance well-intentioned, and desirous of doing service, and that afterwards he was diverted from the right path either by learning the distressed condition of the troops and their small numbers, or by the false promises of Shēr Khān and by perceiving his ascendancy. Or he was withheld from help and service by his (Shēr Khān's) threats. In any case he abandoned the path of counsel and auspiciousness, and turned the page of loyalty. The general opinion, however, is that from beginning to end his protestations of service and his sending petitions of obedience were all based upon hypocrisy and hostility.~~¹

In short, as at that time the adorners of the pinakothek of 181 fate were engaged in decoration of another sort, nothing that his Majesty undertook came to any result, and trouble and wickedness appeared in every place when there was a prospect of good and of welfare. When the gilding of those counterfeit troops² was subjected to the test, and the perfidy of Māldēō's unrighteous thoughts had been revealed in the ante-chamber of his Majesty's sacred heart, he ordered Tardī Bēg Khān, Man'im Khān and a number of his other servants to go out and stop the advance of the evil-minded ones and prevent them from putting foot in the sublime camp. After thus keeping them in check, they were to return but if an opportunity offered, they should defeat them. His Majesty marched on with a few devoted followers and with his veiled ladies. Among the soldiers were Shaikh 'Alī Bēg Jalāir, Tarsūn Bēg, son of Bābā

"Phalodi is a large town to the north-west of Mārwar near the borders of Bikanir and Jesalmir," *l. c.*, p. 263.

¹ A. F. probably expatiates on the subject of Māldēō, because he had

heard a good deal about it from his father who was then at Nāgōr.

² Probably the troops who were ostensibly sent to welcome him.



Jalāir, Fazil Bēg and others, the total number being about twenty. There were also some domestic slaves and some faithful menials. Of learned¹ men there were present Mullā Tāju-d-dīn and Maulānā Cand the astrologer.²

When the camp had left Phalūdi and arrived at Sātalmīr,³ Māldēō's army appeared in sight, whilst the officers who had been despatched to check them, had lost their way and gone off in another direction, so that there was a passage for the enemy to the royal standards. His Majesty, who was a rock of power and a world of courage, placed the foot of steadfastness on the skirt of resolution and dignity, and turned against them with God-given reason and innate understanding. Many of the ladies were dismounted and their horses given to fighting men, and the troops having been distributed into three⁴ bands, were sent against the foe. Shāikh 'Alī Bēg with three or four trusty brethren advanced and attacked the enemy, who were huddled together in a defile. To attack them and to put them to flight was one and the same thing. A large number of them were killed, and by the Divine aid the king's servants obtained the victory. His Majesty Jahānbanī after returning thanks to God proceeded towards Jesalmīr, where he encamped in the beginning of Jumādā'l-awwal. At this stage the officers who had lost their way and whose minds had been distressed by agitations⁵ experienced the blessing of service, and made the dust of the royal camp the collyrium of fortune's eye. The Rāi of Jesalmīr, who was

¹ *Ahl-i-sa'ādat*, good or auspicious men. See Humāyūn's classification of the people, Elliot V. 120 and text, *infra* I. 357. At p. 9 of text the phrase *arbab-i-sa'ādat* has a similar meaning and should have been so translated by me. A. F. there represents himself as the last or humblest of the learned men who adorned Akbar's Court.

² He afterwards cast Akbar's horoscope. Mullā Tāju-d-dīn is perhaps the Tāju-d-dīn of Dilhī mentioned by Badāonī, Blochmann 181. But more probably he is the Shāikh

Tāju-d-dīn Lahri whose death at Jūn is recorded soon afterwards. Text, p. 185.

³ Jarrett II. 276. "Sātalmīr was built by Satal, the eldest son of Rao Jodha (after whom Jodhpur is named) on the top of a low ridge of hills, there is nothing left but the ruins of an old Jain temple."

⁴ The three seems doubtful. In two B. M. MSS. the word is more like *sar* and the correct reading is perhaps *sar-i-fauj*.

⁵ *Anājir*, perhaps false reports of disaster.



called Rāi Lōnkaran,¹ took up, out of wickedness, the position of hostility and set guards over the water-pond, so that the royal army which had experienced the toils of the desert and had come from a wilderness of mirages to this evil halting-place, was put to trouble from want of water. The tigers of fidelity's forest advanced and showing their superiority, defeated that vile crew. From thence they proceeded on towards the bounty-encompassed fort (*hiṣār-i-faiṣ-i-hiṣār*) of Amarkōt on 10th Jumāda'l-awwal (23rd August, 1542). After difficulties from hunger and thirst, the glory of arriving at that guarded fort (*haṣn-i-haṣn*), which is the ascension-point of glory and storehouse of fortune's jewel, was conferred upon them. The ruler of the fort, who was called Rānā Parsād, regarded the sublime advent as a glorious adornment and tendered acceptable service.

One of the marvels (*barakāt*) resulting from the sacred existence of his Majesty, the king of kings, which moved the wonder of the acute of the time, was that in that propitious period when her Majesty Maryam-makānī was pregnant with that Unique of creation's workshop, she one day when she had been rapidly traversing the desert, had a longing for a pomegranate. In that waterless and grainless Sahara where it was difficult to find any trace of corn, the caterers for the holy court were in despair, when suddenly a man brought a bag (*anbān*) full of millet (*jawār*) for sale. When they took him into the tent and were emptying his bag, suddenly a large, juicy pomegranate emerged. 'Twas a cause of joy and gladness, and an astonished world ascribed it to a miracle.

Some² days were spent in that delightful spot, and it was there that Tardī Bēg Khān and many others who had accumulated goods and wealth—all of it acquired by the abiding good fortune (of the royal house)—grudged giving it in such a time of distress and difficulty, even when his Majesty asked for it! By the help of the Rāi of Amarkōt his Majesty got possession³ of the goods, and out of his perfect kindness, liberality and justice, distributed a portion among his followers for their expenses, but returned the bulk of it to

¹ The Noonkarn of Todd. A Rāja Lōnkaran is mentioned in Nizāmu-d-dīn as one of Akbar's nobles. Bloch-

mann, 531.

² About six weeks.

³ Cf. Jauhar, 43.



those low-minded, narrow-souled ones. God be praised! How have the necks of contemporaries—from the blessing of his Majesty the king of kings and shadow of God's holy essence—come into the noose of zeal and loyalty, so that whilst in that past age great officers and those holding high trusts did not ascend to even a low stage of loyalty, and were at such a crisis niggardly of wealth which they had gathered by the blessing of their master's favour, at the present day the despised and they who stand a great way off from devotion's court, have with respect to self-sacrifice, a delight in climbing to the loftiest stages of perfect loyalty, even though they be in the position of being abused and reproached! How much more than they who are the *élite* of the court and bystanders of the pedestal of the sublime throne! May Almighty God hold aloft, for epochs and cycles, this chosen one from eternity on the *masnad* of bounty, and on the throne of the *khilāfat*, that he may conduct the affairs of the world and of mankind.

As¹ his Majesty Jahānbānī had in his mind the firm intention of marching forwards and as the time of the appearance of the Lord of Time and the Terrene was at hand, he, having ascertained the propitious hour, committed, on 1st Rajab, 949 (11th October, 1542), the litter of her Majesty Maryam-makānī and some faithful followers to the world-upholding Creator, and with fortune and prestige set out on his expedition.

¹ According to the text this sentence closes the chapter, but I think it would have been better to end with the preceding paragraph. The

headings are probably not by the authors and are often arbitrary. The Lucknow edition has not a new chapter here.



CHAPTER XXVII.

RECEIPT OF THE NEWS OF THE AUSPICIOUS BIRTH OF HIS MAJESTY
THE KING OF KINGS, BY HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-
ĀSHYĀNĪ, AND OTHER DETAILS.¹

At this time, when the hoping eyes of the watchers of the night of expectation were opened and the door of hopelessness was closed for the world, the exaltation-point (*sharaf*) of the birth of his Majesty, the king of kings and shadow of God, displayed its countenance. As has already been stated, that nursing of Divine light emerged from the womb of concealment into the world of manifestation on the night of Sunday,² 5th Rajab, 949 (15th October, 1542), in order that all the sorrows of mortals might end in everlasting joy; that the sorrow-pelted heart of his Majesty Jahānbānī might receive the balm of assuagement; that the perturbed outer world might assume *kosmos* and the rent-spiritual world be composed; that the spectators of Divine power (i.e., the angels) might rejoice over the spectacle of the accomplished fact and the expectants of the spiritual and temporal world have their desire satisfied; that to Wisdom there should come a master, to Justice a gracious father, to Perception a wise friend, to Law a righteous king, to Love an acute appreciator; that universal peace might have a wise daysman; that an adorer of the outward and a shewer-forth of the inward might appear. God be praised that in adequate correspondence with hope, there shone a dawn of union after a dark night of distraction, and that a morning of joy succeeded an evening of gloom. The desire of celestials was accomplished, the glory of terrestrials revealed. When this darkness-destroying refulgence and universe-lighting flash came from holy heaven and unveiled itself in that land

¹ A better sub-heading would be,
"Some account of Bairām Khān."

² Saturday, according to our reckoning, the birth being early on Sunday morning.



of roses,¹ swift messengers hastened to convey the good news. While they were yet on the way, the heart of his Majesty Jahānbānī,—for his far-seeing eye was on the watch on account of the secret intimation,—became a thousand hearts from the life-giving good news. He prostrated himself in thanksgiving to Providence who had made fortune's rose bloom in the thorn-brake of misfortune, and had in the emptiness of failure, cast thousands of fruitions into his bosom. Within and without, there was a feast of joy, and all addressed themselves to enjoyment. The noble and the humble, the rich and poor, the small and great, opened the hand of rejoicing, and beat the feet of delight in that feast of fortune, and secured
 184 endless favours. An account of this sublime feast, which was the celestial 'Īd and the world's New Year, and of the arrival of the honoured cradle of his Majesty, the king of kings, at his Majesty, Jahānbānī's sublime camp, and of other occurrences which are the adorning frontispiece of this auspicious rescript and the illuminated border of this mandate of fortune, has been incorporated in the beginning of this lofty-titled volume; for this real Pinacothek,² wherein are depicted the wondrous events, noble deeds and glorious victories of his Majesty, the king of kings, is fashioned in accord with the initiative of the exaltation-point (*sharaf*) of the holy nativity, and whatever else has been traced by the pen of supplication is but ancillary to this and but a diluent³ or vehicle of the

¹ *Gul-zamīn*. Perhaps Maryam-makānī's bosom is meant.

² *Artang* or *Arzhang*, the house of the painter Mānī and also his album. D'Herbelot s. v. Ertenk & Jarrett III. 336, 337. Mānī is the supposed founder of Manicheism.

³ *Sīrābī-i-sukhan*, lit. irrigation of words. A. F. here explains why he began his work with the horoscopes of Akbar and the details of his birth although this causes some repetition in his account of Humāyūn's reign. It may be worth while noting that A. F. divided his history according to *qarans* or periods

of thirty years, of his hero's life. Thus his first volume embraced the first thirty years of Akbar's life, viz., from his birth to the end of the seventeenth year of his reign, for Akbar ascended the throne when he was 13. The next book was to contain the history of the reign up to the end of the 47th year, but was not completed because A. F. was killed in that year. Apparently he had carried on the history till the end of the 46th year. His hope, as he tells us in the *Āin*, Jarrett III. 416, was that he might write four *umes*, i.e., the history of four



discourse, and has a real connection with that subject. God be praised! The imposing record of this ever-during progression has been accomplished even from Adam, down to this period (Akbar's birth), generation after generation. That it may go on, the veil is being withdrawn from the countenance of narration.

In short, as his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-ashyānī was a world of urbanity and generosity, he had stayed his desire of retirement for the sake of his loyal companions, and with his far-seeing eyes had set about the ordering of the world of interdependencies, as is the special purpose of the existence of princes, and had proceeded towards Māldēō's country. Māldēō that ravening demon (*dēv-maāl-i-dad-sīrat*) did not comprehend the magnitude of the blessing—such as he could not see even in a dream, and behaved in an unworthy manner. Of necessity and at the request of his devoted followers, his Majesty proceeded back to Sīnd on the chance that the rulers of that country might awake from the slumber of negligence, and amend the past. Though the world-adorning mind did not approve of this, still in accordance with fate he agreed to return. When the sublime army came near the boundary, it became known that the Arghūnīāns were assembled in Jūn and were prepared to fight. His Majesty Jahānbānī sent forward Shaikh 'Alī Beg Jalāir, whose ancestors were of hereditary devotion and loyalty from the time of the uprearing of the standards of glory of his Majesty *Ṣūhib-qirānī* (Tīmūr), together with a body of brave men. He himself followed. As Shaikh 'Alī had at his back the victorious

garans (120 years). The third volume which he refers to in the passage mentioned above is the *Āin*, which was finished, in a manner, in the 42nd year, i. e., 1597-98. No doubt, however, he intended to add to it from time to time according as new regulations were issued by Akbar, and new territories added to his kingdom. The *Āin* is generally called the third book of the *Akbarnāma*, but it should be remembered that it is not a continuation of the first two, and that it

was completed (in a manner) before the historical part of his work was finished. It is in reality an *ex-cursus* or side-piece to his history. A. F.'s division of his work has not been preserved in the *Bib. Ind.* edition which is in three volumes, the first ending with Akbar's accession and not with his 17th year as A. F. designed. The expression *sirābī-i-ṣukhan* above referred to is used again by A. F. at p. 195 of text when he digresses into accounts of Sher Khān, Haidar Mirzā and others.



185 army, he went forward bravely with a few men and soon scattered the foe. The breeze of victory's morn blew from the orient of the sword and the horizon of the bow, and the sun of fortune burnt up the darkness of that field of nemesis. The army encamped near Jūn.¹ To that town of lofty threshold (*qaṣba-i-raǧī'-ataba*) there came from Amarkot, the birth-place, the honourable litter of her Majesty Maryam-makānī and the sublime cradle of his Majesty, the king of kings, attended by fortune and happy augury. Accordingly a detail of the circumstance has been made an adornment to the Introduction. As this spot was on the banks of the Indus and was eminent among the cities of Sind for its many gardens, streams, pleasant fruits and amenities, the army stayed there for some time. There were continual fights with the Arghūniāns who were always defeated. Shaikh Tāju-d-dīn Lārī,² who was one of his Majesty Jahānbānī's favourites, became a martyr here.³ One day Shaikh 'Alī Beg Jalāir, Tardī Beg Khān, and a body of men were despatched to attack the neighbouring district. Sultān Maḥmūd of Bhakkar and a large number of people fell upon them. Tardī Bēg was remiss in fighting, but Sher 'Alī Bēg stood firm and in that battle-field (*razm*) which is the banquet-table (*bisāṭ-i-bazm*) of the brave, quaffed with unaltered mien the sherbet of martyrdom. The heart of his Majesty Jahānbānī was grievously wounded by the fate of so faithful a follower, and some other untoward circumstances having occurred, his heart cooled towards the country of Bhakkar and he determined to go to Qandabār. Just then, on 7th Muḥarram 950 (13th April, 1543) Bairām Khān arrived alone from Gujrāt and laid a balm on the wounded spirit of his Majesty, and was a cause of cheerfulness and joy. One of the wonderful things was that as

¹ As Stewart remarks, Jūn is not marked on the maps. A. F. puts it in Hājkān. Jarrett II. 340. Apparently it was on the east bank, between Tattah and Sehwan. General Haig, (l. c., p. 92) says "Jūn, the chief town of a fertile and populous district, was situated on the left bank of the Rēn. It is 75 miles south-west of Umarkote and 50 miles

north-east of Tattah." A note adds that the ruins of Jūn are to be seen two miles south-east of the present Tando Ghulām Haidar.

² Lār or Lārīstān is a maritime province of Persia. D'Herbelot s. v. Lār.

³ Perhaps all that is meant is that he died a natural death.



he was coming to the camp, he had first to pass over a battle-field. Before he could make his obeisance or reveal himself, he had to prepare for war and to fight bravely. The victorious soldiers were amazed, and thought "he comes from the secret army (of God)." When it transpired that he was Bairām Khān, a shout was raised by those standing in battle-array, and the heart of his Majesty Jahānbānī rejoiced. On account of this arrival, they continued for some ¹ days to halt in that land of roses (*gulzamīn*).

Account of Bairām Khān.

The brief account of Bairām Khān is as follows. After exposing his life in the unfortunate affair of Qanauj, he went to Sambhal. There he took refuge with Rāja Mitter Sen, one of the great land-holders of that country, in the town of Lakhnūr² and for a while remained there under protection. When Sher Khān heard of this, he sent a messenger for him, and the Rāja being helpless, sent the Khān. They met on the road³ to Mālwa. At the beginning of the interview, Sher Khān rose up to receive him and in order to attract him, spoke crafty words to him. Among his remarks was this, "Whoever keeps his loyalty, stumbleth not." "Yea," replied Bairām Khān, "whoever keeps his loyalty, shall not stumble." He contrived, after a thousand difficulties, to escape from near Burhānpūr in company with Abū'l-qāsim, the governor of Gwāliyār, and set out for Gujrāt. While they were on their way, Sher Khān's ambassador who was coming from Gujrāt, got information about them and sent people who arrested Abū'l-qāsim,—who was remarkable for the beauty of his person. Bairām Khān out of nobleness and generosity stoutly asseverated that he was Bairām Khān, while Abū'l-qāsim heroically said, "This is my servant; he would sacrifice himself for me, beware and withdraw your hand from him." Thus it was the case of

¹ Three months according to A. F.'s own chronology, for they did not leave Jūn till 11th July. It is more probable that it was Bairām's arrival and energy which made Humāyūn take such a decided step as that of leaving Sind.

² Jarrett II. 298: There is a fuller account of Bairām's visit to Sambhal in 'Abbās' chronicle.

³ At Ujjain, according to the chronicle of Sher Shāh.

Verse.¹

“Leave me, seize the hand of my friend.”

In this way Bairām Khān escaped and went to Sultān Maḥmūd in Gujrāt. Abū'l-qāsim was taken before Sher Khān, and from failure² to appreciate him, that mine of magnanimity was martyred. Sher Khān used frequently to remark that “as soon as Bairām Khān said in the assembly ‘Whoever keeps his loyalty shall not³ stumble,’ we gathered that he would not come to terms with us.” Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt too, though he tried to induce him to stay with him, could not succeed. He (Bairām) got leave to go on pilgrimage and came to Sūrat. Thence he hurried off to the country of Hardwār⁴

¹ Gulistān V. 20.

² *Az na-shināsi*; this cannot mean, owing to his not being recognised, for Sher Khān had seen the real Bairām.

³ I adopt the variant *na khwāhad*.

⁴ Corrected in the Errata to Mārwar, but apparently on the authority of one MS. only and I suspect that Mārwar is merely a guess devised to get rid of the improbability of Bairām's having gone to such a distant place as Hardwār. The *Ma'āshir-i-umarā* has Hardwār and so has the *Ma'āshir-i-rahīmī*. It does not agree very well with A. F.'s statement that Bairām joined Humāyūn from Gujrāt, but then neither does Mārwar. Though Hardwār be very far it is not impossible that Bairām who was trying to hide, went the distance in order to escape Sher Khān and Sultān Maḥmūd. He may have done so in disguise and in company with Hindū pilgrims. Possibly too he went there because it was not far from his old refuge of Sambhal. At first I was inclined to accept Mārwar and to suppose that

A. F. wrote it in the form Marūwār or Marūwar (مروروار or مرورور) which according to Tod, is the original word and which might easily enough be read by a copyist as Hardwār. It might also have been supposed that Bairām went to Mārwar, i.e., Jodhpūr, in pursuit of Humāyūn of whose expedition into Māldēo's country he may have heard. A pencil note in Chalmers' Ms. suggests Dwārkā (in Gujrāt) which would do very well if we had any evidence that Dwārkā was ever called Hardwār. On the whole I think that we must hold that A. F. wrote Hardwār. The *Ma'āshir-i-rahīmī* has a biography of Bairām taken apparently from a work called the *Tārīkh-i-akbarī* by Muḥammad 'Arif Qandahārī who had been Bairām's steward. It uses the word Hardwār twice apparently without any suspicion of mistake. It describes Bairām's parentage, his birth in Qil'a Zafar in Badakhshān, the death of his father, Saif 'Alī at Ghaznīn, his entering Humāyūn's service, and becoming his *mīrūdār* (chancellor), and finally, with refer-



and from there he came to the feet of his own master (*ṣāhib*) and the benefactor of mankind in the village of Jūn.

ence perhaps to A. F.'s remarks on the thousand difficulties which Bairām experienced in making his escape to Gujrāt,—it tells us how he in the course of his wanderings,

fell in with a party of Gūwārās who were drinking and dancing, and how they constrained him to take part in their merry-making.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

SINGULAR MANIFESTATION BY HIS MAJESTY, THE KING OF KINGS, IN THE EIGHTH MONTH FROM HIS NATIVITY'S EXALTATION-POINT (*sharaf*), BEING THE ILLUMINATED BORDER OF MIRACLES (*karāmāt*), AND PRESAGE OF HIS CAREER (*maqāmāt*, *lit. stages or stations*).

In the pages of Divine knowledge, which are "the guarded tablets" ¹ from and for eternity, it is laid down that when the diadem of distinction is set on the marvellous head of a world-adorning creature in the temporal and spiritual enthroning-room, there are emitted, from the auspicious birth-hour of that glorious one, flashings and wonders (*hawāriq-i-hālāt-ū-khawāriq-i-ādāt*) from the folded pages of his record, each of them a mysterious herald loudly proclaiming in the reason's ear of mankind the glorious progression of his power, and by such revelations augmenting the felicity of mortals. One of the marvellous proofs of this is that when seven months complete had elapsed from his Majesty, the king of kings', auspicious birth, and when he had in his fortune and felicity entered on the eighth, a strange circumstance occurred. On an evening which was seized of the light of fortune's morn, Jijī Anaga—¹⁸⁷ that cupola of chastity—was nursing the first fruit of the garden of holiness, and grieving over the opposition to her by that veil of chastity—Māham Anaga, and by many others. She was very sad because they had represented to his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī that Mīr Ghaznavī's wife (*i.e.*, herself) was practising incantations so that his Majesty, the prince of mankind, should not accept anyone's milk but her own. At this time, when none else was present, his Majesty, seeing that there was privacy, became vocal, and Messiah-like ²

¹ *Lauh-i-mahfūz*, Book of Destiny. D'Herbelot s. v. *Omm Alkitab*, & Lane, 2680c.

² Muhammadans believe that Jesus Christ spoke in the cradle.



opened his wondrous mouth to comfort Jijī Anaga's afflicted heart. "Be of good cheer," he said, "for the celestial light of the *khilāfat* shall abide in thy bosom and shall bestow on the night of thy sorrow the effulgence of joy. But see that thou reveal this our secret to no one, and that thou dost not proclaim untimely this mystery of God's power, for hidden designs and great previsions are infolded therein." Jijī Anaga declared, "This life-fraught intimation brought me into rapture, and sorrow's knot was at once loosed from off my heart. This portent which gave me from the eternal throne the sole and undisputed charge of a child of light, expanded my heart, one becoming a hundred and a hundred a thousand.¹ Day by day the doors of joy and gladness opened wider and wider before me, and having established myself on thanksgiving for this great blessing, I addressed myself to my duties, heart and soul. The glory and dominion of two worlds were revealed to me. But I kept this mystery sealed up till that nursling of dominion became the throne-adorned of the regions of world-conquest. One day he had gone forth from Dihli to hunt in the district of Pālam,² and there an enormous and terrific serpent, such as might move the heart of the daring,³ appeared on the line of road. On this occasion his Majesty exhibited the miracle of Moses, and without the hesitation which comes even to generous hearts, put forth his white⁴ hand and approaching the serpent, courageously and in the strength of a sacred intimation, seized its tail with his holy hand and quelled it. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān,⁵ brother of Mirzā 'Azīz Kōkaltāsh beheld this token of power and in his astonishment came and told me. On that occasion I told my dear son that sealed and hidden-away mystery which I myself had seen and heard, and said, 'His Majesty did that wonderful thing in his tender years, 'tis not strange

¹ Text, *Khātirikī*, but it should be *Khātir yakī*.

² Jarrett II. 236. In the Dihli district, and so apparently, different from Pālam in Kāngra.

³ *Arbāb-i-taḥawwur*. *Taḥawwur* means, according to Lane, a state in which one enters on rash enterprises, such as fighting with unbelievers more than double the

number of the Muslim. Dict. 2906c.

⁴ An allusion to the Muḥammadan story of the white hand of Moses cf. Exodus iv. 6. The miracle of Moses above referred to seems to be the conversion of Moses' rod into a serpent.

⁵ Blochmann 323. Son of Jijī Anaga. He was the elder brother.



if in his maturity he has performed this miracle, for every act hath its time and every speech its season. The reason of my not mentioning this marvel till this point is that no one to whom I told it, would have believed it, but on the contrary would have taxed me with weakness of intellect. The taste of such a story would have been bitter to their wishes' palate. Moreover I was not at liberty to reveal it. Now, my son, that I have heard from you the story of the serpent, I have opened my lips to tell of the mystery which marked his tender years, while the other is a sample of his riper age. My honoured son! in that exhibitor of miracles such indications and stages of development (*'alāmāt ū maqāmāt*) are not
188 surprising." Though Abū'l-faḡl, the composer of this noble record had heard these two anecdotes from a person of veracity, yet he also received them direct from that receptacle of chastity (Jijī Anaga). But what the writer has seen with his own eyes and has understood by his own contemplation, concerning the perfections and miracles of this nursling of Divine light, exceeds mortal conjecture and human comprehension. In truth what was recounted by the venerable mother of M. 'Azīz Kōka is astonishing to the exoteric (*aṣḥāb-i-ẓāhir*), but what this humble one hath witnessed is awe-augmenting to the esoteric (*arbāb-i-bāṭin*).



CHAPTER XXIX.

DEPARTURE OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ FOR
QANDAHĀR, WITH THE DESIGN OF GOING THENCE TO THE
HIJĀZ AND OF HIS RESOLUTION TO ENTER PERSIA.

It is the Eternal will and the Divine design that when the glorious robe of a king's fortune is being embroidered with the fringe of perpetuity and the props of his throne of greatness and sovereignty made strong and glorious by the pillars of fixity and permanence, sundry accidents which have the appearance of retrogressions and withdrawals are brought in front of his path. In truth these are apparent and not real, and the impediments are in the end subjects of thanksgiving. The short-sighted regard such as defects and become astonished. But they of uplifted eyes recognise them as the mole on Fortune's cheek, and regard them as a note of the subjugation of the evil eye. The fortunate man regards every evil which comes in his way, as the complement of perfection, while the unfortunate man regards them as his destruction, spiritual and temporal, and collapses into the collar of lamentation. The retrogradations of the planets—the regents of the seven¹ celestial climes—are an illustration of this and typify the design. Though the world-illuminating sun be hid from sight by cloud and vapour, yet in truth 'tis no mighty screen which has been lowered over mortal eyes, nor has any defect reached those glorious halls (the sun's). When it seemeth to be a cause of concealment, the strong blast of Divine power casts the vapour headlong and relegates it to the black earth. The phenomena of sunrise and sunset too are torch-bearing indicators of this. For the status and condition of the Treasury of Light when in the East are identical with his status and condition when under the veil of the West. And the condition which he hath when

¹ The sun and moon were recognised

as planets, thus making seven in all.



189 in the zenith and when in declination from the meridian, is absolutely the same as his condition when in the *nadir* of mid-night.¹ The difference is in the earth-born beholders and in the imaginations of the dwellers in a banaful of clay. Assuredly the pinacles of his glory is all the holier because the thoughts of detrimental have touched its fringe. In accordance with these propositions, whoever cherisheth evil thoughts against tiara'ed lords of bliss, and diademed lords of fortune, is caught at last by the exemplary punishment of his deeds, and becomes a primefactor of his own destruction. These truths are mirrored in the presage-full history of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī for in brief space was the skirt of his Majesty's fortune, which had been sullied by misfortune, washed and cleansed at the fountain-head of fruition, while all the ingrates received the punishment of their designs and deeds. The stack² of their lives and fortunes was consumed by the lightning of Divine wrath, and the note of the existence of those wretches was erased from the Book of Time. Accordingly the difficulties (*maṣā'ib*) and fatigues (*matā'ib*), of adversity (*'usr*) and the stations (*mawārid*) and ascensions (*maṭālī'*) of prosperity (*yusr*) are being set-forth in the order of their time and place.

In fine, as his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī's holiness-expressing soul had grown weary of this world's vain show, and had turned away her lofty contemplation from the territory of Sind, it occurred to his sanctified mind to offer peace to the ruler of Tatta and to march to Qandahār. When the sublime cavalcade should arrive there, he would commit his Majesty, the king of kings, and the elect ones of his Court to God's protection, would plant his own foot on the highway of asceticism and retreat and ascend the steps of ecstasy and rapture and phoenix-like (*humāwār*), pet the pinnacle of love 'neath the wings of genius. As he had gained spiritual abundance by circumambulating the altar of the heart, he would, by conveying the sacred litter (*maḥmil*)³ to the *ka'ba* of clay at one semblance and substance. As the spiritual pinacothek had been constructed, he would also adorn the visible temple. Thus would

¹ *Wataḍ-i-rub'-i-nisfu-l-lail.*

² *Kḥirman*. It also means parhelion or halo, and probably A. F.

wished to take advantage of this double meaning.

³ See Lane's Dict. 650a.



hearts be conciliated and a method of truthful guidance be furnished to the simple-minded followers of forms.

He was occupied with these thoughts when the ruler of Tatta on understanding his intention, recognised his own gain therein and despatched a petition for peace. As the soaring falcon of his Majesty's genius had spread her wings for the chase of the phoenix (*'anqā*) and had withdrawn her far-seeing gaze from lower game and let it fall on lofty eyries, his petition reached the place of acceptance. The Arghūniāns whose affairs were in distress, tossed the cap of joy to the skies on hearing the gladdidings of peace, and regarding the project as the goal of desire and as an unlooked for boon, forwarded a large present¹ and made various apologies.

His Majesty auspiciously and prosperously left Jūn for Qandahār *viā* Siwī (Sibi) on 7th Rabi'ul-ākhir, 950 (11th July, 1543). M. 'Askar on hearing of the approach of the royal cavalcade, and acting by M. Kāmran's orders and from his own wickedness, strengthened the fort (Qandahār) and proceeded with evil intentions with a large body of troops towards the sublime camp in order that he might by help of villainy take his Majesty prisoner. Meanwhile Amīr Allah Dōst, one of the learned of the age and who had on several occasions acted as M. Kāmran's Agent² (*vakīl*) and Shaikh 'Abdu-l wahhāb³ a descendant of Pūrān⁴ were coming to solicit, in marriage on Mirzā Kāmran's behalf, the daughter of Shāh Husain Beg Arghūn. On hearing of the approach of the sublime army, they took refuge in the castle of Siwī. His Majesty Jahānbānī sent an exalted mandate to Mir Allah Dōst, summoning him to his presence, but he out of worthlessness, chose exclusion from the honour

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¹ Shāh Husain on the principle of making a golden bridge for a flying enemy, sent Humāyūn 30 boats and 300 camels. Badāonī I. 442. See also Gulbadan 526 ff.

² This may be compared with *Tār. Sind*. Bābā Cūcak is also mentioned there as one of Kāmran's ambassadors.

³ The *Tār. Sind* has a good deal to say about this man. He was descended from Abū Sā'id Pūrānī,

and was of an Arabian family, settled in Sind. He was a distinguished lawyer and perhaps A. F.'s remark about the eminence of Allah Dōst was intended for 'Abdu-l-Wahhāb.

⁴ Possibly Jalālu-d-dīn Pūrānī is meant. But more probably the reference is to a descendant of his, Shaikh Mirak Pūrānī who was Shaikhul-Islām of Tatta. See *Tār. Sind*.



of service and made the excuse that the garrison would not let him leave.

When the army came to the territory of Shāl, which is about 30¹ *farsakh* (150 miles) from Qandahār, Jalālu-d-dīn Beg, an officer of M. Kāmraṇ and who had a fief in the territory, had left people to capture any scouts and by them two of the royal servants who had gone on in advance to Sar-cashma² were arrested and brought in. One of them managed to escape from their clutches and came and reported what he had learnt of their evil designs by observing their ways and language. His Majesty Jahānbānī, on perceiving the ingratitude of this crew, gave up the idea of proceeding to Qandahār, and turned off towards Mashtang;³ Pāyanda⁴ Muḥammad Waisī took leave and went to Qandahār. With him was sent an autograph letter to M. 'Askarī, strong⁵ in expressions such as might appeal to a little-loving, disloyal brother, and containing warnings and instructions. But where was the reason-harkening ear, and where the heart of right understanding? Treating these remonstrances as unheard, he continued to go on in his villainy. Qāsim Husain Sultān,⁶ Mahdī Qāsim Khān and many others of 'Askarī Mirzā's servants remonstrated against his going lest his Majesty should grow desperate, and out of dire necessity proceed to Persia, and less great calamities should occur. Abū'l-khair and a number of wicked men uttered flattering, house-subverting words, outwardly specious but inwardly productive of evil and ruin, and confirmed him in his faulty resolves. On that day's

¹ *Sih* in text, but the variant *sī* is right. Shāl is Quettah which is by compass about 130 miles south-east of Qandahār.

² I presume this is the place marked on the survey map as about 60 miles N. by W. of Quettah.

³ See Errata of Text. Mashtang or Mastang lies about 30 miles, S. S. W. of Quettah and is between it and Khilāt. Both Mastang and Shāl are referred to in the *Āin*, Jarrett II. 396, where they are described as east of Qandahār.

⁴ Apparently Pāyanda Khān Muḡhul, nephew of Hājī Muḥammad Kōka, and perhaps the part-author of one of the translations of Bābar's Memoirs, (Blochmann 387 and Ma'āsir 394.)

⁵ Text, مصدر *muṣaddar*, but most of if not all the MSS. I have consulted write مصدر without *tashdid*, and as if the word was *maṣdar*, theme or source.

⁶ Blochmann 348.



morning which was his downfall's evening,¹ the Mīrzā proceeded with evil intent towards Mashtang. When he had advanced one or two *kos*, he asked his servants, if any of them had been that way. Jai Bahādur Ūzbak, who was Qāsim Ḥusāin Sultān's servant and had on this expedition taken service with the Mīrzā, said, "I know this road thoroughly, and have repeatedly gone and come by it!" The Mīrzā replied that he was speaking the truth for he had been a *jāgīrdār*² there, and he bade him go on ahead and lead the way. He objected that his pony was knocked up, and the Mīrzā signed to Tarsūn Barlās, one of his servants, to give him his horse. He objected about his own necessities but had to surrender the animal. Jai Bahādur, who had served the king in India, advanced a little by auspicious guidance and then putting his horse to the gallop, went off to Bairām Khān's tent, and unfolded³ the facts of the case. Bairām Khān went with him to his Majesty Jahānbānī, whom he informed of the evil intentions of that ingrate ('Askarī). His Majesty sent to Tardī Beg and some others for horses. Those base, narrow-eyed men turned away from the perception of their good fortune (in thus having an opportunity of serving Humāyūn) and refused to give them. His Majesty wished to mount his horse (perhaps Jai Bahādur's) and go and give them a lesson. Bairām Khān deprecated doing this, as the moment was critical and there was no time for dallying. "Let the ingrates be left to God's vengeance, and let his Majesty follow his own course." On hearing this representation his Majesty, attended by a few devoted followers, took the road of the desert. He gave up the idea of Qandahār and Kābul and proceeded towards Persia ('*Irāq*') with the intention of going to the *Hijāz* (Mecca, &c.), and as a desert-traverser, entered on the path of separation (*firāq*). Khwāja Mu'azzam, Nadīm Kōkaltāsh, Mīr Ghaznavī, and Khwāja 'Ambar Nāzīr were directed that his Majesty, the king of kings, was in the cradle of guardianship and under the protection of the

¹ A. F. plays on the double meaning of *shām*, evening and unlucky. 'Askarī advanced in the morning, but this was in reality the retrogression (*ulbār*) of his fortune.

² Probably what is meant is that his master had been *jāgīrdār*.

³ *Pardagushāy-i-ḥaḳīqat-i-ḥāl*. A. F. seeks to convey the double meaning that Jai Bahādur opened the fold of the tent (as he is said by other authorities to have done) and also disclosed the truth.



Divine love, and that affliction's dust could not reach his fortune's skirt, but that they should by every possible means bring her Majesty Maryam-makānī to the king. Those right-minded ones made haste and performed acceptable service. After going a little way, night came on darker than the hearts of unacknowledging ingrates. Bairām Khān represented that his Majesty was aware of Mirzā 'Askarī's lust for gold and property; that at this time the Mirzā would be secure and at ease, and be sitting in a tent with two or three clerks, and looking at the list of the goods and chattels in his Majesty's camp. The proper thing for them was to rely upon the Divine favour, and to come suddenly on that tent, and settle his business. That though the Mirzā had become alienated, all his servants had been brought up on his Majesty's salt, and that they would inevitably come forward and serve him. His Majesty approved of this proposal from the practical point of view, but out of his pure nature and well-meaningness he declined to adopt it, and said they had now set out for a foreign land and had entered on a long journey, and that he would not give up his plans.¹ Once more he committed his Majesty, the king of kings, to the protection of the God of Glory, the repeller (*dāfi*) of evils, and supporter (*rāfi*) in dangers, and taking the eternal counsels as his guide and the everlasting favour as his helper in place and out of place, he fixed the saddle of dominion on the steed of enterprise, and the foot of forward-faring in the stirrup of trust and proceeded on his way.

When Mirzā 'Askarī with his evil intentions approached Mashtang he sent on his *ṣadr* Mīr Abū'l-ḥasan that he might go to his Majesty Jahānbānī, and that if the latter was meditating departure, he might by trick and stratagem detain him. The Mīr arrived just when his Majesty Jahānbānī was mounting his horse, and sought to turn him by alleging sundry messages from the Mirzā. His Majesty, by God's guidance, did not listen to his vain words, but rapidly went off. M. 'Askarī came up afterwards and sent Shāh Walad, Abū'l-khair and many others of his men to guard the camp and not let any one go out of it. He heard from the *Ṣadr* Mīr Abū'l-ḥusain

¹ The meaning is that Humāyūn had begun his pilgrimage to Mecca

and so would not turn back.