



Bair, brother of Khwāja Dōst Khāwind. His Majesty Jahānbānī, who was a mine of liberality and clemency, accepted his prayer and stayed the siege-operations for some days. The wicked Mirzā outwardly assumed the airs of a suppliant, but secretly exerted himself to strengthen the fort, and when her Highness and Bairām Khān arrived he renewed his opposition. Though the noble lady endeavoured to restrain M. 'Askārī from evil designs and to induce him to kiss the holy threshold, he from his disordered brain would not accept her counsels, but continued obdurate and would not suffer her to leave the fort and go to his Majesty's camp. Thus the Mirzā's contumacy and villainy were revealed even to his Majesty Jahānbānī. Relying therefore on the favour of God, who is the surety of those who commend themselves to Him, he strenuously endeavoured to take the fort. Meanwhile Ulugh Mirzā, son of Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, who was descended from Sultān Husain through a daughter, Sher-afkan<sup>1</sup> Beg, son of Qūc Beg, and Faḡāil Beg, brother of Mun'im Khān, Mir Barka and Mirzā Ḥasan<sup>2</sup> Khān, sons of Mir 'Abdullāh, who belonged to the Saiyids the Banī-mukhtārs of Sabzawār, and many others came from Kābul by the guidance of a happy star and did homage. The cause of their escaping was this. M. Kāmran was keeping Ulugh Beg in confinement, and out of precaution he made him to a different custodian every week. When it came to Sher-afkan's turn, it happened that he too was afraid of the Mirzā. He joined with the others and brought out Ulugh Mirzā, and enjoyed the blessing of service. His Majesty Jahānbānī received this party with favour and gave them robes of honour, and assigned Zamīn Dāwar to M. Ulugh Beg. Though Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān came out with them, he lost his way one night and fell among the Hazāras. After some days and after being robbed he arrived on foot and with blistered soles. His Majesty remarked to him "There must have been something wanting in your loyalty for you to have lost your way and become involved in such troubles." After that Dawa<sup>3</sup> Beg Hazāra came in with his tribesmen. Petitions too arrived from the Kābul officers. The arrival of this party, and the receipt of petitions from officers and nobles caused great joy in the camp. The Qizilbāshī,

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<sup>1</sup> Blochmann, 455.<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, 439.<sup>3</sup> See Erskine, the text has Dada.





(Persians) who had been uneasy in their minds, became tranquil and displayed alacrity in carrying on the war while the leaders of the garrison began to waver, and the foot of firmness slipped from the battlement of defence. The dwellers in the fort wrote daily accounts of M. 'Askarī and shot<sup>1</sup> them down from the walls. Their purport was that the garrison was in difficulties, and that the besiegers should press on, and not relax their efforts. At last it came to this that the officers of M. 'Askarī's army flung themselves out of the fort one by one, and that the gunners and infantry did the same. First, Khizr<sup>2</sup> Khawāja Khān threw himself down from the fort in the vicinity of his Majesty's battery, and seizing the collar of supplication with the hand of contrition fell at the holy feet of his Majesty Jahānbānī. After him Muayyad<sup>3</sup> Beg let himself down by ropes from the fort, and was exalted by doing homage. Then Isma'īl Beg, who was one of Giti-sitānī Firdūs-makānī's officers and was distinguished for counsel and courage arrived, and Abū'l-Husain Beg, brother's son of Qarāca Khān, and Munawwar Beg, son of Nūr<sup>4</sup> Beg, came with him. One night Khizr Khān Hazāra flung himself down from the fort, and two or three Hazāras took him on their backs and went off with him towards Kōt Laka (?). Inasmuch as the work of defence had got out of hand, and M. 'Askarī could neither make up his mind to remain in the fort, nor had he the face to come to the world-protecting Court, Khizr Khān Hazāra desired to betake himself to the cell of safety  
235 and to come to strive out of these dangers. In the morning news came to the camp that he had left the fort and taken to flight. A number of people hastened to search for him. He had gone some distance and then hidden himself behind a rock. Some reliable persons relate that Khizr Khān Hazāra used to tell how the men who had been sent to catch him passed close to him and how once a man touched the skirt of his garment and thought it was an animal, while

<sup>1</sup> *Bartāstān*, explained by Erskine as meaning the fastening of letters to arrows and then shooting them down.

<sup>2</sup> Also called Khizr Khān Sultān. He was husband of Gulbadan the daughter of Bābar and authoress of *Memoirs*.

<sup>3</sup> According to Nizāmu-d-dīn he

was a prisoner in Qandahār. He died shortly after the taking of Kābul to the great joy of everybody, says Bāyazīd, as they regarded him as a Satan and the cause of Humāyūn's losing India.

<sup>4</sup> One of Bābar's officers. *Mem.* 424, 425.





Khizr Khān held his breath from fear. When night came on he emerged from under the rock and reached a place of safety.

As the daily increasing success of his Majesty Jahānbānī was patent, and it became clear to the garrison that owing to the good fortune of his Majesty Jahānbānī and the zeal of his devoted servants it would be impossible to maintain the defence, M. 'Askarī awoke from the sleep of carelessness and became disturbed in his mind, and could neither advance nor stay where he was. At first he asked to be allowed to surrender Qandahār and to proceed to Kabul, but his Majesty Jahānbānī did not agree to this, and the Mīrzā's crude idea came to nought. Out of necessity he had to send her Highness Khānzāda Begam to his Majesty to beg forgiveness of his offences. At the request of that cream of chastity's family the writing of forgiveness was drawn over the register of his offences, and on Thursday, 25th Jumāda-l-ākhir (3rd September, 1545), of that year (952) he came out of the fort, contrite and repentant, and in the train of the cupola of chastity. His Majesty Jahānbānī had formed an assemblage in the dīwānkhāna and the Caghataī and Persian officers were drawn up in line according to their rank. In accordance with the royal orders Bairām Khān hung the sword round M. 'Askarī's neck and introduced him. His Majesty Jahānbānī, in spite of all the mortal injuries which he had received from him, put aside the canons of sovereignty and with native kindness and excessive clemency accepted the intercession of the cupola of chastity and drawing the pen of forgiveness over the schedule of his deeds, he encompassed him with the curtains of favour and with exceeding affection. After returning thanks to God for this beginning of success, he gave orders for the removal of the sword from the Mīrzā's neck, and after he had paid his respects bade him be seated. After that Muhammad Khān Jalāir, Shāham Khān, Muqīm Khān, Shāh Qulī Sistānī, Tūlak Khān Qūrcī and others to the number of thirty persons were brought forward with swords and quivers round their necks<sup>1</sup> to make their obeisance. Out of these 236 Muqīm Khān and Shāh Qulī Sistānī were ordered into confinement with fetters<sup>2</sup> on their legs and wooden boards on their necks.

<sup>1</sup> Nizāmu-d-dīn says they carried their shrouds in their hands.

<sup>2</sup> Zūlāna i. q., zāwalāna. See

Burhān-i-Qūṭī under Zūlāna and Vullers under zāwalāna.





From the close of day up to early dawn, which is the time of the arrival of the glory of heaven, there was a delightful assembly. Instructive events were described, and Mir Qalandar and other reciters and players discoursed excellent music, thereby removing the rust from his Majesty's world-adorning soul. During the assembly they in accordance with his Majesty's orders presented M. 'Askari with an exact copy of the letter which he had written to his Balūci followers at the time when his Majesty was proceeding to a strange land by way of the desert. The Mirzā's life was embittered, and mirth became melancholy. At last, out of necessity an order was given that he should be kept under surveillance, and that he should be brought from time to time to make his obeisance so that while his offences had, out of innate kindness, been forgiven, he might for some days take counsel with himself in bondage. Next day the night-illuminating crescent of victory lighted up those who sat darkling in the citadel. Muḥammad Murād Mirzā and the Caghatai and Persian officers came to the city in attendance on his Majesty. For three nights and days the city was brightened by the light of his Majesty's august advent, and was in peace and tranquillity. On the fourth day it was, in accordance with the secret workings of his Majesty's comprehensive mind, presented to Muḥammad Murād Mirzā, and his Majesty took up his quarters in the Cār Bāgh of his Majesty Firdūs-makānī, which is on the bank of the Arghandāb, and was refreshed by its pleasant groves. In that charming spot the official accountant laid before him a detailed list of the properties of M. 'Askari, which had been brought together from all quarters, but his Majesty did not regard them as worthy of consideration and distributed them among those of his brave soldiers who were in want.

When M. Kāmran heard of the conquest of Qandahār and of his Majesty Jahānbānī's coming against Kābul, he was agitated and troubled, and had his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh brought from the house of the cupola of chastity Khānzāda Begam to his own, and made him over to his chief wife Khānam Begam. He also confined Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Ghaznavī, commonly called Atka Khān, in an unworthy place, and took counsel with his officers as to what he should do with M. Sulaimān. Mullā 'Abdu-l-Khāliq, who was Kāmran's teacher, and Bābūs, who had charge of political affairs, advised that the Mirzā should be dealt gently with and be allowed





to go to Badakhshān so that he might be useful in time of need. Fortunately for M. Sulaimān it happened that Mir Nāzar 'Alī, Mir Hazār Teshkānī, Mir 'Alī Balūc, and others had combined a few days before and had seized Fort Zafar, and put Qāsim Barlās and 237 other officers into confinement. They sent a message to M. Kāmran that if he sent M. Sulaimān, they would make over Badakhshān to him, otherwise they would put their prisoners to death and hand over the country to the Uzbegs. Accordingly Mīrzās Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm and Haram<sup>1</sup> Begam were sent off to Badakhshān. When they had got as far as Pāi Minār and Ma'mūra village, M. Kāmran repented of having let M. Sulaimān go and sent persons to recall him, alleging that he had something to say to him. M. Sulaimān suspected this message and wrote a letter of excuse in reply to the effect that as he had taken leave in an auspicious hour, it was not proper to return, and that he trusted M. Kāmran would be so kind as to write to him what he wished to confer about and to send the letter by a confidential servant when he would act in accordance therewith. Meanwhile he hastened on to Badakhshān. As soon as he reached Badakhshān he broke his agreement. At this time too Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā fled from Kābul towards Badakhshān. And as fate desired that M. Kāmran should receive the recompense of his deeds, the materials for this were being prepared daily. Of the Mīrzās no one remained with him except Hindāl. Him he flattered and appointed to pursue and capture Yādgār Nāsir, promising him that he would give him one-third of all he now possessed or should afterwards acquire, on condition that he should not deviate in any way from loyalty and fraternal feeling. Having made this compact he sent off the Mīrzā whom he had kept under surveillance. M. Hindāl, who had been brought into difficulties by Kāmran's ill treatment verbally agreed for he regarded his escape from his claws as a great relief. But when he came to Pāi Minār, he under a wise guidance proceeded towards his Majesty Jahānbānī. M. Kāmran was astonished on hearing of this affair, and lost the thread of his counsel. He had no servants or companions who would consult his welfare or tell him the truth.

<sup>1</sup> According to Bāyazīd, p. 16a, Sulaimān was released before the fall of Qandahār. He also says that

his wife Haram or Khurram Begam bribed the officers with her jewels to advise his release.





238 Most of his servants had their eyes veiled, and the vision of their intelligence was troubled by the ophthalmia of neglect. They beheld not the way of salvation nor the straight path. Those who did see what was proper, had not the power to express their sentiments. This was due to two circumstances :—(1) Some had not the courage to make representations. (2) Some were of such a nature that they studied the temper of the Mirzā, and did not consider truthful representations advisable, for they were certain that from his self-sufficiency he would not accept good advice, but would be displeased on the mere mention of it. And his displeasure would cause injury to the influence and position of the speaker. The condition of fidelity is that in such matters one should not delay or have regard to one's language, nor spend one's time in negligence or delay. For the evil of this falls in the end upon all, and is as ruinous to the general prosperity. And the results of treacherous counsel, which is the greatest and worst of treacheries, come forth. And the mole of untrustworthiness and flattery, which is the blackness<sup>1</sup> of disloyalty and unpropitiousness, reveals itself on the cheek of their procedure. It behoves such men, if they feel afraid of not suppressing the truth or of uttering honest but disagreeable remonstrances to recognise the fact that such opportunities are part of their good fortune, and to rejoice thereat, and not to let the wrinkle of contraction form in the forehead of frankness. For though in appearance the great may be disgusted, yet in reality the noble mind approves of hearing both sides. And though such advisers may appear to run counter to the opinion of their masters, yet in fact they will at once be relieved from responsibility and have discharged the duty of good service, and also be lauded in word and deed by those who consider the end and regard the final termination. M. Kāmraṇ, in fact, went from blunder to blunder from want of warning wisdom, and the absence of sound counsellors.

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<sup>1</sup> *Nīl. lit.* blueness, blue being the colour of mourning and misfortune.





## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHIYĀNĪ'S ARMY FROM QANDAHĀR TO CONQUER KĀBUL, AND VICTORY OVER THAT TERRITORY.

When his Majesty was freed from anxiety about Qandahār he placed before himself the conquest of Kābul, and with this intention left his Majesty Firdūs-makānī's garden and halted at the Gumbaz Safēd (the white dome) above the shrine of Ḥasan Abdāl. The thought of the expedition continually occupied his mind, and he was perpetually holding conferences about it with far-sighted loyalists and devoted friends. Many of the Persians were wearied of their long expatriation and went off without leave, while some departed after obtaining leave by importunity. Budāgh Khān and the others who were in attendance on the Shāh's son opened, from want of consideration, the hand of tyranny and oppression over the subject population, and thought of increasing their own substance by such unhallowed proceedings. High and low used to come from the city, imploring justice, and his Majesty Jahānbānī was in a difficulty for if he were to rebuke the oppressors, the Shāh would be vexed, 239 while, if he did not execute justice, the hand of the unjust would not be withdrawn from the subjugated, and this would call down the Divine displeasure. As the time was not convenient, he remained perturbed, and put off remedying the evil till another season.

When the expedition to Kābul had been determined upon he was compelled to ask Budāgh Khān <sup>1</sup> for accommodation for some of his ladies and for his goods and chattels. He candidly acknowledged that in accordance with his promise he had made over Qandahār to the Persians, but said that he could not set the foot of resolve

<sup>1</sup> The name seems Turkish and is also spelt Būdāq. See Blochmann 371, but the person there mentioned

is probably not the Budāgh Khān of the text.





in the stirrup of toil until he had disposed of his people,<sup>1</sup> and his mind were at ease concerning them. Budāgh Khān in his ignorance of affairs made objections and unlike a wise man was neither alert in carrying out the Shāh's orders, nor in obeying the king's mandate, which was the root of the matter. The chief officers represented that they had a great enterprise in hand, and that there was nothing for it but to seize Qandahār. They would thus undertake whatever was before them with a light heart. His Majesty referred to the kindnesses of the Shāh and declined to vex the latter's servants, and thought they must submit to their unreasonable conduct. He began to consider if he should go to Badakhshān and should join M. Sulaimān to himself before attacking Kābul. But as a strong motive for haste in conquering Kābul was his desire to behold the Shāhinshāh and to share to the full in that light of the garden of the Khilāfat, knowing that by heaven's decree all providential victories depended on the auspicious existence of that splendour, his eager desire to attain that object revealed itself from time to time. Just then the Shāh's son became a beholder of the gardens (*riyāz*) of mercy, and a visitor of the pools (*hiyāz*) of pardon (i.e., he died). The confidential officers represented that winter was at hand, and that it was impossible for them to convey the women and children and the baggage (*partāl*) along with them into the hill-country.<sup>2</sup> The Shāh's son was dead, and it was not right to leave Qandahār to the Turkamāns, especially when they were so headstrong and were by their tyranny ruining the country and casting down the pillars of peace. Moreover, though they had been commissioned to bind constantly the girdle of service on their souls' waist, and to serve continually the sublime expedition they had been perverse and been drunken with the wine of negligence, and had not shown zeal in submitting to orders. On the contrary they had transgressed the supreme commands, and had openly and secretly gone into opposition and had suspended over their countenances the veil of shamelessness. It behoved his Majesty to shorten their oppressive

1 *Mardān-i-khud*, meaning his harem.

2 Perhaps referring to Humāyūn's project of marching into Badakhshān, but more probably to the hills

north of Qandahār through which they would have to march to Kābul as Ghaznīn was still in the hands of the enemy.





sums so that they should not reach the skirt of the poor and needy in this city which was the first fruit of the Divine favour. God forbid that such a proper design should produce a cloud in the mind of the Shāh. Inasmuch as it was a long march to Kābul and the Hazāra and Afghāns were more numerous than ants or locusts, and as they (the Persians) were stumbling-blocks in their path, and above all, as they were intriguing<sup>1</sup> with M. Kāmran, the first thing to do was to get hold of a refuge so that their minds should be at rest. At this moment there was no place better for this purpose than Qandahār. It was therefore in accordance both with reason and justice that Budāgh Khān be told that he must, *nolens volens*, give up Qandahār. If he did not comply, the city must be besieged and taken possession of; and let a loving letter be written to the Shāh, explanatory of the facts of the case and the necessities of the position, and replete with candour and friendship. As the noble Shāh was a mine of wisdom and justice he would regard the transaction as one to be approved of. The leading spirit in this matter was Hājī Muḥammad, the son of Babā Qushqa. His Majesty Jahānbānī said "I admit it all, but 'twere base to lay siege to the place, to unsheath the sword of battle, and to put a whole party to death. Though they 've left the path of moderation (*i'tidāl*), I do not approve of immoderation (*bē-i'tidāl*) on the part of my servants. If this course be taken Budāgh Khān's men will perish, and such a result will look ill in the eyes of good men. It is much better that you devise some plan whereby we may get possession of the fort without war or tumult." Accordingly he sent a messenger to Budāgh Khān, with the request that as they were marching against Kābul he would keep M. 'Askari in prison in Qandahār so that his Majesty's mind might be at rest. Budāgh Khān thought the proposal advantageous to himself and agreed to it. It was arranged that the courageous heroes of the battlefield should proceed to the environs of Qandahār and lie in ambush there and then suddenly, when they got an opportunity, should enter the fort. Bairām Khān and a body of troops were told off for the Gandigān<sup>2</sup> Gate,

<sup>1</sup> I think these two clauses must refer to the Persians though there does not appear to be any evidence that they were plotting with Kāmran.

<sup>2</sup> The text has Kandikāi but probably the gate was named after the village of Gandigān W. of the modern city of Qandahār, and the battle-field





while Ulugh Mirzā, Hājī Muhammad and another body of troops were deputed to the Māshūr Gate, and Muayyad Beg and others were stationed near the New Gate. Those tigers of the jungle of courage made a rapid night-march and lay in ambush near Qandahār. When the "true dawn" appeared Hājī Maḥammad presented himself before all the others at the Māshūr Gate. By chance<sup>1</sup> some forage-camels were going in; he advanced under their cover, and tiger-like<sup>2</sup> suddenly entered the gate. The warder saw him and challenged him. He said that he was bringing M. 'Askarī by Budāgh Khān's orders so that he might be confined in the Fort. This pretext did not avail, and the warder was about to shut the gate when Hājī Muhammad severed his arm with a blow of his sword. Some others came up from behind, and all the Persians who were there, and offered battle, were killed. Bairām Khān entered by the Gandigān Gate, and the Fort came into the possession of the King's servants. The Persians fled and took refuge in the citadel. At midday his Majesty Jahānbānī arrived and having entered by the Gandigān Gate took post at the Āqca (white) bastion. Thus that fortunate city became by the glory of his arrival an alighting stage of peace and tranquillity and a station of justice and beneficence. All, small and great, raised pæans of joy at this happy advent. Budāgh Khān came forward, through the intervention of Haidar Sulṭān, and paid the homage of ashamedness and apologised for his offence. His Majesty encompassed him with princely favours and dismissed him. He made over the city to Bairām Khān and wrote to the Shāh that as Budāgh Khān had acted contrary to the Shāh's orders, and been slack in his duty, he had taken Qandahār<sup>3</sup> from

of 1st September, 1880. Lord Roberts' 41 years in India II. 368. Map.

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, I. 130, has a more detailed account of the stratagem.

<sup>2</sup> A. F. compares Hājī Muhammad to a tiger stalking his prey.

<sup>3</sup> Elphinstone has some just remarks on Humāyūn's treachery and A. F.'s canting defence thereof. But he is not correct in saying that the people of Qandahār had never been

subject to Humāyūn. He was certainly their suzerain through his brothers, and he was justified in regarding all Afghānistān as belonging to his family from the day of his father's conquest. Bādāonī I. 447 gives four reasons for taking Qandahār from the Persians, and as may be supposed, he is more vigorous and more to the point than the lumbering A. F.





him and made it over to Bairām Khān who was a dependant<sup>1</sup> of the Shāh.

Meanwhile M. 'Askari, unmindful of the royal clemency, and of his life's having been spared made his escape. After some days an Afghān came and reported that the Mīrzā was in his house, and asked that some one might be sent to seize him, but without letting it be known from whom the information came. His Majesty Jahān-bānī appointed Shāh Mīrzā and Khwāja 'Ambar Nāzir and they brought him out of the Afghān's house from under a woollen carpet (*palās*), and conducted him to the Presence. His Majesty from his innate clemency, and his observance of his Majesty Giti-sitānī Firdūs-makānī's testament<sup>2</sup> which was made for all mankind and especially for the brothers, forgave anew his crimes and faults and made him over to Nadīm<sup>3</sup> Kokaltāsh who was one of his Majesty's special confidants. He divided the territory of Qandahār among his officers. Tiri<sup>4</sup> he gave to Ulugh Mīrzā, and the parganas of Lahū he assigned to Hājī Muḥammad for his maintenance. Zamīn Dāwar was given to Isma'il Beg, Qilāt<sup>5</sup> to Sherafkan,<sup>6</sup> Shāl to Haidar Sultān. In this manner all the officers got jāgīrs appropriate to their positions. Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, who had committed extortion<sup>7</sup> in the city on M. 'Askari's men and on others, was delivered over to Mir Muḥammad<sup>8</sup> 'Alī.

<sup>1</sup> *Ta'alluq bashāh dūrad*. Bairām was a Turkoman and a *persona grata* with Tahmāsp. But perhaps the meaning is "the city remains dependant on the Shāh."

<sup>2</sup> The reference as to Bābar's dying request that Humāyūn would always forgive his brothers.

<sup>3</sup> The author of a MS. life of Akbar in the possession of Colonel Hanna, and who, as a grandson of 'Azīz Kōka and great-grandson of Jijī Anaga, was likely to know, states that Nadīm was the husband of the famous Māham Anaga.

<sup>4</sup> N. Qandahār, on the Helmand, the Tarīn of the *Āin*, Jarrett, II. 398. The text has Tiprī.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Qilāt Banjārah, Jarrett, II. 397.

<sup>6</sup> Bāyazīd, 17b, says it was given to Qāsim Ḥusain Khān Shaibānī.

<sup>7</sup> *Tama' karda būd*, lit., had behaved avariciously. The allusion to Jalālu-d-dīn is puzzling for he was in Humāyūn's service. But he had once been 'Askari's servant and perhaps he abused his opportunities when the troops entered Qandahār. Erskine's paraphrase of the passage in his history hardly agrees with the text.

<sup>8</sup> No doubt Muḥammad 'Alī Taghāī, the maternal uncle of Humāyūn, and who afterwards was governor of Kābul.





When the holy heart was relieved of the affairs of Qandahār, and when, by the blessing of Divine aid, and by the royal efforts, destiny and deliberation had come into accord (*tagdīr muāfiq-i-tadbīr āmad*), he in an auspicious hour left her Majesty Maryam-makānī in Qandahār and addressed himself to the subduing of Kābul. One  
242 of the endless bounties and unexpected favours was that a large caravan had come from Hindustān and the merchants had made good bargains by purchasing 'Irāq horses from the Turkomans (the Persian auxiliaries of Humāyūn). As the lights of prestige were streaming from the cheek of circumstance, the leaders of the caravan came and represented that if their horses were taken into the service of the grand army and an order be given for payment after the conquest of Hindustān they would be greatly pleased and would feel that they were fortunate. "Glorious will be our fortune," they said, "if by giving this aid we may come to be numbered among the loyalists of the sublime dynasty." His Majesty Jahānbānī regarded the proposition as a heavenly aid, and a providential contribution, and having acceded to their request, he ordered that purchase-bonds for the horses should be written out at the rates desired by the vendors and be given to them. He himself came to the ridge near Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl and ordered Ulugh Mīrzā, Bairām Khān, Sherāfkan and Haidar Muḥammad Ākhṭa Begī (master of the horse), to set apart the horses for the royal stables, and then to select those for the officers and others according to their rank. One thousand horses purchased by the privy purse (*sarkār-i-khāṣṣa*) were given away in accordance with each one's requirements. The hearts, both of the merchants<sup>1</sup> and the soldiers, were soothed and gladdened. Dawa Beg Hazāra, wishing to be distinguished for serving both in person and property, led<sup>2</sup> the way by night to the fort of Tūrī, where his clan was. When the army arrived there, the headmen brought according to their ability horses and sheep as presents. They did good service, and as the place had pleasant pastures (*alanghā*) his Majesty remained there for several days to recruit and to enjoy himself. Her Highness Khānzāda Begam fell ill here,

<sup>1</sup> Jauhar gives another and more probable account of this affair.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāh sarkardā burd*, perhaps

the meaning is that he went by night in advance of the army.





and the illness lasted, and she died.<sup>1</sup> His Majesty performed the rites of mourning, and grasping the strong rope of patience, the glory of the awakened of hearts and the mark of the intelligent, he engaged in charities and works of beneficence such as befitted a princely family and might be a sweet savour to the soul of that generous matron. He then marched under the guidance of a lofty fortune towards Kābul. Near Qandahār M. Hindāl did homage and was received with unbounded kindness. His Majesty was much delighted at his coming, which was the preface to the advent of many others. Officers hastened from Kābul in troops. But by reason of contrariety and mingling of air-currents a sickness and pestilence broke out on the march in the camp, and there were many travellers 243 to the city of annihilation. Among them was Haidar Sultān. As the untowardness of the atmosphere was great, and the force became small M. Hindāl represented that they ought to return to Qandahār for the winter and march against Kābul in the beginning of spring and after making the army efficient. His Majesty said nothing to his face, but when the meeting was over he sent him this verbal message by Mir Saiyid Barka: "When I did not know that you would come, or that Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā would leave<sup>2</sup> (Kāmran) I proceeded towards Kābul in reliance on the Divine favours, why should I delay now because an unforeseen circumstance (the pestilence) has occurred? If this thought has come into your mind on account of the fatigues and pains of your men you can go and repose this winter in Zamīn Dāwar which I have given to you, and when

<sup>1</sup> Gulbadan Begam says she died after three days' illness. She calls the place Qabalḥak (?) and says the body was buried there but removed three months afterwards to Khānzāda's brother's (Bābar) sepulchre. In all probability Qabalḥak is a copyist's error for Ghilcāk (غلیچک) in Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl. Bāyazīd, p. 69, says that there was a garden there which Humāyūn visited several times.

<sup>2</sup> It would seem from Jauhar, Stewart 81 and Erskine II. 322 that

it was only at Tīrī that Hindāl joined Humāyūn. Erskine says Yādgār Nāṣir also joined here, but from the text and also from A. N. I. 248 and Bāyazīd 21b it would appear that Yādgār though he left Kāmran did not immediately join Humāyūn. He went to Badakhshān, and then to Qandahār (after Humāyūn had marched) and did not join Humāyūn till at Kābul when he came along with Humāyūn's harem. No doubt he went to Qandahār because his old friend (see Bāyazīd) Bairām was there.





the knot of Kābul has been untied you can rejoin our service." The Mirzā was greatly ashamed on getting this message and begged forgiveness. His Majesty advanced with good intent and a confident hope, and braced up his heart to carrying through the business. On the march Jamil Beg, brother (younger) of Bābūs, whom M. Kāmran had made guardian of Āq<sup>1</sup> Sultān his son-in-law and had placed in Ghaznīn, came and kissed the threshold, and begged the forgiveness of Bābūs' offences. His request was granted.

When the army halted at the station (*yurt*) of Shaikh 'Alī, which is in the neighbourhood of Paghman (*na'mān* in text) and Arqandī, M. Kāmran became disturbed at the approach of the world-conquering standards and sent forth Qāsim Barlās with a body of troops. He ordered his artillery-officer, Qāsim Mukhlis Tarbatī to take his arsenal to Jalka Daurī near Bābūs Beg's house, and to draw it up there. He also brought inside the fort all the men's families who were living outside. When he had strengthened the fort he came out from Kābul with pomp and insouciance and encamped near the quarters (*yurt*) of Bābūs Beg. He employed himself in reviewing and marshalling the troops. Qāsim Barlās had proceeded with a body of troops to Takiya Khimār<sup>2</sup> when Khwāja Mu'azzam, Hāji Muḥammad and Sherafkan hastened from the royal camp and displayed their superiority. By the Divine aid—which was the vanguard of conquering fortune—Qāsim Barlās could not withstand them and turned to flee. When only a small space remained between the two forces M. Hindāl was at his own request appointed to the vanguard. The army had passed the defile of the "Khwāja's ridge" and had halted in the neighbourhood of Arqandī when Bābūs and Jamil Beg and a number of their men, and with Shāh Bardī<sup>3</sup> Khān who held Gardēz, Bangash and Naghḥ came

<sup>1</sup> Younger brother of Khizr Khwāja the husband of Gulbadan Begam. Āq Sultān, the White Prince, is his sobriquet, his name, according to Bāyazīd 19b, being Ḥasan Daulat Sultān. He was married to Ḥabība one of Kāmran's daughters. But he afterwards offended his father-in-law who had

his wife taken away from him. See Gulbadan's Mem.

<sup>2</sup> *Camār* in text. Khimār means vintner. Stewart read *himār*, an ass, and this is a more likely name.

<sup>3</sup> This is the man who afterwards became a saint and water-carrier and wrote poetry under the style of Bahrām Saqqā. He was elder brother





and submitted. They were received with unbounded favours. After that, Maṣāhib Beg, son of Khwāja Kalān Beg, came with many men and enjoyed the fortune of service, and was exalted by princely favours. Meanwhile Bābūs represented that it was no time for dallying and that his Majesty should mount his horse as all the men were coming over. His Majesty Jahānbānī mounted the swift steed of fortune. On this occasion he sent for 'Alī Qulī Safarī and Bahādūr the sons of Haidar Sulṭān who were in mourning for their father and loaded them with favours and kindnesses. After a time Qarāca Khān came and did homage. M. Kāmraṇ read his own downfall in the pages of the royal fortunes and sent Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd and Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Khālīq to apologise for his offences. He made sundry requests through the Khwājas, who arrived when the two armies were less than a mile apart. His Majesty accepted<sup>1</sup> his homage and postponed decision on his petitions. He promised further favours to the Khwājas and dismissed them with honour. Out of humanity and kindness he ordered a suspension of hostilities. The object of the Mīrzā in sending the Khwājas was to cause delay and make the king's soldiers slacken their march and to get time for himself, and he was waiting for the darkness of night so that he might by making a long night-march remove himself to a distance. When then the veil of nocturnal gloom had darkened the earth he from an obscured understanding and a benighted soul could not resolve upon experiencing the pleasure of doing homage and withdrew in all haste into the citadel. Then he took his son M. Ibrāhīm and his wives and went off to Ghaznīn by Binī<sup>2</sup> Hiṣār. When his

of Bāyazīd the memoirs-writer. His proper name was Shāh Bardī Biyāt. M. Kāmraṇ had by this time taken his districts from him, and given them to Khizr Khwāja Hazāra. Kāmraṇ gave him in exchange Ghōrband, &c., Bāyazīd 196.

<sup>1</sup> I think the meaning is that he postponed decision on Kāmraṇ's requests until he came forward and did homage in person. According to Bāyazīd Humāyūn rejected all Kāmraṇ's proposals. Gulbadan Begam

says Humāyūn made presents of food and clothes to the Khwājas.

<sup>2</sup> See Jarrett II. 404n. and Āin text L. 592. The words in Bāyazīd 21a appear to be Binī-Kōhī. Lord Roberts in his "Forty-one years in India," II. 223 says "Beni Hissar, a considerable village, surrounded by orchards and gardens, and only two miles south of the far-famed citadel of the Bala Hissar." The name means "nose (or ridge) of the fortress."





Majesty Jahānbāni heard of his flight he sent Bābūs with a number of trusty men to Kābul to prevent any molestation of the inhabitants or sepoy, and to make them all hopeful of the royal favour. He appointed M. Hindāl and a body of troops to pursue the Mirzā and proceeded himself to Kābul with victory at his foot and fortune as his stirrup-companion. In an auspicious moment the drummers of dominion beat high the great drum (*kūrāka*) of prestige and the standard-bearers of victory advanced the stelliform<sup>1</sup> standards of glory to the starry sphere. On the night of the 13th of the Jalālī month of Āzar corresponding to the night of Wednesday, 12th<sup>2</sup> Ramaẓān, 952 (18th November, 1545), the conquest of Kābul, the beginning of countless victories, was accomplished by heavenly aid, and the gates of joy and success opened to the hearts of mankind. Two

<sup>1</sup> *Kaukaba*. This is a play on the double meaning of the word *kaukab*, meaning both a star and the globe surmounting the standard, and this is all the neater from the fact that the march was at night.

<sup>2</sup> There is a good deal of confusion about the year. See Erskine II. 325n. Nizāmu-d-dīn prefers 953, though some, he says, give it as 952. As pointed out by the *Bib. Ind.* editors the first chronogram given by A. F. yields 954, and the second, or metrical one, 952. I am of opinion that 952 is right. 12th Ramaẓān, 952, appears to be a Wednesday and corresponds to 18th November, 1545. Other authorities give the date as 10th Ramaẓān. A. F. gives the date of the commencement of the siege of Qandahār, 7th Muḥarram, 952, or 21st March, 1545, but does not give its termination. The omission is supplied by the *Bādshāhnāma* I. 64, which says that Qandahār was taken on Thursday, 25th Jumāda-l-ākhir, 952, or 4th September, 1545, and that

Kābul was taken on Wednesday, 12th Ramaẓān, of the same year. The idea that the year was 953 seems to have arisen from supposing that Akbar was over four when Kābul was taken. Bāyazīd and Ferihta say this, but he was just over three if the capture was in 952. We know that Humāyūn was at Mashhad on the day after the Ramaẓān of 951 and at Jam on 21st Shawāl (see inscription in E.A. S.J. for 1897). He was then on his way to join the Persian army and so he might arrive at Qandahār in the beginning of 952 and take Kābul about 9 months later. The difference between the authorities as to the day of the month of the capture of Kābul may be due to some reckoning the day of Kāmrān's flight as that of the capture, while others have taken the date of Humāyūn's triumphal entry. Gulbadan Begam who was in Kābul at the time gives the night of 12th Ramaẓān as that of Humāyūn's entry. Perhaps A. F. copied this.





hours of the night had passed when his Majesty exalted the plain of Kābul by the radiance of his advent. Navidī<sup>1</sup> found the chronogram of this victory to be *Kābulrā girift*, He took Kābul. Another is the hemistich "*bē jang girift mulk-i-Kābul az we*," "without a battle he took the country of Kābul from him."

When the gates of joy and gladness opened at the glorious indications of the personality of his Majesty the *Shāhinshāh*, and the foundations of dominion were thereby renewed, his Majesty Jahānbānī regarded not the defeat of M. Kāmran, nor the conquest of Kābul, but abode in expectation of the blissful footsteps of his Majesty the *Shāhinshāh* until they brought to him, in an auspicious moment, that world-intelligence who at that time was, so far as regarded the existence of his bodily elements aged three years<sup>2</sup> two months and eight days. His Majesty obtained spiritual and temporal felicity by beholding that blissful nursling of light divine, and prostrated himself in thanksgiving for the safety of the young shoot of fortune's garden, and for the glorious acquisition of the lamp of the family. In the presence of this glorious fortune, and before this abundant bliss he opened the gates of liberality and beneficence for all mankind. On the morning after that world-illuminating day his Majesty Jahānbānī sat on the throne of fortune and attainment, and received the homage (*kōrnish*) of the pillars of the state and of the soldiery and servants, while at the same time the nations were made fortunate by kissing the threshold, and raising the hands of supplication implored from God the enduring glory of the *Khilāfat*, and the uprearing of the standards of empire. His Majesty threw open the gates of justice and beneficence before all people and tranquilly spent the winter aloft in the citadel in serving the Creator and in

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this is the *nom-de-plume* of *Khawāja Zain-al-Ābidīn*, a Persian poet. Rieu Supplement No. 307. He afterwards called himself 'Abdī and died in Ardabil 988. Perhaps he is the Bābā 'Abdī mentioned in the *Haft Iqlīm* as having settled at Qandahār. See Ethé's Cat. 470, art. No. 1222.

<sup>2</sup> The text has 2 years but this is

clearly wrong. Akbar was born on 5th Rajab, 949, or 15th October, 1542, and Kābul was entered on 12th Ramazān, 952, so that according to the Muhammadan calendar Akbar was then 3 years 2 months 8 days old, or 3 years 1 month according to the solar calendar. Bāyazīd says he was then between 4 and 5 which would make the year of the capture 953.





comforting His creatures. Of the events which happened about this time there were the deaths of Yūnus 'Alī and Mūyīd<sup>1</sup> Beg who were leading officers of the Court. At the same time it came to the ears of his Majesty that Khwāja Mu'azzam was plotting to run away in company with Muqaddam Beg,<sup>2</sup> and to convey themselves to M. Kāmran. This vexed greatly his noble heart. He exiled Muqaddam Beg to Kashmīr and discarded Khwāja Mu'azzam. By the felicity of his Majesty's presence and his bounteous shade the country of Kābul became an abode of security and peace and a resting-place of Divine mercy.

<sup>1</sup> Bāyazīd 21b says that the death of this man caused universal joy.

<sup>2</sup> He did good service by facilitating Humāyūn's escape after the battle of Qanauj, and probably for this reason he was only punished by

banishment. He was a Kōka or foster-brother and had been one of Kāmran's officers. He seems to have afterwards come back to Humāyūn. Text I. 296 and 300.





## CHAPTER XXXIX.

CELEBRATION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S CIRCUMCISION, ILLUMINATIONS ; 246  
AND MANIFESTATION OF MARVELS BY THE TENDER  
PLANT OF GLORY'S GARDEN.

'Tis ever the way of noble grantors of desires and auspicious-minded lords to seize opportunities for liberality, and to fulfil a choice worship, whose acmè is the conquest of affections, under the guise of Use and Wont—a course whereby they are protected from the dulled vision of blear-eyed mortals. Accordingly now that fortune's breeze was blowing afresh, and the rose-garden of attainment had bloomed anew, the custom of circumcision, as applied to the new growth of fortune's garden, and fresh offshoot of the palm of glory and grandeur, was made an occasion for the contentment and enrichment<sup>1</sup> of mankind. In the prime of spring, when the spirit of plants was in motion and the nightingale of delight was on the wing—

*Verse.*

“Violets raised their head from the stream's lip  
Earth was ambergris-perfumed from the fragrance of flowers,  
The fragrant breeze of morn, let us say  
Carried a thousand musk-bags in her bosom.”

He ordered that an encampment should be made in the *Urta*<sup>2</sup> *Bāgh*, a most delightful spot, and that affection might all the more be won—and this in truth is the giving of thanks to the Almighty, he threw open the gates of joy and pleasance, and in renewal of the splendours of *Kaikañs* and of *Kaiqubād* it was directed that their

<sup>1</sup> Gulbadan Begam describes Humāyūn's bounties on this occasion to the widows and orphans of those who had fallen at Causa, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *اُرتا*. The word is *Türkī* and

more commonly written *اُرتا*. It means middle so that *Urta Bāgh* might mean the middle or inner garden.





Highnesses the Begams should grace the entrancing garden with their presence, according<sup>1</sup> to their ranks and conditions, while the Amīrs and the city-magnates should occupy the Cār Bāgh. All the Amīrs bound the girdle of endeavour on the waist of joy and undertook these arrangements. The city magistrates, and leading men exerted themselves in an admirable fashion, while the artists and craftsmen vied with one another in decorating the shops, and in promoting the briskness of the bazar. Soon there was such ornamentation as exceeds description. Every day his Majesty Jahānbānī came and adorned the banquet, and he distinguished everyone by sympathetic expressions suitable to their rank and condition. Before the festival (of the circumcision) took place Qarāca Khān, Muṣāhib Beg, and other familiars of the Court, who had been sent to convey her Majesty Mariam-Makānī, arrived from Qandahār, and her blissful advent increased the rejoicings.

247 It occurred to his Majesty Jahānbānī that he should make manifest to great and small the touchstone-capability (*‘iyār-i-dānīsh*) of the Shāhinshāh, from whose brow there streamed while yet of tender years, thousands of rays of light divine. He therefore arranged a princely festival in the pavilions of chastity. All the great ladies attended in the gynaeceum.<sup>2</sup> For the instruction of the spectators his Majesty the Shāhinshāh was brought in on the shoulder of respect and placed on the auspicious Divan, and in conformity with orders her Majesty Mariam-Makānī entered in the train of the other ladies, and without being distinguished in any way. The design of the king was that the prince (*lit.* the light of the eye-pupil of the Sultānate) should single out his honoured mother from the crowd of ladies. By light divine his Majesty, without difficulty, hesitation, or mistake, and in virtue of his abiding intelligence and innate discernment took refuge with his saintly mother, and put himself into her arms. On beholding this glorious act—surprising to the minds of the superficial and to persons who

<sup>1</sup> The meaning seems to be that the ladies' tents were arranged in order according to their ranks.

<sup>2</sup> *Bārgāh-i-ḥarīm*, which, perhaps, only means private audience-hall. It is not clear to me from A.F.'s

language whether the ladies were veiled or not, but presumably this would make little difference to Akbar who had not seen his mother since he was an infant.





are swayed by what is usual—a shout arose among the spectators, and they recognised the power of the eternally-nourished one, and prodigy of fate's worship. All perceived that this was not the work of the bodily senses which put a difference between childhood and adolescence. Rather it was nought but spiritual intuition and Divine teaching. 'Twas holy light breaking forth from its ambushes by the instrumentality of this nursling of Fortune's garden.

Of a truth, the veil of distance can be no hindrance to what is eternally conjoined, nor apparent remoteness any impediment to spiritual propinquity. And when we consider the matter what room is there for remoteness? For, in this firstling of Life's rosebush there is perfect contact with the Primæval, and the diffusive lights of being, the perfecting (*takmīl*) of the bodily frame, and the burnishing (*taṣqīl*) of the senses assume form *pari passu* (*darja ba darja*). And there is close relation with the glorious world of the Holy and the Absolute to whose verge there is no entrance for the darkness of ignorance, or the plethora of heedlessness. Nor is it hidden from those who can look far into the world of mystery that though this sublime Master seemeth to have been engendered amid bodily elements and from protoplasm (*mawadd-i-hayyūlānī*) yet as regards the source of his nature and the root of his being his forefathers and foremothers have been procreated from him so that spiritually and in an esoteric sense he is the Father of Fathers. And to his Majesty Jahānbānī—that curtain-raiser of celestial mysteries—it was manifest that the Cosmoplast of the outer world had brought this nursling of Creation's Spring into the field of actuality in order, firstly, that he might experience the stages of mortal life, and secondly, that he might bring together and compose the distractions of the world. In short he (*Humāyūn*) under the guise of the rite of circumcision offered thanksgiving to the Bestower of spiritual and temporal blessings. Each day there 248 was a novel, royal feast, and thanks were returned to the world-adorning Creator. The great ones of realm and religion came from all parts, and were made happy by royal gifts. Among these, Yādgar Nāṣir Mirzā had the honour of performing obeisance. The brief account of him is that on the first<sup>1</sup> uprearing of fortune's

<sup>1</sup> If this means that Yādgar Nāṣir deserted Kāmran on Humāyūn's first

appearance before Qandahār, it is wrong, for we know from Bāyazīd,





standards on the borders of Qandahār he separated from M. Kāmran, as has already been described, and proceeded to Badakhshān. As he could not succeed there, he set off in order to enter his Majesty Jahānbānī's service. At the time that the sublime army proceeded from Qandahār to conquer Kābul, the Mirzā after experiencing the world's hardships arrived at Qandahār. Bairām Khān showed him every hospitality there, and then in accordance with orders he had the felicity of paying his respects to his Majesty Jahānbānī at that joyous time (the circumcision festival). He had the good fortune also to do homage to the Shāhīnshāh and to be made fortunate by the glances of favour.

During this joyful season, which was the time of the adorning of pleasure's springtide, and the period of decking the garden of dominion and prestige, at a moment when the constellations were shedding light from favourable aspects upon mortals the meeting for the decorating of the young plant of the Divine rose garden, to wit, for the circumcision of his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, was held with thousands of rejoicings. The materials (*asbāb*) for the joy of mankind were brought together, the gates (*abwāb*) of joy were opened for mortals. Small and great shared in the princely gifts, and high and low experienced the royal favour. The world's pains (*kulfathā*) ended in pleasure (*ulfat*) and the world's differences changed into unison. The captains presented their gifts, and were exalted by grand favours. In the midst of these celebrations his Majesty for the cheering of hearts, which is a great buttress of sovereignty, proceeded towards Khwāja Reg Rawān,<sup>1</sup> and ordered festivities. A world-obeyed order was issued that the amīrs should wrestle<sup>2</sup> with one another. His Majesty himself by means of the balance of inspection picked out equally-matched antagonists. His Majesty wrestled with Imām<sup>3</sup> Qulī Qūrēi and M. Hindāl did so with

whose statement A.F. has elsewhere copied, that Yādgar was at Kābul when Bairām went there on a mission.

<sup>1</sup> Moving sand. See Bābar 146 and Jarrett II. 409 and especially Wood's Journey to the source of the Oxus, p. 115. The moving sand is in the

upper end of the Kōh Dāman, and on its eastern side.

<sup>2</sup> The account of the wrestling is taken from Bāyazīd 216.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the Imām Qulī Shīghālī of Blochmann, 512. The word Shīghālī is probably derived from Shīghāwal. Shaw's Türkī Dict. 134.





Yadgar Nāṣir M. After that he went to Khwāja Se<sup>1</sup> Yār to visit the *arghawān* groves. Then he returned and bade preparations be made for a great feast. He distributed fiefs, presents, and robes of honour to the servants of the threshold in accordance with their deserts. M. Hindāl obtained Ghāznūn and its dependencies while Zamīn Dāwar and Tiri were given to Ulugh Mīrzā. All those connected with the Court received gifts in proportion to their conditions, and the tribes of mankind abode with tranquillity and ease of heart in the shade of abundance, and the light of favour.

Among the events which occurred during the festivities was the arrival of the ambassadors of Shāh Tahmāsp. They brought congratulations on the victory and delivered suitable gifts. At their head was Walad Beg whom his Majesty welcomed with princely favours. Another was the arrival of Shāh<sup>2</sup> Qāsim Taghāi who brought a petition and gifts from M. Sulaimān. But the Mīrzā's excuses for not coming in person had not the honour of being accepted by his Majesty, and a peremptory order was issued for his attendance and he was informed that his reputation for sincerity and loyalty depended upon his appearing in person<sup>3</sup> to do homage. Another thing which happened about this time was the arrival of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī who was eminent in Afghānistān and Balūcistān for his possessions and for his honesty. He resided near Dūkī which is an appurtenance of Sind.<sup>4</sup> He greeted the threshold with the foot of integrity and the head of sincerity, and became a recipient of royal favours. Dūkī was awarded to him. About the same time Lavang Balūc, who was a leader among his people, came along with his brethren and did homage. His Majesty received him likewise with favour and granted him Shāl and Mastang. These visitors were granted their desires and dismissed rapidly lest the wild nature

<sup>1</sup> The fountain of the Three friends, Bābar 147 and Jarrett II. 409n.

<sup>2</sup> Sulaimān's maternal uncle, Bāyazīd 22a.

<sup>3</sup> Jauhar, Stewart, 83.

<sup>4</sup> The text has Hind but I adopt the variant of Sind as Dūkī is used by Bābar, 152 and 3, for the south-

eastern hills of Afghanistan which is near Sind. In the *Āin*, Jarrett II. 397, Dūkī is given as the eastern division of Qandahār. Erskine, Hist. II. 327, accepts the Hind of the text and remarks in a note that Dūkī was probably dependent on Multan.





of such dwellers in clachans (*rūstā parwardān*) should prove too strong for them, and delay be inimical to their constitutions.

250 Among the things which happened about this time there was this, that Yādgar Nāṣir Mirzā from an ill-fatedness and an inward wickedness made a confused jumble of all favours, past and subsequent, and placed them in the alcove of oblivion and contumaciously took his stand on the path of wickedness and perversity. He gave ear to wretches of whom Muẓaffar the foster-brother of M. 'Askarī was the ringleader, and continually harboured evil thoughts. When these facts came, one after the other, to the knowledge of his Majesty, and were confirmed by honest intelligencers, especially when 'Abdul Jabbār Shaiḡh, who was a most trustworthy person, and was intimate with one of the plotters and shared his counsels, came and detailed the circumstances after inquiry, the holy heart of his Majesty Jahānbānī Janna-t-āshīyanī became disgusted and he had Muẓaffar Kōka seized and put to death. Then he sent for Yādgar Nāṣir M. and reproached him by the mouth of Qarāca Khan. The substance of the rebuke was as follows: "We thought that when we had passed over your grievous offences, and had bestowed boundless favours on you, you would take warning and atone for your transgressions, past and present, and that even the ungrateful might have a limit and some discretion." The Mirzā cast aside shame, and sometimes was silent and sometimes denied or feigned ignorance. His Majesty, after making categorical<sup>1</sup> statements (of his offences) and after royal reproofs, directed Ibrāhīm Ishāk Āqā and others to confine him in the Kābul citadel (the Bālā Hīṣar) near the room where M. 'Askarī was imprisoned.

One of the things that happened at this time was the death of Caghatāi Sultān, who was a young Mogul prince and the unique of the age for beauty and character. His Majesty Jahānbānī regarded him with affection and distinguished him by favours. He felt his loss deeply, but reflecting on the Divine decree which hath assigned existence absolute to the other world, and to this world

<sup>1</sup> This expression (*hisābī*) seems to refer to the statement in Bāyazīd 22a, that nearly 30 charges were formulated against Yādgar, one being

an act of disrespect committed by him so long ago as at the taking of Cāmpānīr.





only contingent existence, he wisely took refuge in submission and self-surrender. Mīr Amānī uttered this chronogram.

## Verse.

Sultān Caghātāi was the rose of Beauty's rosarium,  
Of a sudden, Death led him to paradise,  
In the rose-season he designed leaving this garden,  
Hearts were ingulphed in blood from grief for this likeness of  
a rosebud,  
I sought his date from the bereaved nightingale,  
Sighing he said "The rose hath left the garden."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gul as bāgh bīrūn shūd*. Bāgh=1003 and gul=50 so that 1003 - 50=953, which is the date of the death. Amānī composed an equally ingenious chronogram on the death of Hindāl. See *infra*. According to Rieu, *Tārki Cat.* 301, there were five poets of this name. The one in question is probably the second on Rieu's list, Mīr Amānī of Herāt who according to the Bodleian *Cat.* of

Persian MSS. p. 219, used to live at Kābul and was killed at Jaunpūr by a fall from his horse in 981 A.H. A.F. has apparently taken the lines from Bāyazīd 22a, but the third line there is

دل غنچه صفت در غم او غرقه بخون شد

Badāōnī has a similar chronogram about Bairām Khān's death. Lowe, 14 and text I. 46.





## CHAPTER XL.

MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHIYĀNĪ'S ARMY FOR  
THE CONQUEST OF BADAKHSHĀN, THE VICTORY OVER THAT  
COUNTRY, AND WHAT HAPPENED DURING THAT TIME.

When the disaffection of M. Sulaimān became confirmed, and it was made certain that he had twisted away his head from the burden of commands, and that the idea of sovereignty was paining it, and that he was inwardly troubled by this vain imagination, his Majesty  
251 Jahānbānī, in the beginning of 953 (March 1546), turned the rein of intention towards Badakhshān. One of the Mirzā's rebellious acts was that after the taking of Kābul he laid hold of Khūst and Andarāb, which were in the possession of M. Kāmran,<sup>1</sup> and had been assigned to one of the royal servants. As moreover, by theory and practice the whole of Badakhshān did not belong to M. Sulaimān, his Majesty desired also to take away Qandūz and its dependencies and to make them over in fief to one of his followers, and bade him be contented with what his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī had given to his father. When his Majesty's dominions should be enlarged, his fief too would be increased. In consideration, however, of the Mirzā's circumstances Qandūz was left as it was. The Mirzā ignorantly averted his face from his benefactor, and openly smote the door of opposition, and had the *khutba* read in his own name. His Majesty resolved to extinguish the flames of disaffection. He left his Majesty the Shāhinshāh under God's protection and set out in a propitious hour, and halted at Yurat Cālāk.<sup>2</sup> He took M. 'Askarī along with him. He had anxieties about Yādgār Naṣir Mirzā, and when the army reached the Ulang of Qarā Bāgh<sup>3</sup> he determined

<sup>1</sup> Kāmran is not mentioned, but I think he must be meant. All the MSS. however have only the word Mirzā so that perhaps A.F. really meant Sulaimān.]

<sup>2</sup> Bāyazīd seems to make Khwāja Rīwāz the first stage.

<sup>3</sup> There is a Qarā Bāgh west of Ghaznī called by A.F. in the *Āīn* the Qandahār Qarā Bāgh, but the





that he would relieve him of the pangs of existence and thereby give peace and security to the State. For the match of his strife, and the spark of his contentiousness were like to consume all the families. An order to this effect was sent to Muḥammad 'Alī Taghāi who had charge of Kābul. He out of complete simplicity and want of perspicuity returned for answer, "I have never killed a sparrow, how can I achieve the killing of the Mīrzā." His Majesty passed over his simplicity and charged Muḥammad Qāsim Maujī with this most proper service and he in the night-time sped the arrow of death by a bowstring.<sup>1</sup> When the holy heart was at rest from the malevolence of the Mīrzā, his Majesty marched under the Divine guidance towards the Badakhshāns (*Badakhshānāt*). When he arrived at Andarāb and had encamped at the garden of 'Alī Qulī Andarābī, M. Sulaimān owing to his evil fortune advanced to offer battle and drew up at the village of Tirgirān<sup>2</sup> which is a dependency of Andarāb. When his Majesty heard this, he sent forward M. Hindāl, Qarāca Khān, Hājī Muḥammad Khān and a number of other brave men. A great battle ensued between the royal army and the Mīrzā. The latter protected himself by a trench and stood firm, while Mīrzā Beg Barlās and a body of archers discharged their arrows from behind it. M. Hindāl, Qarāca Khān and Hājī Muḥammad Khān displayed their valour and Khwāja Mu'azzam and Bahādur Khān were wounded by arrows, and had to dismount. Walad<sup>3</sup> Qāsim Beg, Ja'far Beg and the bodyguards, and Aḥmad Beg, and Dūghān<sup>4</sup> Beg who belonged to the Shāh's special bodyguard and who in company with the ambassador served his Majesty in this fight, came to the ground in consequence of their horses falling. The result hung in

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Qarā Bāgh of the text must be the place about 25 miles north of Kābul and near Istālāf.

<sup>1</sup> In plain language the unfortunate Mīrzā was strangled. A.F.'s account seems taken from Bāyazīd who gives specimens of the charges brought against the Mīrzā. He says Mun'im Khān suggested the employment of Muḥammad Qāsim. Bāyazīd represents the execution as taking

place before Humāyūn left Kābul and this seems probable. The Mīrzā's body was buried in a high ground opposite the citadel-gate and near a pond, but was afterwards removed to Ghaznīn, to his father's sepulchre.

<sup>2</sup> Bāyazīd 25b.

<sup>3</sup> Bāyazīd has Dalū Qāsim, brother of Walad Beg.

<sup>4</sup> Tūghān in Bāyazīd.





the balance till a body of devoted servants such as Shāikh Buḥūl, Sultān Muḥammad Fawrāq, Latīfī of Sahrind, Sultān Husain Khān, Muḥammad Khān<sup>1</sup> Jalāir, Muḥammad Khān Turkamān, M. Qulī Jalāir, M. Qulī,<sup>2</sup> brother of Haidar Muḥammad Khān, and Shāh Qulī Nārānji<sup>3</sup> relying on the invisible Opener attacked M. Beg. And having by God's help crossed the trench, they raised their swords and briskly attacked the foe. The latter could not maintain themselves or abide the onset and fled, reckoning dispersion and route as a gain. On every side the braves of the field of action and lions of battle's jungle advanced on the plains of victory. Ere his Majesty had mounted his swift steed the reverberation of victory sounded in his ears. The voice of exaltation burst forth. M. Sulaimān did not remain firm but went off towards the defiles of Khōst by way of Nārī<sup>4</sup> and Ishkamish. Tūlak of Taliqan, M. Beg Barlās,<sup>5</sup> and Avis Sultān who was a scion of the kings of Moghulistān separated themselves from M. Sulaimān and did homage. M. Hindāl and a body of heroes were ordered to seize the fugitives and his Majesty himself took part in the pursuit. Many Badakhshānī horses fell into the hands of the brave warriors, and his Majesty arrived by the Pass of Shāshān<sup>6</sup> at the valley of Khōst. M. Sulaimān fled miserably with a few followers to Kulāb.<sup>7</sup> The Badakhshān nobles and soldiers came in crowds and did homage and everyone of them was treated with consideration and with favours suitable to their position. On account of the abundance of fruits his Majesty remained several days in Khōst<sup>8</sup> and was the accom-  
253 plisher of the wishes of the people. For the purpose of hunting waterfowl and partridges and for fishing he proceeded to Warask.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann 411.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann 385.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann 480.

<sup>4</sup> Nārī in text.

<sup>5</sup> Bāyazīd calls him the ruler of Ghōrī (qn. Ghōr).

<sup>6</sup> Sāsān in text, but the variant is right. It was north of Tīrgirān and Andarāb.

<sup>7</sup> Beyond the Oxus.

<sup>8</sup> It would seem that Māham, the other of Humāyūn, came from

Khōst, for Bāyazīd, 26a says that Humāyūn stayed in Khōst for several days in the society of his maternal grandparents. The Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī mentioned in Bābar's Mem. as the ruler of Khōst, is probably either Māham's father, or her brother. If the latter he must be the Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī whom Humāyūn put in charge of Kābul.

<sup>9</sup> So in Bāyazīd. Text has Darask. The place has already been





There he practised the netting<sup>1</sup> of birds (*ganjishk*) which is a speciality of that place. From thence he went to Kalāōgān<sup>2</sup> and from there to Kishm.<sup>3</sup> M. Sulaimān did not think it advisable to remain in that neighbourhood and so had crossed the Āmū and was there in perturbation with a few followers. One thing that happened at Kishm was that a servant of Shāh Tahmāsp named Khusrū<sup>4</sup> had fled and entered his Majesty Jahānbānī's service. He had used some improper language about the Shāh, and Dūghān Beg, Husain Beg and Ja'far Beg of the Shāh's bodyguard and who were in attendance on his Majesty, on hearing of this met Khusrū in the Kishm bazaar and killed him. His Majesty disapproved of this lawlessness and imprisoned them, but after some days he, at the intercession of Husain Qulī Sultān Muhrdār, drew the line of forgiveness over their offence.

When the affairs of Badakhshān had been settled, Qandūz and its dependencies were given to M. Hindāl, and much of Badakhshān was divided in fiefs among the officers. Mun'im Khān was made tahsildār of Khōst, and Bābūs was sent to collect the revenues of Taliqān.<sup>5</sup> His Majesty resolved that for the better management of the affairs of Badakhshān and for the comfort of the subjects and soldiery he would make Qil'a Zafar his winter-quarters. He therefore proceeded in that direction; but when he came to Shākh-dān, between Kishm and Qil'a Zafar, he fell ill and so had to halt there for nearly two months. At the beginning of this illness he lay unconscious for four days, and on this account displeasing rumours became rife, and men left their fiefs and came in. M. Hindāl left his post with improper ideas and in concert with other officers came as far as the bank of the Kōkea, and the partizans of M. Sulaimān raised their heads here and there. But Qarāca Khān came with a number of loyalists and pitched his tent in the royal courtyard and

mentioned as Warask in text I. p. 99 near foot. It is probably the Varsack of Wood, 160n., and if so, is the river on which Kishm stands.

<sup>1</sup> See Bāyazīd, 26a & b, and Eābar, Mem. 153.

<sup>2</sup> The Kalagān of the maps. It is west of Kishm.

<sup>3</sup> Bāyazīd says Humāyūn stayed 3 or 4 months in Kishm.

<sup>4</sup> Bāyazīd calls him Khusrū Pādshāh and says Qāsim Jangī was his slave.

<sup>5</sup> Taliqān in text, but see 27a.



254 confined M. 'Askari who was likely to be seditious, bringing him into his own tent. Qarāca acted as a personal attendant, and waited on his Majesty during his sickness. No one entered the Presence except Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd<sup>1</sup> and Khwāja Mu'in.<sup>1</sup> On the fifth day, which was the beginning of the convalescence, his Majesty showed signs of improvement, and Mir Barka entered and paid his respects. When his Majesty's glance fell upon him, the Mir became agitated and showed a desire<sup>2</sup> to sacrifice himself as a thanksgiving for his Majesty's recovery. His Majesty said "Mir,<sup>3</sup> God hath spared (*bakhshīd*) me." The Mir gave some hints of the confusion of affairs and of the rectitude of Qarāca Khān. His Majesty had him called, and spoke benignantly to him, and expressed his sense of his services. At the same moment he sent a rescript of favour to the ornament of dominion, the tender plant of the stream of sovereignty, the head and trunk of fortune's springtide, to wit, his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, by the hands of Faḥl Beg, lest any evil tidings should have reached there and have dimmed the radiant heart of that nursling of Divine light, or should have caused commotions in that country. By a happy coincidence Faḥl Beg arrived with the *firmān* of favour on the morning after the night on which the distressing news of his Majesty's illness had reached Kābul. The coming of the glad tidings dispelled grief and was productive of universal order and steadfastness. The flames of discord died down, and M. Hindāl hastened back to his place, and everyone else went back to his *jāigīr*.

<sup>1</sup> They were father and son. There is an account of Mu'in, the son, in Blochmann. He is perhaps the same as the Mu'in who was Qāzī of Lahor, Blochmann, 545. Mu'in's son was Sharafu-d-dīn who married Bakhshī Bānū, Akbar's sister, and became afterwards a rebel. The family was descended from Khwāja Aḥrār the famous saint of Samarkand.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the meaning is: Changed intention of devoting himself to thanksgiving for Humāyūn's recovery.

<sup>3</sup> Mir Barka was the son of Mir 'Abdullāh and is several times referred to in the Akbarnāma. According to Jauhar it was Cūcak Begam who waited on Humāyūn during his illness and was rewarded by seeing him open his eyes when she squeezed some pomegranate juice into his lips. Bāyazīd praises the attention of Fāṭima Begam the Urdū Begī whose daughter married Khwāja Mu'azzam and was killed by him. Perhaps it was the same Fāṭima who married Bāqī Khān. Badāonī, II. 61.





Among the occurrences of this year was the killing of Khawāja Sultān Muḥammad Rashīdī<sup>1</sup> who held the office of Vizier. The short history of this event is as follows: Khawāja Mu‘azzam in conjunction with sundry vagabonds, whose brains were ruined, adopted some bigoted<sup>2</sup> phrases of the religious views of some heretical, worthless fools who had no power of reflection in their natures, and were entangled in wordy wranglings, whose nostrils took in naught of the fragrance of truth and justice and in the tree of whose understanding there was no fruit produced by the flowers of knowledge, and having conceived faithless bigotry to be faith he came into the quarters of the Khawāja on the night of 21st Ramazān, 16th November, 1546, just as the day's fasting was over, and broke his fast by giving him of the water<sup>3</sup> of the sword of ignorance for his final draught. Then fearing the wrath of the king, which is typical of Divine chastisement, he took to flight. When this news came to the ears of his Majesty he sent men to seize him and his companions, and a strict order was despatched to the authorities in Kābul, which was the residence of those ill-starred ones. Muḥammad ‘Alī Taghāī, Fazīl Beg and others, who were in the service of his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, and were managing the affairs of Kābul, on receiving the command seized Khawāja Mu‘azzam and his companions and imprisoned them.

When there appeared at Shākh-dān signs of convalescence in 255 the burning frame (*mizāj-i-wahhāj*) of his Majesty Jahānbānī he seated himself in the guarded litter of the Divine favour and proceeded towards Qil‘a Zafar. Maulānā Bāyazīd who was an eminent physician and had been nominated as tutor to his Majesty

<sup>1</sup> Bāyazīd calls him in his list "Dīwān," and there spells his name as Rashīd.

<sup>2</sup> Bāyazīd 27b, describes the murder, but says nothing of bigotry's having been the motive. It was committed by sundry Persians in concert with Mu‘azzam and apparently cupidity had to do with it for when they fled they carried off some of Shāh Tahmāsp's presents from

Takht-i-Sulaimān (*qu.* the place mentioned by Wood 160). Nizāmud-dīn mentions that the Khawāja came with Humāyūn from Persia. Probably therefore he was a Shī‘a and this may have made him obnoxious to Khawāja Mu‘azzam.

<sup>3</sup> Āb meaning both water and glitter and applied to the wave-markings on a sword.



the Shāhinshāh, and whose grandfather had been in the service of that Alexander<sup>1</sup> and Aristotle (Sikandar-Makānī Aris(ō-Nishānī) Mirzā Ulugh Beg, and had been distinguished among all the mathematical observers, performed excellent service during this illness. When his Majesty reached Qil'a Zafar he soon recovered his health, and his equilibrium was restored. By the completion of the recovery of his Majesty Jahānbānī joy and delight came into the hands of the desires of mortals. In accordance with orders a grass<sup>2</sup> house was built and he often distributed justice and happiness therefrom. From it Sherafkan, the son of Kūc Beg, received investiture of Kahmard, Zuhāk and Bāmīān. And from excess of kindness his Majesty announced that when the army arrived at Kābul he would add Ghōrband to his fiefs. His Majesty took the pleasure of *tasqāwal*<sup>3</sup> — hunting which in the Badakhshān language is called *shikār-i-nihīlam*.

<sup>1</sup> The epithet Sikandar-Makānī may serve to illustrate that of Mariam-Makānī applied to Abkar's mother. Ulugh Beg's real name was Muḥammad Turghāī according to Vambéry. The two astronomers who helped him in the composition of his tables were Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Jamshīd and the Qāzizāda (Salāḥu-d-dīn). One of them was perhaps Bāyazīd's grandfather (see D'Herbelot's articles, Ulugh Beg and Zig, and Jarrett II 12, No. 85). The person meant may however be Alī Koshjī, said by D'Herbelot to be the Qāzizāda's son. See Erskine's Bābar 51n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Khāna-i-kān*, the *khāna-i-kānī* of Bāyazīd. Bāyazīd, from whom A.F. borrows, tells us that the house was built by Jalāl-u-d-dīn Maḥmūd who was then Mir Buyūtāt or Barrack-master. The time was winter. Bāyazīd tells a story in connection with this house, of Humāyūn and some intimate courtiers (*ahl-i-nishast*) having

cooked *bughrā* (macaroni?) there. He also tells of Sherafkan's visit. When he first came he was drunk and Humāyūn seeing his state from behind the screen (*cīgh*), ordered him off. When he came again some days afterwards, Humāyūn behaved with great delicacy towards him and granted him certain districts. Kān means a mine and also a sheath, and so may mean a screen, but I incline to think that the *ک* *kānī* of Bāyazīd is a copyists' error for *ک* *kānī*, made of thatch or straw.

<sup>3</sup> Neither *tasqāwal* nor *nihīlam* occurs in the dictionaries. A.F. here copies Bāyazīd who describes, p. 28b, an expedition to the mountains on the other side of the Kōkca. They arrived at the hills, which were excessively steep, at midnight, and hunted the deer next morning. They passed so near and so quickly that they could not be shot with arrows and had to be caught by the hand. The word *nihīlam* is used by Bābar,





The dread residence of his Majesty in Badakhshān wrought dismay in all Tūrān. The Usbeks gathered together and were full of apprehension, and could find no suitable remedy for their fears.

Mem. 28, and Erskine (or Leydon) says that he does not know what animal it is. In reality *nihilam* is not the name of an animal, but of a

method of hunting, *viz.*, driving. Its synonym *tasqāwal* is Tūrki and the last part is perhaps *Jal awai*, meaning an enclosure. (Redhouse).





## CHAPTER XLI.

UNVEILING THE MYSTERIES OF DESIGN IN THE STRIFE-STIRRINGS OF  
M. KĀMRĀN, AND ACCOUNT OF HIS RULE OVER KABUL.

256 'Tis an ancient canon and an established ordinance that when God the Creator of the world wills to set an elect one on the throne of sway over mortals and by establishing him on a kingdom-adorning seat to place in his mighty hand the bridle of men's hearts, He maketh him in the beginning of his course the alighting-place of divers difficulties and the receptacle of sundry afflictions to the end that he may the more fully appreciate the force of the unending favours which stand ready for him in the hidden world; so that by becoming conversant with the varied stages of existence he may come to know personally Grace and Wrath, expansion and contraction, joy and sorrow. All this is clear to those who are familiar with ancient records, and are cognisant of old stories. But inasmuch as the personality of the holy product of the meeting<sup>1</sup> of the two seas of the Divine Power (*Jalāl*) and the Divine Beauty (*Jamāl*), his Majesty the *Shāhīnshāh*, to wit, is by virtue of the Eternal Decree designated for all the stages of knowledge, and as the world-adorning Deity created him a wise-hearted<sup>2</sup> Teacher and an illuminated, farseeing soul needing not the instruction of any of the sons of men, the apparition of those calamities was not to acquaint him with Grace and Wrath, nor to burn away carnalities and mortalities. Rather did the order of the manifestations of the glories of opposing qualities and the notes of conflicting attributes unveil themselves as of course and in their full perfection. And there was an illustration<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mujma'-i-bahrain*. Explained as meaning the meeting of salt and fresh water. It was the title given by the ill-fated Dārā *Shikōh* to his book which was intended to reconcile the Hindū and Muḥammadan religions.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Faizī's verses, *Badā'ōnī*, II. 261 and Lowe, 277.

<sup>3</sup> Referring to Akbar's refusal, when a child, to learn his lessons. See *infra*, p. 519.





of this in his early years, for at that time his holy soul kept aloof from inappropriate teaching. These truthful remarks will make it clear to the wise and the admonished that it is in the eyes of the superficial that such facts<sup>1</sup> are regarded as arising from abundance of instruction and a surplus of knowledge, while in the eyes of those who see the truth they are but the inevitable refulgence of a personality imbued with wisdom from of old. And whenever the bitter<sup>2</sup> waters of affliction are to be poured into the lips of one who stands afar off from the courts of Unity, and is a bewildered wanderer in the desert of astoniedness, there is in the first place a curve (*lit.* a fold or wrinkle) of magnificence cast into his forehead<sup>3</sup> of acceptance and he is made the originator of divers act of ingratitude, and the shower-forth of varieties of injustice and tyranny, till he be flung into eternal wrath and everlasting punishment. This is a figure of the condition of M. Kāmran who fell out with his benefactor and elder brother, his eternal superior, chosen one of God, king of the age, and just ruler, and wrought the destruction in life, estate and honour, of many a servant of God.

In fine, a strange disaster occurred during this time of enjoyment, when the capacious soul of his Majesty was a palatial garden of mirth and rejoicing. A desolating report came that M. Kāmran was strife-mongering and that he had suddenly fallen upon the city of Kābul and brought it into his possession, and that Sherafkan had, heedless of the end of things, gone over to the Mīrzā. His Majesty Jahānbānī's sanctified heart was troubled, firstly, by the fate of his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh; secondly, by sympathy for the citizens and subjects, who are a trust from the Creator, and who should be tended not less carefully than the children; thirdly, by the rebellious proceedings of the Mīrzā and the results thereof. He addressed himself with celestial genius to the remedying of these disturbances, and displayed suitable solicitude for putting an end to the outbreak.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the fact referred to in Note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the bitter lakes met with in a desert, the Marah of the Hebrews.

<sup>3</sup> Nāsiya-i-qabūlah. Meaning, I

suppose, that Kāmran was offered the choice of greatness, and that his wickedness was enhanced by his misuse of his opportunities for well-doing.



And Abūl Fazl, the writer of this noble record, turns away from amplitude of language, in order that he may give an account of events, and hastens towards narration, and gives a brief and parenthetical account of the circumstances so that the lips of those athirst for the waters of words may be satiated.

257 The description of the occurrence is as follows. When the army of fortune took Qandahār and came to the environs of Kābul, and all the Kābul army and all the people of that country were delighted at the good tidings of his Majesty Jahānbānī's advent, and separated from the Mīrzā and came in crowds and did homage, the Mīrzā turned away from the path of advice and the road of obedience and loyalty and becoming a bewildered wanderer in the desert of perturbation and want took the road to Ghaznīn. He forsook the blessing of service and absconded. M. Hindāl, Muṣāhib Beg and a number of others were sent after him, as has been related in the account of the taking of Kābul. But when no trace of him could be found, and it was not known which way he had gone (*lit.* no dust rose up from his path) the pursuers returned in obedience to the royal commands and came to Kābul. This Mīrzā brought himself in all haste to Ghaznīn. The rulers and inhabitants of that place were favoured by fortune, they strengthened the fort and did not open the gate of inclination for him. The Mīrzā's false representations were unsuccessful; so he hastened from these to the house of Khizr Khān Hazāra. He treated the Mīrzā with hospitality and brought him to Tīrī, and from thence to Zamīn Dāwar. Hīsamū-d-dīn 'Alī, the son of Mīr Khalīfa, was in Zamīn Dāwar. He strengthened the fort and fought bravely, and courageously guarded the fort. When this news was brought to his Majesty he made over Ghaznīn to M. Hindāl and Zamān Dāwar and its appurtenances to M. Ulugh, giving him also a standard, a kettle-drum and a *tuman tūgh*. He also sent an order to Bairām Khān to join Yādgar Nāsir M., who had come there (Qandahār) to act loyally, to M. Ulugh and to send them against M. Kāmran. He also sent a rescript to Yādgar Nāsir M. to act in concert with M. Ulugh in putting down M. Kāmran and by means of this service to move upwards on the steps of amendment of his past crimes. The Mīrzās went together from Qandahār to Zamīn Dāwar, and when the news of their approach reached the Mīrzā's camp, the Hazāras dispersed into the wilds and M. Kāmran withdrew. He





hurried off to Bhakkar and took refuge with Shāh Hasan Arghūn. M. Ulugh Beg took firm possession of his fief; and Yādgār Nāsir M. made as it were, a pilgrimage to the service of his Majesty. In Kābul he learnt the bliss of service as has already been stated. M. Kāmran came to a halt in Sind and married the daughter of the Ruler of Tatta, who had already been betrothed to him. He had stayed there for some time devising mischief when the news came of his Majesty Jahānbānī's illness, which had occurred in Badakhshān. After that there came other bad news. The Mirzā asked help from the Ruler of Tatta and resolved to go to Kābul. The ruler of Tatta thought this a great opportunity and sent a body of troops with the Mirzā. Some were of opinion that he should first seize Qandahār, and then go to Kābul. But as Qandahār was secure under the control of Bairām Khān, Kāmran set before himself the capture of Kābul and boldly hastened there. Near Qilāt he fell in with a number of Afghān merchants who were bringing horses. He arbitrarily took the horses from them and gave them to his men. From thence he hastened to Ghaznīn, and arrived there unexpectedly. Zāhid Beg was holding the fort for M. Hindāl and was spending his time in drunkenness and negligence. He was completely intoxicated on the night when the Mirzā arrived. By the help of the butcher 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, the Mirzā's men secretly ascended, and got possession of the fort. Zāhid Beg was brought drunk before the Mirzā, and the wretches cast him in his drunkenness from the pinnacle of life into the abyss of annihilation. The Mirzā left his son-in-law Daulat Sulṭān in Ghaznīn, and leaving there also a number of men from Bhakkar under the leadership of Mulk Muḥammad, who was a confidential servant of the Ruler of Tatta he went as rapidly to Kābul. He arrived there at dawn without warning. He first went to the headdress-maker's gate. He learnt that Muḥammad Taghāi was in the hot bath, and it would appear that there too (referring to what occurred at Ghaznīn) drunkenness had brought him into the stupor of cropsickness. 'Alī Qulī Ūghlī, one of the Mirzā's bodyguard, entered the bath and brought out Muḥammad 'Alī naked. The Mirzā gave him his ablution with the water of the sword, and entered the fort. Pahlwān Ashtar, who had charge of the Iron Gate, opened it in accordance with a compact, and the Mirzā entered the city, which now came into his possession. On the morning when





this occurrence took place, Ḥājī Muḥammad 'Asas<sup>1</sup> came and saluted the Mirzā. The latter said 'How have I gone and how have I come back'! 'Asas replied "You went in the evening and you came in the morning." The Mirzā went up to the citadel and took up his quarters there. Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka brought his Majesty the Shāhinshāh with all reverence before M. Kāmran. The Mirzā, on beholding that theatre of miracles involuntarily became gracious and gentle. He shewed him various favours, but from short-sightedness put his Majesty, who was under the shadow of the protection of God, into the charge of his own men.

259 When M. Kāmran had brought Kābul into his possession, he practised various kinds of cruelty and opened his hands to shed people's blood and to seize their property. He caused Mihtar Wāsil and Mihtar Wakil, who were special royal slaves, to be blinded. Ḥisām-u-d-dīn 'Alī, son of Mīr Khālifa, whom his Majesty had summoned to his personal service, and whose fief he had transferred to Ulugh Mirzā, had come about this time to Kābul and Kāmran in revenge for his firmness at Zamān Dāwar had him castrated and put to death in a most horrible manner. Cūli Bahādur too, who was a loyal and approved servant, was put to death, and Khwāja Mu'azzam, Bahādur Khān, Atka Khān, Nadīm Kōka and many other household servants were put into prison. The Mirzā thus prepared for himself spiritual and temporal ruin, and an evil name in realm and religion. He was continually tempting and ruining men by deceitful letters.<sup>2</sup> Among such was Sherafkan who was induced to desert; and Hasan Beg Kōka and Sultān Muḥammad Bakhshī were by lies brought to separate themselves (from Humāyūn). Insincere, low dispositioned ones of narrow capacity for the idea of a small advantage put the dust of the world into the cup of their avarice and trod the path of disloyalty. And it appears that the main cause of the capture of Kābul was the discord of men and their negligence and want of vigilance and circumspection. For at that time Muḥammad 'Alī Taghāi was Dārōgha of the city for his Majesty Jahānbānī, but he continually took the path of carelessness, and did not apply the

<sup>1</sup> Ferishta says that 'Asas was Bāhar's jester. He adds that 'Asas went on to quote a verse in Kāmran's honour.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gulbadan's Memoirs. She mentions that Kāmran tried to make her write a letter to her husband, inviting him to join him.





of wariness. Fazīl Beg too set up for himself a separate scheme (*lit.* a separate shop) in the city and had ideas of becoming independent (of Muḥammad 'Alī). From smallness of capacity and inefficiency they opposed one another and struck an axe on their own foot. When Kābul fell into the hands of the Mīrzā he set about collecting troops and in arranging for sedition. A large number collected round him. One day he was seated on the top of the citadel, and Walad Beg, Abūl Qāsim and many others of the Shāh's bodyguard, who had got leave and were proceeding towards Persia came to pay their respects to the Mīrzā. His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh was also adorning the Mīrzā's banquet with the light of his presence. All the Mīrzā's confidential servants were set upon rapacity (*darpaī akh̄z ā jar*), and the men round about, who were like flies at the stall of a sweetmeat-seller, were falling upon one another. A good service presented itself to Abūl Qāsim, and he whispered to Walad Beg that it would be a loyal act if they who were thirty active men should do a brave deed in unison, finish off the Mīrzā, and glorify this young plant of the springtide of dominion and fortune, to wit, his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh. Walad Beg, who was not a man of war, showed backwardness towards this proposal and said "We are travellers, why should we intermeddle"? As the top-thread of every act is bound to some special point of time what possibility was there of its appearing before that?

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## CHAPTER XLII.

260

MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ FROM  
BADAKHSHĀN TO KĀBUL, AND THE SIEGE THEREOF.

When the news of M. Kāmran's strife and sedition reached the ears of his Majesty Jahānbānī he resolved, in spite of the extreme cold, and the abundance of ice and snow, to hasten by the defile of Ābdara,<sup>1</sup> and to extinguish the flames of sedition. His first step was to send a gracious missive to M. Sulaimān, pardoning his offences and restoring that dismayed desert-wanderer to house and home, and exalting him by conferring on him the territories which his Majesty Gīti-sitānī Firdaus-makānī had bestowed on his father. He confirmed M. Hindāl in possession of Qandūz, Andarāb, Khōst, Kahmard and Ghōrī and its neighbourhood, and thereupon he, under the guidance of God, and in a most auspicious hour, turned the reins of intent towards Kābul. On account of the protracted continuance of the ice and snow he stayed for some days in Tāliqān.<sup>2</sup> The Uzbegs looked upon his Majesty's return as a great gain and a grand escape, and one and all abode in peace and tranquillity. In fact the whole of Tūrān was relieved from the dread of the grand army. When the snow had abated his Majesty moved from Tāliqān towards Qandūz. M. Hindāl showed him hospitality there, and in order to gratify the Mīrzā his Majesty took up his quarters near the town in the garden of Khusrū Shāh. After the 'Īd-i-Qurbān<sup>3</sup> he marched by the pass of Shibartū<sup>4</sup> to the pass of Rēgak,<sup>5</sup> and halted at Khwāja Seh Yārān

<sup>1</sup> A pass in the Hindu Kush leading from Badakhshān to Kābul, and according to Babār, Mem. 139, the only one open in the winter. It was by it that Babār went to Qundūz in the winter of 1510 when he heard of the death of Shairbānī. Tār. Rash. 237 and note. Apparently the name is not known now. See also Jarrett II. 400 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Tāliqān in text which agrees with Marco Polo's spelling.

<sup>3</sup> This festival takes place on 10th Zi'l-hajja the last month of the Muḥammadan year, so if the year in question was 953, the date of the festival was 1st February, 1547.

<sup>4</sup> "Usually called Shīr or Shāber nowadays," Tār. Rash. 76n.

<sup>5</sup> Bāyazīd has, 296, Kotal Rekak





(Three Friends). Sher 'Alī, who posed as one of the trusty and sincere followers of the Mirzā, had strongly fortified the Ābdara defile; but what can outward force do against inward (*i.e.*, Divine) aid? or human strength against the Divine support? He fled before M. Hindāl and Qarāca Khān, but when the victorious cortège had passed through he came up from the rear and fell upon the baggage and the tents. When his Majesty had encamped at Cārikārān, a large number, heedless of favours and of promises and covenants, deserted and joining M. Kāmran obtained dignities (*darajāt*, lit. ascendings) which in reality were degradations (*darakāt*, lit. descendings). Among these were Iskandar Sultān and M. Sanjar Barlās son of Sultān Junaid<sup>1</sup> Barlās, sister's son of his Majesty Gīlī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī. His Majesty stayed in the borders of Zamzama, and exerted 261 himself to strengthen the weak-hearted and the wavering. By compacts and covenants he knit up the hearts of the disheartened and convened a council. Those who received permission to speak represented that as M. Kāmran had enclosed the city and made himself strong the proper course for them was to leave Kābul and to encamp at Būri and Khwāja Pushta, so that they might be able to provision the troops. All agreed to this, and they marched from Zamzama. When they had gone a little way it came into the inspired mind of his Majesty that it was not advisable to go to Khwāja Pushta for many of the men had their families in the city, and would desert in consequence. And many perhaps would think that the army was going to proceed to Qandahār. The proper thing to do was to summon up one's courage and take possession of the enclosing lines (*shahrband*). If the Mirzā came out to fight, so much the better; and if he did not, the men would not desert, and also they would be sheltered to some degree from the inconveniences of the rainy season. He sent for Hājī Muḥammad Khān and communicated to him this secret inspiration. He approved of the plan and it was settled accordingly. Hājī Muḥammad Khān with a body of troops proceeded by the way of the Minār pass while his Majesty set out

and says it is above Cārikār. Perhaps it is the Khawak pass, which is at the top of the Pangahīr valley, and the pass by which Wood entered

Afghanistan. See his Journey to the Source of the Oxus, 272.

<sup>1</sup> Junaid was married to Shahr-bānū, a younger sister of Bābar and is often mentioned in the Memoirs.





by the Payān pass to conquer the city. The victorious troops had, under the leadership of M. Hindāl, reached the neighbourhood of Dēh-Afghānān and were near the shrine of Bābā Shashpar when Sherafkan came out at the head of a large body of M. Kāmran's best men, and a hand to hand fight took place. Many of the imperial troops did not stand their ground. But M. Hindāl remained firm, and gave proof of courage and devotion. When this state of things became apparent to his Majesty he directed Qarāca Khān, Mir Barka, and many others of the stamp of Shāh Qulī Nārānji<sup>1</sup> and the like to advance and give a lesson to the rebels. They went forward, Mir Barka being ahead of them all, and meanwhile Hāji Muḥammad Khān, and the body of men who had been dispatched in the direction above mentioned, came up, and the enemy was defeated. Sherafkan was made prisoner and brought before his Majesty. He being a mine of grace and gentleness was willing to confine him for some days so that he might get a lesson while in chains and return to his duty. But at the request of Qarāca Khān, and the urgency of all the loyalists who were enraged at his ingratitude and insincerity, he was put to death. His Majesty then proceeded towards Kābul by the way of the *khiyābān*<sup>2</sup> (avenue) while the imperial 262  
braves pursued the fugitives and arrived at the Iron Gate. Mirzā Khizr Khān and a number of the Arghūniān troops went off to the Hazārajāt. The wall (*shahrband*) fell into the possession of the imperialists, and his Majesty halted that day in the garden of Qarāca Khān. Many of the evil-disposed rebels, who had been made prisoners on the field of battle, were executed and Sher 'Alī was disconcerted<sup>3</sup> and took refuge in the citadel. Those who were distracted<sup>4</sup> there obtained repose.

His Majesty Jahānbānī visited afterwards the Dīwānkhāna and Urta Bāgh gardens, and took up his quarters on the hill of 'Aqābin<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann 480 and 596. He was from Kurdistan, near Bagdad. He was a wrestler, Blochmann 253.

<sup>2</sup> Onseley, *Persian Travels* III. 389 renders this word by "paved causeway."

<sup>3</sup> *Sarāsimā*, but there is the variant *berāha*, i.e., the erring or the vagabond.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps this refers to the ladies of Humāyūn's family who were shut up in the fort, but most probably it only means that the garrison were relieved by seeing Sher 'Alī re-enter.

<sup>5</sup> A.F. says, Jarrett II. 404, that it overlooked the fort.





which is over against the fort. Guns and culverins (*zarbzahkū*) were placed in position and discharged. Every day M. Kāmran's men came out and had hand to hand conflicts. Mahdī Khān, his relation Calma Beg,<sup>1</sup> Bābā S'aid Qibcāq, Ism'ail Kūz,<sup>2</sup> Mullā Mabtālāi Auji, and some other ill-fated ones fled from the victorious army, and joined the Mirzā. His Majesty Jahānbānī ordered Qarāca Khān, Hājī Muḥammad Khān, and a number of others to seek for an encamping ground in front of the Yārak gate<sup>3</sup> for that was the proper place for taking post. He also directed that the siege-operations should be brought nearer to the fort, and that the charge of the batteries should be distributed, and the Mirzā be pressed more closely. The persons deputed were searching for a site when 30 or 40 men came suddenly out from the Yārak gate. Hājī Muḥammad Khān attacked them and as they were not able to keep their ground they fled towards the fort. Meanwhile Sher 'Alī came from inside the fort and engaged Hājī Muḥammad Khān, and inflicted a severe wound on his right arm. During this conflict the imperialists pressed forward and drove Sher 'Alī inside the fort. They lifted up Hājī Muḥammad Khān, who was faint and powerless, and carried him to his quarters. He was ill for a long time, and it was reported that he was dead. His Majesty sent a messenger to him requesting that he would get on horse-back and come to the batteries. He mounted his horse in obedience to the request, and the market of the foe-joy fell flat. One day M. Sanjar son of Sultān Junaid who had gone off with the brand of faithlessness on his brow came out and attacked. His horse became unmanageable<sup>4</sup> and carried him as far as the Violet-Garden. He was made prisoner and brought before his Majesty who granted him his life, but sent him to prison. Muḥammad Qāsim<sup>5</sup> and Muḥammad Husain who were sisters' sons of 263

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this is the man who afterwards behaved so nobly. Blochmann 378.

<sup>2</sup> Text, *kūr*, but the variant *kūz* is probably right for it is a synonym for *khars*, wine-jar, which we know from text 273 l. 7 was H. Humāyūn's nickname for Ism'ail.

<sup>3</sup> There is a variant *Bārak*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sikh jalū*. B.M. MSS. Add. 27, 247 and 17926 and No. 564 I.V. have *shakh jalū*, hard-bridled, i.e., hard-mouthed, and doubtless this is the true reading. It is *shakh jalū* in Bāyazīd from whom A.F. probably took the expression.

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann 380 and 485. It was Qāsim who built the Agra Fort.





Pahlwān Dōst Mir Barr<sup>1</sup> and who are now among the great officers, and have attained to high rank, threw themselves down from a bastion between the Iron Gate and the bastion of Qāsim Birlās, and in the 'Aqābīn received the blessing of doing homage and like a brace of eagles<sup>2</sup> ('aqābīn) clutched the prey of everlasting good fortune.

While this fighting was going on a large caravan arrived from abroad (*wilāyat*)<sup>3</sup> at Cārikārān. There were many horses in it and other goods. M. Kāmārān sent Sher 'Alī with a body of trusty adherents to take possession of those goods, though Tardī Muḥammad Jang Jang, who was one of the Mīrẓā's trusted followers, protested, and plainly said that if his Majesty Jahānbānī should hear of it and send his men and block their way so that they should not be able to rejoin the Mīrẓā, they would be lost, and at the same time the Mīrẓā's purpose would not be affected. The Mīrẓā had his eyes fixed on the goods and would not receive this warning, and sent his men under the leadership of Sher 'Alī. As soon as the news reached his Majesty Hājī Muḥammad Khān was appointed to the service of restraining those tyrants from their plunder. Hājī Muḥammad represented that the force had gone off at night and had done their work, and that if they followed them and failed to meet with them, they would escape. He suggested that the points commanding the roads and fords should be seized so that they should not be able to get inside the fort. His Majesty Jahānbānī agreed and himself came down from the hill and gave directions for occupying the stations and places of access. Sher 'Alī and Tardī Muḥammad Jang Jang and the others who had reached the merchants forcibly took possession of their goods, and much thereof was plundered. On returning they wanted to enter the fort, but found the roads and fords closed against them. Tardī Muḥammad and Sher 'Alī had an altercation and Tardī Muḥammad Jang Jang said "See, my words have come true"! Though they looked right and left, they could find no way of re-entering. They were dumbfounded and withdrew, and waited for an opportunity of getting in by stratagem.

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann 485 and VI where it is stated that the title means superintendent of the Imperial Forests.

<sup>2</sup> A.F. refers to the name of the ridge where Humāyūn was.

<sup>3</sup> Bāyazīd says the horses came from Balkh.





One day Bāqī Ṣāliḥ, who was one of the valiant men of the garrison, eagerly brought M. Kāmraṇ near the Iron Gate, and boastingly said that by one sally he would bring Sher 'Alī in by this gate. When they opened the gate a number of the Mirzā's braves came out. The men of the battery, such as Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Maujī, Qāsim Mukhlis, and Jamīl Beg came forward and showed alacrity and courage. Sumbul Khān and 60 or 70 slaves did good execution with their muskets. Jamīl Beg was martyred, and Bāqī Ṣāliḥ, who was the cause of this disturbance, was killed <sup>1</sup> 264 by a bullet, and Jalālu-d-dīn Beg, who was one of the Mirzā's confidants, was severely wounded. Many others also were wounded. They failed in their object and closed the gate of the fort. Sher 'Alī despaired of entering the fort and hurried off to Ghaznī. His Majesty Jahānbānī despatched after him Khizr Khwāja Khān, Muṣāhib Beg, Ismāīl Beg Dūldāī, and a large body of troops in order that they might by dint of courage make those luckless ones prisoners. They came up with Sher 'Alī at the Sajāwand pass, and an engagement took place. The imperialists were victorious, and many horses and goods fell into their hands. Many prisoners were also made. Sher 'Alī escaped with a few men to the Hazārajāt and took refuge in the house of Khizr Khān.<sup>2</sup> The imperialists returned victorious with much booty and were rewarded by boundless favours. The plundered merchants, who had taken protection at the holy court, were told to take whatever goods and horses they recognised, and thus many horses and goods were restored to their owners. This occurrence was a revival of fortune. The rebel prisoners were brought in front of the batteries and publicly put to death with varied punishments so that those who were slumbering on the bed of error might be aroused.

When there was no entrance or egress by any gate, and by no door could he obtain victory<sup>3</sup> for his designs, and no road was open save that of failure, M. Kāmraṇ set himself in his evil mind to punish

<sup>1</sup> According to Nizāmu-d-dīn, he deserted to Humāyūn along with Jalālu-d-dīn Beg, Elliot, V. 225. The lit. translation of A.F. is a musket-arrow fell as fire on the harvest of his life.

<sup>2</sup> This must be Khizr Khān Hazāra.

<sup>3</sup> Bar Kāmraṇī. A.F. plays upon Kāmraṇ's name and his recent failure to get Sher 'Alī re-admitted.





sheltered striplings and innocent children and to defile pure-skirted ones. He made over<sup>1</sup> the wife of Bābūs to the people of the bazaar, and spilled upon the ground, with cruel tortures, the blood of his three boys, one of whom was seven, the other five, and the third three years old, and flung them down from the top of the fort to near the batteries of Qarāca Khān and Muṣāhib Beg. He also hung upon the battlements Sirdār Beg the son of Qarāca Beg and Khudā Dōst the son of Muṣāhib Beg, and sent a message to them to come and see him, or to let him depart, or to withdraw the king from the siege. Otherwise he would kill their sons as he had done those of Bābūs. Qarāca Khān, who was then prime minister, cried out with a loud voice, "God save His Majesty the king. Our houses and homes and our children must one day perish, and their non-existence cannot be avoided. What better thing can there be than their coming to an end in the path of their master and benefactor. What are children when our lives are a sacrifice for His Majesty. Depart from those vain thoughts, and come and humbly submit, which will prove your salvation and be the ornamentation of your life, so that as your well-wishers we may do for you the utmost in our power. Why do  
265 you frighten us by killing our children? If our children be really put to death, revenge for that is at hand." His Majesty sent for Qarāca Khān and Muṣāhib Beg and soothed them by sympathetic words and favours. The Mīrzā struck at men's honour and reputation by most unseemly conduct towards their women and children. He suspended the wife of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Maujī by the breasts<sup>2</sup> (*pistān basta*). And inasmuch as the Mīrzā was sick with vexation and envy, every opposition which he in appearance made against His Majesty Jahānbānī was really resistance and opposition to the Almighty Creator. Every act of such a tyrant must inevitably fail of success, and in the end becomes the cause of his temporal and spiritual ruin.

<sup>1</sup> Bāyazīd says he made her over to an improper man (or men), *ba mardum-i-nā-munāsib sipurd*, and killed the two sons, aged 10 and 12.

<sup>2</sup> Bāyazīd says she was hung up over the Iron Gate.





## CHAPTER XLIII.

DISPLAY OF GREAT MARVELS ON THE PART OF HIS MAJESTY THE  
SHĀHINSHĀH, AND THE TAKING OF KĀBUL.

M. Kāmran in his folly and want of wisdom brought, for the sake of his own protection, that nursling of the garden of sovereignty and that new fruit of the springtide of the Khilāfat—viz., his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh—in front of the guns, and kept him in a place where it was difficult, on account of the marksmen (*qadr-andāzān*) of the victorious army, for an ant or a grasshopper to pass. What humanity was this? Or what beast of prey or demon has such principles? Why did the tongue of him who gave such an order not grow dumb, and the arm of him who executed it not refuse its office when it encompassed that tree of fortune and planted it for such a purpose? The eye which could not see the manifest claims of his Majesty Jahānbānī—an elder brother, a venerated father's representative and a benefactor—; how could it perceive the world-adorning beauty of his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh when concealed within the veil of honour, and when it was immature and in the dawn? How shall a heart which from the anguish of envy is trodden under foot of sorrow and is at enmity with Almighty God, perceive the rays of Divine light when enclosed in a human form? How shall he who cannot see the right path for himself divine the proper course for another? And inasmuch as the Divine Wisdom watched over that exhibition of hidden lights and kept him in the shelter of guardianship and the shadow of protection from evils and perils, and was surety for the safety of that Unique of the Age, it did not bring those wicked tyrants in a moment to the punishment of their deeds. Rather the design and intent of Providence with regard to those regardless ones had predetermined that they should be tossed about in the world and cast into the ashes of calamity and contempt, and by the revolutions of Time, degree by degree, and step by step, be brought into

<sup>1</sup> There is the variant *guṣārish*, | payment or retribution, and this is





dissolution (*gudāzish*), and that the wicked actions of that oppressor should be flung gradually into the bosom of retribution, so that  
266 by beholding the final retribution other wrong-doers might take warning. Assuredly, when such things are looked upon with a purged vision, the recompense and retribution which comes into evidence by degrees and step by step is severer and more fatal in its exhaustive torments !

When the evil act (the exposure of Akbar) of this unspeakable crew was executed, the hands of the marksmen trembled, the arrows flew crooked, and the lintstocks congealed. Sumbul Khān, the master fireworker, felt his ardent soul grow cold, and thought within himself, "What can have happened" ? God be praised ! What evil-thoughted ones imagine to be failure and so press on in their wickedness becomes a means of perfection and an adminicle of security ! This was instanced here. Firstly, that by being protected in so perilous a place by God from the strokes of seldom-missing marksmen, and of wondrous musketeers, shame was wrought for the wicked and blackhearted, and the beauty of instruction was conferred on the seekers after righteousness ; and, secondly, that the miracle of fires displaying coldness and of lintstocks not becoming alight was manifested. When Sumbul Khān's eyes fell on the object-spot (*masqaṭ-i-tīr*, the lighting-place of the arrow), his powers of vision were quickened and he recognised his Majesty the Shāhinshāh. The horror of the sight almost drove the souls out of the bodies of the spectators, and the gunners became as dead men (*qālab tahī kunand*, emptied their bodies). The mystery became revealed to Sumbul Khān, and he understood why the fires had gone out. In a moment he withdrew his hand from the battery, and the dejected crew of traitors (*firqa-i mutafarriqa-i bāghīā*) were respited for a time from the severity of the royal artillery. Wherever God's protection stands sentinel o'er His Chosen One, what power have human stratagems to do him wrong ? Though fools exhibited the unbecoming act, yet the Divine plan required the revelation of the mystery and was the exponent of this truth, so that mortals might have an explanation of the miracle and that every one might, in proportion to his intellect and capacity, reflect upon its nature and might, according





to the measure of his understanding, comprehend good and evil. In short, wicked men compassed this event in order to lighten their sufferings and the pressure which was upon them, but the far-seeing and discriminating reckoned the move as causing the speedy downfall of those workers of iniquity.

In the meantime, M. Ulugh Beg came from Zamīn Dāwar and Qāsim Husain Shāibānī<sup>1</sup> from Qilāt, and Khwāja Ghāzī, who had remained in the Shāh's camp, and Shāh Qulī Sultān,<sup>2</sup> who was related to Bairam Khān, came from Qandahār, and a number came in from Badakhshān. H.M. assigned them a battery by the Yārak Gate. Those right-minded men girt up their loins for service and the valiant heroes displayed more and more alacrity and energy and pressed the Mirzā more and more closely. When all his schemes failed, he turned like a fox to fawning and to feline hypocrisy and came forward with protestations of shame and repentance and with blandishments. He represented through Qarāca Khān that he regretted the past and was desirous of entering into service and of making amends for the past, so that he might win over his Majesty's appreciative heart by acceptable services. Might now his life and estate be under the o'ershadowing protection of his Majesty's clemency as the offering of his shame and penitence. His Majesty by virtue of his noble nature accepted his statements and ordered the siege-operations to be slackened. As M. Hindāl, Qarāca Khān, Muṣāhib Beg and many of the other officers had not freely quaffed the sweet waters of loyalty they, from regard to their own interests, which is a note of old, discord-loving service, did not wish the Mirzā to make his submission. Why should I mention sincerity and loyalty? These are priceless jewels and rarely-found gems. If they be scarce among Turanians, in whose country they have long ceased to be procurable, what marvel is it? But they had not even the practical sense, which is the surety for one's own loss and gain, to do good in return for good. Those blind-hearted ones returned evil for good. Worse than this; they perpetually prepared the element of bloodshed and trouble for mankind, with the evil

<sup>1</sup> Bāyazīd says he was brother of Haidar Sultān.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the No. 45 of Bloch-

mann 359. The Maāṣir-i-Raḥīmī 238b, calls him Shāh M. Qandahārī and says he held Qandahār for Bairam.





idea that thereby their own greatness and affluence would be increased. How were their thoughts linked together, or what consistent ideas did they possess? If they had understood even the lowest stages of loyalty, which carries with it so many blessings, they had never approved of thus endamaging themselves. If they were unacquainted with the sanctuary of loyalty, what had become of the bazaar of common sense that this faction did not come to know of it? If the ear of their understandings did not tell them of this, would that they had known the depression of sorrow and so not have struck so sharp a hatchet into their own feet.

At length that faction for their own evil designs terrified the Mirzā, and sent a message to him saying, "with what hope do you remain in the fort, or with what hope will you come to the Presence. Day by day the siege-operations are becoming more and more complete, you should get out quickly by a certain battery;" and they referred him to the battery of Hasan Quli Āqā. The Mirzā, in accordance with this advice, came out by the Delhi Gate at the place which they had pointed out to him, on the night of Thursday, the 7th Rabi' al-awwal 954, 27th April, 1547, and absconded. He went towards Badakhshān, thinking that he might perhaps do something  
263 with the help of M. Sulaimān, or, failing that, might be helped by the Uzbeqs. His Majesty Jahānbānī appointed Hājī Muḥammad Khān and a body of troops to pursue him, and entered the city of Kābul, which had been a wilderness of rebellion, and made it by his advent a pleasant home of friendliness. His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, a station of endless marvels, went forth to meet him and was made fortunate by entering the Presence. The chaste ladies also did homage. His Majesty Jahānbānī on beholding his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, displayed in heart and countenance fresh light and glory. What greater blessing could there be than this, that the eyes of a Jacob should be brightened by the beauty of a Joseph? Or what sublimer repose could there be than that the heart of such a sage (*ṣāhib dil*) should be comforted by union with such a darling? In thanksgiving for the safety of the holy personality (Akbar), and for his well-being, he made vows, prayers, and alms, and applied fresh balm to the wounded hearts of mankind which were bleeding from the oppression of circumstances. Each one was soothed and comforted by manifold sympathies and consolations, and the distractions





of pained hearts were changed into concords.<sup>1</sup> His Majesty Jahānbānī and his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh took their seat with the lustre of dominion and the magnificence of prestige on the throne of victory and the *masnad* of honour. Though Hājī Muḥammad and the others who had been sent in pursuit of M. Kāmran came up with him, they out of the glamour and fascination of old and disloyal service, let him<sup>2</sup> go as if they had not seen him. The Mirzā slipped away but Āq Sultān<sup>3</sup> and a number of other followers were made prisoners. They were subjected to a just scrutiny and each received a punishment suitable to his offences. Among them, Sultān Qulī Atka, Tarsūn Mirzā, a relation of ‘Abdullāh Mirzā, Hāfiz Maqṣūd, Maulānā Bāqī Īrghū,<sup>4</sup> Maulānā Qadam Arbāb, and many others who were the ringleaders of strife and sedition were punished capitally. M. Kāmran resolved upon flight, and arranged with his men that he would take refuge at the hill of Istālif, and that he would collect troops and prepare war. At the end of the night he went secretly towards Badakhshān along with ‘Alī Qulī Qūrcī by the way of Sanjad Dara. After a thousand (*hazār*) distresses he passed on from the Hazārajāt with thousands of disgraces and ignominies towards Badakhshān. M. Beg, who was one of his confidants, and Sher ‘Alī joined him with a few men near Zuhhāk. When they got to Ghōrī he sent a message to M. Beg Birlās the ruler of that place and summoned him to his presence. He replied that disloyalty, the note of the wicked, would not come from him. The Mirzā wished to pass by Ghōrī but one of his servants (*qalaqciān qu. qalūqciān*) 269 abused him and said, “Why do you go with this fellow, (meaning

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be taken from Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs.

<sup>2</sup> According to Jauhar it was Hindāl who came up with Kāmran as he was escaping on a man's back and who out of brotherly compassion let him go and supplied him with a horse. Nizāmu-d-dīn says Hājī Muḥammad turned back on account of some Turkī words used by Kāmran. What they meant is rather obscure, but apparently he ironically asked

Hājī if he had killed his father that he should be so keen in pursuing him. See Elliot V., 227, and Badāonī, Ranking's translation, p. 581.

<sup>3</sup> Kāmran's son-in-law and Gulbadan Begam's brother-in-law. Her account is that he afterwards left Kāmran and retired to Mecca.

<sup>4</sup> Or *yārghū*. It is a Turkish or Mongolian word, and one of its meanings is prefect. See Vullers s.v.





the Mirzā), who if he was the son of his Majesty Gīti Sitānī and had a drop of his spirit would never have let off the governor of Ghōrī so tamely or have left him scatheless." The Mirzā was stung by his taunts and said, "Why do you talk so idly and why don't you reflect? I am acting in this way because of your want of preparation; would I have let the thing pass in this way if you were equipped for war"? The madman again spoke roughly to the Mirzā, and he turned back and fought with the governor of Ghōrī. The latter was defeated and Ghōrī fell into the Mirzā's hands. Thus he got possession of some munitions of war. He left Sher 'Alī there and went on to Badakhshān. He sent a messenger to M. Sulaimān and M. Ibrāhīm, inviting them to assist him, but they wisely did not give up their loyalty to the king, and were on their guard against helping the Mirzā.

M. Kāmran, being led away by his vain thoughts, went on towards Balkh in order that he might take refuge with Pīr Muḥammad Khān and with his help get possession of Badakhshān. His Majesty Jahānbānī appointed Qarāca Khān to the Badakhshānāt, so that he might in concert with M. Sulaimān and M. Hindāl and the other officers get possession of M. Kāmran or drive him away. Qarāca Khān came to Badakhshān and went to Ghōrī along with the Mirzās. Sher 'Alī and some of M. Kāmran's men were garrisoned there. Brave fightings took place and gallant men on both sides were killed. Among them was Khwāja Nūr, who was one of M. Hindāl's great men. Mullā Mīr Kitābdār, who was a favourite of M. Hindāl, also obtained martyrdom. At last the besieged could resist no longer and fled, and the fort fell into the hands of the king's servants. Meanwhile news came that M. Kāmran and Pīr Muḥammad Khān had arrived from Balkh. The Mirzās did not engage, but turned back into the defiles while Qarāca Khān proceeded towards Kābul. His Majesty Jahānbānī on hearing of the confusion in Badakhshān turned his rein in that direction. When he reached Ghūrband, Qarāca Khān came and did homage. But as Qarāca Khān's baggage had been plundered on the way<sup>1</sup> back (to Ghūrband?) by the Aimāqs, he was permitted to go to Kābul in order that he might collect materials and quickly join. His Majesty, on his account

<sup>1</sup> *Dar murāja'at*, on the return journey.

ney, from Badakhshān and Ghōrī, I presume.





marched from Ghōrband and halted at the village of Gulbihār and occupied himself in making excursions and in hunting till Qarāca Khān arrived. After Qarāca Khān came, though the season was over, his Majesty adhered to his first resolve and proceeded towards Badakhshān. As the designs of Providence were not in accordance with this expedition, the passes of the Hindu Kōh were made difficult by snow, and a strange confusion occurred in the pass so that it was difficult to cross. In accordance with expediency, he returned to Kābul, resolving that in spring he would turn towards Badakhshān. 270

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## CHAPTER XLIV.

THE PUTTING<sup>1</sup> HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO SCHOOL, AND OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED AT THIS TIME.

As it is fixed and recorded in the Academy of Divine knowledge, which is the "guarded tablet" of sempiternal writings—and all the arts and sciences in that sanctuāry of the presence are the offspring of instruction's school—that the possessors of the new

<sup>1</sup> There is a reference later on, text I. 316, to Akbar's teachers. We are told of them that 'Aṣāmu-d-dīn the first teacher was removed for his addiction to pigeon-flying. This was a taste which he communicated to his pupil, if indeed the boy did not inherit it from his great-grandfather 'Umar Shaiikh, and did not lead astray his luckless preceptor, for we are told, Blochmann 299, that when Akbar was very young he was fond of pigeon-flying and that he took up the pursuit again in mature life. There is also in the Maṣṣir-i-Raḥīmī MS. A.S.B., p. 808b, *et seq.* a long letter about pigeons from Akbar to the Khān-khānān. Akbar's second teacher was Maulānā Bāyazīd, a physician and a descendant of one of Ulugh Beg's astronomers, but he too was objected to, and finally Humāyūn drew lots as to which of three persons should be his son's tutor. The result was that Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir was appointed. He belonged to Tabriz and was brother of Abul Qāsim who became Dīwān of Gujrāt, Blochmann 485 and 545.

But 'Abdu-l-Qādir seems to have been superseded in his turn for we find that in the second year of his reign, that is, when he was 15, Akbar made Mīr 'Abdu-l-laṭīf his tutor. Nizāmu-d-dīn mentions in his list of the learned men a Mullā 'Alā'ūd-d-dīn as Akbar's tutor. He also mentions that Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qādir retired to Mecca after having for years discharged with credit the duties of Akbar's teacher. The truth, as far as it can be seen through the maze of A.F.'s rhetoric, seems to be that Akbar was an idle boy, fond of animals and out-door amusements, and that he would not learn his lessons. This is corroborated by Jahāngīr's description of him as an unlettered man, and one who in his youth was fond of the pleasures of the table. It seems probable too that Akbar never knew how to read and write. This seems extraordinary in the son of so learned a man as Humāyūn, but apparently the latter was not to blame for this. See text I. 316.





material of reason are to be brought, on the emergence of articulate speech, to learn the combinations of letters (*ḥurūf-i-murakkaba*) and to acquire general knowledge, *viz.*, that which has been put together by united cares and intellectual essays, and by special progressions and classifications to walk in the beaten paths of reason, so this scholar of the Divine Academy and graduate of God's college was, in compliance with use and wont, taken to man's school on 7th *Shawwāl* of this year, 20th November, 1547, being the fourth<sup>1</sup> year, fourth month and fourth day of the eternity-conjoined life of his Majesty the *Shāhinshāh*. The weighty office was conferred on the *Mullāzāda Mullā* (teacher the son of a teacher) '*Aṣāmu-d-dīn Ibrāhīm*. Though in the eyes of the superficial his Majesty was taken to be taught, yet according to the view of the far-seeing he was carried to the lofty position of teacher. A strange thing was that his Majesty *Jahānbānī*, who was acquainted with celestial sciences and versed in the mysteries of the stars, had fixed, in consultation with acute astrologers and time-knowing astrolabe-conners, a special hour for the initiative of his Majesty's instruction, such as might happen once during cycles and lifetimes, but when the master-moment arrived that scholar of God's school had attired himself for sport and had disappeared! In spite of all endeavours and of sedulous search on the part of royalty, no trace of him could be found. The enlightened-hearted perceived from this wondrous mystery that the design was that this lord of lofty wisdom and special pupil of God should not be implicated and commingled with ordinary human learning, so that at the time of the revelation of this *Khedive* of subtlety it might be apparent to mankind that the knowledge of this king of knowers was of the nature of a gift, and not of an acquirement. In spite of this truth, however, letters and the current sciences manifest themselves gloriously in his Majesty's sanctified mind, whether they be those committed to writing by scientists, or such niceties and secrets as come from Wisdom's source without the intervention of teaching and being

<sup>1</sup> The year must have been 954 for we are told in a previous chapter that *Humāyān* left *Qandūz* in the last month of 953, and *Akbar* was at this time 5 years, 3 months, and 2

days old, for he was born on 5th *Rajab*, 949, or if we take the Gregorian calendar he was 5 years, 1 month, 5 days old, *viz.*, from 15th October, 1542—20th November, 1547.





taught (*ta'lim ū ta'allum*). Accordingly when masters of wisdom, lords of the mathematics, those possessed of exoteric sciences, and the inheritors of all the arts, whether general or specific, reach the carpet of the holy Presence, they from a consciousness of their own ignorance sink the head of ashamedness in the collar of hesitancy, and abide in amazement. The inspired nature of his Majesty is strongly drawn to the composing of Hindī and Persian poetry and is critical and hair-splitting in the niceties of poetic diction. Among books of poetry, he recites off-hand the Maulavī's<sup>1</sup> Maṣnavī and the Dīwān of the "mystic-tongue," and takes delight in their verities and beauties. The following weighty verse is a product of his Majesty's meditations.

*Verse.*

'Tis not the chain of insanity on the neck of the afflicted  
Majnūn ;

Love hath laid a loving hand on his neck.

He has also strung glorious thoughts in the Hindī language,  
which may be regarded as masterpieces in this kind.

*Verse.*

Oh Thou congeries of excellencies, how may I express thee !

In fine, after they had kept him for some time with that meritorious teacher, engaged in recitations which were worse than none, those who only regarded externals dwelt upon the inefficiency of the tutor and set themselves to get rid of him. That helpless one was superseded, and Maulānā Bāyazīd was appointed. They did not know that the taskmasters of creation were taking care that the inspired mind of this nursling of Divine light should not become

<sup>1</sup> This is Jalāl-d-dīn Rūmī, and the mystic-tongue is Ḥāfiẓ. The passage about the Hindī and Persian poetry is omitted in the Lucknow edition. It seems discrepant from Blochmann, 548, where A.F. tells us that Akbar did not care for poets. But see also *id.* 103, 104. Nor does the passage occur in B.M. MSS.

27, 247, 17, 926, 5610 and 6544. It is also absent from the I.O. MSS. Nos. 4 and 564, and is, I think, undoubtedly spurious. The passage to be omitted begins on last line of p. 270 of Bib. Ind. ed. at *ū taba'* and goes down to *alqissā* on 7th line of 271.





the reception chamber of inky impressions or the alighting-stage of the sooty types of the exoteric sciences.

During this auspicious time his Majesty Jahānbānī was in Kābul arranging for the distribution of provinces and for an expedition to Badakhshān, and for bringing to an end the affair of M. Kāmran. M. Kāmran came to despair of help from M. Sulaimān and M. Ibrāhīm, and went off with evil thoughts to Balkh in order that he might with Pir Muḥammad<sup>1</sup> Khān's help obtain possession of Badakhshān. When he arrived at the village of Aibak<sup>2</sup> the Governor thereof received him courteously, but kept him under surveillance, and reported the circumstance to Pir Muḥammad Khān. The latter regarded the Mīrzā's advent as a boon and sent trusty persons to welcome him. He conveyed the Mīrzā with all respect to his own house, and showed him hospitality. He also accompanied him to Badakhshān. The Mīrzās, in accordance with their resolve, retired to the mountainous borders of Badakhshān, and much of that country came into the possession of M. Kāmran. Pir Muḥammad Khān left a body of troops for M. Kāmran's assistance and returned to his own country. The Mīrzā came to Kishm and Tāliqān, and sent Rafiq Kōka, and Khāliq Bardī with a body of Caghatai and Uzbek troops to Rūstāq. M. Sulaimān and M. Ibrāhīm collected the people of Kulāb and came against Rūstāq. They came from Qil'a Zafar and Khamalinkān<sup>3</sup> and fought bravely against Rafiq Kōka and the others, but by heaven's decree they were defeated and had to withdraw to the hill country. His Majesty Jahānbānī was pleasing his enlightened heart in Kābul, and his determination was that he would go to Badakhshān. As his servants' hearts were not sincere, this design abode under the veil of dilatoriness and delay (*ta'awwug u tawagguḥ*), and meanwhile Qarāca Khān, who had rendered good service and had become a station for endless favours, let the goblet of his understanding brim over, for the vessel was tiny and the wine plenteous, and without reflecting on his performances, rank, and condition, and on the lofty position of his master, set his foot outside

<sup>1</sup> He was the son of Jānī Beg and uncle of the famous 'Abdullāh Khān. He died in 974 (1566). See Vambéry's Bokhara and Howorth, Part II. pp. 724, 726 and 729.

<sup>2</sup> The Hiibak of the maps. Perhaps it is named after Qutbu-d-dīn Aibak.

<sup>3</sup> Bābar's Mem. 167, where it is spelt Khamalingān.





of the path of moderation. So at length out of the stupidity which is natural to the immoderately exalted he uttered words which even the drunk and mad do not use. Among them was the expression of his wish that Khawāja Ghāzī, who as a reward for his abilities and good service had been appointed to the office of Dīwān, should be sent to him bound in order that he might put him to death,<sup>1</sup> and that his office should be given to Khawāja Qāsim Tūla.<sup>2</sup> As such a measure did not commend itself to his Majesty Jahānbānī, who was a spring of justice and compassion, Qarāca Khān, who in his vain thoughts imagined himself to be the pillar of the victorious dominion, seduced, in the blackness of his fortune, and inversion of his horoscope, a large body of men from the path, and went off towards Badakhshān. Bābūs, Musāhib Beg, Ismāil Beg Duldāi, 'Alī Qulī' of Andarāb, Haidar Dōst Moghal, Shaikham Khawāja Khizri and Qurbān Qarāwal with nearly 3000 veteran horsemen, all of whom had been enticed by him, went off by Kotal Minār en route for Badakhshān and so trod the wilderness of error.

When his Majesty heard of this he wished to go off at once in person after those ill-fated ones who had turned away from the altar of auspiciousness. From observance of the favourable hour (for starting), he delayed setting out himself and despatched some of his followers to pursue the wretches. According as each of his loyal servants came up he was sent off, and so Tardi Beg Khān, Mun'im Khān, Muhammad Qulī Barlās, 'Abdullāh Sultān' and other loyalists hastened off, one after the other. Near midday, when the auspicious moment had arrived, his Majesty Jahānbānī mounted the horse of victory. A number of gallant youths pressed forward, and coming up with the rearguard of those headstrong ones, engaged them and overcame them. At the end of the day they came to close quarters with Qarāca Khān at the river;<sup>3</sup> night interposed to save the lives of those black-hearted ones, and they fled under its protection. They crossed by the Ghorband bridge, breaking it down

<sup>1</sup> Janhar and Bāyazīd give the reason for Qarāca's animosity. He had issued an order to Khawāja Ghāzī for the payment of 10 tūmāns, and the latter, who was treasurer, or finance-minister refused to honour the draft.

<sup>2</sup> Tūla may mean weighman. Bāyazīd calls him Khawāja Qāsim Buyātāt.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann 432.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably the Ghorband river.





afterwards. Those who had followed them returned, and did homage at Qarā Bāgh. His Majesty Jahānbānī's world-adorning mind decided to return to Kābul, and there to make preparations and to proceed 273 against Badakhshān. The short-sighted fugitives left Tamar 'Alī Shighālī, who was Qarāca Khān's vakīl, in Panjshīr, that he might collect news there of affairs in Kābul, and having crossed a pass in the Hindū Kōh joined M. Kāmrān in Kishm. His Majesty Jahānbānī returned next day and refreshed the Urta Bāgh by the sunshine of his presence. He gave appropriate nicknames to all those sordid ones who had not recognised their duties to their king, and had been unfaithful to their salt. Thus he styled Qarāca Qarā Bakht (black fortune), Ismā'īl Khirs (bear), Muṣāhib Munāfiq (hypocrite), and Bābūs Daiyūs<sup>1</sup> (wittol). And he sent orders to M. Hindāl, M. Sulaimān, and M. Ibrāhīm to make preparations and to await the coming of the grand army. An order was also issued for Hājī Muḥammad Khān's coming from Ghaznīn to the Presence.

During this time when the preparations for an expedition against Badakhshān were engaging his mind, he was continually consulting prudent old men and wise young men, in whose foreheads there shone the jewel of sincerity. All those who had neither stout hearts nor clear vision urged the marching to Qandahār in order that preparations might be made there, and that thereafter they might proceed to quell the sedition of M. Kāmrān. Those who held in their hands the diploma of wisdom with the emblazonment of valour supported the royal idea of proceeding to Badakhshān. One day he said to Muḥammad Sultān,<sup>2</sup> "What do you say"? He replied, "M. Kāmrān is uplifted by the desertion of those ingrates. It seems likely that he will anticipate us and come into these territories. It appears to me that if the imperial army cross the Hindū Kōh first it will be victorious, otherwise—God forbid it—the dice will fall in another fashion." His Majesty Jahānbānī said "The downfall of

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a bitter allusion to the fact that Bābūs was rejoining a man (Kāmrān) who had given over Bābūs' wife to the people of the bazar. See *supra*. Probably *khars*, a winejar,

was the nickname of Ism'a'il, rather than *khirs*, for A.F. has previously called him *kūza*, i.e., flagon.

<sup>2</sup> A grandson of Sultān Husain of Herāt. Blochmann 462.





the uplifted has been repeatedly witnessed. "If he be uplifted, we are supplicants at God's Court." He also repeated this verse.

*Verse.*

Let no one exult in his own strength,  
For pride casts the cap from the head ;

and he concluded, "What sense is there in delaying, God willing, we'll at this very<sup>1</sup> moment cross the pass."

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<sup>1</sup> This story is told by Jauhar, and with more point. Humāyūn is repre-

sent there as saying "God willing, we shall cross the hills first."





## CHAPTER XLV.

DEPARTURE OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNGIRĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHIYĀNĪ'S WORLD-  
CONQUERING ARMY FOR BADAKHSHĀN, AND ITS VICTORIOUS  
RETURN TO KĀBUL.

When the expedition had been determined upon—and the measure was a most necessary one, they set off at an auspicious hour 274 on Monday, 5th Jumādā-al-awal, 955, 12th June, 1548, and encamped at Alang Cālāk.<sup>1</sup> After two or three days, they moved from there to Qarā Bāgh, where they remained ten or twelve days on account of some state-affairs. In spite of some rumours about his disloyalty, Hāji Muḥammad Khān came as a well-wisher, and Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān, who was in Bangash, also came and did homage, and was favourably received. At the same stage, M. Ibrāhīm under the guidance of an auspicious star came post-haste and paid his respects. The lights of special favour were shed on the forehead of his fortune. One of the wonderful things which were the heralds of countless victories was that when he was about to proceed to Badakhshān, his Majesty was standing in the ewer-room. Suddenly it occurred to his sanctified mind that “if this white bird (referring to a cock which was always in the room) come upon my shoulder and crow, it will be a sign of victory.” As soon as he had this thought, the auspicious bird came flying and flapping its wings like a *humā*, perched on his shoulder, and cast an auspicious shadow over the head of fortune. His Majesty returned thanks, and ordered that a silver ring be put on the bird's foot.<sup>2</sup>

Among the occurrences which were suitable preludes to victory was this that when M. Ibrāhīm arrived at Panjshīr<sup>3</sup> Tamar Shighālī

<sup>1</sup> The *alang* or meadow of Cālāk is mentioned by Bābar. Mem. 138 as being one *kos* from Kābul. He says it is extensive, but that the mosquitoes greatly annoy the horses.

<sup>2</sup> This story is told by Jauhar who adds that Humāyūn used to feed the bird with raisins.

<sup>3</sup> Jarrett II, 399 n. and 411, and Bābar 145.





intercepted him. Malik 'Alī of Panjshīr joined the Mirzā with his clan, and M. Ibrāhīm bravely engaged Tamar 'Alī Shighālī, and routed him. He brought Malik 'Alī of Panjshīr along with him as a precautionary measure, and introduced him to his Majesty Jahānbānī. This simple-minded well-wisher of the State was incommoded by having to travel with M. Ibrāhīm, on account of groundless anxieties about his lands,<sup>1</sup> and after a quarrel it came to fighting. Though the Mirzā had but few men with him he displayed great superiority and conducted his own party to the Presence. Next day Malik 'Alī sent his brother and preferred excuses for his offence, and he also sent the head of Tamar 'Alī. His Majesty rewarded the messenger with a robe of honour and other presents, and sent a soothing letter to his brother. He wrote that the Mirzā had not understood him, that his hereditary<sup>2</sup> loyalty was patent to his Majesty's heart, and that when his Majesty came to his territory he would treat him with royal favours; his Majesty also treated M. Ibrāhīm with much favour and called him his son. After bestowing royal benignties on him he gave him leave to depart in order that he might go and get M. Sulaimān ready with his army, and the munitions of war. He was to await the arrival of the royal army near Badakhshān. When it reached Talīqān, they were to come and join. The noble lady Miriam-Makānī and his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, the light of the eyes of the Sultānate and the rose tree (*gulbun*) of the rose garden of the spring of the Khilāfat, were sent off from the village of Gulbihār<sup>3</sup> to Kābul. Muḥammad Qāsim Maujī was appointed governor of Kābul and sent with them. He was to continually serve his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, and also to manage thoroughly the district. When his Majesty had halted at the village of Bāzarak<sup>4</sup> in the Tūmān of Panjshīr, Ḥājī Muḥammad (son of)

<sup>1</sup> *Baṣṭqr-i-nāqīs-i-zamīndārāna*. I presume that this is the meaning, but it may mean that Malik 'Alī was too independent to go with another man, and that too one who was only an heir-apparent.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps he was a Yusufzai and a relative of Shāh Maṣṣūr, son of Malik Sulaimān, whose daughter

Bābar married. Mem. 250.

<sup>3</sup> Gulbān in text, but it is Gulbihār in Lucknow ed., and this is probably correct as it agrees with Bābar 154. See also 219, where Bābar has some verses about Gulbihār. It lies N. of Kābul, and as usual A.F. puns on the name.

<sup>4</sup> Jarrett, 399 and 400 n. 1.





Bāba Qushqa, Qāsim Husain Sultān, Tardī Beg, Muḥammad Qulī Barlās, 'Alī Qulī Sultān, Mir Laṭīf, and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Cūlī were sent as an advance-guard.<sup>1</sup> As soon as they had crossed the Hindū Kōh, Mahdī Sultān,<sup>2</sup> Tardī Muḥammad Jang Jang, and the party who were in the fort of Andarāb, fled. In accordance with the royal orders, Tardī Beg and Muḥammad Qulī Barlās hastened to Khōst in order to seize the families of the fugitives which were there. M. Kāmran, being drunk with the wine of arrogance, was in Qil'a Zafar. Though the runaway officers in Talīqān requested the Mīrzā to guard the roads, and to block the route from Kābul, they were not successful. Mullā Khīrad Zargar, who was then in close contact with M. Kāmran, and was a constant sedition-monger, made great efforts in this respect, but could not attain his object. At last Qarāca Khān and his party took the precaution to send Muṣāhib Beg to bring the families from Khōst, lest a force should come from Kābul and make them prisoners. Just at this time Tardī Beg and Muḥammad Qulī arrived at Khōst, and Muṣāhib Beg took off the families to Talīqān. Apparently this was done by the connivance which is the result of long service.

When the royal standards approached Andarāb, M. Hindāl arrived from Qandūz, and brought in Sher 'Alī as a prisoner. His Majesty Jahānbānī honoured the Mīrzā with various favours. Among these was that he should pay his respects on horseback.<sup>3</sup> The short account of the affair of Sher 'Alī is that before the arrival 276 of the imperial troops in the Badakhshānāt, and when M. Kāmran was in power there, Sher 'Alī in his arrogance always behaved disrespectfully to the Mīrzā, and urged the taking of Qandūz and the bringing in of M. Hindāl. At last the Mīrzā appointed him to Qandūz, and M. Hindāl by the royal good fortune succeeded in making him prisoner. The thing happened thus. One night many of the infantry soldiers of Qandūz surrounded his house (tent?).

<sup>1</sup> *Ba rasam-i-manqulā*. But the meaning is that they were sent on in advance of the main army, and the word is properly *manqulāt* and is Mongolian.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently this was a brother of Gulbadan's husband Khīzr Khwāja.

Tār. Rash., 401.

<sup>3</sup> Jauhar states that Hindāl arrived a watch after nightfall. He saw Humāyūn afar off, and wanted to alight from his horse, but Humāyūn made him keep his seat.





He fled and flung himself into the river, and broke his arm, and was caught in his own snare. When the Mīrzā brought him before his Majesty Jahānbanī, the latter did not regard his improper actions, and drew the pen of forgiveness over his offences, and having given him a robe of honour nominated him to Ghōrī. For his far-seeing mind looked to his nature and his capabilities, and as he found in him manliness and administrative ability, he passed over so many great crimes, each of which was deserving of condign punishment, and distinguished him by favours. For in the scales of appreciation he found that the subjects of reward were more than those of retribution.<sup>1</sup>

After M. Hindāl had been honoured by royal favours, an order was issued that Hājī Muḥammad Khān and a number of others should advance as a vanguard (*manqulā*), and that the Mīrzā should head them. All were to obey the Mīrzā—who would always be a supporter of dominion—and not to fail in good service, so that each might be rewarded in proportion thereto. In the middle of Jumādā-al-akhīr 955, 22nd May, 1548, the camp reached the Qāzī's Alang, which is a village of Andarāb. The Qāzī of Andarāb and the men of the Tūqbāi<sup>2</sup> and Sālqāncī tribes, and the Balūcīs and a number of soldiers and of the Aimaqs of Badakhshān, and of the servants of Muṣāhib Beg did homage, and received royal favours. From thence the army proceeded, march after march, to Tāliqān. Most of the fugitive officers, as well as Mīrza 'Abdullāh and a number of M. Kāmrān's men, were in garrison there. An order was issued to M. Hindāl and the officers with him to cross the Bangī<sup>3</sup> river and engage. Just then M. Kāmrān<sup>4</sup> hastily brought his men from

<sup>1</sup> Bāyazīd tells us that Sher 'Alī had been a servant of the unfortunate Yādgār Nāṣir.

<sup>2</sup> This is an Afghān tribe, Jarrett, II. 403. I have not found the name Sālqāncī mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> The text has Tangī, but the variant Bangī is right. The Bangī or Bungī is a tributary of the Khairābād river, which again is a tributary of the Oxus. The Bangī flows south of Tāliqān. See Wood's

Journey to the source of the Oxus, p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Jauhar says Kāmrān marched 25 kos from Qil'a Zafar (Kāmrān seems to have been famous for his rapid movements), and that it was not till after sunrise that he was recognised. He drove back Hājī Muḥammad, but when he heard Humāyūn's drums he cried, "I've lost the game," and retreated into Tāliqān.





Qila' Zaffar and Kishm and joined the unholy crew. On Saturday, 15th Jamāda-al-ākhirī<sup>1</sup> an engagement took place on a rising ground which they call *khalsān* (?) The royal army had not yet crossed the river and there was some distance between the advance-guard and the main body. In accordance with the Divine Will, the imperial vanguard was turned back and had to recross the river. The enemy proceeded to plunder.<sup>2</sup> M. Kāmran was stationed on the same rising ground with a few men. Meanwhile his Majesty Jahānbānī arrived on the river bank and wished to cross in front of the enemy. Sundry faithful informants represented that the river was in a pool<sup>3</sup> there, and that a mile higher up there was a mill, and that as the place was stony, it would be easy to cross there. They went there, and when they got nigh the mill, Shaikh<sup>4</sup> Khwāja Khizri, the kalantar (headman) of the Khwāja<sup>5</sup> Khizris was brought in a prisoner. The *tingatārs* who were by his Majesty's rein were bidden to strike the faithless runagate. They so fisted and kicked him that the spectators felt certain that his black soul could no longer have connection with his body. In that place they captured Ismāil Beg Dūldai and brought him to the presence. His Majesty granted him his life, forgave him his offences at the intercession of Mun'am Khān, and made him over to him. His Majesty then proceeded to the height where M. Kāmran was. He appointed Fatah Ullah Beg, brother of Rūshan Kōka to the vanguard, and sent forward with him a number of

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<sup>1</sup> As the army arrived at Andarāb in the middle of the month and then made several marches there is probably a mistake in this date.

<sup>2</sup> Janhar mentions that after the plundering was over, and the enemy had retreated to Tāliqān, it was reported to Humāyūn that the library was safe. He was much pleased, saying, "God be praised that things which cannot be replaced are safe! As for other things, they were a small matter."

<sup>3</sup> *Āb jamjama ast, jam'ama* means a skull in Arabic. Perhaps all that is meant here is that the waters of

the river were collected together in the place.

<sup>4</sup> He had deserted along with Qarāca Khān. Bayāzid says the millers took him up and cared for him and that he became kalantar again and lived for several years. He was beaten with the stocks of muskets, &c. According to Janhar, Humāyūn ordered him to be split into nine strips; 42 wounds were inflicted on him, but at night he went off to his own house.

<sup>5</sup> This is mentioned as a clan in Bābar, 277.





devoted heroes. A gallant engagement took place, and Fatah Ullah was unhorsed. Just then the royal standard (*kaukab*), which is the preface of conquest and the advance-guard of victory, made its appearance; the Mirzā gave up heart and had no power to resist. He fled to the fort of Tāliqān, and set himself to strengthen it. The imperial army proceeded to plunder. A dispute arose among the attendants (*qalaqcān*) about the goods, and his Majesty gave orders for *haral*,<sup>1</sup> i.e., that every one should keep what came into his hands, and others had no claim to it. In that victory no one had even a hair of his head injured, excepting 'Ali Qulī Khān. Isāḥaq<sup>2</sup> (Isaac) Sultān, Tardī Beg, the son of Beg Mirak, Bābī Jūjak, and a number of others who had boldly followed the victorious were made prisoners. M. Hindāl and Ḥājī Muḥammad brought their prisoners to the Presence, and his Majesty treated them according to the laws of justice and equity, and distributed favour and chastisement suitable to their deservings. And he returned thanks to the Court of the True Disposer, who is liberal without stint and bounteous without solicitation.

Next day he commenced the siege and distributed the batteries.

278 One day a shot from the battery which was in charge of Mun'am Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Barlas and Husain Qulī Sultān Muhrdār, struck Mubārīz Beg and killed him. His Majesty, who was a mine of compassion, lamented<sup>3</sup> greatly and exclaimed, "Would that his brother Muṣāhib Beg had been killed in his stead." With brotherly feeling, or rather out of general amiability, he, in spite of M. Kāmran's many crimes, became kindly disposed to him and sent him an admonitory *firmān* which might be an armlet of dominion and fortune and

<sup>1</sup> Bayāzīd writes *hūral* and says the result of the order was that some lost Rs. 2000 and did get one back, and that others who had not ten rupees got 10,000.

<sup>2</sup> Tār. Rash. 451. He was son of Shāh Muḥammad Sultān, who was grandson of Bābar's maternal uncle Muḥammad Khān, and his mother (Khadija Sultān) was a daughter of Bābar's younger maternal uncle Aḥmad Khān. Isāḥaq's sister Muhta-

rīm was married to Kāmran and afterwards to Ibrāhīm, the son of M. Sulaimān, Blochmann 312. She was Ḥaidar M.'s wife's sister, and was married to Kāmran through his influence.

<sup>3</sup> According to Jauhar, Humāyūn was affected, not so much by the death of Mubārīz, as by his having felt it necessary to put a number of prisoners to death.