



a neck-charm of grace and favour. After various high-thoughted counsels this was written, "O evil brother and beloved war-seeker, refrain from courses which are productive of conflict and cause the affliction and destruction of countless men. Have compassion on the men of the city and of the army. To-day they are all killed; to-morrow is the judgment.

Verse.

The blood of that race is on thy neck,
The hand of that crowd upon thy skirt,
'Twere¹ far better to think on peace
And bring to pass the ways of gentleness.

He sent this auspicious rescript along with Naṣīb Rammāl.² As the Mirzā, being drunk with folly, had turned away from fortune and put dominion behind his back, the sage advices were of no avail. In reply to that roll of grace and preamble of knowledge, he uttered³ the following verse—

Verse.⁴

Who'd to his bosom strain dominion's bride
Must kiss the gleaming falchion's lip.

Naṣīb Rammāl conveyed to the royal hearing the account of the Mirzā's recalcitrance and an order was given for strengthening the batteries. Meanwhile, Mirzās Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm arrived with all their forces and were made partakers of royal favours. Cākar Khān, son of Wais Qibcāq also arrived with the men of Kūlāb and formed a supplement to the army of fortune. During this period of one⁵ month of the siege the gates of victory opened more and more for the imperialists, while the knot of affairs grew tighter for M. Kāmran, and he became more and more straitened. At last he became hopeless of the success of tricks and stratagems, and also

¹ These last two lines are not in Jauhar and would be better away.

² *I.e.*, a diviner or soothsayer.

³ Jauhar says that when Kāmran received Humāyūn's letter he read it and was silent for a while, and then quoted the verse.

⁴ This couplet is said by Ḥaidar Mirzā to have been sent by Shāibānī to Shāh Ism'ail. *Tār. Rash.* 233.

⁵ Jauhar has two months, but if A.F.'s other dates are right the siege did not last even one month.



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came to despair of the help from Pir Muḥammad Khān Uzbek, which he in his short-sightedness looked for. Involuntarily he put his hands to the saddle strips (*fitrāk*)¹ of obedience and submission. By means of this device he saved himself this time from the whirlpool of danger and brought the ship of safety from out the tumult of the waves to the shore of salvation. With this design, he made various supplications and cries for help. One day he fastened a letter to an arrow and shot it into the camp. Its purport was that he had not recognised the claims of his Majesty to reverence. "I have seen what I have seen, and now I repent of the past and wish that leave may be granted to me to circumambulate the Holy K'aba so that I may be cleansed from the sin of rebellion and the anguish of ingratitude, and may become fit for proper service. My hope is that this boon may be granted to me through the intervention of Mīr 'Arab² of Mecca." The Mīr was distinguished among all the devotees of the age for honesty and transparency and had applied himself to alchemy. His Majesty Jahānbānī Jinnatāshiyānī had a regard for him, and on this expedition he kept close to the royal stirrup and was adorning the army of prayer (*lashkar-i-dū'ā*). When the petition of supplication reached the royal hearing, he sent for the Mīr and spoke to him about it. The Mīr said that he would write an answer and send it into the fort. He wrote as follows.³ "Know, O men of the fort, that salvation is in sincerity and safety in submission, and peace be upon whoever followeth the right path." When M. Kāmran had understood the purport of this writing, he wrote back by the same method that he would submit to whatever the Mīr should order. His Majesty Jahānbānī, inasmuch as kindness and benevolence were of his nature's essence, sent off the Mīr, who proceeded to the fort and expounded the doctrines of verity which in reason's reservoir are more sweet than limpid streams, but more bitter to the sensual taste than the juice of the colocynth. In his exposition and application he did not leave out a single point, and at every sentence of reproof the Mīrzā, as he had received a lesson from

¹ Explained by the Lucknow edition by the word *shikārband*. The *fitrāk* are the cords attached to the saddle and used for tying gane to.

² Can this be the Muḥammad

'Arab mentioned by Bayāzīd 11b, and who was Ṭahmāsp's Imām?

³ It was in Arabic and A.F. gives the original and also a translation.



the capricious headaches following on his debauches, held down the head of submission and cried, "I've sinned, I've sinned, I'll do whatever you order." The Mīr said, "The atonement is that you arise and with a sincere soul and contrite heart come with me and do homage." The Mīrzā, either from sincerity or deceit set off, but when they got near the gate, the Mīr, who could perceive the temporary nature of the feelings, became aware that they were without root.¹ He stopped, and said to the Mīrzā, "As you have set out to kiss the threshold and have emerged from the circle of sedition, and have escaped from a state of rebellion, the proper thing for auspiciousness and repentance is that you send the runaway officers to the Court with their necks bound, that you yourself recite the *khutba* in his Majesty's name, and that you secretly depart and go off to the Hījāz." The Mīrzā accepted the advice and agreed to everything, but added,² "Entreat his Majesty to suffer Bābūs to depart along with me, for he is an old servant, and I am desirous of atoning to him on this journey for what I have done to him." When the Mīr returned and reported the circumstances to his Majesty, he asked pardon for the Mīrzā's offences, and his Majesty, on account of his constitutional kindness, forgave him and ratified all that the Mīr had arranged.

On Friday, 12th Rajab, 955, 12th August, 1548, Maulānā 'Abdul Bāqī the Ṣadr recited the *khutba* in his Majesty Jahānbānī's name,

¹ These words are followed by the clause, "and this amount of submission is sufficient in the outer world," and this is put as if it were part of the Mīr's reflections. But I believe it is a parenthesis of A.F.'s own.

² This and much else is taken from Bayāzīd. It is strange that Kāmran should have thought it possible for him to atone to Bābūs, but perhaps Bābūs' return to him shewed that he had condoned the outrages. Kāmran's begging that Bābūs might be allowed to go with him was a sign of grace, for it saved him from the probable fate of the

other officers. Nizāmū-d-dīn says distinctly that he begged forgiveness for Bābūs. Bayāzīd says that Kāmran begged off Bābūs saying he had killed his sons and that by taking him to Mecca he would obtain absolution (*baḥilī ḥasil karam*), and that Humāyūn agreed, saying that he did not want cuckolds (*dewūs*) in his camp. According to Firishta, Humāyūn was so elated by his victory that he broken out into poetry in the *fataḥnāmā*, or proclamation which he sent to Bairām Khān. Firishta gives the verses and also Bairām's quatrain in reply.

and his Majesty went off from there to a garden¹ in the neighbourhood. The batteries were dismantled, and an order was given that Hājī Muḥammad should be present with a body of troops, that the Mirzā was departing with a few men, as had been arranged, and that until his exit from the dominions they should guard the borders. 'Alī Dōst Khān Bārgbegī, 'Abdal Wahhāb, Sayid Muḥammad Pakna, Muḥammad Qulī Shāikh Kamān, Laṭīfī Sahrindī and a number of others were appointed to guard the gate of the fort and to bring in the runaway officers and to let the Mirzā pass with the sanctioned companions. The Mirzā came out in accordance with the compact. On the way, one of M. Ibrāhīm's servants recognised as his own a horse which one² of M. Kāmran's servants was riding, and told this to M. Ibrāhīm, who sent people to bring away the horse. When this was brought to his Majesty's ears, he, in his courtesy, disapproved of the proceeding and censured M. Ibrāhīm, and he, out of shame and narrowness of disposition went off without leave to Kishm. Hājī Muḥammad, too, was blamed as the insult to the Mirzā had been committed with his knowledge. A gracious firmān containing apologies, with a robe of honour and a horse were sent along with Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd the Mīr Biyūtāt (to Kāmran). When the night was somewhat advanced, Qarāca Khān was produced with a sword tied to his neck. When he came in front of the torches an order³ was issued for removing the sword; his guilt was forgiven, and he was honoured by being allowed to do homage. And his Majesty said⁴ in Tūrkī, "'Tis the fortune of war, such accidents as

¹ Apparently the garden of Mīr Tālaq (Bayāzīd).

² Bayāzīd says it was a *dāh*, or maidservant who was on the horse. This would make the insult the greater. A.F. probably uses the word *khidmatgār* as at I. 44 line 7 to mean a female servant.

³ Bayāzīd says that when Humāyūn caught sight of Qarāca he said, "He is a white-bearded man, and I called him father, take off the sword from his neck."

⁴ *'Ālam-i-sipāhgarī ast*. Apparently Humāyūn kindly intended to

console Qarāca for his defeat by representing that he had only suffered from the mistakes or accidents inseparable from war, and drew a veil over the treachery of his behaviour. We find in Bayāzīd, Humāyūn using a similar expression in the moment of his defeat at Balkh in order to hearten his men. The words there are *Ḥazrat anwā' dildārīhā midād and ke 'ālam sipāhgīrīst 'aiba nadarad*. "His Majesty was using various encouragements, saying it is the fortune of war, there is no disgrace."



"this must happen." He was ordered to stand on the left, below Pardi Beg Khān.

Next they brought Muṣāḥib Beg with a quiver and a sword at his neck. When he came near the torches an order was given for removing the weapons. Similarly they brought Sardār Beg the son of Qarāca Khān. His Majesty said "'Tis the elders' fault, what fault have the children committed?" In this manner the other officers were brought in one after the other and heard the news of pardon. Last, came Qurbān Qarāwal, a personal servant of his Majesty and with shame and downcast looks did obeisance. His Majesty said in Tūrki, "What ailed *you*, and what made *you* go away." He replied in the same language, "What is the use of inquiring about the complexion of those who have been made black by the hand of God's power"?¹ Ḥasan Qulī Sulṭān Muhrdār, who was always allowed liberty of speech, recited this verse in the assembly.

Verse.²

When a lamp has been lighted by God
Who puffs at it burns his own beard.

All the officers felt uneasy at the appropriateness³ (of the quotation) to Qarāca Khān who had a long beard. Next day his Majesty marched from there and encamped in a pleasant meadow on the bank of the Tālīqān⁴ river. On Wednesday, 17th Rajab, M. Kāmran came back, under divine guidance, and did homage. The 281 explanation of this remarkable occurrence is as follows. In Bādām-darah⁵ M. Kāmran was expatiating to M. 'Abdullah in thanksgiving for the royal favours and was expressing his surprise at his Majesty's

¹ Bayāzīd says that on hearing Qarbān's reply Humāyūn smiled and told his *dīwāns* that if Qarbān's jāgīr had been resumed, it should be restored to him.

² This verse as stated by Vambēry, Hist. of Bokhāra, 256, to have been quoted by the unfortunate Khwāja Abū Makārīm (see Bābar's Mem. 65), to Shāibānī in 1501 when questioned as to why he had shaved off his beard.

³ Probably the better rendering is

that given by Erskine in a note Hist. II. 357. "All the rebel lords, but especially Qarāca, felt much ashamed.

⁴ Apparently the Bangī river, which is called by Nizāmu-d-dīn the Tālīqān river.

⁵ Nizāmu-d-dīn, Lucknow ed. 215, says Kāmran had gone two leagues (*parasangs*) when he turned back. Erskine's copy, see Hist. II. 358, had ten and not two leagues, and this is in all probability correct.



passing over so many crimes and acts of disrespect. M. 'Abdullah asked him what he would have done if he had been in his Majesty's place. Kāmran replied that he would not have forgiven or forgotten. Then, said M. 'Abdullah, you have an opportunity of making atonement, how would it be if you availed yourself of it? The Mirzā asked what he meant, and M. 'Abdullah¹ said, "We are this day in a place where the king's arm cannot reach us. The right thing is for us to go post haste with a few men and make our submission, return thanks to his Majesty and beg pardon for our offences, and render acceptable service." M. Kāmran approved of the idea and set off with a few men; when he came nigh the camp he sent Bābūs to do obeisance and to report his coming. His Majesty Jahānbānī rejoiced at the coming of the Mirzā and ordered that first Mun'im Khān, Tardī Beg Khān, Mīr Muḥammad Munshī, Ḥasan Qulī Sulṭān Muhrdār, Bāltū Beg, Tuwācī Begī, Tākḥoī Beg and many others should go forth, and after them that Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān Shaibānī, Khizr Khwāja Sulṭān, Iskandar Sulṭān, 'Alī Qulī Khān, Bahādur Khān and many others should go, and thirdly, that M. Hindāl, M. 'Askarī, and M. Sulaimān should go to welcome him. And on the same day he ordered that the chains should be taken off M. 'Askarī's feet.

Next morning the princes and officers came and paid their respects in accordance with forms which his Majesty had prescribed, and his Majesty Jahānbānī took his seat on the throne and held a general audience. M. Kāmran hastened forward to kiss the carpet and paid the obeisances of supplication and the prostrations of sincerity. His Majesty Jahānbānī graciously observed, "The ceremonials of reception (*ḍīdan-i-tōra*) have been observed, now come and let us embrace like brothers." Then he clasped the Mirzā to his bosom, and wept so violently that all those present were touched to the heart. The Mirzā after making profound obeisances sat on the left² in accordance with the royal indication. His Majesty said in

¹ This is the 'Abdullah Khān Moghal of Blochmann, 396. He was Kāmran's brother-in-law, and Akbar afterwards married his daughter.

² Jauhar says, "on the right hand," but all the A.N. MSS. have "left." Though Humāyūn was very generous and forgiving he was also

a great stickler for propriety and it was probably to mark Kāmran's previous misconduct that he was not put on the right hand like Sulaimān the son of his father's cousin. Erskine, however, Hist. II. 358 seems to imply that the left was among the Turks the place of honour.



Turki "Sit close by." The right side was pointed out to M. Sulaimān. In like manner the princes and officers sat on the right and left according to their degree. All the intimate courtiers, such as Hasan Qulī Muhrdār, Mir Muḥammad Munshī, Haidar Muḥammad, Maqṣūd Beg Akhta sat close together (*dar dīngal*). A great festival was held. Qāsim Cangī, Kocak Ghicakī, Makhlas Qabūzī, Ḥāfiẓ Sultān Muḥammad Rukhna, Khwāja Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, Ḥāfiẓ Muhrī and others of this enchanting band took their seats near the festive circle¹ 282 (*qūr*) and discoursed delightful music. Among the younger men (*ilkhānā*) there were Kākar 'Alī, Shāham Beg Jalāir, Tūlak Qōcīn and others standing behind the circle (*qūr*). Fruits and varied dishes were set out in royal fashion. In this assembly Hasan Qulī Muhrdār said to M. Kāmran, "I have heard that it was stated before you that some one had said in Pir Muḥammad Khān's presence that whoever did not cherish hatred as big as an orange against Martwza 'Alī was not entitled to be called a Musalmān, and that you remarked thereupon that it behoved a servant of God to have such hatred as big as a pumpkin." The Mīrzā became very angry and said, "Then it seems people take me for a heretic"² (*khārijī*). There was general conversation (?) and his Majesty Jahānbānī scattered pearls of speech. The meeting lasted till the end of day. In this joyful assembly M. 'Askarī was made over to M. Kāmran, and allowed to go to his quarters. As the Mīrzā had come in a hurry, tents, &c., were erected

¹ Bayāzīd says, behind the *qūr*. The word has several meanings, the most common being that of "flags and other ensigns;" Blochmann 50 note. But here the word seems to have the meaning given in P. de Courteille's Dict. "cercle de gens qui sont en fête."

² A.F. seems to have taken this story from Bayāzīd, and as usual, he rather spoils it. According to Bayāzīd the remark was first made in the Court of 'Ubaidu-l-lāh, and this is the way the story is told in Shāh Tahmāsp's Memoirs. See Dr. Teufel's paper on the Z.D.M.G. and Dr. Horn's translation, Strasburg,

1892, p. 37. See also the paper on Bayāzīd's Memoirs J.A.S.B., LXVI, Part I, No. 4 for 1898. Dr. Teufel quotes a somewhat similar mode of comparison from Herodotus. Kāmran had married an Uzbek wife, and was no doubt desirous when at Balkh of ingratiating himself with the Uzbeks, who were Sunnis like himself. The story therefore is probably true. In reply to Kāmran's angry denial Hasan excused himself by saying that he was only repeating what he had heard and by using the proverb that the quoting of infidel-expressions does not make one's self an infidel.



for him near the royal residence. Next day a counsel was held with the princes and officers about an expedition against Balkh. Everyone spoke according to his opinions. His Majesty ordered that when the army arrived at Nārī whatever appeared proper should be carried into execution. Nārī is a village from which there is a road to Balkh and another to Kābūl.

On the fourth day they marched from this delightful station and at night encamped at the spring of Bandgashā which is near Ishkamish where a joyful assembly was held. To that memorable place his Majesty Gīti-sitānī Firdūs Makānī had come in former times, and Khān Mīrzā and Jahangīr Mīrzā had presented themselves there and placed the head of obedience on the line of command. And his Majesty Firdūs Makānī had in commemoration of his having halted there, and of the coming of his brothers and of their making their submission recorded the date on a rock. His Majesty Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī who had come to this delightful spot in accordance with H.H. Gīti-sitānī's precedent also recorded the date of his coming, and of the homage of M. Kāmran, and the assembling together of the brothers. And these two dates of two mighty kings on one stone-tablet are like the writing of the portico of time on the page of night and day, being two closely intertwined memorials.¹ From thence his Majesty proceeded to the village of Nārī² and proceeded

¹ The meaning seems to be that the two inscriptions followed one another like day the night. But I think that A.F. has misread his authority (Bayāzīd) and is in error in thinking that Bābar and Humāyūn's inscriptions were at one and the same place. Bayāzīd says Bābar engraved his on his return from Samarqand. The inscription then is probably that mentioned in Bābar's Memoirs p. 101, but that was put up at a place north of the Oxus, viz., at Ābburdan in the Masīḥa or Masīkha hill country and near Ūratīpa and Farghāna. Ishkamish or Ishkāmish lies S. of the Oxus and S.E. Qandūz.

If Bābar was ever there and put up an inscription, it is an event not mentioned in his Memoirs. There is also an Ishkashm in East Badakhshān near the ruby mines. According to Gulbadan Begam the meeting of the brothers was at Kishm, but this is east of Tāliqān and out of Humāyūn's way. *Bandgashā* or more properly *Bandkashā* means a bolt or bar and probably was a name given to the place on account of the reunions that took place there. Bayāzīd tells us that Humāyūn carved the letters with his own hand.

² Though Kāmran was pardoned at Tāliqān, his retirement to Mecca



to distribute the territory of Badakhshān. Khatlān,¹ which is commonly known as Kūlāb, was given to M. Kāmran as far as the (river) Mūk² and Qarātigin. Cākār Khān was M. Kāmran's prime minister and was sent along with him. 'Askari M. was also sent 233 along with the Mirzā, and Qarātigin was given to him as his fief. Though M. Kāmran was not satisfied with his fief yet in consideration of his having been granted his life he did not make any objection.³ Qila' Zaffar, Tālīqān and several other *parganas* were assigned to Mirzās Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm. Qandūz, Ghūrī, Kahmard, Baqlān, Ishkamish and Nārī were conferred on M. Hindāl, and Sher 'Alī was sent along with him. It was arranged that the expedition against Balkh should take place next year. After the princes had thus been

was apparently still contemplated. So probably he took no part in the discussion at Tālīqān or its vicinity about the expedition to Balkh. As he had been helped by Pīr Muḥammad the Khān of Balkh. (Erskine, Hist. II. 363, thinks this was one reason for the expedition), and had an Uzbek wife it is hardly natural that he should have been consulted. Jauhar is probably wrong in saying that Humāyūn contemplated giving Balkh in exchange for or in addition to Kūlāb. It was not till after the army got to Nārī (or Nārīn) that the change was made by which Kāmran gave up his pilgrimage and accepted Khatlān or Kūlāb. At Nārī Kāmran set off on his expedition to Mecca and had gone half a *kos* when Ḥasan Qulī overtook him, and in accordance with Humāyūn's instructions induced him to return and to accept Kūlāb. Thus then Kāmran turned twice back, once at Tālīqān and again at Nārīn.

¹ For descriptions of Khatlān and Qarātigin see the Introduction to Erskine's translation of Bābar's Memoirs. See also Yule's Essay,

prefixed to Wood's Journey, p. lxx. They are both remote places, and mountainous tracts, N. of the Oxus, and no doubt this is why they were given to Kāmran and 'Askari. Cākār Khān was the son of Sulṭān Wais Qipčāq (Bayāzīd 36a and A.N. I. 278).

² The Mūk or Māksū is a river, Reclus VI. 332. It flows northwards, and falls into the Surkhāb river (which again is a tributary of the Oxus) in the east of Qarātigin. See also Yule's Essay, prefixed to Wood's Journey, p. lxx. text and note.

³ According to Jauhar, Kāmran even after he went to Kabūl expressed a desire to be relieved of his government, and to be allowed to go on pilgrimage. Humāyūn invited him to Kabūl, but he would not go and quoted a couplet of Khāqānī to the effect that after thirty years he had discovered that sovereignty was beggary (*darveshat*) and beggary sovereignty. But, says Jauhar, he was not sincere in the bottom of his heart.



made recipients of royal favours his Majesty decided upon going to Kābul. In a final meeting, agreement and engagements, which are the passwords of those who arrange temporal affairs, were interchanged and everyone having been committed to God, the Disposer of men whether great or small, was permitted to depart, but of brotherly affection he called for a cup of sherbat and after taking a little of it he tendered it to M. Kāmraṇ, and an order was given that each prince should in his turn partake of the royal draught (*ālūsh*, see Vullers *s.v.*), and pledge themselves to unity and concord. In accordance with the lofty command they together with the bond of brotherhood tied the knot of sincerity and friendship. Each prince received a standard and a kettle drum, and thereby was proclaimed to have obtained the dignity of a confidential relationship. Mirzās Kāmraṇ, Sulaimān and Hindāl were honoured with *tamantogh*¹ and went off from here to their fiefs. The royal cortege marched to Khūst and halted in that delightful spot. His Majesty then went on by Pariān towards Kābul. Pariān is a fort of which his Majesty Ṣaḥib-qarānī laid the foundations after he had chastised the Hindus of Katūr.² His Majesty repaired it and gave it the name of Islāmābād. When the victorious standards arrived there Pahlwān Dost Mir Barr was ordered to repair the broken down fort, and the task of supervision was assigned to various officers. His Majesty remained there ten days and by Pahlwān's exertions the fort received shape in the course of a week, and was furnished with gates, battlements and embrasures.³ His Majesty left Beg Mirak in charge of it.

When the world-adorning mind was relieved from the business of the fort he turned his attention to the silver mines, but it appeared that the receipts did not equal the working-expenses. From there he proceeded and encamped on the bank of the Panjshīr river near the pass of Ushṭar Karām.⁴ He reached the environs of Kābul in the beginning of winter when the ground had become white with snow and waited there for some days in expectation of a suitable time and

¹ Blochmann 50. The *tamaatogh* was composed of the tails of the yāk and was a flag of the highest dignity.

² See Tār. Rash. 103 note.

³ *Sangandāz*, properly places where

stones, &c., were thrown down on the enemy.

⁴ Major Raverty has kindly informed me that this should be Grām, village, the name meaning the camel's village.



propitious hour. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh in whose coming there were thousands of prosperities and good omens came out to welcome him. The Atgah Khān and a number of the courtiers tendered 248 their service. His Majesty exulted and expanded at the auspicious sight of that eye-pupil of the Khilāfat and new moon of glory, from whose temples there shone the auspiciousness of the two worlds, and prostrated his forehead in thanksgiving to Almighty God. On Friday, 2nd Ramzān, which was the auspicious time, he, attended by victory and conquest, cast the shadow of his advent over the city, and prostrated himself on the floor of prayer. Blessings and congratulations arose from the people, and at this time Samandar¹ came from Kashmīr with petitions and presents from M. Haidar. In the letter were eloquent praises of the climate, of the spring and the autumn, of the flowers and fruits of Kashmīr, and pressing entreaties that he would visit that lovely region. There were also fitting expressions about the conquest of Hindustan, and incitements were held to the world-conquering genius. His Majesty out of the abundance of his goodness sent a diploma of victory full of favourable expressions to the Mirzā. And he mentioned therein his secret designs upon India. He was constantly engaged in plans for strengthening the Khilāfat and for improving the affairs of the State, and applied his intellect to this object in accordance with the methods which the times called for. Among them was his dismissing to the Hijāz Qarāca Khān and Muṣāhib Beg who were ringleaders in hypocrisy, and deserving of all kinds of punishment. His idea was that perchance in times of exile, which is a file of the immoderate in spirit, they might think of the time of fortune, and recognising its blessings to some measure might refrain from following evil. They went off and stayed in the Hazāra country, and at length the clemency of his Majesty Jahānbānī accepted the inaudible² excuses of those ingrates.

¹ Apparently Samandar was Humāyūn's servant and presumed had been sent by him to Kashmīr. See former mentions of him in A.N. 173 and 179, where also he is spoken of as an ambassador. There is nothing about him in the Tār. Rash. Perhaps he was sent at the time when Maqdūm Beg was exiled to

Kashmīr in 952. A.F. has already mentioned that Haidar read the khutba in Humāyūn's name when Kābul was conquered. Qu. was this in 952 or 954?

² *Namasamū'* unheard, meaning I suppose, that they were too far off to be heard, perhaps=unspoken.



At the same time he sent Khawāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd on an embassy to Persia along with gifts and rarities in order that the foundations of affection might be renewed, and love be confirmed.

Among the occurrences of this year was the martyrdom of M. Ulugh Beg, the son of Muḥammad Sultān. The brief account of this affair is that the Mirzā was proceeding from Zamīn Dāwar, which was his fief, towards Badakhshān in order to pay his respects to his Majesty Jahānbānī, Khawāja M'uazzam also accompanied him from a desire to kiss the threshold, and to atone for his offences. When they came near Ghaznīn the news of the grand army's victory arrived
285 and Khawāja M'uazzam prevailed upon the Mirzā to go against the Hazāras so that they might attack and harry a tribe who were always practising plunder and robbery. From the inconsiderateness which is the natural stock of youthful arrogance and is the madness of pride they did not observe proper strategy and showed rashness in fight. The Mirzā drank the last draught from the goblet of the scimitar, and his Majesty exalted Tardī Muḥammad Khān by assigning Zamīn Dāwar to him as his fief and sent him off in order that he might bring that country into order. In the same year the ambassadors of 'Abdu-r-rashīd Khān, son of Sultān Sāīd Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar arrived bringing valuable presents. They were welcomed with favours and allowed to return quickly. At the same time 'Abbās Sultān, one of the Uzbek princes, gained auspiciousness by kissing the threshold, and was received with favour. His rank was exalted by his marriage with the chaste Gulcihara Begam, a younger¹ sister of his Majesty.

Among the occurrences of this year was the martyrdom of M. Shāh, brother of M. Ulugh Beg. He was coming from Ushtar Karām, which was in his fief, with the intention of paying his respects, but when he reached the pass of Minār, Shāh Muḥammad, brother of Hājī Muḥammad, in revenge for M. Muḥammad Sultān's having killed Kōkī, the paternal uncle of Hājī Muḥammad in India, lay in ambush and shot him with an arrow at the top of the pass, and raised the Mirzā on that summit to the glorious degree of a martyr.

¹ She was Humāyūn's half-sister, being an elder sister of Gulbadan Begam. This was her second marriage.

'Abbās soon ran away, see next chapter. The lady was no longer young, being probably over thirty.



CHAPTER XLVI.

MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ FROM KĀBUL TO BALKH, AND HIS RETURN OWING TO THE DISCORDANCE OF M. KĀMRĀN AND THE HYPOCRISY OF THE OFFICERS.

Though the conquest of India and the removal of weeds from that garden held a foremost place in his Majesty's mind, and though he was also anxious to visit Kashmīr, he postponed these enterprises and undertook¹ the expedition to Balkh, which had been previously determined on, and for which preparations had been made.

In the beginning of 956² (February, 1549), when the season had become milder, he sent Bāltū Beg, one of his confidants, to M. Kāmrān with the information that he was proceeding against Balkh in accordance with agreements, and that M. Kāmrān should co-operate in this and meet him when he should arrive at the borders of Badakhshān. Orders were also sent to Mīrzās Hindāl, 'Askarī, Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm to make arrangements for carriage and to prepare their men and join quickly.

The grand expedition started, but because of arrangements and 286 the disposal of business and the coming of Hājī Muḥammad Khān from Ghaznīn, there was a delay of nearly a month in Calāk.³ From this stage Khw. Dōst Khawānd was sent to Kūlāb to bring in M. Kāmrān.

Khw. Qāsim Buyūtāt, a former vizier, Khw. M. Beg, who was *dīwān-i-hāl*,⁴ but owing to whose want of guiding-power (*bī rashīdī*)

¹ According to Firishṭa, Bairām Khān had an old quarrel with the Uzbaks and so urged on the expedition against Balkh.

² 956 H. began on January 30th. Bayāzīd says that Humāyūn started in the beginning of spring; perhaps

A.F. was reckoning by the Persian year.

³ It is only about two miles north-west of Kābul. (Bābar, 138).

⁴ I have not found this title, if title it be. Perhaps it implies that M. Beg was the existing vizier or



Khw. Ghāzī had seized the charge of affairs—and Khw. Maqṣūd 'Alī who was M. Kāmraṇ's *factotum*, made with others an inquiry, through the instrumentality of Mīr Barka, into the affairs of Khw. Ghāzī and Rūh. Allāh. Mun'im Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Farīdūn Khān and Maulānā 'Abdu-l-bāqī, the *ṣadr*, were appointed to audit the accounts. Husain Qulī Sultān¹ who was one of his Majesty's intimates, was the superintendent in this affair. The result of the inquiry was that Khw. Ghāzī and Rūh Allāh and a number of other condemned² clerks were held to ransom. Muḥammad Qulī Sultān was appointed to take an account of Khw. Ghāzī's property, and Khw. Sultān 'Alī, who, by the favour of his Majesty,³ had received the title of *Afzal* (most excellent) Khān, was raised from the position of *nushrif-i-buyūtāt* to that of *dīwān-i-buyūtāt*.

At this time, M. Ibrāhīm came post and did homage and was welcomed with favours.

When his Majesty's mind had been set at rest about the necessary arrangements for the expedition, he marched to Istālif. Here 'Abbās Sultān⁴ Uzbek absconded. His Majesty marched slowly, as he waited to be joined by the Mirzās. When he heard that they had started, and that M. Kāmraṇ was getting ready, he went by Panjshīr and encamped at Andarāb. In imitation of his Majesty Ṣāhib-qirānī, he halted for three days at a stage⁵ where that fortunate prince had laid foundations. Thence he went to Nārī, where there is a meeting of the ways. Having crossed the Nārī Pass, he traversed the plain of Nilbar,⁶ the spring beauty of which is famous and pre-eminent above that of other parts of Badakhshān. Near this flowery spot, Mirzās Hindāl and Sulaimān did homage and were encompassed with favours. Here at M. Sulaimān's request, M. Ibrāhīm was permitted

dīwān and did not perform the duties. M. Beg was a nephew of Khw. Jahān Amīnā of Herāt and a poet who wrote under the name of Shahrī. (Blochmann, 424).

¹ Sister's son of Bairām and known by the title of Khānjahān. Blochmann, 329).

² *Mataghallibrā gīrāndand*. Cf. text, 241 for use of this verb. Appar-

ently the same Muḥammad Qulī or 'Alī was employed in both cases.

³ Blochmann, 376. *Nizāmu-d-dīn* says Akbar bestowed the title.

⁴ He had recently married a sister of Humāyūn.

⁵ Probably Parīān.

⁶ Apparently contracted from *nīlūfar*, the lotus or water-lily.



to go to Badakhshān¹ that he might protect the country and look after the local army.

From the neighbourhood of Baqlān,² Mirzās Hindāl and Sulaimān and Hājī Muḥammad Khān and a number of experienced and energetic men were sent on in advance, that they might set free from the Uzbeks the town of Aibak, a dependency of Balkh which is famed for its cultivation, the abundance of its fruits, and the excellence of its climate.

At this time, Sher Muḥammad Pakna—one of the personal attendants (*yasāwalān*) killed a leopard with an arrow and presented it. Husain Qulī muhrdār, represented that the Turks regarded it as unlucky to kill a leopard when on an expedition, and said that, at the time when Bairām Ughlān³ made him prisoner and brought him before Kistan Qarā,⁴ the ruler of Balkh, and they were making preparations in Jajaktu⁵ and Maimana for marching to Herāt, someone killed a leopard and for this reason the expedition was stayed. His Majesty paid no heed⁵ to this story, and held firmly to his resolution of going to Balkh.

Next day the advance force arrived at Aibak. Pir Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, had sent his guardian, Khw. Bāgh⁷ and a

¹ Apparently here used to denote Kishm, the capital. They were already in Badakhshān.

² It is west of Nārīn and south of Qundūz.

³ Called by Blochmann (464) the "well-known Bairām Oghlān." It appears from Bāyazīd that he was maternal uncle of Muḥammad Hakīm.

⁴ An elder brother of Pir Muḥammad and his predecessor in Balkh. He was a son of Jānī Beg (Vambéry's Bokhara, 282n.) and seems to have died in 955 H. See Shāhid Ṣādiq 235b.

⁵ The text omits the conjunction between these names but a variant gives it and it occurs in Bāyazīd, and the *Ḥadiqatu-l-aqālīm* gives the names

as those of two towns. Vambéry (i.e. Introd. XXIX n.) speaks of Tchichektu and Almar (modern Maimana). Maimana lies about half-way between Balkh and Herāt. The Jajaktu of the text seems properly to be Chichaktu and is so spelt in the map appended to Captain Yate's "England and Russia face to face. (1887)." It lies west-south-west of Maimana.

⁶ Bāyazīd says that Humāyūn remarked that the Uzbeks were his enemies and that what was a bad sign for them was a good one for himself.

⁷ Text, Māq; but Bāyazīd, whom probably A.F. is copying, has Bāgh. Māq may however be right for it



number of experienced men such as Īl M., Husain Sa'īd Bāi, Muḥammad Qalī M. and Jūjak M. to guard Aibak and provide for its defence. They reached it at about the same time as the imperial army and had no resource but to enter the fort of Aibak and secure themselves there. His Majesty arrived and set himself to take the fort and distributed the batteries. In two or three days the garrison asked for quarter and came out and did homage and Aibak fell into the hands of the imperial servants.

His Majesty held a royal festival and consulted with the *atālīq* about the conquest of Transoxiana. The *atālīq* represented that he was not a fit person to consult about such matters, but his Majesty replied that he bore marks of honesty, and that he should, without hesitation, say what he thought. Then the *atālīq* said that as the serviceable men of Pīr Muḥammad Khān had fallen into his Majesty's hands, he should put them all to death and go on in the career of victory, for Transoxiana would fall into his hands without a battle. His Majesty replied that it is ignoble to break one's word and that this is especially so in the case of princes; that he had granted quarter and could not recede from this. The *atālīq* replied that if his Majesty did not approve of this plan, he might keep him prisoner and make a treaty to the effect that all the country on this side of Khulm should be his own and that an auxiliary force should be supplied (i.e., by Pīr Muḥammad) whenever the expedition against India should take place. As the eternal will and established decree had gone forth against these two propositions, what was written by the pen of fate appeared to the Lord of Purpose to be preferable.²

288 His Majesty stayed there several days. Though the climate of Aibak and its abundance of fruit were a motive for staying, yet the chief reason was the non-arrival of M. Kāmraṇ. The wise and far-seeing used to insist that if this delay had not taken place, Pīr Muḥammad

means praise in Turkī and might be part of a proper name while Bāgh does not seem part of a man's name. It seems not impossible that Māq is an abbreviation of Īmāq.

¹ See Wood's Journey, 224, where he says that Bāi has the same significance as Khān amongst the Afghāns.

² A good instance of A.F.'s turgid style. Instead of simply stating that Humāyūn rejected the apparently sound proposition of the *atālīq*, he says that as another course had been decreed by fate, Humāyūn also preferred it.



Khān would not have been able to resist, and would either have been put to the rout or obliged to make peace on such terms as his Majesty chose. For 'Abdu-l-'azīz Khān¹ and the other Uzbek Khāns would not have been able to come to help. Since there was long delay, they had time to come to the assistance of the enemy. The Uzbek officers who had been taken prisoners, were sent to Kābul with Khw. Qāsim *makhlas*, one of the trusted of the Court, but his Majesty took the *atālīq* with him and marched by way of Khulm. Two or three days later, they passed Khulm and halted at Bābā Shāhū. Next day they encamped near the shrine² which is a well-known landmark, and scouts brought information that a large body of Uzbeks had arrived under the leadership of Waqqās Sultān and Shāh Muḥammad Sultān Hiṣārī.³

His Majesty drew up his troops and set his foot in the stirrup of victory. A slight engagement took place between the advance guards and, at the time of enamping, Shāh Muḥammad Sultān Hiṣārī attacked the camp with a large force. Brave men like Kābulī Khān,⁴ brother of Muḥammad Qāsim *mauḥī*, Sher Muḥammad Pakna and Muḥammad Khān Turkmān distinguished themselves. Kābulī fell and the enemy being unable to resist took to flight. Ūkīn Ughlān, a man of distinction among the Uzbeks, was made prisoner and brought to the presence. A dispute arose between Muḥammad Khān Turkmān and Saiyid Muḥammad Pakna, each claiming the honour of this feat. His Majesty asked Ūkīn who had brought him down. He pointed to Muḥammad Khān and said, "He first aimed a blow at me and the wind of it unhorsed me. When I recovered myself and stood up, this other man," pointing to Saiyid Muḥammad

¹ As stated in text, he was a son of Ubaidu-l-lāh, the brother-in-law of Ḥaidar M. He began to reign in Bukhāra in 1540.

² The Mazār-i-*sharīf* of the maps. It is the shrine of Shāh Auliya, i.e., 'Alī, Muḥammad's son-in-law, his tomb having been discovered there, it is said, during the reign of Sultān Ḥusain Baiqrā. There is an account of its discovery in the *Ḥadīqatu-l-*

aqālīm s.v. Balkh. Cf. too Wood's *Journey*, 135.

³ Perhaps another son of Jānī Beg and brother of Pīr Muḥammad. Bāyazīd calls him a son of Barandūq Sultān. The *Tār. Rash.* (161 and 452) also mentions a Shāh M. Sultān who was a grandson of Sultān Maḥmud Khān.

⁴ Bāyazīd tells us he was killed and his head cut off and taken to Balkh.



Pakna, "struck me on the face with his sword." His Majesty blamed Saiyid Muhammad saying, "He was thrown down by Muhammad Khān; you were ungenerous to strike another's catch (*said*)."
He gave the prize of valour to Muhammad Khān and made over Ūkin to Pir Muhammad *akhta* to be cared for.

In spite of the signs of victory, hypocritical, disloyal officers continued to show faint-heartedness and were continually uttering false reports about M. Kāmran and spreading them among themselves. Though everything disgraceful which they ascribed to the Mīrzā had the appearance of truth, for he was capable of it and of more, yet in this instance, they fastened false charges on him.

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In fine the Uzbeks gave battle next day in great force and tried to gain the victory, 'Abdu-l-'azīz Khān, son of Ubaid Khān, being in the centre, Pir Muhammad Khān on the right and Sultān-i-ḥiṣār on the left. His Majesty also drew up his army, he himself occupying the centre, M. Sulaimān the right wing and M. Hindāl the left, while Qarāca Khān, Hājī Muhammad Khān, Tardī Beg Khān, Mun'im Khān and Sultān Husain Beg Jalāir with his brothers were in the van. After mid-day the armies encountered one another and a great battle raged till evening. Brave men trod the field of courage and drove off the enemy's front ranks across the canals and into the outer defences (*kūcaband*) of Balkh. His Majesty in the strength of his mental vigour and wisdom, wished to pursue and to take his standards across the canals. His hypocritical followers while pretending to agree, gave wrong advice, and ignorant friends supported their opinion out of ignorance, and thereby made the opinion of enemies to prevail. They did not permit the crossing of the canals and uttered timorous speeches, sometimes alleging the paucity of their men and the number of the enemy; sometimes speaking of M. Kāmran's going to Kābul and of their fears lest the soldiers' families should be made prisoners, and sometimes urging that they ought to wait for M. Kāmran. Pressing these and other matters, they recommended a retreat. At length, after a thousand struggles with his spirit, it was agreed to proceed to Daragaz which is a strong position, and to stay there some days and collect the Aimaqs and other soldiers and so to get together the materials of victory. During that delay accurate news of M. Kāmran would arrive. In the event of his having marched against Kābul, it was not proper for



them to torment themselves (*kāftan*)¹ in these parts. At a future time, they could with whole heart, conquer Balkh, nay, Transoxiana and, by the help of God, they had been constantly successful up to this day and would continue so. For every reason it was right to withdraw and proceed to Dara-gaz. His Majesty seeing the general feeling, was helpless and ordered a march in that direction.

Thus the already captured Balkh was let go on account of the discord of the disloyal. Shaikh Bahlūl was sent to turn back the van which had crossed the stream and driven back the Uzbeks and entered the fortifications (*shahrband*). M. Sulaimān and a number of other valiant men were appointed to be the rear-guard.

As the whole aim of the disaffected and black-hearted was to 290 confound the army, this compulsory retreat to Dara-gaz, which happened also to be on the route to Kābul, was represented as a return thither, and the march of M. Kāmran was on every-one's tongue. Men lost heart and separated in different directions. Though his Majesty Jahānbānī sent Husain Qulī Sl. *muhrdār* who was one of his confidants, and a number of others also, to turn back the disheartened crowd, it was of no avail, as proposition and disposition did not coincide (*taqdīr mūāfiq-i-tadbīr nabūd*). And in fact the decree of the Omnipotent was to this effect in order that the vast country of India might be sheltered from the mischief of tyrants and the inflictions of oppressors and become the descension-point of the blessings of a holy personality, and the abiding-throne and theatre (*takhtgāh-i-abd dastgāh*) of his Majesty, the *Shāhanshāh*, the Shadow of God; and that many thousands of good seeds might be shed over the wide fields of earth and the hope-plots of the sincere. To sum up; God, the World-adorned, revealed such a victory as this under the guise of conditions which might prove a lesson and a warning to the wise, and thereby brought to pass the things of counsel and wisdom. For had this disaster not occurred, the work of the helpless ones of India would have been hindered by the undertaking of the conquest of Transoxiana; and the setting-in order of those lands which are a haven for the pilgrims of the seven climes, had sunk under the veil of delay.

¹ *Kāftan* means to split or cleave and the sense seems to be that now their minds were divided; afterwards

they could in comfort *ba khatir-i-jama'*, lit. with united heart, conquer Balkh, etc.



In brief, when the enemy became aware of the unpleasant occurrence (i.e., the retreat), they put their own confused affairs in order and came in pursuit. His Majesty Jahānbānī displayed splendid courage and performed achievements whose eulogy might be the frontispiece to the model-battles of the world. In that jungle of tigers of war, his world-traversing dun-coloured¹ steed which bore the name of *tasarru-n-nāzīrīn*² and had been presented to him by Muḥammad Khān,³ the governor of Herāt and which he was riding, fell from being wounded by an arrow. Haidar Muḥammad *ākhta* presented that leader of faith and dominion with his own horse and was exalted by this piece of service. As the Divine protection was hovering over that Lord of Sovereignty's throne, he was brought into a place of safety. Most of his followers, when they beheld symptoms of defeat, dispersed in all directions in a cowardly and ignominious manner.

The names of the chief officers of the army are as follows: Mirās Hindāl and Sulaimān, Qarāca Khān, Hājī Muḥammad Khān, Tardī Beg Khān, Mun'im Khān, Khizr Khw. Sl.,⁴ Muḥammad Qulī Khān Jalāir, Iskandar Khān, Qāsim Ḥusain Khān, Haidar Muḥammad *ākhta-begī*, 'Abdu-l-lāh Khān Uzbek, Ḥusain Qulī Khān *muhrdār*, Muḥibb 'Alī Khān

¹ *Zarrīn fām*, golden-coloured. Bāyazīd calls the horse, *asp-i-gulā*, dun-coloured.

² *Tasarru-n-nāzīrīn*. It delights beholders. This is an Arabic expression and is used in the Korān to describe the kind of cow which Moses told the Israelites to sacrifice. The reading of the text is probably correct, but it differs from the word in Bāyazīd, in the copy in the India Office though it would seem that it from Bāyazīd that A.F. has taken the story. There the word looks like *nazzar*, but Erskine in his MS. translation has *nashtar* so perhaps he took the word to be *nastar*, or *nasrīn*, i.e., the narcissus. This might be an allusion to the yellow colour of the horse.

Bāyazīd who was evidently fond of horses and proud of his powers

of managing them, as a later story of his shows, is careful to tell us that Humāyūn's horse afterwards died of its wound. He adds that the horse given by Haidar to Humāyūn was *ṭāraqī*, bow-legged, or weak-kneed.

³ Most MSS. seem to have *Sharafu-d-dīn* after Muḥammad Khān.

⁴ Gulbadan Begam's affection induces her to represent her husband as behaving in heroic fashion during the retreat, by turning back to search for Hindāl. But Bāyazīd names him as one of those who refused to stand when called upon to do so by Ḥusain Qulī and he says it was *Shāh Qulī Nāranjī* who went back to look for Hindāl. A.F. seems to include in his list both the leaders who behaved well and those who ran away.



(son of) Mir Khalifa, Sl. Husain Khān, Bāltū Sl., Muṣāhib Beg, Shāh Bidagh Khān, Shāham Khān Beg Jalāir, Shāh Qulī Nārānji, Muḥammad Qāsim maujī, Laṭafu-l-lāh of Sihriād, 'Abdu-l-wahhāb Auji,¹ Baqī Muḥammad *parwāncī*, and Khaldīn.²

Three days later, his Majesty halted at the top of the pass³ of the Four Springs and here Muḥammad. Qulī Shaikh Turkman⁴ who had hit on the right road, heard of the royal party and joined it.

From this place, his Majesty wrote an affectionate epistle to his Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, and to the chaste ladies who were in Kābul, the abode of peace and sent it by Beg Muḥammad *ākhta-begī*. He also sent a friendly letter to Rashīd Khān, the ruler of Kashghār who had always shewn loyalty and devotion, informing him of his arrival and telling him how his evil-minded brother, M. Kāmran, had by constraint of his natural character, elevated the hideousness of discord over the beauty of concord and so had completely depressed the side of love and loyalty. Many of his followers too had shewn a want of

¹ Perhaps this epithet means that he was a native of Aujiān in Āzarbaijān. (Jarrett III. 81 and Ouseley's Travels). But most MSS. have Audaji, e.g., B.M. 27, 247 and 5610.

² Probably the Khaldīn Dōst Sahārī mentioned in text (316) in the list of Hindāl's servants.

³ Text, *bar sar-i-yakh*, on the top of the ice, but reference to Bāyazīd and to various MSS. of the A.N. has convinced me that the proper reading is *bar sar-i-paj*, top of the pass or mountain. Bāyazīd has *bar sar-i-kutāl* and *kutāl* has the meanings of *paj*. It is true that he also has the expression in the same passage مار پیچ *mārpēc*, a convolution or winding road, and that possibly this may refer to the winding road taken by Humāyūn as distinguished from the *rāh-i-rāst*, straight road, taken by Kāmān. (According to Steingass,

the phrase *rāh-rāst* means "a great distance.")

It seems to me that in several parts of this narrative, A.F. and Bāyazīd have copied from the same source.

Cahār Qashma is marked in the Government map of Afghānistān as S.W. of Haibak and near Dara-yusaf. Bāyazīd speaks of four wells,—two, apparently at the top of the pass, and two lower down. He describes them as near Aibak.

⁴ Text, *kamāl*. Several MSS. have *Kamān* but Bāyazīd seems to have *Turkmān*, and evidently the man meant as the M. Qulī Turkmān Afshān of Blochmann 474. See Bāyazīd 47b, 48a and 75a. MSS. have *kamān*. The expression in text is not clear. Bāyazīd says the Shaikh was going along on the right or straight road. M. Qulī brought the welcome news that the Uzbeks had discontinued the pursuit.



courage. Certainly the expedition had not redounded to the joy of well-wishers; on the contrary, it had been a cause of sorrow and distress. In the same letter, he expressed his thanks for his safety and he inserted excellent counsels such as might comfort a loving heart.

Leaving that place, he arrived after one night's interval, at Ghūrband and on the next night, at Khwāja Siyārān. Thence he went to Qarā Bagh and thence to Ma'mūra.¹ His Majesty, the *Shāhanshāh*, came out to meet him here and was affectionately received. From this place he went in an auspicious hour to Kābul.

M. Sulaimān went off to Badakhshān and M. Hindāl to Qundūz, Mun'im Khān accompanying him. All the other officers followed his Majesty to Kābul. Shāh Bidāgh Khān who had given proofs of courage, remained a prisoner with the enemy, as did also Mir Sharīf bakhshī, Khw. Nāsiru-d-dīn 'Alī mustaufī, Mīr Muḥammad munshī, Mīr Jān Beg *dārogha-i-imārat*, and Khw. Muḥammad Amīn Kang. All the other servants were safe.

When the *atālīq* and other Uzbeks who had been made prisoners at Aibak, were released and went to their own country, and gave account of the royal kindness and liberality, Pir Muḥammad Khān was astonished, and sent his prisoners in a humane manner to Kābul.

His Majesty, recognizing that his return was really advantageous, set himself to arrange his kingdom and engaged in the conduct of 292 things spiritual and temporal. Khw. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd had been sent on an embassy to the king of Persia, but from various causes had delayed in Qandahār and he was now recalled. Khw. 'Abdū-ṣ-ṣamad and Mir Saiyid 'Alī who were celebrated for their skill in painting, came with the Khwāja and were graciously received. Khw. Sl. 'Alī, known as Afzal Khān, was raised² from the position of *maṣhrif-i-khizāna* to that of vizier; while the whole charge of the *diwānī* was made over to Khw. M. Beg.

The account of M. Kāmran is as follows. When his Majesty, out of his kindness and affection, forgave his grave offences and gave him Kulāb and appointed Cakar Beg of Kulāb, the son of Sl. Wais

¹ *Dih-i-ma'mūra*, near Kābul.
(Jarrett II. 404).

² It is not clear whether this is

the promotion recorded above (text 286) or a still higher one.



Beg, as his co-adjutor and went to Kābul, no long time intervened before the Mirzā behaved badly to Cākar Beg and drove him out: He placed the great favours which had been bestowed on him in the niche (*tāq*) of forgetfulness and giving way to evil thoughts, watched for his opportunity. During the time that His Majesty Jahānbānī was in Kābul, he was continually making false promises that he would come; and His Majesty, out of his candid nature and straightforwardness,—which are the characteristics of magnanimous natures,—believed his false words and went off to Balkh. The Mirzā looked upon this opportunity as fair gain and again determined in his perfidious heart, that he would go to Kābul. The rebellious designs which were leavening his mind, came near the surface, and at his instigation, narrow-minded and disloyal officers practised various hypocrisies in that expedition, as has already been related. But as His Majesty returned and cast the shade of his justice on Kābul, M. Kāmran left M. 'Askarī in Kūlāb and went off to fight M. Sulaimān. The latter hastened away without fighting from Tāliqān to Qil'a Zafar.

M. Kāmran made over Tāliqān to Bābūs Beg and proceeded towards Qil'a Zafar. Mirzās Sulaimān and Ibrāhim not thinking it expedient to fight left Ishāq¹ Sultan in Qil'a Zafar and went off to the defiles of Badakhshān. They took post in the village of Jirm and awaited the Divine retribution. M. Kāmran, having disposed of M. Sulaimān went off to Qundūz. He began by making false pretences to M. Hindāl and proposed a union with him. M. Hindāl did not hearken to him and stood by his obligations, whereupon M. Kāmran laid siege to Qundūz. M. Hindāl neglected no point in defending the fort and when M. Kāmran could not succeed, he joined the Uzbeks and asked their assistance. A large body of 293 Uzbeks came to help him and joined him in the siege. M. Hindāl in order to cause confusion and deceive the foe, which in fact is a guidance on the high road of success, devised an excellent plan, viz., he wrote a letter as from M. Kāmran to himself, full of a renewal of peace between them and of deceiving the Uzbeks, and after the manner of experts, he gave this false document to a courier who was intentionally to throw himself into the hands of Uzbeks. When, on searching the courier, the letter was found, and when it appeared

¹ A brother-in-law of Kāmran.

from its contents that the two Mirzās were going to act in concert and make the Uzbeks a target for the arrows of evil, the latter were confounded and withdrew from the siege and set off for their own country. The affair of the fort remained unaccomplished and just then, news came that Cākar Beg was besieging Kūlāb and that M. 'Askari had been defeated and was shut up therein. Also that M. Sulaimān had joined with Ishāq Sl. and had got possession of Qil'a Zafar and had then imprisoned Ishāq Sl. M. Kāmran was bewildered at this news and withdrawing in despair from Qundūz, he sent Yāsīn Daulat and Bābūs with a body of troops against M. Sulaimān and himself hastened to Kūlāb and made Cākar Beg retire. M. 'Askari came out and did homage to M. Kāmran who took him with himself, and went off to put down M. Sulaimān. They had halted near Rūstāq, when a large force of Uzbeks who had come on a plundering expedition (*yurtāwalī*)¹ under the leadership of Sa'īd Beg, passed by the encampment and made a raid on it. Mirzās Kāmran, 'Askari and 'Abdu-l-lāh Mughal escaped with a few men to Tāliqān. When the Sa'īd afore-named knew the rights of the matter, he sent back the baggage² to the Mirzā with all respect and apologized for the plundering. Mirzās Hindāl and Sulaimān thinking the opportunity favourable, set out to put down M. Kāmran who not deeming it advisable to remain in Badakhshān, went off to Khost in order that he might, by the route of Zuhhāq and Bāmiān withdraw into the Hazāra country. There he would learn the real state of Kābul and either proceed there or go elsewhere.³ As the disloyal officers of His Majesty Jahānbānī were always urging the Mirzā to come to Kābul, he fraudulently sent ambassadors to the Court and represented that his object in coming was to apologize for the past and to serve his

¹ P. de C. gives in his Dictionary, **بورتل** as meaning "troupe qu'on envoie pour faire une razzie, coureurs."

² See *errata* to text. The word is really **اغريلق** *aghirlīq*. It probably included Kāmran's wives and daughters for Gulbadan says they were captured. Bāyazīd says it was Pīr Muḥammad Khān of Balkh who sent

back the plunder. It would appear from Gulbadan, that he was the son of a brother of one of Kāmran's wives.

³ Bāyazīd says Kāmran's idea was to go to Bhakkar and it is very likely —(having regard to his relations with the ruling family of Bhakkar), that *dīgar* of the text is a mistake for Bhakkar.



Majesty. His hope was, he said, that His Majesty would with royal kindness, forgive his crimes and sins.

Verse.

I've come again to worship the dust of thy feet,
If submission be ordered, I'm ready to pay it.

"My hope is that on this occasion, I may by good service, obtain release from the heavy burden of shame." His Majesty from the purity of his own nature, regarded his gold-incrusted copper as genuine, and accepted it according to the standard for fine gold.



CHAPTER XLVII.

294 MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ FROM KĀBUL, AND FIGHT WITH M. KĀMRĀN; AND OTHER INSTRUCTIVE OCCURRENCES.

When the arrival of M. Kāmrān at the borders of Kābul was approaching, a number of the loyal and farseeing represented that there should be a limit to simplicity and optimistic views of persons. Seeing that the fraud, lying and disaffection of this ingrate had been tested many times, it was right and proper that caution should not be thrown away again, and that the army should be ordered to march out, and the banners of victory be unfurled for the suppression of the rebellious. If indeed the Mirzā had repented of his evil deeds, and had entered on the path of concord, and were desirous of doing homage, he would receive distinction from the royal favour (in going out to welcome him), and if on this occasion also he was persistent in perversity, the rules of precaution would be observed on our side. On hearing these weighty words His Majesty determined to march towards Ghūrband, which was the Mirzā's route, and he set out in that direction in the middle of 957 (June-July, 1550). He left His Majesty the Shāhanghāh as prince in Kābul and put Qāsim Khān Berlās at the head of affairs. Qarāca Khān, Muṣāhib Beg and many others, white without and black within, who were always stirring up strife, were rejoiced and wrote seditious letters to M. Kāmrān, pressing him to come to Kābul and saying that they, and many others, would welcome him and would disperse the King's well-wishers by unfitting suggestions, and that Kābul would easily fall into his hands.

'Tis marvellous how actions which, with complete inconsistency, they regarded as improper when practised on themselves by equals and associates, viz., promise-breaking, evil-devising, and lying, should all be performed by them against their Master and benefactor! Their blinded eyes opened not to the hideousness thereof, nay, they regarded its repulsiveness as a beauty, and counted it as part of their



wisdom of strategy. Though they understood loyalty and right dealing and looked for them in their servants, yet they were so overcome by their own baseness as to play the game of deceit and infidelity against such a pure-hearted Master! And what wrongheadedness also! I can imagine that they could not comprehend the glorious merits of this holy personality, but where was their common sense! That which they expected from their own servants they would not render to that aggregation of benevolences and to that bestower of so many favours, any one of which deserved a life's devotion, but on the contrary they acted in the very opposite way to one who was their Master and benefactor, and requited him with negligence and wrong advice. But alas! What marvel is it that he who has been kneaded of strife and malice, should show such behaviour? What joy have the born-blind in the glory of the sun? The sincerity's eye of this crew has been filmed over with hypocrisy and become void of light, and their breast of love has been narrowed by the tumour of pride! How can such recognise a Master's rights to gratitude, or perceive the beauties of a benefactor? What place then is there for thanksgiving for boundless favours? The wild steeds of the o'er-mastering passions of such self-pleasers have not such docility that their bridles can be tightened by the hand of chiding, or their reins turned by the outspread fingers of counsel!

At length His Majesty, in accordance with the decrees of fate, marched from Kābul and encamped at Qarā Bāgh. From thence he went to Cārikārān and from there to the river Bārān. It happened that there was a stream on this stage and that His Majesty crossed it on horseback, whilst his followers went off in different directions seeking for a safe passage. His Majesty did not approve of this and instanced in reproof of this disaffected crew, the conduct of the devotees of Shāh Ism'ā'il Šafavī, who flung themselves down from a sky-high mountain to seize his handkerchief and made for themselves a lofty foundation of fame and life-sacrifice. Such was His Majesty's sound opinion of his followers on this occasion, and such was their pusillanimous circumspection. In fine Qarāca Qarābakht and Mušāhib Munafiq and others, who were burning torches of sedition, represented, directly and indirectly, that they had to do with mountains, and

¹ *Khudrūt*, which is short for *Khud-dārī*. See Vullers I. 744a.



that there were many defiles; that the Mirzā would have few men with him, and that the loyal should be stationed on different roads, so that the Mirzā should not be able to come out. The whole idea of these evil-minded ones was to disperse the army so that M. Kāmran's purpose might be effected. His Majesty Jahānbānī, who in his noble nature only believed good of men, thought the plan of these traitors a good one and sent Hājī Muḥammad Khān Kōkī, Mir Barka, M. Ḥasan Khān, Bahādur Khān, Kh. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Calpī Beg, Muḥammad Khān Beg Turkmān, Shaiḫ Bahlūl, Ḥaidar Qāsim Kōhbar, and Shāh Qulī Nāranjī to Zuḥḥāq and Bāmīān, and appointed Mun'im Khān and a large body of troops to Sāl Aulang, Qarāca, and Muṣāhib, Qāsim Ḥusain Sī and a number who remained with His Majesty, drew up daily an account of His Majesty's position and sent it to M. Kāmran, and were continually representing to His Majesty that this time the Mirzā had no other idea but to serve him.

When there were few loyalists in attendance, and the convention of hypocrites was powerful, M. Kāmran, who had been confounded by the royal pomp and the large army and had been unable either to quit the service (of the king) or to go forward and do homage, having become acquainted by the brokerage of the hypocrites with their treachery, turned off from the road by Zuḥḥāq and Bāmīān towards Dara Qibcāq¹ which is a dependency of Ghūrband. Yāsīn Daulat, Maqḍum Kōka and Bābā Sa'īd led the advance, while he himself was in the centre. His men were arranged in two bodies. It was midday when His Majesty was apprised by a peasant² of that quarter of the coming of M. Kāmran, and of his evil intentions. Qarāca who was the ringleader of the ill-disposed, represented that if one listened to the tales of a man like this and placed reliance on such false rumours, hearts would be divided, and the people (Kāmran's followers) would become apprehensive. Should there be a desire to give battle on account of this news, and should warlike preparations be made, certainly when M. Kāmran heard of them, he would desist from his

¹ This pass is marked on the map appended to Yule's introduction to Wood's Journey. It is also called Cārdār and lies S.E. of the Dandān Shikan. See also Bābar's Mem., p. 139.

² Bāyazīd says a servant of the Mir Munghī brought the news and made such an uproar that Humāyūn, according to Erskine, had him put to death, but perhaps the words only mean that he was beaten.



desire of entering into service. Meanwhile the news of the Mirza's coming and of his wicked intentions became stronger and more continuous. Wondrous to relate, the hypocrisy and inmost thought of those hypocrites had not yet been revealed on the mirror of His Majesty's mind. Nought entered his holy heart save good thoughts of people, till at length it become established that the enemy was coming and coming with a hostile intention. An order was given that all who were with him should mount their horses. He himself put the foot of courage in the stirrup of enterprise and in a short time there was a hot engagement. Pīr Muḥammad *ākhtā*, who was one of the devoted followers and Muḥammad Khān Jalāir and many other brave men moved forward. Pīr Muḥammad *ākhtā*, who was athirst for the stream of life-sacrifice, brought his foot into the circle of conflicts and so watered the sword of battle in slaying the foe, that he himself was swept away by the foam. M. Qulī made his steed so rush about in the field of contest that after slaughtering crowds of wretches he, in the press and confusion, fell wounded¹ from his horse. His son Dūst Muḥammad could not endure to see him in the power of the foe, and ran to his help. While his father yet lived, he killed his adversary, and had such combats that he too was swept away, and disappeared. His Majesty Jahānbānī got upon a rising ground and calculated the strength of friend and foe. By seeing the manner in which some of his servants were killed, and by seeing others go in crowds over to the enemy, the truth of the fraud and treachery of those scoundrels became apparent to him. His native valour and intrepidity were stirred up, and seizing a lance he himself rushed against the foe. They were scattered before him, but an arrow wounded his horse and Beg Bābāi of Kūlāb came from behind, and

¹ From A.F.'s account it would appear that M. Qulī was killed, as well as his son. According to the Maasir I. 557 and Blochmann 385 M. Qulī did not die till 983 but the M. Qulī of the battle of Qibcāk is not the M. Qulī who was Ḥaidar Muḥammad's brother. The Tabaqat, Elliot V. 232 calls the son Aḥmad. Bāyazīd says, 516 that Pīr Muḥammad was killed by an arrow, that M. Qulī's

horse was killed, and M. Qulī's leg broken. Then he adds, "Imam Qulī and his son belonged to the body-guard. The son ran to his father to put him on horseback, but he too suffered martyrdom." This looks as if Bāyazīd regarded M. Qulī and Imām Qulī as the same person. The M. Qulī who was killed has the title of Cālī. See Erskine's history.



knowingly¹ or unknowingly struck him a blow with his sword. His Majesty turned round and gave him an angry look which caused him² to stumble. Mihtar³ Sakāi known as Farhat Khān came and put that wretch to flight, and M. Nijāt tendered his piebald horse to His Majesty who took it and gave the Mirzā his. Meanwhile 'Abdu-l-wahhāb, one of the *yasāwal* came and telling how the officers had joined with M. Kāmran, seized His Majesty's rein. "What time was it," he said, for fighting. The bucket of success must at one time come up full from the waters of hope and at another, it must, by a revolution of the wheel, go down empty."

Hail! eternal fate! which rules the beggar and the king, and directs the cycle of fortune and misfortune, which holds the key of deliverance for those in bonds, and causeth the exalted to fall. Until men have passed through the dark night of the hours of affliction, they know not the glory of the world-warming sun, and until the thirsty lips have sought the desert mirage, they are not watered at the spring of desire. This event is a proof of this, for on that day there was the apparition of the eventual salvation of His Majesty. He proceeded to Zuhhāq and Bāmīān whither he had sent many of his loyal officers. 'Abdu-l-wahhāb, Farhat Khān, Muhammad Āmīn, Sabdal⁴ Khān and others accompanied him. Muhammad Āmīn and 'Abdu-l-wahhāb were ordered to form the rear guard. On account of weakness and of the distress from his
298 wound, he took off his cuirass and made it over to Sabdal Khān who, out of stupidity, flung it away. Next day many of his servants joined him. One day he sent Shāh Budāgh Khān, Tūlak Qūcīn, and Majnūn Qāqshāl—ten in all,—towards Kābul to serve as a rear guard and also to keep a look out, but Tūlak Qūcīn only returned. He was received with favour on that market day of testing and raised to the office of *Qūrbegī*. The confidential servants were summoned and a council was held. Hājī Muhammad Khān whose fief

¹ i.e., either he recognised him or he did not.

² From the *Iqbāl-nāma* it would appear that the word *dast* should be separated from *tez*, and that the phrase is, *dast az pa khatakard*, meaning that Beg Bāba grew confused,

lit. did not know his hand from his foot.

³ Blochmann 438. From Jauhar it would appear that he was an Abyssinian slave.

⁴ Blochmann 441.



was Ghaznīn, and on whose heart's fireplace dissimulation was pre-eminently concocted, recommended a march to Qandahār. This however was not approved of. A number of the right-thinking recommended marching to Badakhshān, and then proceeding to Kābul along with Mīrzās Sulaimān, Hindāl and Ibrāhīm. A party of devoted heroes suggested that to-day M. Kāmran was intoxicated with the mischievous wine of the hypocrites and narrow-souled ones and off his guard, while they had the good fortune to be at the feet of His Majesty. On what other day would they be successful?¹ The proper thing was that they should all with one heart march to Kābul. There was a confident hope that they would be able to dispose of M. Kāmran without going to Badakhshān. As recent evidence had been obtained of the deceit and hypocrisy of very many of the nurslings of the Court, reliance was not put upon this opinion and the cautious course seemed to be to proceed to Badakhshān. Accordingly he ordered a march by the route of Yekka Aulang. At such a time as this Hājī Muḥammad obtained leave for his brother Shāh Muḥammad and his men and sent them to Ghaznīn! His Majesty with his own holy hand wrote a letter to His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh announcing his safety and made it over to him (Shāh Muḥammad) in order that he might by every possible² means convey it to him. He also sent verbal messages of victory and promises of his coming. And he bade him (Shāh Muḥammad) go quickly to Ghaznīn and make every effort for keeping it safe till his return which, he trusted, would soon occur. Though the loyal represented that to separate hypocrites from himself at such a time was to put the reins of hypocritical actions into the hands of these unreliaables and forward the schemes of the seditions, and though every one represented, either openly or by hints, that he (Hājī Muḥammad), was sending his brother to M. Kāmran, and that he himself was seeking to be a household-spy and a deceiver of simple believers, His Majesty did not give heed and granted leave to Shāh Muḥammad. Next day

¹ This is evidently the Alanjak of Stewart's Jauhar, 98. It was an Aimāq settlement and lies about thirty miles S.-W. of Bāmīān. (Bābar's Mem., 211n.).

² Shāh Muḥammad's route to Ghaznīn would probably take him near Kābul.



he proceeded towards Kahmard. Many faithless ones separated from his service, but all who observed the limits of loyalty and were careful of their good name, stayed with him and bound the girdle of service on the waist of fidelity.

299 After¹ travelling three days on this road, Tūlakjī and Sānqājī, the headmen of the Aimāqs who live there, brought horses and sheep to the utmost of their power and presented them. They rendered acceptable service. His Majesty encamped at night near one of their settlements. When he mounted his horse in the morning, news was brought that a large caravan had arrived under the charge of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī of Sabzawār. Merchants from Irāq and Khurāsān had many horses and other goods with them and were on their way to India. At the end of the day the chiefs of the caravan were admitted to the Presence. The providential arrival of this large party was the beginning of celestial victories. The prudent and farseeing merchants recognised a great auspiciousness for themselves in the favour of so great a prince, and in assisting him; and tendered all their horses and goods as a present. His Majesty perceived that this was an aid from heaven and took² a portion of the goods at four or five times their value, and divided them among his followers and intimates. He also set aside presents for each of the princes of Badakhshān. The remainder he returned to them that they might sell the articles wherever they chose. Next day he arrived at Kahmard. Tāhir Muḥammad, son of Mīr Khurd was there. He recognised the arrival as a great favour and paid his respects, but either from meanness or not having materials, he could not with regard to his entertainment, succeed in wiping the sweat of shame from the face of his service. From there after two days and a night (*shab darmiyan*) they arrived at the bank of the river Bangī. From the other side a man³ called out "O men of the caravan," have you any news among you of the King? When His Majesty heard him,

¹ From this point A.F. seems to follow Jauhar. Bāyazīd was not with Humāyūn in the retreat, he having fled towards Kābul. Perhaps the names Tūlakjī and Sānqājī are those of tribes and not of individuals. Sānqājī looks to be a

variant of the tribal name Sālqāncī mentioned at Text, p. 276, 8 lines from foot.

² *dah cahal u dah panjāh*. Cf. Bābar's Mem., 138.

³ See Jauhar, Stewart, 98.



he forbade any one to give news, and asked the man who he was, and who had sent him, and what news there was among them about the King. The man answered that he was sent by Nazari of Sāl¹ Aulang to get news of the King, and that the report among them was that the King had come out of the battle wounded, and that after that no one had seen him. The Mirzā's men had found the royal *jiba* (cuirass or corselet) which the King had worn on that day and had brought it to the Mirzā who had rejoiced thereat, and had instituted feasts. His Majesty summoned him to his presence and asked him if he knew him. He replied that the Divine effulgence does not remain hid. His Majesty said, "Go and convey the good tidings to Nazari, and tell him to make himself ready, so that at the time of my return he may perform acceptable service." Next day he crossed by a ford and reached the village of Auliya Khanjān.² Here M. 300 Hindāl joined him and was exalted by tendering presents. After that he encamped at Andarāb. Mirzās Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm did homage and formed the part of loyalists.

As the narrative has proceeded so far, it is necessary that before His Majesty Jahānbānī shall have assembled his army and marched to the conquest of Kābul, the pen should take up the account of M. Kāmran from the beginning of his treachery till his coming out from Kābul, which was the beginning of his punishment, so that the lips athirst for the wine of words, may be moistened from the watering place of this supplement.

When the stewards of destiny brought forth from a hidden quarter, for the confirmation of the royal, ever-during dominion, and for the confounding of the masters of hypocrisy, such a victory in the guise of defeat, and such joy in the garb of sorrow, and when His Majesty Jahānbānī proceeded by the arrangement of devoted loyalists, towards Zuhḥāq and Bāmīān, M. Kāmran was amazed at

¹ This, seems to be the Saulah-Aulang (between Panjhā and Ghūr-band) of Jarrett II. 400n. Nazari is perhaps the Mir Nazari of the Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī, Vambéry, 65 and 66.

² The Khinjān of the maps, W.S.-W. of Andarāb. But the river when

the conversation with Nazari's servant took place, can hardly have been the Bangī. The text has Ādī Khinjān. In the government-map of Afghānistān, the town is called Khinjān Waliān. They appear to be two places. See Bābar's Mem., 139, and Jarrett II. 400.



the appearance of so wondrous an event, such as he had never imagined as likely to happen. The hypocrites joined him in crowds, and that foolish one was excited and delighted by the coming of those triflers and stretched out the arm of oppression upon the faithful who were firmly grasping the pinnacle of fidelity to the king. On the very field of battle Bābā Sa'īd brought Qarāca Qarabakh¹ wounded before the Mirzā. The latter was gracious and inquired about his evil-ending condition. He replied that Bābā Sa'īd had wounded him unawares and the Mirzā proceeded to console that cheat by baseless favours. After that Bābā Dōst *yasāwal* and a number of others brought forward Husain Qulī *muhrdār*, who was one of the devoted loyalists, that evildoer struck with his own sword this faithful servant and ordered him to be cut to pieces in his presence. Thus this fundholder¹ in loyalty's treasure-house sold in his benefactor's service a fleeting life and a contingent existence for the coin of fidelity, and thereby became for ever a sharer in the banquet of the true and the loyal. They also brought in Tākhjī Beg who was a Caghatāi officer and reckoned among the faithful. Him too they put to the sword without hesitation. After that Beg Bābāi of Kūlāb came forward and told the story of the wounding of His Majesty. The Mirzā was jubilant and sent Yāsīn Daulat and Maqḍum Kōka and a body of men in pursuit. Qāsim Husain Sī. had on this day shown treachery and blindness of heart. From the trepidation and fear which cling to the skirt of the disloyal, he took refuge on the side of the mountain and in his confusion did not know whether to advance or fly. Hasan *Ṣadr* and a number more were sent to him and they, by soothments and encouragement, brought him in. The Mirzā left the field of battle and came to

301 Carikārān. Here a man brought His Majesty's special corselet to the Mirzā who was so exultant that he could not contain himself for joy (lit. his clothes were not large enough for him). He marched from thence and besieged Kābūl. Qāsim Khān Barlās was in the service of His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, and was looking after the security of the fort. Though the Mirzā made false promises to him, he would not sever the strong cord of fidelity which bound him to

¹ No doubt Husain Qulī's title of *muhrdār*, = sealer, and also gold *muhṛ*

holder has suggested this simile to the author.



His Majesty Jahānbānī, till false rumours were spread and the corselet (*jība*) was sent. The fort was taken by dint of hundreds of false promises and by staking lying tales. The new fruit of the garden of creation and nosegay of the spring of horizons, *viz.*, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh who was perfuming the nostrils of the age, and from whose brows of fortune there radiated the light of the Divine Khilāfat, was made a prisoner. But the Divine protection, which is ever near him, watched in the old fashion over that prince, outwardly small but grand in reality.

M. Kāmran having taken possession of Kābūl, set about arranging his affairs and organising his army. He gave in fief to M. 'Asharī, Jūī Shāhī which is now known as Jalālābād, in accordance with the auspicious title of the Shāhinshāh. It is a delightful spot and a partition (*barzakḥ*) between India and foreign countries, being replete with the advantages of the one and exempt from the evils of the other. It was Munim Khān who gave it its holy appellation and who colonised it. Ghaznīn and its territory were given to Qarāca Khān and Ghūrband and its neighbourhood to Yāsīn Daulat. In this manner fiefs and grants were made to his followers. The royal servants were laid hold of, Khw. Sl. 'Alī the dīwān being imprisoned, and the hand of oppression was opened and money and goods were taken from him and used for evil purposes. But the Mīrzā was ever in dread of the approach of the royal army, and could not pass his days in tranquillity. The direction of affairs was with Qarācā Khān and Khw. Qāsim the Mīr *Buyūtāt*, and by means of oppression and tyranny materials which in fact were no materials were got together, forgetting the verse :—

Verse.¹

Who take *dirams* by force and give gold for ornamentation,
Dig up the foundation of the mosque² and gild the palace-roof.

About three months were spent in this way till the sound of the approach of His Majesty Jahānbānī from Badakhshān rose high in the province of Kābūl. The Mīrzā collected soldiers and

¹ The Lucknow editor illustrates this verse by a quotation from Sa'dī.

از رعیت کسیکه مایه رنود
پای دیوار کنود و بام اندود

² 'Amr which means both life and mosques.



zamīndārs from the Hazāras and others and set off with a full equipment. He left Babā Jūjak and Mullā Shafāi in Kābūl, and took His Majesty the Shāhinshāh,—the marks of auspiciousness in whom were apparent, and were acknowledged by small and great and by friend and foe,—with him, either to bring himself good fortune or for greater security. Nor was he aware that God, the giver of life and adorning of the world, had assigned the benign influences of both worlds which were implanted in this holy personality to his friends, not to his foes. What lustre does antimony give to the blind?

Now that this parenthetical narrative has been completed, we must return to our subject and briefly describe the remaining occurrences of His Majesty Jahānbānī.



CHAPTER XLVIII.

RETURN OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ FROM
BADAKHSHĀN, AND HIS BATTLE WITH M. KĀMRĀN, AND
ARRIVAL IN KĀBUL AFTER THE VICTORY.

When His Majesty Jahānbānī had encamped at Andarāb and the Mirzās had waited upon him, as has already been related, he, in a short time, got together an army and prepared to march through the passes of the Hindū Kōh. As there were a number of traitors and false-hearted ones in attendance, His Majesty, in order to conciliate and to give repose to the exoteric, came down from the heaven of his nature (*fiṭrat*)¹ and took his seat on the earth of the spirit (*tabī'at*) of the age and brought forward the proposition of an oath, which is regarded by the worshippers of form as of great weight, suggesting that he should administer a special oath to each section (*gīroh*) to the effect that they would accompany him with one heart and will. And he observed that, though the creative, Divine pen was the recorder of duties, and though it was the Divine help which caused and stablished in the right way the actions of the loyal, and though his own empire-viewing mind was at rest with regard to them all, yet he desired to in some measure enlighten the hearts of worldlings who could see nothing except what was symptomatic (*sabab*) and that the countenance of truth might display her perfect beauty in the mirror of their actions.² Upon this Hājī Muḥammad Khān Kōkī, who had no reverence and no sincerity of heart,

¹ "The difference between **نظرت** and **طبیعت** is that the former signifies the essential nature of the individual man, the latter the super-induced accidents of temperament which are more under his control." (Jarrett III: 403 note).

² The meaning is that though Humāyūn was satisfied of their fidelity, yet for the sake of outsiders he wished them to take an oath so that their loyalty should thereby be evidenced.



represented that in accordance with orders they would all take the oath, let His Majesty take an oath also, to the effect that he would listen to and carry into effect what they, the loyalists, should in their right thinking perceive and should represent to him. M. Hindāl who was imbued with devotion and had a knowledge of affairs, said "Hājī Muḥammad, what sort of story is this you are saying, and what kind of oath is this? Never have servants said such words to their masters, or slaves to their lords." His Majesty who was a mine of urbanity—and a sea of generosity, said, "So be it. We shall do whatever Hājī Muḥammad wishes and shall, in his loyalty, suggest." After making confirmatory oaths and agreements, they marched from that place.¹

When the grand army came near Ushṭar Grām M. Kāmran, according to his wont and in his folly, made preparations for war and having collected a body of troops marched against the royal army. When there was only a little distance between the two armies His Majesty Jahānbānī in adherence to his affectionate nature sent M. Shāh,² a relative of Mir Barka who belonged to the illustrious Saiyids of Termiz, to the Mirzā, and conveyed weighty advices such as might be earrings for the ears of men of fortune and prestige. The gist of them was that to take always the path of opposition and to abandon the high-way of concord was remote from wisdom. God forbid that all this contention should take place about Kābul. Respect obligations, old and new, and observe the ways of peace and candour, and be of one heart and accept companionship in the conquest of India. The Saiyid performed his mission, and peace was agreed upon, but on the condition that as Qandahār belonged to His Majesty, Kābul should belong to Kāmran; upon these terms he would enter into service and take part in the conquest of India. As His Majesty was kind and affectionate, he sent the ambassador a second time, along with Maulanā 'Abdu-l-bāqī *Ṣadr* and sent a

¹ See the interesting remarks of Erskine on this incident. (Hist. II. 387-90). Jauhar (Stewart 99), mentions it and says that Humāyūn had fasted all the day in order to give the ceremony more solemnity.

² Erskine says he was related to the imperial family. Perhaps he was descended from Mir 'Alā-ul-Mulk of Termiz who had married *Shir-jahān*, a daughter of Abū Sa'īd.



message that if Kāmraṇ was sincere and really wished to take the road of concord, he should give his dear daughter in marriage to the unique pearl of the *khilāfat*, viz., His Majesty the *Shāhinshāh*, so that His Majesty might bestow Kābul upon them, and that they two (Humāyūn and Kāmraṇ) might unite in destroying the darkness of the great country of India, and might make that last which had become the stage of wicked men and of calamities, an abode of peace and tranquillity. Both Kābul and Hindūstān would then in reality belong to the two of them. The Mīrzā wished to accept these wise suggestions but Qarāca Qarābakht, who was the centre of his power, did not agree and said "Our heads¹ and Kābul."

In fact on that day the Eight Stars² were in front of the Mīrzā and, according to astrologers, to fight under these circumstances is to be defeated, and so the Mīrzā by stratagems put off the fight to another day. The victorious army (Humāyūn's) was anxious to engage, but Hājī Muḥammad did not want this, and His Majesty in deference to him, delayed to give battle. Meanwhile *Khw.* 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad and many others who had gone to a distance during the battle of Qibcāq, took advantage of their opportunity and joined His Majesty, and brought tidings of the vacillation and confusion in the hostile army. Half the day had passed when His Majesty put the foot of firmness in the stirrup of intent, and having drawn up his forces, and arranged them in right and left wings, centre and van-guard, ordered an advance. The centre derived glory from his own presence, the right wing was made illustrious by M. Sulaimān, and the left wing by M. Hindāl. M. Ibrāhīm had charge of the vanguard. Hājī Muḥammad Khān and other tried heroes had charge of the reserve.³

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¹ *Sir-i-mā u Kābul*. Erskine says this is equivalent to death in Kābul. Perhaps the meaning rather is that their heads and Kābul were equally dear, and that neither could be given up. Or perhaps that the only two conditions of peace were that they should save their heads and also keep Kābul.

² *Sakizildūz*. See Steingass s.v. and Bābar's Mem., 92. It appears

to be an old name for the constellation of Virgo, and to be the same word as the *Secdeidos* of Ābū-M'āshir of Balkh. See Ideler's *Untersuchungen*, 1809, and *Athenaeum* of 19th May, 1900.

³ *التمش* *Ilmish*, given in Meninski as meaning sixty and so equal to veteran. But it is the reserve, apparently, of the front-ranks or vanguard. As Mr. Irvine has pointed



On the other side, M. Kāmran was in the centre, M. 'Askārī on the right, Āq Sultān on the left, and Qarāca Khān on the vanguard. The two armies moved on, in appearance like two iron mountains, and approached each other. Mihtar Sahbāka and a number of faithful servants who had after the affair of Qabcaq entered, from necessity, the service of the Mirzā, galloped off and joined the victorious army. Near the river Mūrī, M. Ibrāhīm in his high courage, took the lead. The soldiers on both sides fought bravely. At this time the head of Qarāca Khān was brought before the world-traversing steed (of Humāyūn) and all were freed from the malice of that troublesome traitor. An order was given that the guilty head of that faithless one should be stuck up at the Iron gate of Kābul so that it might be a warning to the seditious. Thus the words which he himself had uttered "Our heads and Kābul," were brought to pass. I have heard from reliable persons that a low follower of the Mirzā seized the traitor and wished to take him before His Majesty Jahānbānī as an atonement for his offences and that Qambar 'Alī Sahārī¹ who was a servant of M. Hindāl and whose brother had been killed in Qandahār by Qarāca, was following and that he took off his (Qarāca's) cap (*tāqīya*) and struck him on the crown of the head with his sword, splitting it, and then cutting off the head brought it to His Majesty.

During this conflict and tumult, in which the royal servants fought with devotion, knowing that it was the end of the contest, M. Kāmran could not maintain his ground and took to flight. He went off to Afghānistān by the Pass of Bādpaj² (the windy pass). The victorious army betook itself to plunder and got hold of much property. The enemies of the State were seized and put to the sword, many of them lowered the veil of shame over their faces and made the tears of repentance their intercessors and after a thousand reproaches, were enrolled in the list of servants of the State. M. 'Askārī fell into the hands of the heroes of the army ('Askar). A victory such as might be the introduction to countless victories, was obtained

out to me it is used by Khāfī Khān II. 876. See also P. de Courteille and Zenker.

¹ Text, Sahārī, but there is the variant Bahārī, and this is the word in Nizāmu-d-dīn. Sahārī however

appears to be right. There was a Sarkār of that name in the Agra division. See Jarrett II. 195.

² Bābar's Mem., 142 note 4. By Afghānistān is meant the country east of Kābul.



and was the subject of thousands of rejoicings. But the heart of 305
His Majesty was very anxious about the safety of the jewel of empire's diadem, *viz.*, His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, for he had heard that on this occasion M. Kāmran had brought him with him. His Majesty could get no comfort from his distraction until Hasan Ākhṭa brought that rosebush of fortune's rose-garden, and cypress of the parterre of sovereignty before him. Recognising his advent as the beginning of fortune, he returned thanks to God for his safety and the realisation of his hopes, and with excessive joy, he clasped that Divine nursling to his bosom. After his devotions he distributed charities,—which are the practical form of thanksgiving,—and drew to himself the hearts of the poor and the widowed and orphaned by abundant presents. And he rewarded every one of the devoted servants either because of the happy issue of events with regard to the eye-pupil of the Khilāfat or as a guerdon (*jaldū*) for good service. His Majesty Jahānbānī announced that in future he never would be separated from this new fruit of the garden of the Khilāfat,—for thousands of good auspices were infolded in his footsteps,—and he recognised that the glorious victory came from the blessing of the advent of this sublime pearl. At this joyous time two camels loaded with boxes and without drivers were seen on the field of battle. His Majesty said "every one is having his plunder, let mine be these two camels!" He went himself and taking their nose-strings, ordered that they should be made to kneel and that the boxes should be opened, so that he might see what was inside. By a beautiful coincidence it was found that the special, royal books which were lost at the battle of Qibcāq were in these boxes and in perfect condition. This was the occasion for a thousand rejoicings. Khw. Qāsim Mīr buyūtāt, who was the kindler of the fire of strife, was consumed in the flames of this battle by the fire of his own deeds, and so commotion and depravity were set at rest. On this day a joyous assemblage was held in Cārikārān.

When by the favour of God, the gates of victory had been opened and the seditious had been punished, Kābul became on the following day the alighting place for blessed feet and a station of everlasting auspiciousness. First, His Majesty entered the citadel and had the joy of receiving his chaste ladies. After that he, according to his wont, proceeded to the Ūrta Bāgh and freshened it



by his fortunate presence. There he made arrangements for his subjects and dominions, rewarding the good servants and punishing the bad. Dindār Beg, Haidar Dōst Mughal Qānji, and Mast 'Alī¹ 306 Qūrcī who had on many occasions shown disloyalty, were capitally punished in accordance with their deserts, and the public benefit. He exercised his genius in the distribution of justice. M. Sulaimān was loaded with gifts and dismissed to Badakhshān. M. Ibrāhīm remained for some days, as a special mark of favour, and then was sent to Badakhshān. And it was settled that in an auspicious hour he should be married to His Majesty's daughter Bakhshī² Bānū. His Majesty's world-adorning heart engaged in the arrangement of affairs and exalted all the servants by his affability and benevolence.

¹ Bāyazīd says Mast 'Alī's offence was his refusing to fight at Qibcāq on the plea that a bad cuirass had been given to him, that Haidar Dost Mughal Qānji was punished for inciting Qarāca to rebellion, and that Dindār was punished for offences committed in India.

² Akbar's half-sister. After Ibrāhīm's death she married Sharafu-d-dīn Husain (Blochmann 322). In Gulbadan's Memoirs the name is spelt Ikhshī بخشی which is a Turkī word meaning good, and possibly this is the proper spelling. Redhouse gives it the meaning of beautiful.



CHAPTER XLIX.

ASSIGNMENT OF THE VILLAGE OF CARKH¹ TO HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHANSHĀH, AND THE PROGNOSTICATIONS THEREFROM OF THE FAR-SEEING.²

At this time, when, by God's help, Kābul had become the seat of the thrones of sovereignty and the spot irradiated by the lights of the Khilāfat, the village of Carkh—which belongs to the *tūmān* of Lahūgar,—was assigned to His Majesty the Shāhanshāh. The enlightened drew an omen from this mysterious gift, and beat the drum of rejoicing high o'er the nine spheres (*carkh*). His Majesty gave to Hājī Muḥammad the office of household-administrator (*wakālat-i-darḡhāna*, mayoralty of the palace), which is a very great post,—and bade him mend his ways. But as, owing to his narrow understanding, he was intoxicated with his courage and proud of his reputation, evil thoughts continually held him in the prison of affliction (*gham*), and he was always ungrateful and showing improper desires. His Majesty Jahānbānī, from his lofty nature and a tolerance which was boundless, used to pass this over; for the excellent principle of this ruler was that the plant of the human life,—which is the product of the Divine workmanship and the fruit-bearing growth of the garden of fate, should not be pulled up for every defect, especially in the case of one who was distinguished among his equals for wisdom or courage or for any other fine quality. But that evil-constituted wretch thought, in his folly and wrong-headedness, that this was a weakness (in *Humāyūn*), and so made it an incitement to still greater madness; while His Majesty always winked at such conduct and loaded him with favours. At this auspicious time, His Majesty continually kept open the gates of justice and distributed favours

¹ See Bābar's Memoirs 148, and Jarrett II. 406. It is S.E. of Kābul. A.F. puns on the meaning of the word *carkh*, *infra*.

² This heading is very inadequate.



upon which the administration of the terrene and terrestrials depends, and knit together the distractions and dispersions of the time.

307 M. Kāmran, after his defeat, went off from the village of Ush̄tar-grām, in the most wretched circumstances,—such as were the just result of his ingratitude and the fruit of his oblivion of benefits,—with eight followers (*viz.*, Āq Sl.¹ brother of Khizr Khw. Khān, Bābā Saʿīd Qibcāq, Tamar Tāsh atga, Qatlaq Qadam, ʿAlī Muḥammad, Jōgī Khān, Abdāl, and Maqṣūd qūrcē),—by way of Dih-i-sabz, and joined the Afghāns. M. Hindāl, Hājī Muḥammad Khān, Khizr Khw. Khān and the others who had gone in pursuit, did not exercise proper diligence and returned. The Afghāns blocked the Mīrzā's path and plundered him, and he, fearing lest he should be recognized, shaved all the hair from his face (*cār zarb zada*) and came, disguised as a *qalandar* to Malik Muḥammad of Mandraur, one of the leading men of the Lamghānāt, who recognized old obligations and tended him. M. Kāmran was not in the least awakened by all these disasters,—every one of which was, in the eyes of the wise, a strong whip of warning and of arousing from the sleep of negligence,—but again stretched himself out in slumber. A number of soldiers who had the form of men but neither the heart to perceive what was right nor the eye to feel shame and who were always practising sedition and treachery, gathered round him.

When this news came to the sublime camp, the market of hypocrites grew brisk and the loyal were distressed. At such a time as this, when the flame of sedition and strife had become tongued, Hājī Muḥammad Khān went off to Ghaznīn without leave. His Majesty Jahānbānī, from desire to temporize and also from his perfect appreciation (of the man), regarded this disgraceful proceeding as love of opposition (? *nāzjang*)² and did not approve of it. He appointed Bahādur

¹ According to Gulbadan Begam, he left Kāmran (who was his father-in-law) about this time and was, in consequence, deprived of his wife. He was a younger brother of Gulbadan's husband, Khizr.

² The reading and meaning are uncertain. The Bodleian MSS. appear to give *nāzkhunuk*, i.e., coldness of love, or *nāzhakk*, the erasing

of love. It may also be *nāzkhāng*, love of depravity. The L.O. MS. No. 4 has *nāz-khunuk* quite clearly. Most probably the true reading is *nāz-khāng*, wickedness, for A.F. has other similar uses of *khāng*. (See I. 198 l. 15 and 334 l. 9, where we have the word *khāng* following *taʿaṣub* and used in the sense of evil bigotry.)



Khan, Muhammad Qu'li Barlās, Qidūq Sl. and a number of heroes to suppress M. Kāmran. When the army of fortune came near the Mīrzā, he withdrew to the defiles of 'Aligār and 'Alishang. The officers followed him and he, leaving that country, sought protection with the Afghān tribes of Khalil and Mahmand. The vagabonds who had gathered round him, were again dispersed. The victorious troops turned back at the village of Ghazū-i-shahidān. Now that His Majesty's mind had obtained a respite from the wickedness of M. Kāmran, he, in order to increase the sympathy of M. Sulaimān and to do him yet more honour, proposed a marriage to him. Khw. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd and the chaste Bibī Faṭīma were sent to ask for the hand of Khānam, the daughter of M. Sulaimān, for when this should be arranged, His Majesty's mind would be at rest as regarded Badakhshān and M. Sulaimān would be conciliated. M. 'Askari was also sent with Jalālu-d-dīn to be made over to M. Sulaimān. And an order was issued to M. Sulaimān that he should send on M. 'Askari to the Hijāz by way of Balkh. M. Sulaimān recognized the coming of the envoys as a distinction and neglected nothing that could do them honour.¹ In obedience to the royal order, he sent off M. 'Askari towards Balkh. The Mīrzā could not, from shame and repentance, settle there but set off on his long journey, taking with him the travelling-companion of impatience. The measure of his days became full between Syria and Mecca in the year 965.² M. Sulaimān agreed that the marriage with His Majesty Jahānbānī should take place on the arrival of the begams (of Humāyūn's court) and the nobles, and on his daughter's becoming older: and he respectfully dismissed the embassy with letters full of apology and submission.

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¹ A.F. perhaps does well to emphasize the respect paid to Humāyūn's envoys by Sulaimān. Bāyazīd tells a different story of their treatment by Sulaimān's wife, Khurram Begam.

² Firishta, 961 H. He says that 'Askari left one daughter whom Akbar married to Yūsuf Khān of Mashhad, the later governor of

Kashmīr. (Blochmann 346). The chronogram of 'Askari's death given by Budāunī is incorrect (I. 453). Apparently it is that of his birth for it yields 922. All the MSS. of the A.N. which I have examined have 965. If this be right, 'Askari survived all his brothers.



CHAPTER L.

EXPEDITION OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ TO EXTINGUISH ANOTHER TIME
THE SEDITIOUS FLAMES OF M. KĀMRĀN.

Inasmuch as habit is, as they say, a fifth¹ humour of the body,—whoever is addicted to evil ways is like the scorpion, and in stinging is without the power of self-control. How much more they who are constitutionally bad and in whom habit accords with nature. Accordingly M. Kāmrān again inclined towards his disposition and practice and made his evil deeds the instrument of his own punishment. He gathered together a number of Afghāns from the Khalil and Mahmand tribes and a troop of vagabonds who could not distinguish good from evil, and set about plundering and ravaging. His Majesty Jahānbānī, who was the giver of peace to the world and the age, recognized that the ending of such tumults was a part of worship, and he resolved to act in accordance therewith. He sent Khw. Ikhtiyār and Mīr 'Abdu-l-hai, who were confidential courtiers, to Ghaznīn, to convey a gracious letter to Hājī Muḥammad and recall him from the darkness of evil thoughts to the light of recognition of duty. While His Majesty was making his preparations, he heard that M. Kāmrān was besieging, with a number of vagabonds, a fort near Cūrbagh, in the vicinity of Jalālābād. He therefore did not wait for Hājī Muḥammad Khān, but went off with all rapidity towards Jalālābād. When M. Kāmrān heard this, he was amazed and fled. He again betook himself to the defiles and went off from there by Bangash and Gardīz, thinking that he might join Hājī Muḥammad. For this perverse wretch held with M. Kāmrān.

The story of Hājī Muḥammad is as follows. As the time of his ruin approached, evil thoughts came forth more and more from his

¹ Muḥammadans reckon that there are four humours in man. See Lane

S. v. 849 788b. They derived the notion from Hippocrates and Galen.



impure heart, and he dismissed the royal ambassadors with pretences and false promises of his coming. At the same time he sent a messenger to M. Kāmraṇ, asking him how long he was going to wander about in the hills and deserts, and telling him to come quickly in his own direction so that they might act in concert. By chance Bairām Khān, who was going to Qandahār in His Majesty's service, arrived at Ghaznīn. Hājī Muḥammad, who was longing for the Khān (*bā khān tawaqān būd*), went out to meet him and fawned upon him, seeking to bring him into the fort under the pretext of a feast and to shut him up there. The Khān proceeded towards the fort when Mīr Hābāsh, who was with Hājī Muḥammad Khān, gave a signal to the Khān, and he, being put on his guard, thereby made an excuse and renounced his intention of entering the fort, and encamped at a fountain outside the city. There he soothed Hājī Muḥammad and prevailed upon him to accompany him to Kābul. He sent the news of his own arrival and of the bringing of Hājī Muḥammad; and His Majesty, having heard that M. Kāmraṇ was coming to the territory of Kābul, proceeded to Kābul with all haste. M. Kāmraṇ advanced to within one stage of Kābul and then, when he heard of the arrival of the Khānkhānān and of his having Hājī Muḥammad Khān with him, he again withdrew in confusion to Lamghān. One day Hājī Muḥammad wished to enter Kābul by the Iron Gate, but Khw. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, who was in charge of Kābul, would not permit him to enter the fort and sent him a harsh message. That face-blackened one became suspicious and went off to Qarā Bāgh, under pretext of hunting; and then, passing by the Kutāl-i-minār went to Bābā Quqār (*i.e.*, Bābā ram); then by the Dāman-i-kōh of Bihzādī and Lalandar,¹ went quickly off to Ghaznīn. Just then the victorious standards of His Majesty Jahānbānī, who had gone towards Kābul to quell the disturbance of M. Kāmraṇ, arrived at Sīāh Sang. Bairām Khān was exalted by paying homage. His Majesty Jahāubānī ordered that no one should enter the city, for he was going in pursuit of the Mīrza, so that he might, once for all, free God's creatures from daily disturbance. But as his mind was not at ease about Hājī Muḥammad, the officers were unanimous that he should be secured about him and

¹ Bilandārī. Erskine reads Alin-dar. I adopt the variant Lalandar,

which is supported by B.M. MSS. and by Jarrett II. 404.



then set out after the Mirzā. His Majesty came to the city and appointed Bairām Khān to look after Hājī Muḥammad and instructed him to act with dissimulation and by every contrivance possible to bring him in.

301 Bairām Khān tamed Hājī Muḥammad by suitable devices and after promises and oaths, he came to the village of Gulkūr¹ and embraced the Khānkhānān. The latter brought him to the presence of the forgiving prince and begged for the remission of his offences. Four or five days later they all went together towards the Lamghānūt which was the retreat of the Mirzā. In spite of the recent forgiveness of so many crimes, Hājī Muḥammad acted as if he had never committed them, and again had the audacity to enter on still worse schemes. He shewed disgraceful conduct and disgusted the holy heart. His Majesty went off with a large body of men, and when the standards of fortune reached Jalālābād, the Mirzā retreated to the defiles of Kanūr and Nūrgal, and all sedition-mongers crept away. The Khānkhānān was appointed to follow the Mirzā, and the latter, not being able to maintain himself in Kanūr² and Nūrgal went off to the Indus (Nīlāb). The Khānkhānān returned and did homage in Daka.³

At this time His Majesty took into consideration general utility and the public tranquillity, and ordered the arrest of Hājī Muḥammad and his brother, Shāh Muḥammad—who was capable of being Hājī Muḥammad's instructor in wickedness. And these two ungrateful brothers—who in their service looked to nothing but material advantages and their own credit; who were given over to cupidity and ingratitude; who looked for a great price in exchange for their inferior goods, and who were unmindful of benefits, were caught by their own wickedness. His Majesty, in accordance with his just nature, ordered that the services which the low-thoughted service-sellers had voluntarily or involuntarily rendered during their careers, should be entered by them in a list, and that one of the honest servants should write out their offences, so that by putting them into the balance of justice, the real facts about these two evil-doers

¹ Gulkina, a suburb of Kābul. See Bābar 137 and Jarrett II. 404 and note.

² Kanūr, (read by Chalmers

Katūr), Nūrkāl. These are two distinct places. Bābar's Mens. 143 and Jarrett II. 392.

³ At the end of the Khaibar.



might be patent to mankind. The record¹ of their good deeds remained unwritten, while their sins came to 102 great culpabilities,—each one of which might have been a ground of imprisonment and death and degradation. Good God! there is one man who after good service is trembling and downcast, lest his (Akbar's) glance fall upon his work and there be a suspicion that he, a simple-minded man, is selling his services, or that he is ill-conditioned. And the more honest his service, the greater his apprehensions! And there is another kind of man who sells things not done at the rate of things done; who passes off bad deeds as good ones; who after tricking out his blemishes,² looks for favours, and indulges himself in self-commendation.

When by this thorough investigation it was proved to the world that these two disloyalists deserved the punishment of their own wickedness, and that it was time the skirt of the age should be cleansed from the dirt of their existence, their fierce and brutish natures—which infected them in the cage of the raw material of humanity,—were drawn forth by a halter from human shape, and consigned to a fitting place, and they, or rather the world, was granted deliverance from their hideous nature. —Ghaznir was assigned to Bahādur Khān and his (Hājī Muḥammad's) other fiefs were distributed among the (royal) servants. 311

The winter was spent in that neighbourhood, in travelling and hunting, and in feasting and rejoicing. In the beginning of spring, when the humours are in a state of equilibrium, general receptions were held, and after petitions and tendering of gifts, a number were enrolled in service. The dust of the Mirzā's strife and disturbance was laid, and His Majesty Jahānbānī went by Bādpaj to the river Bārān. On the night that the army was near Bādpaj, there was much rain and snow and many suffered. When hunting and sight-seeing were ended, Kābul was made the seat of dominion, and

¹ Cf. Jauhar, Stewart 107. He places their punishment in 961 (1553).

² ابله طرازي. This compound is not to be found in the dictionaries. Some MSS. read ابله ābila, a blister or pimple, and this, I believe the true reading, ابله

folly, does not seem applicable here nor at text, 336, l. 16, where the phrase occurs again. I think the expression corresponds to the English "plastering the boil" and means covering over and adorning a sore, so as to make it look like a beauty.



Bairām Khān was sent to administer the affairs of Qandahār. Khw. Ghāzī was sent with him to convey presents and to go on an embassy to the ruler of Persia. Ghaznīn, Gardīsh, Bangash and the *tūmān* of Lahūgar (Logar)¹ were bestowed on M. Hindāl. Qundūz, which belonged to the Mirzā, was conferred on Mir Barka and M. Ḥasan. M. Hindāl was granted leave to go to Ghaznīn and Mir Barka received permission to go to Qundūz. Jūi Shāhī and its territory were assigned to Khizr Khw. Khān. Before Mir Barka reached Qundūz, M. Ibrāhīm got possession of it by trickery from Muḥammad Tābir Khān, and Mir Barka returned to Kābul. His Majesty Jahānbānī allowed the good services of the Mirzā to be an atonement for his action and left him in possession of Qundūz. At this time, Abū'l-ma'ālī was introduced into the service through 'Abdu-s-samī.' Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī traced his descent from the *sayyids* of Termiz. His personal beauty made the good and right-thinking look for goodness of nature, and his forwardness was tolerated on account of his courage. Consequently he became a favourite with His Majesty Jahānbānī. Some of his insolencies and extravagancies will be related in their proper place.

¹ *Āīn*, Lōhgar. Jarrett II. 406.



CHAPTER LI.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ TO
QUELL THE DISTURBANCE CAUSED BY M. KĀMRĀN; AND THE
MARTYRDOM OF M. HINDĀL.

M. Kāmrān spent some days in the cell of contempt and disgrace, and then hearts which had been set at rest, were again agitated by the news of his strife-mongering; and wayfarers reported to His Majesty that he had come back from the Indus (*Nīlāb*) and had again raised the head of sedition in the district of Jūī Shāhī, in concert with a band of vagabonds. His Majesty summoned M. Hindāl from Ghaznīn and issued marching-orders to the neighbouring *jāgīrdārs*. In a short time M. Hindāl did homage, and the devoted and dutiful followers gathered round. His Majesty Jahānbānī ordered an expedition to extinguish the flames of sedition, and M. Kāmrān, on hearing of this, retreated unsuccessful. When the victorious standards had neared Surkhāb, Ḥaidar Muḥammad *Ākhtābegī*, who was in the advance-guard, had, with many devoted men, gone ahead of the royal camp and halted on the banks of the Siāh Āb, which is between the Surkhāb and Gandamak. M. Kāmrān, who did not find himself able to engage in a pitched battle, made a night attack on him. Ḥaidar Muḥammad showed lion-like courage and made a gallant fight, and received conspicuous wounds, which are in appearance and in reality red-lettered diplomas (*tughrā*). He remained firm and did not give up his ground. Though many things were plundered, the Mirzā failed and had to return disconcerted. After some days when the village of Japriār, which belongs to the *tūmān* of Neknahār,¹ had been made the camping ground,—inasmuch

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¹ Or Nēknihal, Jarrett II. 405. It lies S. of the Kābul river. See also Bellew's *Races of Afghānistān* 64. The Japriār of text is written Jaryār by Erskine. Bayāzīd speaks of Car-

yār and Hindālpūr; and Raverty, (*Notes on Afghanistan*, 55) says Jiryār or Jabiryār belongs to Nangnāhar and is also written Jabīrhār and lies on the slopes of the Spinghar Range.



as vigilance and caution are the components of alertness,—batteries were arranged and a trench and bulwark made. At the end of the day two Afghāns brought word that M. Kāmran intended that night to make an attack with a large body of Afghāns. His Majesty Jahānbānī brought the rules of circumspection to bear and stationed men at every point. On the night of Sunday, 21st Zi'l-qa'da, 958 (20th November, 1551), when a quarter of the night had passed away, M. Kāmran fell upon the camp with a large body of Afghāns. His Majesty Jahānbānī mounted his horse and stood on a height behind his tent, and summoned to his presence the glory of foreheads and the great pearl of the diadem of the *Khilāfat*, to wit, His Majesty the *Shāhanshāh*. The servants of the exalted threshold were all in the entrenchments and doing their duty bravely. The flames of battle were blazing. In the midst of this tumult and confusion 'Abdu-l-wahhāb *yasāwal*, who was in the entrenchments, was struck by a bullet and became a martyr. The market of conflict grew hot until the shining moon,—which is the mirror-holder of the world,—raised her head from the quarter of fortune and brightened the earth with her effulgence. The light of victory radiated from the brows of dominion, and the adversary sought safety in flight. The imperialists were victorious and raised the standards of composure. The hearts of all had become tranquil when suddenly an unpleasant report came to the royal hearing, that M. Hindāl had left this evil world. Joy became bitter and exaltation was changed into abundance of sorrow. Alas! 'tis the way of this transitory world that if a breath go forth in joy, next moment the smoke of grief ascends from the breast of the afflicted.

Verse.

Never is heaven's eye brightened by the morning,
Without the evening twilight's suffusing it with blood.

There is neither capability of dallying for enjoyment therein, nor permission for persistent grief. Though the *Mirzā* left this unstable world and departed from this unenduring hostel, he gained the glory of martyrdom and at once acquired a good name in the visible world and an exalted rank in the world of reality. Hail! O Thou little-receiving and much-giving who, on the departure of borrowed life, hast given such permanent grandeurs! His Majesty



who was a mine of gratitude, was so affected and sorrowful at the death of so noble a brother that his feelings cannot be described or hinted at. But as he was wise and farseeing, he turned from lamentation to resignation and sought comfort in the pleasant abode of submission to the Divine Will.

The account of this melancholy affair is as follows. When M. Hindāl heard of the projected night attack he put the entrenchments in order, and he had gone to take some repose, when the noise of the Afghāns arose. An undescribable number of Afghāns came into each battery, and many entered the Mīrzā's. The night was dark. The Mīrzā addressed himself to the repulsing of the wretches, while his own men were confused and hastened to look¹ after their horses. Meanwhile the Mīrzā came face to face with the Afghāns. Nūrm² Kōka and many others behaved badly. The time for using bow and arrow passed and he grappled with one of the foe, and by main force overthrew the born villain. The brother of that wretch, Jaranda³ by name and belonging to the Mahmand tribe, sent the Mīrzā to the other world by a poison-stained spear. Some of M. Kāmran's companions used to relate that that evil-natured Afghān got hold of a case which contained the Mīrzā's special thumb-stalls and brought it before M. Kāmran, not knowing with whom he had played this disastrous game. He described the occurrence. When the Mīrzā's eye fell on the thumb-stall case, he knew what misfortune had happened and flung his turban on the ground, saying that M. Hindāl had been martyred. 31

In short the soul of the Mīrzā travelled on that dark night to the abode of annihilation without its being known, and his body remained where it fell. Meanwhile some of his servants were coming back, when Khw. Ibrāhīm Badakhshī observed that there was a black cuirass (*qalmāg*) on the body. As it was dark and the tumult still continued, he did not approach it. Then it occurred to him that M. Hindāl had been wearing a black cuirass. He turned round and looked at it and recognised the Mīrzā. In accordance

¹ Gulbadan's account is that none of them dismounted.

² This name seems to mean *my light* and to be formed like Māham, my

moon. He was foster-brother of M. Ibrāhīm, Akbar's half-brother, Blochmann 526.

³ The Iqbāl-nāma has Farīd.



with patience and deliberation which are the watchwords of the wise, he carried¹ off the body to the Mirzā's tent and made it over to the doorkeepers; and he wisely took steps to conceal the melancholy occurrence so that the enemy might not rejoice nor be encouraged, and also that the imperial servants might not be disheartened. He reported that the Mirzā was much fatigued, and was also slightly wounded, and that no one should make any noise or tumult close by. He himself went up on the rising ground and conveyed congratulations on the victory as from the Mirzā. The illuminated soul of His Majesty Jahānbānī received a ray of intelligence from this statement. In fine the Mirzā's bier was deposited in Jū Shāhī, and after some time was brought to Kābul. The body was placed in the Guzargāh, near the holy tomb of His Majesty Getī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, and buried at his feet. Mullā Khurd Zargar who was in the Mirzā's² service, composed an elegy of which the first couplet was,—

*Verse.*³

One night sorrow made a night-attack on the apple of mine eye,
Owing to the onset of blood, my beloved departed.

¹ Gulbadan says Mir Bāba Dōst carried in the body.

² From a previous reference (Text I. 275) it appears that Mullā Khurd was in Kāmran's service, so that the word Mirzā here probably refers to Kāmran. He is mentioned in the *Tabagāt-i-akbarī*, Lucknow Ed., p. 405, under the name of Mullā Khurd Zargar. His poetical name was Fanāī and Nizāmu-d-dīn says he was originally a servant of M. 'Askarī. See also Blochmann 426, but perhaps this is a different Fanāī.

³ *Lit.* One night the blood of the liver made an attack on my eye-pupil.

Owing to the coming and going of blood the black-eyed one pitched his tent outside.

The text has *sipāh-dīda* and this may be correct, the meaning being the sentinel, or the soldier-eye. But there is the variant *siāh dīda* meaning black-eyed, and a mistress; and this reading I adopt. Probably the poet wanted to take advantage of both readings for *sipāh* agrees with the expression "pitched his tent outside." Possibly he had in his mind the passage in Bābar's Memoirs, (Leyden and Erskine, p. 33), where we are told that Baisanghar had to shift his pavilion three times on account of the number of executions that took place in front of it. The quatrain which follows is said by A.F. to be also by Mullā Khurd, but Badā'ūnī (I. 454) gives it as the composition of Maulānā Ḥasan 'Alī



This chronogram is also his,—

Verse.

Hindāl Muḥammad, a king of glorious title,
Suddenly, in the dead of night, became a martyr,
As a night-attack (*shabkhūn*) caused his martyrdom,
Seek the chronogram from *shabkhūn*¹ (958).

Mīr Amānī uttered this enigmatical chronogram,—

*Verse.*²

A cypress left the garden of glory.
The Mīrzā was born in 924³ (1518) and so it was said :—

Verse.

The chronogram was *kaukab-i-burj-i-shāhanshāhi* (924),
(the *kaukab* of the king of kings' tower).

Next day His Majesty Jahānbānī went from there to Bihsūd, where he encamped in order that he might, once for all, set his world-adorning heart at rest with respect to the strife of the seditious and then make Kābul, by the glory of his sublime court, an abode of peace and tranquillity.

Kharās. He also gives some other lines in which the same chronogram appears.

¹ *Shabkhūn* makes, by *abjad*, 958 (1551).

² The cypress stands for the letter *alif*, on account of its straight shape. If *alif* be removed from the words *būstān-i-darlat*, the other letters amount by *abjad* to 958.

³ Erskine (II. 404 n.) says he was born in 925, and this agrees with Bābar (250). *Kaukab* means both a star, and a golden ball, and *burj* means both a tower and a sign of the Zodiac. The Memoirs of Gulbadan Begam also go to show that Hindāl who was her full brother, was born in 925.



CHAPTER LII.

315 ASSIGNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF GHAZNĪN TO HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH, AND ELEVATION OF SOME TO HIS SERVICE.

As, from his early years, the notes of greatness and the glory of government shone from the lustrous brows of that new fruit of the tree of sovereignty and that splendour and nosegay of the garden of the *khilāfat* and fortune,—to wit, His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh,—at this time, when he was ten years old, all the servants of M. Hindāl, together with all his *Jāgirs*, viz., Ghaznīn, etc., were assigned to him, so that, by the practice of rule, he might exhibit favour and severity in the management of men; and by administration of a part, he might become accustomed to administer the whole. One of the wonderful things of fate was that some days earlier, the turban of this light of the eyes of dominion came off in a crowd when he was riding in the service of His Majesty Jahānbānī. M. Hindāl was there and from perfect reverence, he took off his own fortunate cap (*tāj*) in the midst of that crowd and placed it on the star-brushing head (i.e., of Akbar). The far-seeing drew the omen from this that the time when the Shāhīnshāh would wear the diadem and wield authority, was nigh at hand. The Almighty, in recompense for this deed, elevated the *Mīrzā* to the rank of martyrdom which is equivalent to life and joy eternal. His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh—who is the Divine nursling,—shewed such marks of greatness, graciousness and appreciation of men, in winning hearts, that grief for the *Mīrzā* left men's souls and they became possessed of constant joy.

Verse.

O God! so long as the world hath lustre and colour,
The heavens gyration and the earth stability;
Grant him enjoyment of life and youth;
Above all, give him abundance of existence.



The names of the principal servants of the deceased Mirzā who entered into the service of the Shāhinshāh, are as follows;—(1). Muḥibb 'Alī Khān; (2). Nāṣir Qulī; (3). Khw. Ibrāhīm; (4). Maulānā 'Abdu-l-lāh; (5). Ādīna Tuqbāi; (6). Samānjī; (7). Qarghūjī; (8). Jān Muḥammad Tuqbāi; (9). Tāju-d-dīn Maḥmūd *bārbeḡī*; (10). Tīmūr Tāsh; (11). Maulānā Sānī, now known as Sānī Khān; ¹ (12). Maulānā Bābā Dost² *ṣadr*, who was highly regarded by the Mirzā; (13). Mir Jamāl³ who was also a favourite with the Mirzā; (14). Khaldīn 316 Dōst Sahārī. Bābā Dōst was also a servant of the Mirzā but, as in the educational canon, nothing is worse than bad company, he, on account of his bad character was not taken on. Though Muḥammad Tāhir Khān was an old servant of the Mirzā, yet, inasmuch as he had not been able to keep charge of Qundūz,⁴ he was excluded from the glance of the truth-discerning eye, and was not made a companion on this auspicious expedition. As the Court of this bestower of glory on the earth, was a test of the jewel of humanity, the condition of every one of these men who was of good disposition and pure character, became better day by day, and they attained lofty positions. And it is to be hoped that they will remain to the end in that condition. Everyone who was evil had the veil stripped from his acts and was so dealt with as to be a warning to all who were evil or negligent.

As the village of Bihsūd became the camp of the pavilions of fortune, an order was given to build a strong fort. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh was sent off⁵ in order to strengthen the city of Kābul and that he might there practise the methods of spiritual and temporal sovereignty. His Majesty himself remained at Bihsūd under the Divine aid and exercised vigilance with regard to M. Kāmran. The army remained there for four or five months. The Mirzā, from want of sense, (*az bī istiṭā'atī*) was each day the guest of a clan and each night took refuge with a landholder. From a defect of

¹ Blochmann 476 and Badāonī III. 206.

² Qu. father of Ḥamīda Bānū Begam. See Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs. Perhaps he was also known as 'Alī Akbar and perhaps Badāonī was mistaken in giving this as another name of Sānī Khān.

³ Probably this was the brother of Bābar's Afghān wife, Bibi Mubārīka.

⁴ A reference to his allowing himself to be over-reached by M. Ibrāhīm.

⁵ Humāyūn seems to have forgotten his vow never again to be separated from Akbar.



nature, he remained veiled in self-conceit and excluded from the auspicious service and fellowship of such a benefactor, and was for ever indulging in seditious thoughts.

At this time, a set of superficialists who were in the service of His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh and were oblivious of an internal abode of wisdom, wrote to His Majesty Jahānībānī and complained about his Highness. His Majesty, notwithstanding that he was aware of the inner light of the Shāhīnshāh, had regard to externals, and sent a gracious letter containing instructions and admonitions, full of kindness and paternal affection and not at all of a censuring or cautioning character. For what need has he who has been taught at the Divine school,—of human instructions? or what concern has the nursling of Heaven with such didactics? In that letter this verse of Shāikh Nizāmī was quoted.

Verse.

Sit not idle, 'tis not the time for play :

'Tis the time for arts and for work.

317 He was first taken before Mullāzāda Mullā 'Aṣāmu-d-dīn to be taught. As this teacher was devoted to pigeons, the servants reported against him. His Majesty discharged him and made over the duty of outward instruction to Maulānā Bāyazīd. He performed this duty, but as the world-adorning Deity did not wish that His own special pupil should become tainted by exoteric sciences, He diverted him from such pursuits and made him inattentive to them. The shallow thought it was the fault of the teachers and reported against them, but as the latter were right-thinking and of good character, the complaints were not accepted or acted upon. At last His Majesty had an inspiration, to wit, that for the purpose of instructing that pupil of the Divine school, lots should be cast between Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qādir, Mullāzāda Mullā 'Aṣāmu-d-dīn, and Maulānā Bāyazīd, so that he, on whom the lucky chance should fall, should be exalted by being made the sole teacher. It happened that the lot fell on Maulānā Abdu-l-Qādir, and an order issued for the removal of Maulānā Bāyazīd and the appointment of Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir.

It is not hidden from the wise and acute that the appointment of a teacher in a case like this, springs from use and wont, and does



not pertain to the acquisition of perfections. For him who is God's pupil, what occasion is there for teaching by creatures, or for application to lessons? Accordingly his holy heart and his sacred soul never turned towards external teaching. And his possession of the most excellent sciences together with his disinclination for the learning of letters were a method of showing to mankind, at the time of the manifestation of the lights of hidden abundancies, that the lofty comprehension of this Lord of the Age was not learnt or acquired, but was the gift of God in which human effort had no part. His Highness in that period assimilated external glory and temporal dominion in abundance, but feigned ignorance of inward perfections and spent much time in sport, and practised wisdom under a veil of concealment, so that even the farseeing failed to notice it.¹ But, as his genius was soaring, he was making a perfect veil for himself out of grand external performances. And he put his heart into acts so that though their beauty was not evident to the superficial yet the profound perceived the designs. Among them was his continually giving his attention² to that wondrous creature the camel and his delight in the marvels of Divine power. He used to observe and contemplate the strange make and ways of camels, which were the biggest animals in that region and, under the guise of amusement and metaphor, made serious reflections on the *darvish*-like constitution of those beasts—their endurance and patience; submission and resignation, their passive obedience even should the leading cord be in the hand of a child,—their being satisfied to eat thorns, and their endurance of thirst. He also applied his thoughts to the delight in an Arab horse which is a grand subject of dominion and exaltation, and carried off the ball of excellencies and of philosophy (*hunarpardāzi*, love of science) with the polo-stick of the Divine help and of sempiternal instruction. And sometimes he opened the wings of his genius in the spacious atmosphere of meditation upon God and brought his contemplative mind to study the sport of pigeon-flying.³ He scattered grain in order to allure their timid breasts and proceeded from the superficial joy and

¹ The text omits the negative, but the variant *namuftād* makes better sense and is supported by two B.M. MSS. Nos. 27,247 and 5610.

² This may be compared with the remarks in the *Ā'in*, Blochmann 143.

³ Cf. Blochmann 298.



ecstasy of these handfuls of wings and feathers to the recuperative and visible raptures of the lords of perfection, and thereby participated in the joys of the spiritual world. He carried his heart from the flying of these aerial fliers to the lofty soaring of the swift-winged ones of holy heaven, and under the guise of sport performed the work of adoration. Sometimes he would apply himself to coursing with dogs and thus occupy himself with sensuous things. Outwardly it was cynegetics, inwardly it was quickening the senses. Apparently his heart was fixed upon dog-fancying, in reality he was conducting his companions in the methods of government. And¹ although he was pursuing his quests under the veil of irrecognition and kept himself attired in the garb of superficialists, he could not hide his sweet savour or his brilliancy. Divine glory ever shone from his lustrous brows, and the attributes of spiritual and temporal leadership were conspicuous in the irradiated countenance of that elect of God!

One day he was engaged in hunting on the slope of the Safid² Sang hills and had put hunting-dogs into the charge of his immediate attendants in order that they should lie in³ wait. And certain men

¹ Cf. the remarks about hunting, Blochmann 282.

² There is a Safid Sang south of Kābul, but probably what is meant is the Safid Koh or Spīnghār range S.W. of Jalālābād.

³ *Ke tūsqāwal bāshind*. The word *tūsqāwal* is not in the dictionaries. It occurs once before, viz., at Text, p. 255, l. 11. That passage is founded on P. jāzīd I.O. MS., 286 and he says that *tūsqāwal* is called *nihilam* in Bada^{kh}shān. Now Bābar has the word *nihilam*, p. 28 of Memoirs, and speaks of his uncle Sultān Mahmūd Mirzā's being very fond of hunting the *nihilam*. That is, this is how Leyden has understood the passage, and P. de Courteille has followed him. But it would appear from the passage before us that *tasqāwal* according to A.F. means a

particular kind of hunting and is not the name of any animal. Apparently it refers to the practice of driving game past a shelter or shooting box. The Lucknow edition of the Akbarnāma says in a note to the passage, at p. 238 that *tasqāwal* is a Turki word and means a hunter who remains on the low ground in ambush. It may perhaps be connected with the Turqī *qarāwal* a hunter, or it may be Arabic and a derivative from *ثقل* and *ثقل* and mean one who feigns inactivity. Bābar's remark that his uncle took to the pursuit in the latter part of his life seems to imply that the sport was not of an active kind. In the Persian of Bābar's Mem., as given in the Bombay lithographed edition, *nihilam* appears as *bahilam*.

Since writing this note I have



had been sent up the mountain to drive the deer down into the plain. When the deer came to the obstacles, the servants had been caught by the dog of carnal appetite, and as in their folly they thought only of His Highness's tender years and boyish appearance, they had set themselves to eat and so did not slip the dogs in time. When he became aware of this, his inward sovereignty was aroused, and he issued an order that their necks should be bound with cords as if they were dogs, and they be led round the camp. He so sate on the *masnad* of severity that the old and experienced were amazed and placed the finger of surprise in their mouths. When this occurrence came to the ears of His Majesty Jahānbāū, his heart was greatly delighted and he remarked that he would soon come to great sovereignty and attain everlasting dominion.

Shāham Khān Jalāūr used to tell how one day His Majesty Jahānbānī bade him go and see what the new fruit of fortune's springtide was doing. "When I went," he said, "I found him lying down. His lustrous countenance was serene and he looked as if he were asleep. In truth he was holding converse with the holy ones of heaven's court (the angels). His blessed hand moved occasionally as is seen in the recuperative states of the lords of contemplation. From time to time there fell from his pearl-dropping tongue such expressions as "God willing, I'll bring the cream of earth's surface 319 under my sway and fulfil the desires of the sorrowful of the seven climes." "The Khān used to say that when he saw this condition and heard these words, he became amazed, and great awe fell upon him, so that he could not stand. He went aside and remained stupefied. Several times did he (Akbar) speak in this fashion.

A landable behaviour of His Highness at this time and one which showed his lofty and farseeing nature was that whenever any flatterers or black-hearted persons, who see nothing but their own personal loss or gain, or rather think their ¹ loss is their gain, would

found the word *tūsqāwāl* توئقاول in the Turkish-Persian dictionary of Mirzā 'Alī Bakht, and which is known as the Farhang Azafarī. This dictionary is in the Mullā Fīrūz Library, Bombay, and is No. 27, p. 54 of Rehatsek's catalogue. It explains *tūsqāwāl* as the shutting up of a road.

Tasqāwāl, or *nihilām* then was a kind of hunting analogous to "driving" and was perhaps such a sport as Akbar is said to have engaged in at the Deer-tower of Fatehpūr Sikrī.

¹ Perhaps it should be *zān-i-digar* the loss of others, but all the MSS. seem to have *Khud*.



say "May you soon be king of the seven climes" or "May you be the Lord of the Age" he would be much displeased and say "Those people in their little sense want to show themselves wellwishers. God forbid that they know anything of the palace of wellwishing! They are imagining evil for me in thinking of the decease of His Majesty Jahānbanī, and are gathering my temporal good from my spiritual ill. Or rather they are casting trouble into the country of welfare and raising the head of sedition. For the spiritual and temporal good fortune of children lies in their hopes and wishes being always for the preservation of their august fathers, and they wish them long life. For he who does not act rightly by his temporal God how shall he conduct himself properly towards his spiritual God?" Let men admire the lofty understanding, the pure nature, and the right thinking of this spiritually and temporally great one (Akbar)! In fine, greatness and glory shone in every action of His Highness. What the mature and experienced attained to by thought and care, this cherished one of God's glance acquired with small application in the beginning of his career. And every knowledge and science that the learned and the studious gathered with difficulty, came into the hands of this exhibitor of wondrous powers without meditation or care. Ripe wisdom made the hope-eye of the world shine on beholding this light of the eyes of sovereignty, and made men exult in the firm wisdom and deep knowledge of this nursling of God. But till the time of the revelation of the Khilāfat, it was veiled and hidden, and he passed his time under God's protection and free from the mischief of the deceit and treachery of ill-wishers.



CHAPTER LIII.

EXPEDITION OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ FROM
BIHSŪD AGAINST THE AFĠHĀN CLANS,—AMONGST WHOM
WAS THE AMBUSH OF M. KĀMRĀN'S STRIFES,—
AND FLIGHT OF THE LATTER TO INDIA.

When winter came to an end in the village of Bihsūd and the violence of the cold was over; and when it was known that M. Kāmrān, with a few retainers, was spending his days amongst the Afghān clans, most of the officers were of opinion that, as the Mīrzā had now no power of opposition, His Majesty should leave there a body of troops, and should proceed to Kābul. But a party of the far-seeing represented that as the weather was now temperate, it was advisable to attack and plunder the Afghāns; and that it was improper to return until this faction,—the material of strife and sedition;—had been thoroughly subdued. Thus both M. Kāmrān who was secretly living amongst the tribe and who was making ready the constituents of dissension, would fall into their hands, and also, the root of the disturbers would be dug up. 320

His Majesty Jahānbānī preferred this view, and guided by victory, mounted the steed of fortune in order to fall suddenly upon the clans and pour the dust of defeat on their heads. A number of impetuous heroes and wielders of the sword, such as Muḥammad Khān Jalāir, Sī. Muḥammad Fawāq, Shaiḥ Bahlūl, Shāh Qulī Nāranjī, were appointed under the leadership of Sī. Ḥussain Khān to go forward in advance. The wind was very cold that night and the way was long, so they halted mid-way to ease their men and cattle. In the morning, they mounted and went on.

As the tribes had scattered here and there, it was not known in which the Mīrzā was. In this time of perplexity, Māham 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bābā Khizārī who were on the way from M. Kāmrān to Malik Muḥammad of Mandraur, fell into the hands of the royal servants. They asked in which tribe the Mīrzā was. Māham 'Alī



led the inquirers astray and indicated a tribe other than that in which the Mirzā was. Bābā said, "He is frightened, he does not know what he is saying. The Mirzā is in such and such an encampment and I will show the way." The advance-guard reached the place at early dawn, attacked it, sent many to the abode of annihilation and captured a number of women and children. Some of the heroes entered the tent where the Mirzā was sleeping, and Shāh Qulī Nāranjī declares that he was one of them and that there were two persons within. One of them was caught and the other contrived to escape. In the morning, it was seen that the captive was Beg Mulūk whom the Mirzā always kept in his sight, and that it was the Mirzā who had gone out. Some of the vagabond Afghāns, such as Shāikh Yūsuf Kararānī and Malik Sangī, stood up to fight and then flung the dust of disgrace on themselves by running away. Their goods fell into the hands of the royal servants. The victory was won before the arrival of the royal standards. The Mirzā was not able to remain in those parts and went to India.

When His Majesty's heart was freed from the business of chastising the rebellious and when, by God's favour, a great victory had been gained,—such as might be a preface to victories,—he left the district and returned to Bihsūd. When it was ascertained that the Mirzā had escaped, under circumstances befitting thankless ingrates, and had gone to India, His Majesty Jahānbānī went to the Bāgh-i-safā¹ which is the delight of hearts and may be styled a cleanser (safā-bakhsh) of the picture-gallery of the soul, and there made a festival with pomp and splendour.

As the days were lengthening and there was the beginning of the splendour of spring and of the freshness of avenues (khiyābān) and of the delights of the heart opening streams, he sent a number of special individuals under charge of 'Alī Qulī of Andarāb to Kābul to fetch that spring-blossom, His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, together with the chaste ladies; so that he might, by beholding the wonders of early spring and by reading the pages of the rose-garden, gain

¹ The Bāgh-i-safā was at Cār Bāgh which is marked in maps as W. of Jalālābād and higher up the Kābul river. See Raverty, "Notes on

Afghānistān," p. 53, and Jarrett II. 405. The Bāgh-i-safā is distinct from the Bāgh-i-wafā.



admittance to the enclosure of recognition of the Divine artist and might lay the foundations of thanksgiving.

Their Highnesses arrived in a short time, and His Majesty gave endless thanksgiving gifts, which are a means of attracting yet more favours from the true Benefactor. After a time of enjoyment, he proceeded in an auspicious hour, to Kābul.



CHAPTER LIV.

HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH GOES TO GHAZNĪN, AND EXALTATION
OF THAT PLACE BY HIS DWELLING THERE.

322 As His Majesty Jahānbānī perceived that the splendours of guidance and of capacity for affairs of His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh were increasing daily, he determined, now that things were quieted, to separate him for a few days from his person in order that his greatness might be tested, that all might know his abilities, and also that he might have practice in the art of rule. For whoever in his youthful years, and also when by himself, shall make prudence his guide, and show magnanimity in all his ways, and who shall, without pluming himself on his own grandeur, exercise justice and equity to the humble and needy, and he whom real union (with his parent or guardian) shall suffice and whom physical remoteness shall not make sad,—assuredly he it is who can become the Unique Pearl of the Khilāfat. As the glories of such qualities were believed to be, or rather were known with certainty to be, written on the tablet-forehead of His Majesty the Shāhīnshāh, he was sent to Ghaznīn in the beginning of 959, (end of December, 1551). The Atka Khān, Khwa. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd and all the servants of M. Hindāl were attached to him in this happy enterprise, the general management being with the Khawāja aforesaid. He spent six months there in vigilance and prosperity, and as spiritual and temporal supremacy was ever visible in him, right actions and laudable manners, such as are not seen in mature and experienced men, displayed themselves in this fortunate and happy-starred youth. And he was continually winning hearts by his right ways and his worship of the right. He always strove to comfort the distracted. He was always bent upon pleasing that class of men who expend themselves in the domain of privation and who, having girt up the loins of effort for the purification of manners and the knowledge of God, have taken the path of poverty and renunciation, turning aside from ease and sorrow, and