



1912

Akbarnama of Abu-I-Fazl

A History of the Reign of Akbar including an
Account of his Predecessors

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Asiatic Society of Bengal
Calcutta
1912



B-3-E-H-**CSL**

Volume III

27068

CHAPTER I.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

Verse.

I refresh my words with the name of God
For his name guides to Reality.
For to this end gave He us tongues
Speech ¹ cannot rival Praise in weight
What weight can God-knowing Reason assign to it?
In the desert which casts down the litter
Men cannot tread with speech's foot
The orator whose fame resounds to the sky
Utters in this plain the cry of lamentation.

Alas, Alas! What strength has an accidental atom tossed about
in the desert of bewilderment and thirst to attempt the comprehension
of the established Sun? What force has it to rise from the
hollow of Error to the height of Recognition? How can it reckon
potsherds of its fancies and the frayed tinsel of its knowledge among
the rarities of the storehouse of truths and the excellencies of substantive
treasuries?

Verse.

The Divine mysteries are not comprehended by us
Nor is the ocean contained in the cowry! ²
Neither sage nor simpleton can grasp them
The chameleon ³ is blinded, even as the bat.

But simple-minded terrestrials convert into materials for Divine
praise, whatever perfections they find in the record of their own

¹ This and the following line are obscure, and the Lucknow editor's note does not remove the difficulty. In his edition the lines are reversed, and so are they in the variant.

² *Goshmāhī*, lit., "fish's ear."

³ The chameleon is fabled to have powerful sight and to be gazing upon the sun. Hence the Persian name of *āftāb-parast*, "sun-worshipper."

AKBARNĀMA.

conduct, or gather from the volume ¹ of enlightenment, and although the incomparable Personality be excluded from their ken they regard those things as the Divine Attributes. Inasmuch as the unequalled Creator chants His own praise with the glorious voice ² of His marvels and recites the tale of His panegyric with creation's tongue, even if I admitted that there could come to any one the heaven-measuring power of eulogising God, still such an one would stay his hand when a great blaze of the sun of truth was presented to his eye and ear, and would not turn to his own skill nor lift the head of understanding from the abyss of ecstasy. And let praise for ever and ever be given to the divinely chosen ones, who are the gardeners of the aromatic herbs of morals, and the unveilers of spiritual and physical mysteries, for that they have in this glorious audience hall consigned the books of their own knowledge to the waters ³ of silence, and have trodden the line of ignorance, folded up the pages of their eloquence and opened a tongueless ⁴ tongue. Therefore it is far better that this wanderer in bewilderment's desert should address himself to the recording the events of a rule which is conjoined with eternity and should by one ⁵ great performance in some degree set in order two arduous tasks!

Quartain.

Glory to God the Incomparable, the Formless
That He hath made such a mirror of His beauty as the Shāh.
His glorious substance is beyond thought's ken
And his letter is beyond Reason's line,—Glory to Him!

His (Akbar's) keen eye is the astrolabe ⁵ of the substantive sun—
his truth-discerning heart is the celestial observatory of Attributes—
he is of noble lineage, of joyous countenance—of right disposition—

¹ Either the book of nature, or religious writings. Possibly the Koran is meant. A.F.'s meaning seems to be that though God cannot be known, yet mortals take whatever is excellent in themselves, or others, and regard it as Divine Attributes. Papers used to be destroyed by throwing them into water.

³ Meaning that they have practised "expressive silence."

⁴ He means that by recording Akbar's actions he also performs his duty of worshipping God. See his preface.

⁵ God is the substantive or personal sun, and Akbar the astrolabe which reads the sun.



of open brow—of well-proportioned frame—of magnanimous nature—of lofty genius—of pure purpose—of enduring faith—of perfect wisdom—begirt with varied talents—of wide capacity—of high honour—of splendid courage—of right judgment—of choice counsel—of generosity unfeigned—of boundless forgiveness, abundant in graciousness—at peace with all—compendium of dominion—of plentiful sincerity—multiple of single-minded warriors—abounding in wealth—accumulator¹ of the world's rareties—of pure heart—unspotted by the world—leader of the spiritual realm—of enduring alertness! How has he been gathered together into one place? Or how doth a single body upbear him on the shoulders of genius?

Verse.

Sphere of wisdom and vision, Akbar Shāh the Only One
Whose brow has opened on the earth like the dawn
A king whose eyes have been lessoned by the heart
A king who has been taught by Wisdom in person.

Glory be to God the Creator, who hath made the adorning of the kingly throne a witness of His lovely and awful attributes, and hath made the standard-bearer of God's shadow an ensample of His glorious praises.

Verse.

An Alexander-minded Elias² the producer of the fountain
Determiner of the Pole-star, expounder of the *Almagest*
The substance of kingship and saintship is in him
The magazine of divine mysteries is in him
From his great power, he is the head of princes
From his wondrous wisdom, he is the famed of epochs
While night and day endure, may his night be day
May his kingdom's jewel illumine the night.

3

If (even) by rising and falling (*i.e.*, stumbling) I cannot attain to the court of his praise (because) auspicious speech has not been granted to me, nor the glory of wisdom vouchsafed, and if I address

¹ Probably this refers to Akbar's having gathered round him all the great wits of the age.

² Elias found the fountain of life which Alexander failed to find.

who exhaled the breath of power in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar departed this life. Ascetic sages, and politicians who had regard to the repose of mortals, which is bound up with one rule, one ruler, one guide, one aim and one thought, recognised in the emergence of this event an instance of the helps of fortune, whilst those who were void of understanding and who made the agitation of the black-fated Afghans in the eastern provinces an argument in support of their own views, and opposed the expedition to Gujrat, were by this event cast into the pit of failure. Another faction whose narrow intellects could not comprehend the idea of marching to Gujrat and of overcoming it, and which indulged in foolish prattle, made the event a pretext for prating and urged the propriety of marching to the eastern provinces. As the God-worshipping Khedive reflected that the oppressed ones of Gujrat should be brought into the cradle of grace he did not give ear to these futilities and said with his holy lips that it was good that the news of Sulaimān's death had come during the march to Gujrat, for had it come while he was in the hospital, assuredly he would, out of deference to the opinions of most of his officers, have addressed himself in the first place to an expedition to the eastern provinces. What necessity was there now for the Shahinshāh's personal visit to these countries after Sulaimān's death? Now the conquest of that country would be accomplished by the skill and courage of the officers. Accordingly an order was sent to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān that he should conquer Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in concurrence with the other officers.

One of the occurrences was the wounding of the Khān¹ Kalān. The account of this is as follows:—The Khān Kalān and other great officers—who had been made a vanguard—reached the town of Bhādrajan² which is near Sirohī, and were halting there. Rai

only gives the year, see 427n. Properly, Sulaimān's death should come into the second volume, for it occurred on 1 Ābān and Akbar's birthday was on 8 id, and accordingly some copies have put this paragraph before the Khātima or conclusion. But perhaps A.F. went by the date when the news reached Akbar, 1 Ābān 980 is 11 October 1572.

¹ Mir Muhammad the elder brother of Shamsu-d-din Atka. B. 322 and the M'aasir III. 211.

² J. II. 276 where it appears as belonging to Jodhpūr. Gladwin has Bhadrarajoon and Tiefenthaler I. 308 Tahaurahoun. It is not mentioned in the I. G. or the Rajputana Gazetteer. It is marked in the Atlas vol. of I. G. Plate 34, and lies between Jodhpūr and Sirohī.



Mān Singh Deohra, the chief of Sirohī, took to feline tricks and sent some Rājputs as envoys, and professed obedience. When they had paid their respects to the Khān Kalān, he, at the time of dismissal, called up each one of them, and, in accordance with the Indian custom, was giving *pān* to each and bidding them adieu. One of these daring and furious men struck a blow with his dagger between the Khān Kalān's collar-bone so that the point came out below the shoulder-blade to the extent of three finger-breadths. Bahādur K. Turbatī, one of his servants ran and felled the Rājput to the ground. Šādiq Khān and Muḥammad Qulī Khān acted with promptitude and killed him. Others were stretched upon the ground as being involved in his wickedness. When the truth of the affair was brought to the hearing of H.M. he, in contradiction to the foolish fancies of men of small capacity, prosecuted more earnestly the conquest of Gujrat. He arrived on the day of Tīr, the 13 Abān Divine month (about 20 October 1572,) at the place where the officers had been previously, and who now came in to welcome him. When he perceived that there was such rebellion on the part of the men of Sirohī he issued an order that the victorious troops should march to Sirohī and should demolish the rebels thereof. He also decided to go there himself. On the day of Saroghā, the 17 Abān Divine month he encamped in the territory of Sirohī. The presumptuous ones of that country took refuge in the mountain-defiles. In accordance with the custom which prevails among turbulent Rājputs of a number surrounding their master's palace, and of some of them establishing themselves in an idol-temple, a large body of men collected in a temple¹ of Mahādeo which was one *kos* distant from Sirohī. The world's lord restrained the alert heroes from making war on this canaille and sent off swordsmen and archers on foot to account for these doomed ones. Among the servants of the threshold of fortune, Dost Muḥammad, the son of Tātār Khān missed his way and drank the sherbet of death.

One of the occurrences was that Yār 'Alī Beg Turkamān came with a number of Persians on behalf of Sultān Muḥammad Khudā-

¹ Probably this is the temple of Sarneswar, (Saraneswar) about two miles from Sirohī, and on the way to

Erinpura, described in the Rajputana Gazetteer III. 125.

banda, the eldest son of Shāh Tahmāsp, who was governor of Khurāsān for his father, with the rareties of Persia as an emissary.¹ He was received with princely favours.

At this stage (Sirohī) an order was issued to Rai Rai Singh and a number of servants to abide in the territories of Jodhpur and Sirohī and to exercise supervision therein, so that if the disaffected should on hearing of the advance of the royal army wish to come out of Gujrat and cause disturbance in the imperial territories, they might be prevented. When the Shāhīnshāh's mind was at ease about the affairs of that country he marched onwards. From the borders of Pattan he sent forward Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn² with rescripts to ʿItimād Khān, who had repeatedly sent petitions and had expressed desires for the arrival of the exalted court, and gave him salutary advices to guide him in the paths of auspiciousness. When H.M. had halted in the vicinity of the town of Dīha,³ the intelligencers reported to him that when Sher Khān, who had possession of Ahmadābad, had heard of the royal advance he had fled to the territory of Surat⁴ and Jūnagarh, and had sent his sons Muḥammad Khān and Badar to Pattan to convey his family and goods to places of safety. They had now done so and were proceeding to rejoin their father. Also that Ibrāhīm Husain M., who had come to help ʿItimād Khān, had gone back to his own estate and that ʿItimād Khān intended to wait upon H.M. H.M. sent Rajah⁵ Mān Singh and a body of troops to seize Sher Khān's sons, but they fled to the defiles. The troops, however, came up with their baggage and were victorious. On the day of Ashtād 26 Ābān Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 1 Rajab (7 November) 1572, H.M. encamped in the pleasant city of Pattan which was formerly known as Nahrwāla. The inhabitants, both high and low, showed reliance on the justice and kindness of the Shāhīnshāh and tendered their homage. H.M. directed his

¹ Tahmāsp was then living and Khudēbanda was only governor of Khurāsān. Cf. Elliot V. 342 where the statement that Tahmāsp had also sent the ambassador is a mistranslation.

² Son of Mīr Qāsim, Blochmann 406.

³ So in text, but doubtless Dīsa in Gujrat.

⁴ The variant Sorath is probably right.

⁵ He was only Kuar till Rajah Bhagwān's death, and is generally called so by A.F.



attention to Mirzā Khān and questioned him about the martyrdom of Bairām Khān (his father). In his graciousness he said that he would make over Pattan to him, and that as at present he had not the means¹ of looking after it, Saiyid Ahmad Khān would be appointed to take care of it. From this place he deputed Hakim 'Ain-al-mulk to bring to court 'Itimād Khān and Mir Abū Turāb. Mirzā Muqīm, who was related to M. Sharafu-d-dīn Husain, was one of the first to take the path of auspiciousness and to come and kiss the threshold. Here, too, the good services of Mozaffar Khān were called to mind, and as his merits were found to outweigh his defects, an order was issued rescinding his departure for the Hijāz, and bringing him to Court. On 3 Āzar Divine month or 7 Rajab (13 November 1572), H.M. marched towards Ahmadābād.

When he reached Jūtāna² it appeared that Mozaffar Gujrātī, who was the document of sovereignty for the Gujrātīs, had separated from Sher Khan Faulādī and was wandering about in a distracted state in the neighbourhood. Mir Khān Yesāwal and Farid Qarāwal were sent, and after them were despatched Abū-l-qāsim Namakīn³ and Karm 'Alī to investigate and to bring that confused wanderer to court. When Mir Khān had gone some way, Mozaffar's umbrella and canopy fell into his hands. He was then joined by Mir Abū-l-qāsim and Karm 'Alī who had followed him. They went on and at last Mir Khān seized Mozaffar, who was hiding in a corn-field, and brought him before H.M. He had compassion on him and made him over to Karm 'Alī. On the night of the same day Mir Saiyid Hāmīd Bukhārī and Ulugh Beg Hābshī arrived with their troops and did homage, and were encompassed with royal favours. No long time had elapsed after that when Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn and Hakīm Ainn-l-mulk brought to Court Mir Abū Turāb, who was the chief⁷ counsellor of Gujrat, and reported that 'Itimād Khān was coming to offer his submission. Before Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn arrived, he had sent Mir Abū Turāb, Wajih-al-mulk and Mujāhid Khān to court in order that they might procure him fresh confidence and then return.

¹ On account of his youth. His father's body was apparently still there then. It was removed to Mashhad in 985 (1577). According to the Maasir

I. 381, it was first taken to Delhi.

² So in text, but should be apparently Chotana, Blochmann 518.

³ Blochmann 470.

When Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn met in with the envoys, he comforted them and went on to ʿItimād Khān. Hakīm ʿAin-al-mulk came and turned back Abū Turāb and carried him to Aḥmadābād. After much discussion all the Gujrat officers and grandees of that country set their hearts to loyalty and glorified the faces of the coins and the tops of the pulpits with the name of H.M. the Shāhīnshāh and proceeded to court. ʿItimād Khān dismissed the ambassadors along with Mir Abū Turāb from the town of Karī.¹ When this news was brought to the royal hearing, Khwāja Jahān, Khān ʿĀlam and Sādiq Khān were deputed to welcome them and they conducted them with honour. Next day, when the royal standards had advanced from Jūtāna, ʿItimād Khān and a large body of persons drew near. Khwāja Jahān, Mir Abū Turāb and a number of others were ordered to hasten forward and to exalt him by bringing him to do homage. H.M. mounted in his glory on an elephant, the envoys brought forward ʿItimād Khān and he was made illustrious by performing the prostration. After that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, Malik Mashriq,² Jujhār Khān Ḥabāhī, Wajīha-al-mulk and Mujāhid Khān came and kissed the carpet, and each was received with favour proportionate to his position. ʿItimād Khān and some of the nobles of Gujrat were ordered to mount (on elephants?) and to come nearer. H.M. conversed with them the whole way and encouraged them and halted at the town of Karī. Saif-al-mulk and some others were in Maḥmūdābād. Sādiq Khān and other servants were sent to give these loiterers the bliss of doing homage. At this station, as a matter of prudence and caution—which are adjuncts of administration—the Gujrat officers were summoned and told that H.M. would entrust the country to ʿItimād K. and would leave him all the officers he wished for. It was proper that each of them should give security so that there might be no failure of vigilance and forethought, and that the conditions of honourable conduct (*futuwat*)³ might be ful-

¹ Kadī, in Baroda.

² The text has Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, the son of Mashriqī, or the Mashriqī, but it appears from the T.A. and the Iqbāl-nāma that Malik Mashriq or Malik Ashraq is the name and that he is another person than Ikhtiyār-al-

mulk. Malik Sharq or Ashraq is mentioned in Chapter III as acting as guide to Akbar. He was afterwards made collector of Thānesar and is mentioned by Badayūnī, p. 223.

³ *Futuwat* generally means liberality. Perhaps the meaning is that if



filled. Mir Abū Turāb engaged to be security for 'Imād K., and the latter became surety for all the others except the Abyssinians. H.M. ordered that the Abyssinians should be included among the royal slaves on the same terms as they had been slaves of Sultān Maḥmūd. In observance¹ of certain matters, which were necessary for the guarding of sovereignty, they were made over to the great officers. Next day the standards of fortune halted at the village of Sāntaj.²

One of the warning occurrences was that a crew of libertines and 8 vagabonds of that country—where there are thousands of such—raised a shout to the effect that a sublime order had been given that the people of the army of fortune should plunder the Gujrātī's camp. They began to do so and a great commotion resulted. When this came to the Khedive's hearing, he summoned the great officers and ordered them to inflict punishment on the plunderers, and to put to death those who were found in the possession of plunder. He himself held a public court and had fierce elephants present. The rioters were brought before H.M. and were trampled under the feet of elephants. The goods were returned to the owners, and in a short time the disturbance was quieted, and there was a sound of peace and security. By the glory of this justice the newly acquired territory became a seat of tranquillity. On the day of Ābān 10 Āzar Divine month or 14 Rajab (November 20, 1572) the standards were set up in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād, and merely by the glance of the Shāhīnshāh a work which a crowd of men would have regarded as difficult was accomplished with ease. A multitude of men, high and low, submitted and were made happy. Everyone according to his means returned thanks³ for the deliverance from

the Gujrat officers gave security, Akbar would be able to deal liberally with them.

¹ This passage is explained by the T.A. Elliot V. 343, where it is mentioned that Akbar's officers were suspicious of the Abyssinians and reported to this effect to Akbar who ordered the headmen (*sirdārān*) should be made over to trustworthy

servants of the Court.

² There is the variant Sāhaj. I have not found the place. According to the Mirāt Aḥmadī the riots mentioned in the following paragraph occurred at Hājipūr.

³ *Shukrāna*. Apparently this refers to the amount of *poshkash* or presents tendered by each.

the calamities of the age, and was honoured by the sublime glance. Aḥmadābād which is the metropolis and has 380¹ pūrahs (quarters) i.e., wards, each of which is like a city, became a scene of heavenly excellences from the glory of the advent of the Shāhīnshāh. H.M. several times entered this city. The wishes of many generations of mortals were fulfilled; the oppressed obtained favour, and the oppressors sank into the abyss of destruction. The talented came out of the secret chamber of capability into the conspicuousness of action. On this day² of joy the festival of weighing the Shāhīnshāh was held and there was rejoicing upon rejoicing. The solicitous obtained their wishes, and the prayers of the suppliants were heard. At this time, while the camp was at Aḥmadābād, the envoys of Amin³ Khān Ghorī arrived with suitable presents and had the bliss of performing homage. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. sent a hypocritical petition and presents, but as he was not sincere, he did not find acceptance.

¹ In the Aīn. and in T.A. the number is given as 360. See J. II. 240.

² The particular day is not specified. If, as usual, the day chosen was Akbar's birthday, it should have been 5 Rajab, but this occurred before he arrived at Ahmedābād.

³ He was ruler of Jūnagarh, etc. A.F.'s account of the two expeditions to Gujrat should be compared with the accounts in the T.A., both in the part which gives the history of Akbar, and in the part which gives the history of the kings of Gujrat. Ni-

zam-ud-dīn had served in Gujrat and his descriptions are often fuller and more correct than A.F.'s. See especially Elliot V. 360-70. It was 'Itimād Khān's intrigues which led Akbar to interfere in the affairs of Gujrat. 'Itimād first produced Mozaffar or Nathū and swore on the Koran that he was Sultan Maḥmad's son, and then when Mozaffar left him for the Afghans (Sher Khān Fulādi and others), 'Itimād turned round and wrote that Mozaffar was not the king's son.



CHAPTER II.

MARCH OF THE SACRED ARMY OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH FROM AHMĀDĀBĀD
TO THE PORT OF CAMBAY, AND HIS BEHOLDING THE SEA.

When the delightful country of Gujrat had become the abode of peace and tranquillity by the advent of the Shāhīnshāh, he made over the government of Aḥmadābād and this side of the river Mahindri (*i.e.*, the Mahī) to the Khān A'azam M. 'Aziz Koka. The other side, ⁹ *viz.*, Baroda, Cāmpānūr, Surat, and the districts which had been usurped by the Mīrzās were entrusted to the Gujrat officers who had bound on the straps of fealty and had been included among the imperial servants. 'Itimād Khān Gujrati was placed at the head of them, and these officers, new and old, engaged to administer the territories, and to extirpate the Mīrzās. Thereafter H.M. determined that after he had visited the sea, he would return to the capital (*i.e.*, Aḥmadābād). Accordingly on the day of Asman 27 Āzar Divine month or Monday 2 Shābān, 2 December 1572, he marched to the port of Cambay which is thirty *kos* from Aḥmadābād. The Gujrat officers took leave for some days in order to make their arrangements and stayed in the city. He left Hakīm 'Ain-al-mulk, who had relationships with them, in order that he might civilise these savages of the desert.

On the march he heard that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk had in his wickedness absconded, and that 'Itimād Khān and the other Gujrat officers were on the point of falling into evil ways. Accordingly Shahbāz Khān received orders to go there quickly and come with those traitors and prevent them from turning into the desert of error.

On 1st Dai Divine month H.M. encamped at the port of Cambay so that pleasant spot became the meeting-place of the spiritual and material oceans. The merchants of Rūm,² Syria, Persia and Turan regarded the advent of the Shāhīnshāh as a great boon and paid their respects. H.M. embarked on a ship with a select party, and

¹ T.A. Friday, 6 Shabān (12 December 1572).

² The Iqbāl-nāma has Farang (Europe) instead of Syria.

made an excursion on the sea. The hearts of the sincere received a fresh instruction. On the day of Shahriyūr 4 Dai, Divine month, Shāhbāz Khān brought ʿItimād Khān and some other of the Gujrātī officers to Court. As these wicked and deceitful men had broken their engagements of loyalty, H.M. again turned his attention to the affairs of the country and made over each one of them to a faithful servant. The short account of those evil-conditioned men is that timidity, deceit, and falsehood have been mixed up with a little honesty, simplicity and humility (*farotani*, perhaps meanness) and made into a paste (*mʿajūn*) to which the name of Gujrātī has been given. Among these ʿItimād Khān was the leading specimen. When the reverberation of the fortune of the sublime army rose high in Gujrat, the officers thereof lost hold of the thread of counsel. At last they contrived a scheme and did homage, but all their thought was by this deception to keep up the old state of things. As H.M. is an ocean of benevolence he winked at their inner wickedness and encompassed them with favours. Although farsighted counsellors who had to some extent understood the dispositions of those evil-minded ones, and had by hints and also by clear language suggested their arrest, their proposals were not accepted. On the contrary the position of those men (the Gujrātīs) was made yet confidential. At the time when H.M. went off to witness the spectacle of the ocean, it was evident from their taking leave and remaining behind that this wicked crew had evil designs. What campaign had they made that it was imperative that they should at this time take leave? But the world's lord, from his reverence and gracious-

ness, took the view that they were honest, and when those wretches saw the glorious justice and the daily increasing fortune of the king, they perceived that now that so wide as a territory had been made brilliant by his equity, it was impossible for them to remain in it according to the old, old way, and that it would be better for them to retire and raise the head of turbulence. On the night¹ of the second day after H.M.'s departure, Ikhtiyār-al-mulk took the oppor-

¹ The T.A. Elliott V. 243 says Akbar left Aḥmadābād on Monday, 2 Shābān (8 December 1572), and that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk fled towards Aḥ-

madnagar and Idar on the 4th id. This Aḥmadnagar was in Gujrat some 20 miles from Idar. See Mirat Aḥmadi.



tunity to desert, and 'Itimād Khān and all those who were in league with him were on the point of going off when Abū Turāb and Hakīm Ain-al-mulk arrived. The conspirators sought to ruin them by tricks and pretences and sought to detain them and to use up the time by discussions and stratagems. It nearly came to their being imprisoned and carried off and to their being put to death and to the evil schemes being carried out. Just then Shāhbāz Khān arrived, and their evil intentions did not become acts. Shāhbāz Khān considered with himself that if he hastened to arrest Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, this crew would escape. Without raising the veil from over the acts of those disloyal ones, he went off to the threshold of fortune. As H.M. the Shāhīnshāh is a touchstone for all classes, the false coin of these men was soon revealed, and they met with their punishment. The right-thinking and magnanimity of the world's lord were revealed to mankind and the links of sway maintained. The good fortune of the farsighted was conspicuous and also there was a demonstration to the general public of the conduct of the faction. The good name of the Shāhīnshāh was written on the pages of the hearts of high and low. If H.M., in accordance with his own secret perception or with the requests of the clear-sighted ones of the court had before this put those evil-doers into confinement, how would the real state of the case have been made manifest to the general public, with whom—the blind and superficial—rulers have principally to do?

When the Shāhīnshāh's mind was free from the affairs of these wicked and two-faced men, he addressed himself to the extirpation of the seditious Mirzās. For from the time when that crew had, after failing in Malwa, come to this country, Baroda had come into the hands of Ibrāhīm Husain M., Surat into those of Muḥammad 11 Husain M. and Cāmpānīr into the hands of Shāh M. H.M. made over the charge of the port of Cambay to Hasan Khān Khāzāncī and on the day of Amardād 7 Dai Divine month, proceeded towards Baroda. From near Baroda he sent Shahbāz Khān, Qāsim Khān, Bāz Bahādur Khān and a body of active men towards Cāmpānīr in order to free that fort from the rebels. Khān Aāzam M. Koka was sent off to the government of Ahmadābād. He instilled into the mind of that auspicious one many principles of government such as the love of justice, continual watchfulness, the having regard to the

ranks of mankind, the preservation of their honour, the observing of peace with all, etc., and bade him confirm him (Akbar) in his good opinion of himself. He (Akbar) also appointed as his assistants Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn Khān, Dastam Khān, M'aṣūm Khān, Saiyid Ḥamid Bokhārī, Shaiikh Muḥammad Bokhārī and a large number of loyal heroes, and he encompassed them with favours above their positions. His purpose in sending them was that they might inflict suitable punishment on the Mirzās if they should try to raise a disturbance there. On the day of Āzar the 9th of the said month (Dai) he reached Baroda. Next day he learnt that the ill-fated Mirzas had strengthened the fort of Surat and had collected near Cāmpānīr. The Khān 'Aālm, Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha, Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥram, Rājah Bhagwant Dās, Mān Singh, and Khawāja Ghīāsu-d-dīn 'Alī Iṣfahānī¹ and another body of troops were deputed to give those infatuated ones a lesson. It was past midnight when an intelligencer brought news that when the news of the advance of the Shāhīnshāh's army reached Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. in the fort of Broach, he put to death Rustum² Khān Rūmī who had resolved on becoming loyal and wished to do homage. Though he could not maintain himself in that fort against the world-conquering standards, yet the wine of presumption in his brain was making him pass by at a distance of eight kos from the camp of fortune, in order that he might cause a disturbance in the country. As many of the loyal servants had already

12 been sent against those vagabonds, the world-lord—who in his excess of courage always wished to wield his sword in the battlefield,—was pleased, and determined that he would personally make a rapid expedition and chastise those evildoers.

¹ The variant is Āṣofkhānī is preferable.

² This is the Rustum Khān who had so long defended Broach. It

appears from this account that it was not altogether in breach of a compact that Ibrāhīm put him to death.



CHAPTER III.

RAPID MARCH OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH AGAINST IBRĀHĪM ḤUSAIN M.,
THE BATTLE AND THE DEFEAT OF THE ENEMY.

As H.M. knew that the chastisement of the presumptuous and rebellious was at the head of the deeds of sovereignty, he sent off Shahbāz Khān Mīr Bakhshī quickly in order that he might turn back the officers who had previously hurried off to put down the Mīrzās, and cause them to join the imperial force. He left Mīr Muhammad the Khān Kalān, Khwāja Jahān, Shujāʿat Khān and Ṣādiq Khān in the camp and in charge of the princes (Akbar's children), and put his foot in the stirrup of victory. He took with him Khwāja ʿAbdullah, Jalāl Khān Qūrcī, Raisāl Darbārī, Āṣaf Khān, Jaimāl,¹ Bahādur Khān Qūrdār, Maqbul Khān, Aqā² Sarkh Badakhshī, Mathurā Dās, and Adam Tajband. Dilāwarkhān³ was ordered to remain on the edge of the camp and to see that no one else should follow them. H.M. did not judge it proper that more than two⁴ or three servants (*mardum*) of his companions should go with them lest Ibrāhīm Ḥusain should decamp on account of the crowd of victorious warriors. Though those loyalists who had the privilege of speech implored and lamented, it was of no avail. He said that such was his reliance on God's help that he needed not a large force to quell those wretched insurgents. But out of farsightedness—which is the foundation of conquest and world-rule—he ordered that the army⁵ which had gone in advance should be united with his band.

¹ The *Iqbāl-nāma* has Wazīr Jamīl, and this is probably right. He is the man who afterwards turned traitor in Bengal.

² There is the variant Wāfa, and the *Iqbāl-nāma* has Wafa Cela and Sarkh.

³ The *Iqbāl-nāma* has dilāwarān. Brave men were ordered.

⁴ The text has *du kas* "two persons," but as I.O. M.S. 236 and B.M.

Or. 26, 207 have *du sih kas* "two or three persons," I have adopted that reading. I.O. M.S. 235 has *du sih hazār kas*, "two or three thousand persons."

⁵ *Lashkar-i-pesh*. This must be the army which had previously marched against the Mīrzās, and which the Bakhshī Shahbāz K. had now been sent to recall. It is mentioned again a little lower down.

On the same night that the news of the rebels had been brought, he mounted his swift steed when about two hours of night remained and went off at a gallop. Malik Ashrāq¹ Gujrātī was added as a guide, as he was acquainted with the country. On that swift journey the guides went wrong owing to a design of Providence. At last the path was found by the illumination of the sun of fortune and they went on still more rapidly.

One of the mysterious indications, which caused joy to H.M.'s comrades, was that when it became morning, and the world-lighting splendour of the great luminary took possession of the world, a deer
13 appeared. It passed into the mind of the Shāhinshāh that if he caught this deer it would be a sign of victory. So a *cīta* was slipped, and immediately the deer was captured. When this became known to H.M.'s followers their hearts were strengthened a thousandfold and they addressed themselves to the march. No trace of the enemy could be seen. It appeared as if they had heard of the victorious, royal army, and had increased their pace. Delay was also caused by the cavalcade's missing its way. When two hours of day remained, they fell in with a *brahman* and inquired from him about the enemy. He said they had crossed the Bikānir² river and encamped in large force at Sarnāl, and that the distance was about four *kos*. H.M. took counsel with his followers. Jalāl Khān said, "Our troops have not come up yet, and the enemy is in force. When we are so few in number it is not advisable to engage in daylight with so many. The proper thing is to halt a while and make a night-attack." The mine of truth and courage did not approve of a night-attack, which is a form of deception and fraud, and in order to encourage his comrades, said, "Courage is a helper, and many cowards become brave men out of shame. It is far better not to be

¹ Ashraf in text, but Ashraq is the correct reading.

² So in text, but there is evidently an error. Elliot VI. 37 has Sakānir, and Bird's Gujrat 310 has "the ford of Biākāpūr." Evidently the river is the Mahindri or Mahi, and perhaps the place is Wancaneer (Wankānir) marked as on the Mahi, between

Ahmadabad and Baroda, in the map to Bayley's Gujrat. The Bombay Gazetteer VII. 539 mentions the town of Vāsoṇa as a place where the Mahi is fordable. The original of the Mirāt Ahmadi has "the river Mahindri at the ford of Bikānir." Bom. lith. 120.



put off the work of the day till the night, and to fight with the smartness and alacrity that we are marching with." He uttered words of encouragement and said, "Friends, be stout-hearted, and let each one of us overthrow a foe." Khwāja 'Abdullah said "Your Majesty will remember that you have often said that 'A good elephant is one who is not satisfied with overthrowing one opponent but addresses himself to the casting down and trampling upon many.'" H.M. commended this speech, and resolved, heaven helping, to fight by day,¹ and pushed on faster than ever. At last the town of Sarnāl,² which was on the top of a hill, appeared in sight. After H.M. had proceeded a little way further, he drew up his men on the banks of the Mahindri, and ordered them to put on their cuirasses. At this time, when this Tiger of God was preparing for combat—and not more than forty men had arrived, news came of the approach of his other troops. He was angry at their delay, and said to his companions, "We'll not suffer them to share in the fight with us." But when it was explained that the cause of their delay was that they had hurried off in an opposite direction and also that Shahbāz Khān, who had been sent to call them, had been long in coming up with them, his wrath was appeased, and he permitted some of them to present 14 themselves. The Khān 'Aālm, Saiyid Muḥammad Khān Bārḥā Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Kuar Mān Singh Babā Khān Qāqshāl, Bhūpat, Salim Khān Kakar, Bhoj, Hajī Yūsuf Khān and many others of the officers and cavaliers bent forward the head of shame and joined the royal cavalcade. So the number of the troop became about two hundred. At the time of crossing the river Mān Singh petitioned to be placed in the van. H.M. said, "What force have we that we should make a division. To-day we are all one and have set our hearts upon the fight." He begged, saying, "It is the privilege of devotion to go a few steps in front and to show life-sacrifice." The just prince granted his desire and allowed him and some experienced warriors to go in front. He himself, proceed-

¹ Akbar's meaning was that it was advantageous to fight in daylight as then men were ashamed to run away.

² Sarnāl seems to mean "Head of the river," and A.F. plays on this,

saying it was head of the hill. It is not marked on the maps and seems to have disappeared. It is entered in the Ain as in Sarkar Aḥmadabad. Persian text, p. 494.

ing on *pari passu* with the Divine assistance, put his bay horse into the deep river. By the good fortune and miracle of his personality the river became fordable, and all the loyal servants crossed in safety. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had a little while before halted in the town of Sarnāl. When he saw the dust of the victorious army and the horsemen crossing the river he recognised the Divine glory (*far ʿIzdī*) and said to his companions, "Evidently the king is here from their crossing so splendidly." From illfatedness and shortness of vision he immediately prepared for battle and came out of the town and took post on rising ground. When Ḥ.M. had crossed the river the bank was found to be very rugged.¹ The devoted heroes abandoned prudence and pressed forward. Parties of them came into the broken ground, and sought for a means of success. The lord of the earth and a few of his immediate followers came to the gate of Sarnāl which faced the river, and then some of the wretches tried to oppose him. Maqbul Khān, a Qalmāq slave, and some brave men rushed forward and levelled them with the dust. When they got into the town they found the streets full of baggage, and it appeared that Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had gone out with the rest of the rebels by another road and was prepared for battle. The world's lord and a party of kindred spirits got out, with great difficulty, from the narrow and encumbered streets, and he addressed himself to encouraging his followers. Bābā Khān Qaqshāl and his bowmen were driven off by the enemy. The other heroes stood firm. Many of the practised warriors, who had got separated in the ravines, came in from every side and attacked the foe. One of them, Bhūpat² the brother of Bhagwant Dās, became confronted with a number of the enemy, and bravely yielded up his life.

15

Verse.

In every corner there was a hot engagement,
 There was a dealing with an ill-fated set,
 As the troops were few but fortune was friendly
 They were better than numbers and difficulties

¹ The *Mirāt Aḥmadī* says the broken ground is called *Kotar* by the people of Gujrat. Bombay lith. 121.

² *Badāūni* calls him Bhunpat, and says he was Bhagwān's son! The *Iqbāl-nāma* calls him the brother's son of Bhagwān.



For in war the result is from the stars
Not from wealth and a large army.

As the ground was rough and there were thorn bushes¹ two horsemen could not advance abreast. The tiger of the forest of courage displayed the power of God and slowly advanced by the narrow ways. Rajah Bhagwant Dās was close beside him, and when on every side there was hard fighting three daring men rushed from out the ranks of the opponents against the lion-hearted sovereign. One of them made at Rajah Bhagwant Dās and aimed his javelin at him, but the Rajah stood firm in his stirrups and attacked him with his spear. The javelin did not hit its mark, and the Rajah so smote that wretch with his spear that he was overthrown. Just then the other two attacked H. M. The thorn bushes were an obstacle, and the Khān 'Aālm, Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram and some others who were near at hand, were so unfortunate as not to be able to assist. That tiger-slayer and world-champion, when he saw that those two evildoers were coming near him, urged on his horse and jumped over the thorns and in front of them. The glory of the Divine radiance affrighted them and they fled. Ibrāhīm Husain M. was vanquished by the fortune of the King.

Verse.

Dost thou not know that when he engaged in combat
Fortune uttered the cry of "Beware" !
What brave man will seek a contest with him ?
What courage will he have to look on his brow ?
He so fights that heroes, high or low,
Fall down as if drunk with wine.
At each onset he strides thirty paces,
At each wound an elephant falls down.
The soldiers fly in crowds on crowds :
They give themselves to the river and the rock.

All at once they fled in confusion, and the warriors pursued them and killed many. By the blessing of the Shahinshāh's personality such a great victory was obtained by a few.

¹ Zaqqām, either *euphorbia antiquorum*, or a cactus.

Verse.

No one has seen such fighting in the world
Nor has heard of such from the skilled in history.

The account of this great masterpiece is beyond the mould of
16 language, and so instructive an event has seldom been met with
among the feats of the ancients, to wit, that such a great King, at
whose beck are a thousand armies, should, in his high courage and
greatness of soul, not delay, but with a few of his own followers
should make so long a march against so many brave troops, and
should, by the Divine help, uprear the standards of victory and drive
such haughty ones before him! Assuredly human power cannot ac-
count for such deeds, nor comprehend them. Clearly it is the special
Divine favour to which they should be ascribed!

His world-conquering mind desired that the pursuit should not
be given up till Ibrāhīm Husain should be seized, but as the cup of
his life was not yet full the darkness of night threw a veil over him.
Of necessity the farsighted Shāhīnshāh returned and encamped in
the town of Sarnāl.¹ He returned thanks to God and proceeded to
reward his followers. He sent the bulletin of victory, which was full
of the wonders of the Divine aid, to the camp by Surkh Badakhshī.
Next morning he proceeded towards the camp, and on 12 Dai, Divine
month, corresponding to the night of Wednesday the 18th Shāban
(24 December 1572), he returned to the camp. The gates of rejoicing
and thanksgiving were opened anew.

One of the occurrences of this time was that Shāh Qulī Khān
Maḥram, Ṣādiq Khān and some of the chosen heroes were appointed
to go to the neighbourhood of the fort of Surat so as to allow none
of the besieged to escape. When the news of the royal army
reached the besieged in the fort, Gulrukh Begam the daughter of
M. Kāmran, and wife of Ibrāhīm Husain M., took with her her son
Mozaffar Husain M. and some of her trusty adherents and went off to
the Deccan. Though the officers hastened after her they did not

¹ A.F.'s account of the battle of Sarnāl is translated in Elliot's History of India, VI, 37. There is also in vol. V, 344, a translation of Nizām-u-d-dīn's account of the battle.

² The wording of the B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 differs considerably from the text, and represents a different recension. It states, as also does Nizām-u-d-dīn, that Shah Qulī



succeed,² and that wise woman manfully¹ got away from them.

Another occurrence was the chastisement² of Shahbāz Khān Bakhshī Begī, and the warning given thereby to all the pillars of the state. The cause of this direction was that Mahmūd the son of Iskandar Afghan had been made over to his care, and that he managed to escape from his guards and go off to the Deccan. H.M. severely censured him. In fact it was kindness in the guise of wrath, so that the servants of the threshold of the Caliphate might not show slackness in the affairs of sovereignty—which in truth is a form of Divine worship—and should not lose hold of vigilance and wariness.

Mahram pursued Gubruk for fifty *kos*, and that though he did not catch her, he got hold of some of her belongings. The same MS. gives at the beginning of the chapter a long account of the fortress of Surat and of its construction by Khawājah Safar (Khudāwand Khān, or Rūmī Khān). It seems that *charukandī* was a defensive work, and apparently a tower, and that the Portuguese objected to it because it was in imitation of their own buildings.

¹ Cf. "stirring up her womanish

thoughts with a manly stomach." II Maccabees. C. VII, 21.

² According to the account in B.M. Add. 27, 247, Shahbāz Khān was bastinadoed, but so that no visible marks were made. It would seem as if this account were the one originally written by A.F., and that a vestige of it remains in the expression *kindness*, or *pleasantry* (*latfi*) in the guise of anger. The pleasantry was in the beatings not being severe.

CHAPTER IV.

H.M. FORMS THE DESIGN OF TAKING THE FORT OF SURAT.

When it was ascertained that the rebels were making the fort of Surat—which is in Gujrat on the bank of the Tapti and near the
17 ocean—their place of refuge, and were labouring to strengthen it, and had made it over to Hamzabān, who formerly had been among the *qūrcīs*¹ (body-guards) of the *Shāhinshāh*, but whom an evil fate had now included among the mutineers, H.M. turned his attention to the taking of the fort. *Rajah Todar Mal*, who was distinguished for foresight and mental activity, was directed to go and examine the methods of ingress and egress of the fort, and to submit a report as to how it could best be taken. He reported² that the capture of the fort could be very easily effected. But it was decided that the untying of this knot should be done by H.M. in person. It was from looking to the majestic fortune of the *Shāhinshāh* that the *Raja* represented this difficult task as an easy one. If he had had regard to ordinary considerations he never would have ventured on such a bold statement. But at a time when so extensive a country had come into possession, and the sovereign had come a long way from his capital, and had for some months been behind the shields

¹ *Badāyūnī* speaks of him as having belonged to *Humāyūn's* body-guard.

² *B.M. Add. 27, 247* says that *Todar Mal* returned within a week and reported. There is some confusion in the text, and it seems that there is another recension which is represented by *Add. 27, 247*. What happened apparently was that *Todar Mal* reported that the fort was an insignificant affair and that there was no need for *Akbar's* going in person to take it. *Abul Fazl's* comment on this is that this was not the

real state of the case—the taking of the fort was a difficult task—but that *Todar Mal* considered that it was not right that *Akbar* should go there in person when he had been so long away from his capital, and there were so many more important matters calling for his attention. So *Todar Mal* relied on the good fortune of *Akbar's* arms and represented the task as easier than it was. *Akbar* assented to *Todar Mal's* reasoning about his being required elsewhere, etc., but still judged it proper to go in person to Surat.



of the army, and when the seditious were everywhere lifting up their heads, both those of Gujrat and those of the eastern provinces, how could it be right so great a lord should personally undertake the reduction of a fort? The ruler of the world perceived in his farsightedness that although the circumstances were of this nature, yet if the disposal of the affair were left to the officers there might be delay in accomplishing it, and that if he did not give his personal attention to the matter, the root of those evildoers, which was supplying them with the means of strife, would remain fixed in the soil of sedition as before. Accordingly he determined that he would personally undertake the task and make easy what was difficult. An order was issued that Shāham Khān Jalāir should proceed with a number of loyal heroes towards the fort of Cāmpānir, and that Qāsim Khān Mir Bahr, who was there, should come to head-quarters, as he was H.M.'s best pupil in the matter of making *sābāts* and driving mines. An order was also sent to the Khān A'azam, informing him that H.M. was about, with God's help, to accomplish this work, and that he, as the arm of dominion, should see, in concert with the other officers who had been left to assist him, that if the turbulent Mirzās should invade the country they should be suitably punished. As caution was the foundation of administration, Sher Beg Tavāci had been sent to Mālwa to direct Qutbu-d-din Muḥammad Khān and the Mālwa officers, who had been ordered to Gujrat, to proceed thither as quickly as possible so that, if necessity should arise, the whole body of officers should be at his (Khān A'azam's) disposal, and clear the country of rebellious rubbish. 18

When the Shāhīnshāh's mind was at rest about the affairs of Aḥmadābād he marched on the day of Bahrām 20 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 25 Shābān (31 December 1572), from Baroda towards Surat. He moved on, stage by stage, hunting and administering justice as he went, and at last reached the neighbourhood of the fort on the day of Ardībihisht 3 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 7 Ramzān (11 January 1573). Balls from cannon and culverins came several times into the holy quarters, but by the Divine protection they did no harm. As the station was very near to the fort, H.M. at the request of his officers moved to a place near the Gopi

Tank.¹ That, too, was near the fort, but it was screened by forest, and uneven ground. Here, too, cannon balls reached the bounds of the quarters, but the Divine protection did its work. H.M. invested the fort with his victorious troops, and assigned each side of it to experienced loyalists. The besieged in their evil-fatedness and blackened hearts, turned away from the sun of fortune, and in reliance on the strength of the place, the abundance of provisions, the number of cannon, etc., and the recalcitrancy of the Mirzās, fell into the abyss of insouciance. Some of them continually sallied forth and made attacks on the batteries. The lives-devoting heroes exerted themselves in chastising these wretches. One of the occurrences was that on a day when there was a rain of balls and bullets from above, and an attack from below by some rebels on the miners in the batteries, Saif K. had fought and distinguished himself. As he was coming back he was struck by a bullet. Though he was confined to his bed for a month, he eventually recovered. Some one said to him: "H.M. is not pleased with you, and why do men like you take the lead for he says² to many who have not attained to your rank, "Why do you knowingly and intentionally throw yourselves into such dangerous positions?" That loyal warrior replied: "At the battle of Sarnāl I missed my road and could not be present at that manhood-testing place. From the disgrace of that day my life is a burden to me and I wish to make it lighter."

¹ The text merely has *ḥalābī*, a tank, but a note to the text says that many MSS. have *Kolī talāo*, and this occurs also in MSS. Add. 26, 207 and 27, 247. But the true reading is *Kopī*, i.e., *Gopī talāo*, and this is found in several MSS. *Gopī* was a Hindu and the founder of Surat about the end of the 15th century. He wished to call the city *Suraj* or *Surya-pūr*, but the Muḥammadan king of Gujrat preferred to give it a name which was also that of the chapters of the Koran, and called it *Surat*. *Gopī* made a tank and lined it with stone,

intending it to be the chief ornament of the city. The site of the tank is still known and is still called *Gopī talāo*, but it is now only a hollow and is used as a garden. See *Bombay Gazetteer* II. 70 and notes. See also "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar" by Jivanji Jamshedji, Bom. 1903, Du Perron's notes, p. 186. *Gopīpurā* is in the suburbs of Surat and near *Salābatpurā* and *Rustampurā*.

² The use of the word *mīfarmānd* seems to show that the remark quoted is by Akbar. I conjecture that for *bisyrāi* we should read *bā bisyrāi*.



One of the occurrences of the siege was the obtaining possession of some elephants and baggage of the *Mirzās*. The brief 19 account of this is that those blind and inauspicious men had made over some of their elephants and other property to *Rānā Rām Deo*, a landholder of that part of the country. When the sublime camp halted there the camp-followers went out on a plundering expedition, and those elephants, etc., came into their hands. They regarded this as a good omen and brought them to H.M. who rewarded them by princely gifts.

One of the occurrences of this time was the deputation of some of the officers to the capital. The account of this is that *Muhammad Husain Mirzā* and *Shāh M.* were near *Pattan* and were waiting in ambush there for an opportunity to cause a commotion. *Ibrāhīm Husain M.*, who had come away with disgrace from the battle-field of *Sarnāl*, joined those two rebels at *Īdar*. It is the nature of the dominion which is conjoined with eternity that dumbfounded enemies show an activity in upraising the standards of its victory which surpasses that of the loyal, and exert themselves for their own loss. Instances of this occur in this book of fortune. The new instance was this, that a discussion arose among the brothers about *Ibrāhīm's* defeat at *Sarnāl*. From criticism they came to violent language, and from that to a quarrel. *Ibrāhīm Husain M.*, who was skilful as a swordsman and distinguished for his want of sense, was displeased with his brothers and separated from them, and foolishly resolved to make an attack on the capital. His haughty brothers, from their evil destiny, were glād of the departure of such a brother and did not try to appease him. When this news came to the ears of H.M., he appointed *S. Mahmūd K. Bīrha*, *Shāh Qulī K. Mahram* and *Rajah Bhagwant Dās* to the capital, so that they should follow *Ibrāhīm Husain M.* An order was also issued to *Shāham Khān* that he should retire from the siege of *Āmpānīr* and hasten to *Kālpī* which was in his *jāgīr*, as the general report was that the turbulent man (*Ibrāhīm*) had rushed off there. When the great officers reached the capital the commotion of *Ibrāhīm Husain M.* had already subsided and the eastern Afghans had raised up their heads. *Mun'im Khān* the *Khān-Khānān* was asking for help. *Rajah Bihārī Mal*, who had charge of the administration of the capital, sent the army off to the eastern provinces. It had reached *Etawah*



when Lūdi left Dāūd, and a stone of dispersion fell among that crew. Consequently it hastened back to the capital.

When the narrative has come so far it is necessary for the historian to give a brief account of the eastern provinces. The concise statement of this long story is that when Sulaimān Kararānī, who
20 had been one of Selīm Khān's officers, became possessed of Orissa Bihār and Bengal, he as being a hypocrite, did not openly cast aside the thread of obedience. He always sent petitions and presents and so kept himself known at court. On account of this adroitness the veil of his hypocrisy was not rent away. Whoever does not bind himself to the saddlestraps of a lord of fortune (as Akbar) will some time have the dust of ruin cast upon his head and on the heads of those connected with him. Especially shall anyone who enters into opposition to his lord soon receive his retribution, and leave no trace of his dominion. The case of Sulaimān is a fresh instance of this truth. When he died the Afghans raised up Bāyazīd his eldest son in his stead. His elevation helped his folly, and he in conjunction with the vagabonds of that country, had the *khutba* read in his own name. In his presumption he abandoned the dissimulation by which his father had tamed the haughty and rebellious and proceeded to oppress and vex them. He made a practice of overthrowing his father's counsellors, Hānsū, the son of his cousin 'Imād, who was his son-in-law and was on friendly terms with him, became annoyed at his bad behaviour, and being stirred up to ambition by instigators of strife he had Bāyazīd put to death. Thus did this wretch disregard so many ties and commit such an act and thereby produce a result which the imperial servants could not have accomplished by a thousand endeavours. Lūdi, who was the rational spirit of the country, in concert with other officers raised up Sulaimān's younger son Dāūd, and arrested Hānsū and put him to death. Gūjar Kararānī, who was the sword of the country, set up in Bihār the son of Bāyazīd, and Lūdi set out for Bihār from Bengal with a large force. From Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān's want of attention, and the tricks of Lūdi, Gūjar made out his expedition.

The brief account of this is that when the death of Sulaimān became known, Mun'im Khān proceeded from Cunār towards Bihār.

¹ This part is translated in Elliot VI. 39.

At the same time Sikandar Uzbek died, which was good for himself and for others. The Khān-Khānān sent Tengri Qulī, Farrakh Irghliq and Payanda Muḥammad Sagkash and others against Hājīpūr, and Talibī, Mirzā 'Alī and Nadīm Beg and others against Patna. Gūjar was not able to withstand them, so he sent presents and professed concord, and promised that he would enter the royal service, and would co-operate in the conquest of Bengal. My request is, he said, that I may this day be enrolled among the servants 21 of the Shāhīnshāh, and that Gorakhpūr may be given to me for my family and dependents, and that the province of Bihār be given in fief to the King's officers, or that you leave Sarkār Hājīpūr and Bihār to me for this year that I may accept for their produce to the State. Next year I can have my fief in Bengal.' Mun'im Khān-Khānān accepted his request, and was about to give him Gorakhpūr. Meanwhile Lūdī who was the manager¹ of these towns and the crafty one of the province, got information of the affair, and in conjunction with Hāshim Khān, who was always of two colours, spoilt the arrangement. When Gūjar became hopeless of Mun'im Khān he of necessity arranged with Lūdī. Mun'im Khān retired after receiving suitable presents from Lūdī.

At this time news came that Yūsuf Muḥammad had taken Gorakhpūr and was prepared for strife. The account of this event is that Mun'im Khān had taken Yūsuf Muḥammad the son of Sulaimān Uzbek with him to court and had represented his disloyalty. H. M. the Shāhīnshāh ordered him to be² imprisoned in order that he might be watched and reformed. When the royal standards had moved to Gujrat the wretch escaped from his prison in the capital, and joining with some other vagabonds he took Gorakhpūr from Payanda Muḥammad Sag-kash's people. When the Khān-Khānān heard of this he sent off Jān Muḥammad Bahsūdī, Payanda Muḥammad Sag-kash, and Tengri Qulī to quell this insurrection. He also set out in person from the town of Maḥmūdābād along with Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl and other officers. On the way, Majnūn Khān and the other Qāqshāls got suspicious and

¹ *Dimna*. A.F. apparently puns on the word, for *Dimna* though it means a steward or manager, is chiefly known as the name of one

of the crafty jackals in the Anwār Ṣubailī.

² This part is translated in Elliot VI. 39.



separated themselves from Mun'im Khān's army. The cause of this was that idle talkers and liars had spread a report that Bābā Khān Jabbārī, Mirzā Muḥammad, Shāh Muḥammad and the other Qāqshāhs who were in attendance on H.M. the Shāhinshāh in the Gujrat campaign had killed Shahbāz Khān and had joined with the Mirzās, and that H.M. had issued orders for Majnūn Khān's arrest. The Khān-Khānān sent Mir Farīdūn, Muḥammad Khān Uzbek and Abū S'aid to soothe Majnūn Khān and to bring him back. But though the envoys tried to contradict the rumours, they did not succeed. Meanwhile letters came from Bābā and Jabbārī full of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness and of their own good service. Majnūn Khān was ashamed of his behaviour and proceeded to join the Khān-Khānān's camp. The Khān-Khānān had taken Gorakhpūr and had returned when Majnūn Khān arrived. Various courtesies passed between them. Meanwhile the day of Dāūd's destruction approached, and in his presumption he went towards Jaunpur. He sent on in advance 22 of himself Lūdi with the best troops and the choice elephants. Lūdi came with a large force and took Zamāniya. Muḥammad Qāsim Muhrdār surrendered it on terms. The Khān-Khānān sent *sazāwāls* and collected the officers. He also sent ahead Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Majnūn Khān, Qiyā Khān, Rajah Gajpatī and a large body of troops. He himself marched slowly forward. At that time he took an omen from the Divan of the Mystic Tongue (Hāfiz) and this distich was found.

Verse.¹

O King of the beautiful, be just to the pain of my loneliness
Without thee, my heart is dying, 'tis time you return.

The Khān-Khānān quoted this ode in his petition and sent it to the court. He prayed for assistance from the holy mind of the Shāhinshāh, and went on to extinguish the flames of rebellion. Lūdi's presumption was increased by the capture of Zamāniya and he sent Yūsuf Muḥammad, who had fled from Gorakhpūr and joined the Afghans, across the Ganges with 5 or 6,000 men. M. Hasan Khān, Rajah Gajpatī, Naṣr Bahādur and Ṭālibī, Tengrī Qulī and others of the servants of Mun'im Khān relied on the Shāhinshāh's fortune and waged war discreetly. The rebels were

¹ See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's Hāfiz III. 12, also Elliot IV. 510.

defeated, and a number were slain, and many drowned. After this victory Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and other officers joined the imperial forces, and an army was drawn up in Ghāzīpūr. The Khān-Khānān, too, joined them with a suitable body of troops. Lūḍī built a fort between the Siāh Āb and the Ganges and took post with a large army. Every day there were single combats between the brave men on both sides. Though the generals waged war manfully yet the enemy was superior in men, elephants and guns. As the imperial standards were engaged in the siege of Surat, Mun'im Khān proposed a peace. Lūḍī in his haughtiness did not agree. The generals were in a strange position. To fight was not advisable, and it was difficult to retreat. Suddenly the good news of the Shāhīnshāh's success arrived, and Lūḍī eagerly made peace and retreated.

The account of this instructive occurrence is that when Dāūd went from Bengal to Monghyr, he put to death Yūsuf, the son of Tāj and his own cousin, from apprehension that Lūḍī would set him up. Though this idea was really caused by the Shāhīnshāh's good fortune, yet apparently it was the result of remarks by envious people. As Lūḍī was an old servant of Tāj, and his daughter was betrothed to that son (Yūsuf), Dāūd believed whatever the evil-thoughted said about Lūḍī. When the news came to Lūḍī he left Dāūd, and with great urgency made an arrangement with Mun'im Khān, and sent suitable presents to court. When Dāūd heard that Lūḍī had turned gainst him and was coming, he retreated in great confusion and fortified Garhī. He also distributed his father's treasures among the soldiers. Jalāl Khān Sadhaurī, and Kālā Pahār, who was called Rājū, left Lūḍī, and a discussion broke out among his followers. Lūḍī, who was marching against Dāūd, was obliged to retreat and take refuge in Rhotās, and ask assistance from Mun'im Khān. He plainly wrote that he had become a servant of the Court and that he wished to see him speedily, and hoped that by his help he would be exalted by kissing the threshold. Mun'im Khān sent assistance to him and waited for the arrival of the royal standards. Whither have my words gone, and how far have they carried me for the sake of enlivening my discourse ?

One of the occurrences during the siege of Surat was the defeat of Muḥammad Husain M. and other rebels.

CHAPTER V.

BATTLE OF Khān A'azam M. 'Azīz Kokaltāsh WITH MUHAMMAD
HUSAIN M. AND THE FULĀDIĀNS, AND THEIR DEFEAT.

The sage and acute-minded man knows that whenever the lord of the earth forms a right design, and engages in the tranquillising of mankind, the servants of the threshold of fortune become loyal under his auspicious guidance, and with one heart and endeavour recognise the work of their king, their teacher and benefactor, as the Divine command, and devote themselves to his service. The world's work is adorned and glorious actions are revealed. At once does the sovereign of the world become successful, spiritually and materially, and the loyal pass by their own loss and gain, and recognise the service of the sultanate to be the highest form of Divine worship. Thus they perform services such as seldom appeared in the times of former rulers. This tale of a great victory is an instance of this. The brief account of this Divine aid is that when Ibrāhīm Husain M. was driven out of Gujrat by the Shāhīnshāh's fortune and went off towards the capital, Muhammad Husain M. and Shāh M. and the Fulādians, who were in the hills in a disorganised state, made a compact and came down upon the city of Pattan. Saiyid Ahmad Khān exerted himself to defend the fort. When the news of the gathering of the rebels reached Khān A'azim, he assembled his forces, and by a happy coincidence Sher Beg Tawācī, who had been sent to fetch the Malwa officers, added to them Qutbu-d-dīn Muhammad Khān, Shah Budāgh 24 Khān, Muttalib Khān and the other fief-holders of Malwa. The Khān A'azim also sent persons and recalled Shāikh Muhammad Bukhārī who was in Dūlqa, and who was preparing, under royal orders, to go to Surat.

When the officers were assembled, the Khān A'azim proceeded to arrange his forces in a proper manner. He himself took charge of the centre. Shāh Budāgh Khān, M'nīnu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān Faran-khūdi and his son Ma'gūm Khān, and Muttalib Khān and a large number were stationed there. Qutbu-d-dīn Muhammad Khān, Mīr



Jamālu-d-dīn Husain Injū¹ held the right wing, and his (whose ?) men were on the flank of the right wing. Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī, Muḥammad Murād Khān, Shāh Muḥammad Khān and Hājī Khān Afghān, the son of Khwaṣ Khān, adorned the left wing. Shāh Fakhrū-d-dīn, Mozaffar Moghal and Payīnda Arlat were on the flank of the left wing. Dastam Khān, Naurang Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāi and Mihr 'Alī Silduz were in the van. Bāz Bahādur and a number of others formed the *altimash*. After arranging his forces the Khān A'azim proceeded towards Nahrwāla which is best known as Pattan. On the day of Gosh, 14 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday, 18 Ramazān, 22 January 1573, the army reached the neighbourhood of Pattan. The enemy abandoned the siege and faced the victorious army. Sher Khān Fūlādī and Junaid Kararānī commanded the centre. Muḥammad Husain M., Shāh M. and 'Aāqil Husain M. commanded the right wing. Muḥammad Khān the eldest son of Sher Khān and Sādāt Khān held the left wing. Bidar Khān the younger son of Sher Khān Fūlādī commanded the van. The rebels did not intend that the fighting should begin that day, as the son of Jujhār Khān and other seditious ones had not yet joined them. Sher Khān Fūlādī, by a feline stratagem, sent men to Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī and proposed a reconciliation. Many of the leading men of the army who sought for safety did not consider properly and were disposed to peace. Shah Budagh Khān whispered to the Khān A'azim, "Beware, and do not agree to peace: the object of this crooked-minded crew is to put off the time." The Khān A'azim replied, "My opinion is the same as yours. As the minds of the officers were inclined for peace, and they did not understand the matter, and Sher Khān's agents used deceitful language, the Khān A'azim said, "If you are really for peace retire from the place where you are and encamp until we come to you, for it is not seemly 25 for us to retreat." As the words of this crew were deceitful and had no sincerity about them, they did not agree to this proposition. The imperial officers proceeded to the battle-field. And as it was generally stated that the Mirzās would take the victorious army in the rear,

¹ Ānjū in text. He is the author of the "Farhang Jahāngīr." See Rien Pers. Cat. II. 496. He is mentioned

very favourably in Sir Thomas Roe's Journal: see Foster, Hakluyt Society, 238.

Mīrzā Muqīm, Carkis Khān and a number of brave men were stationed on the rear of the centre.

When the two armies approached one another the left wing of the enemy attacked the imperial right wing, and drove off most of Qutbu-d-dīn Khān's men. The Khān kept his ground manfully with a few of his followers. He smote¹ with his sword between the two tusks of one of the enemy's elephants and so excited admiration. The vanguard of the ill-fated rebels attacked the imperial vanguard. Naurang² Khān's elephant, which was *mast*, attacked a horseman of his own army and crushed him. Just then the brave men of the enemy's vanguard drove off the imperial vanguard. The *altimaṣḥ* (reserve), too, could not stand and showed cowardice. In their flight some ran to the right and some to the left. The Afghans followed them up. About 500 horses came in front of the Khān A'azīm and were soon dispersed. The other body, which had driven off the vanguard and the *altimaṣḥ*, came upon the left wing of the imperial army. Most of the latter lost courage, and Murād³ Khān made himself a spectacle by withdrawing himself. Shāh Muḥammad Khān was wounded and carried off by his servants to Aḥmadābād. Shāikh Muḥammad Bokhārī⁴ with a few of his relatives, such as the son of Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Saiyid J'afar the brother of Shāikh Farīd and others, displayed courage and offered up their lives. The rebels thought that they had gained the victory and turned to plunder. The Mīrzās came in person against Mīr Fakhru-d-dīn Khān and his people. The Mīr made some resistance, but could not maintain a firm footing. Qutbu-d-dīn Khān remained with a few men and showed a firm front against the enemy. When the rebels had driven off Qutbu-d-dīn's troops and had come to the baggage and were occupied in plundering, Qutbu-d-dīn came upon them from behind and attacked them. By the Divine help a thorough victory succeeded to a complete defeat. The Khān A'azīm and the heroes of the imperial centre drove off the black-thoughted Afghans and turned against the enemy's centre which was advancing against

¹ It is not quite clear if it was Qutbu-d-dīn himself who struck the blow.

² Qutbu-d-dīn's son.

³ Blochmann 373.

⁴ Blochmann 396. The notice of Muḥammad Bokhārī here gives a good account of the battle. See also Badāūnī, Lowe 153-54.

Qutbu-d-din. As most of the enemy's men had hastened off to plunder, they lost heart on seeing this force, and solely by the Divine favour did so glorious a victory show itself. The Khān 26 A'azim stood with his men on the top of the ridge and rejoiced in the shouts of victory. At this time the Mirzās appeared. They had, after severe fighting, driven off the flank of the left wing and had pursued it for two *kos*. This was a great boon. If they had gone against the centre affairs would have been critical. When they had gone far, and their men had dispersed to plunder, they heard of the defeat of Shēr Khān and returned to the battle-field. In fact, if they had followed up those whom they had driven off to Aḥmadābād, they would have been successful. But from their evil fate they proceeded towards the ground of the battle. The Khān A'azim was drawn up in battle-array with many faithful heroes when the army of the Mirzās approached, and Shāh Budāgh K. said, "Now is the time to attack." K. A'azim was about to do so, when Yār M. seized his rein, saying, "Many officers are standing still. How can you attack?" When the Mirzās came nearer they saw the real greatness of the imperial army, which was adorned by a spiritual force, and did not think it fit to engage, and as their evil fate was written on their foreheads they turned their rein and took to flight. By the Divine favour a difficult task became easy. If the heroes had pursued them, hardly any of them would have escaped. Apparently those who made a practice of caution did not think it proper to put the matter to the test, or else they listened to the opportunists and the evil-intentioned. In fine, most of the officers in seeing this mysterious favour bound fresh threads of devotion round their necks and increased in single-mindedness.

One of¹ the wonderful things which happened on that fortunate day was that a *maṣṭ* elephant belonging to the enemy's army, whose driver had been pinned by an arrow and killed, went about of its own accord, and approached wherever it heard the sound of the drums

¹ Add. 27, 247 tells this story in different language and gives the name of the elephant (Barbīr). It says that it was after the victory and when the drums of joy were beating

that the elephant appeared, that the horsemen tried in vain to catch it, and that it was only by stopping the beating of the drums that it was caught.

and there scattered the troops. The drums of joy, which were sounding in every corps, stopped for a while, and the elephant's turbulence ceased. He was caught by Shāh Budāgh Khān's men, and formed part of the *peshkash* (present to Akbar).

When the ill-fated crew was defeated, Shēr Khān Fūlādī hastened off to Jūnagarh, and the Mīrzās went to the Deccan. The Khān A'āzim and the officers pursued them. When the good news of the Divine favour reached H. M's ears he offered thanks to God, and then issued orders that the Khān A'āzim should send Qutbu-d-dīn Khān, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Murād Khān, Mihr 'Alī Sildūz and a
 27 body of troops in pursuit of the rebels, and that he should himself come and do homage. The Khān A'āzim had come to the district of Sarnāl in company with Dastam Khān, Naurang Khān, Maṭṭalib Khān and M'aṣūm Khān when Razavī¹ Khān brought the *fīrmān*. The Khān A'āzim received it with respect and kissed the threshold on the day of Daibamīhr 15 Isfandārmaz Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 20 Shawwāl, 23 February 1573, and was graciously received.

One ² of the things which happened during the siege of Surat was the arrival of Mozaffar Khān. It has been already mentioned the Shāhīnshāh's kindness had forgiven his incompatibilities and had sent for him. When he reached Aḥmadābād, the Khān A'āzim had gone to put down the Mīrzās. Although it had been intimated to him (by the Khān A'āzim) that it was proper that he should co-operate in this task, he did not do so, and threw away such an opportunity of service. He continued his journey and came to Baroda when the royal *fīrmān* reached him. The purport of it was that he should turn back from whatever place he had reached, and hasten to the Khān A'āzim's assistance. He was obliged to turn back. When he came to Aḥmadābād it appeared that the imperial servants had been victorious, and that the Khān A'āzim was proceeding to court in accordance with the sacred orders. Thereupon Mozaffar Khān proceeded rapidly to court, and had the bliss of performing the *kornish*

¹ Blochmann 438.

² This paragraph differs somewhat in Add. 27, 247. It says nothing about Mozaffar's recalcitrancy in not

joining the Khān A'āzim. It says he returned to Aḥmadābād on 1 Shawwāl and arrived in Sarat two days before the K.A.

before the arrival of the Khān A'azim. He was received with princely favours.

One of the occurrences of the siege was that a large number of Christians came from the port of Goa and its neighbourhood to the foot of the sublime throne, and were rewarded by the bliss of an interview (*mulāzamat*). Apparently they had come at the request of the besieged in order that the latter might make the fort over to them, and so convey themselves to the shore of safety. But when that crew saw the majesty of the imperial power, and had become cognisant of the largeness of the army, and of the extent of the siege-train, they represented themselves as ambassadors and performed the *kornish*. They produced many of the rarities of their country, and the appreciative Khedive received each one of them with special favour and made inquiries about the wonders of Portugal and the manners and customs of Europe. It seemed as if he did this from a desire of knowledge, for his sacred heart is a depôt of spiritual and physical sciences. But his boding soul wished that these inquiries might be the means of civilising (*istīnās*, i.e. familiarity or sociability) this savage race.¹

¹ Add. 27, 247, pp. 242b and 243a, describes this interesting incident differently. It gives the speech made by the pretended ambassadors and ends by saying that Akbar treated them graciously as long as they remained in attendance. In Bird's Gujrat, p. 320, it is stated that the besieged had invited the Portuguese and offered to give them the fort. See also *Mirāt Aḥmadi* Bom. lith., p. 124, where the Portuguese intrigue is described. My friend Mr. Whiteway has referred me to Diego da Couto's account of this period in his 9th Decade, Chap. XIII., p. 63 *et seq.*, Lisbon 1786. Couto's chronology is confused, and he does not say distinctly where the ambassadors were received. I am of opinion, however, that the embassy described by

him, and which was under the charge of Antonio Cabral, and that mentioned by A.F., refer to one and the same occurrence. The difficulty in reconciling the statements is due in part, I think, to A.F.'s conciseness, for at times he errs by defect quite as much as by redundancy. Just as he says that the Turkish guns were brought to Surat by Sulaimān, while what he must mean is that Sulaimān brought them to Diu, and that Šafar Āghā afterwards had them conveyed to Surat, so does he speak of a great number of Christians coming to Surat, while probably what occurred was that the Portuguese Viceroy and his fleet came to Daman in order to see what could be made out of the troubles in Gujrat. As in former days they came to

Footnote 1.—(Continued).

Diu to help Bahādur and ended by getting possession of the fort, so this time the Viceroy may have hoped to make a similar stroke by coming to Surat to help the Mīrzās and then getting possession of the fort. So he came to Daman with his fleet, presumably after an invitation from the Mīrzās, and then when he found that Akbar was too strong, he changed his plan and sent an embassy to Surat to Akbar. It is quite possible, too, as Couto states, that Akbar had already sent an embassy to the Viceroy. Akbar had his harem with him, and several of his ladies wished to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, and for that purpose it was necessary to conciliate the Portuguese. Perhaps the "mother" of Akbar referred to by Couto was his step-mother Hājī Begam who appears to have gone on pilgrimage at this time, but it may have been Miriam Makānī, Akbar's own mother. Gulbadan Begam, too, may have been one of the proposed party, for we know that she had for a long time wished to go on pilgrimage though she was unable to do so till two or three years later. Couto gives

a translation of Akbar's *firmān* dated 18 March 1573. This is ten days after Akbar had left Surat. Possibly it was granted at Broach where Akbar halted on his way from Surat to Aḥmadabad. Couto also describes Akbar as being visited by the Portuguese merchants at Cambay and as assuming the Portuguese dress there, and as allowing the Portuguese to kiss his hand. He says Akbar had to leave Gujrat on account of the Lukios who were as troublesome to him in the north as the Afghans in the east. I conjecture that by the Lukios the Bilūcīs are meant, though Akbar's real trouble then in the north was from Ibrāhīm Husain M. According to A.F. it was the Bilūcīs who eventually rid Akbar of his enemy, though Nizāmu-d-dīn and Badāūnī represent the assailants of Ibrāhīm Husain as Jhils. Couto's narrative has also been used by Danvers in his *Portuguese in India*, II. 4. Possibly his Lukios are the Langahs, an Afghan tribe who at one time held Multan; or they may be the inhabitants of the Lakhi forest.



24-27

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CHAPTER VI.

THE OPENING¹ OF THE FORT OF SURAT BY THE KEY OF THE LOFTY 28
GENIUS OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

Why should I mention the awakened of heart and the profound and the far-sighted? The superficial and the practical clearly perceive that those connected with this eternal fortune make, merely from such a connexion, conquests which do not even occur as possible to the solvers of difficulties. Especially they do this when to such connection there is added the auspiciousness of devotion; and most of all if they be of that fortunate band which has been exalted by the degrees² of loyalty toward the Khedive of horizons, how successful are they in their glorious enterprises! Consequently every task which this one who has been magnified by God (Akbar) does personally, comes forth gloriously and without the veil of delay. The few days which wear the appearance of retardation seem to be the result of the Divine wisdom which requires them in order that the inscriptions of the degrees of devotion of the loyal, and the grades of each one's service may be recorded on the portico of visibility, that the jewels of ability may be polished, and the world's lord's method of educating men may be revealed to the world, and that the gold encrusted copper may be placed in the dissolving crucible and the coin of the realm be purified, and that the testing may be carried out to the uttermost.

In fine, through the Divine favour the taking of this strong fortress, which the sagacious would not have imagined possible even after years of siege, was accomplished by the supervision of the Shāhīnshāh in the period of one month and seventeen days. The pioneers made from a long distance trenches and so brought themselves to the walls and began to break them down, and the alert

¹ A. F. puns on the word *fath* which means both conquering and opening. The word for key is *miftāḥ* which is a derivative from *fath*.

² The reference is to the four degrees of loyalty to be exhibited by Akbar's servants. See B. V. n. 1 and 177.

servants raised mounds (*tilhā*) around it, and from them showered bullets on the garrison, and the bombardiers also performed marvels. When the presumptuous garrison perceived the true state of the case, and awoke from their slumbrousness, they opened the door of entreaty and supplication. Hamzabān sent his father-in-law Mullā Nizāmu-d-dīn Lārī to the sublime court, and he, having been introduced by those who had the right of audience, represented in skilful language the dismay of the garrison. That adroit and eloquent man represented to the lord, who is the friend of the wretched and the succourer of the miserable, the lamentations and prayers of that crew. The heart of the Khedive of horizons inclined towards him, and the boundless ocean of his benevolence was put in motion. Though the supplications were the result of necessity, and though the grandees who had the right of speech spoke against the exhibition of clemency, they were not listened to. On the contrary their urgency for punishment increased the graciousness of that world-giver. He soothed each one of his intimates by special addresses. Those who were heavenly in character he rejoiced by Divine utterances, and those who were earthly he brought into repose by worldly arguments (*maqālāt kaunī*). In accordance with his (Nizāmu-d-dīn's) petition he sent Qāsim 'Alī Khān and Khwāja Dost Kilān, 29 (Daulat)¹ who were associates both in the battle and in the banquet, to reassure Hamzabān and the rest of the garrison and to bring them to the place of prostration. On the day of *Rashn* 18 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 23 Shawwāl (26 February 1573), the stiff-necked ones of the fort did homage with a thousand supplications. The Shāhīnshāh's graciousness received into the reservoir of his protection the lives, the property and the honour of all the shame-faced evil-doers. But they cut² the tongue of Hamzabān, as it was always uttering futilities. Some others, whom prudence required should be kept for some days under restraint, were put into confinement. Next day H.M. surveyed the fort, and ordered that some large mortars (*deg*, but perhaps only cannon) which were called Sulaimānī, should be conveyed to the

¹ The variant Daulat is supported by MSS. 27, 247 and 26, 207, and by Badāūnī.

² *sabān barīdand*. A. F. puns on the name Hamzabān "of like tongue."



capital.¹ It appeared that they had belonged to Sultān Sulaiman, the ruler of Turkey (Rūm). He had intended to take possession of the European ports on the borders of Hindustan, and had sent great mortars along with a numerous army. But as the governors of Gujrat did not assist properly, the troops were distressed for provisions and had to return. Nor were they able to take with them those large guns.²

One of the things which happened, after the conquest of Surat, was the coming to Court of Baharjī,³ the ruler of Baglāna, who was an influential landholder in that part of the country. He brought with him to Court Sharfu-d-dīn Husain M. with a chain round his neck. The just Creator hath glorified this adorer of the Sultanate from the beginning of his power so that the seekers after bliss may rise to high degrees of felicity by recognising and obeying him, and that the auspicious and loyal may increase their devotion. One of the great favours which has been bestowed on this Khedive of God-knowers is that whoever withdraws himself from obedience to him either becomes a vagabond in the desert of destruction, and is brought to be in need of the threshold which is high as heaven. Or else he descends into the whirlpool of evils and is conveyed by his own bad deeds into the Presence. A fresh proof of this was afforded by this Khwāja's son. The brief account of this is that from the time when this weak-headed

¹ Bird 322 says they were not removed to the capital.

² The expedition here referred to took place in 1538. The Sultan of Turkey mentioned by A.F. is Sulaimān the Great, the son of Selīm. He sent his army and fleet after the death of Bahādur Shāh under the command of a Greek called Sulaimān Pasha. He reached Diu on 4 September 1538 and besieged it, but the Portuguese made a brave defence and Sulaimān abandoned the siege in 6 November. See Whiteway's "Rise of the Portuguese Power in India," pp. 256 and 265. Sulaimān had lan-

ded some heavy artillery for Šafar Agha (Rāmī Khān, also Khudāwand Khān) to put in position. Afterwards Šafar Agha brought these guns to Surat. Add. 27, 247 has a different wording (p. 243b and 244a) and says that some of the guns are now in Jūnagarh. It says that the Turkish expedition was unsuccessful because the rulers of Gujrat regarded the Turks as more formidable than the Fāringhis and so sided with the latter, and did not supply the Turkish fleet with provisions.

³ Baharjī in some MSS. and in Badāyūnī.

and infatuated one did not understand the teaching of the Shāhīnshāh and adopted evil thoughts of being supreme, and trod the path of faithlessness, he became a vagabond and wandered from door to door of every one, high or low, and gave his honour to the dust of disgrace. Why shall I say this? He revealed his own baseness. Firstly, he gave to the Fūlādis Jalaur which had been recently taken (by him) by the backing of the Shāhīnshāh's fortune, and joined himself to these wretches. He spent some time in Pattan, and from there repaired to Cingīz Khān, and when the cup of the latter's life was spilled, he joined the Mīrzās. When the 30 ruler of Khāndesh came with designs against Gujrat, and failed and retraced his steps with loss, Sharafu-d-dīn joined him. Then he came back in wretchedness and associated himself with Muḥammad Ḥusain M. When the world-conquering standards came to conquer Gujrat, and a stone of dissension fell among the rebels of that country, this Khwājazāda should have come to worship at Court and made amendment for his crimes, but as he was radically bad he hastened away to the Deccan. He had to pass through the territories of the aforesaid zamindar, and he, either from a desire of being loyal, or for his own advantage, imprisoned the Mīrzā, and plundered all his goods. He also endeavoured to arrest Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M.'s wife and children when they passed through the country, but did not succeed, though the two-years old daughter of Ibrāhīm M. fell into his hands. When H.M. heard of this he sent Mīr Khān Yesāwal to bring the landholder and his prisoners to Court. And as it appeared that the ruler of Khāndesh had sent his brother Raja 'Ali Khān to Court, and that he had reached the territory of Nadarbār, but was now being detained by the petty notions usual with landholders, an order was given to Mīr Khān to bring him also. After that H.M. sent Jotik¹ Rai, Jai Tawācī-bāshī and Balbadhar² brahman that they might extricate the landholder aforesaid from the thorn-brake of delay, and that he might invigorate his brain by gathering the flowers of the garden of service. These envoys obeyed the order and brought him and his prisoners to Court. The innocent daughter³ was taken under the shadow of H.M.'s protection and

¹ The Court astrologer. Blochmann, 404 n.

² Blochmann, 501.

³ This was Nūru-nisā who after-

made over to the guardians of the harem. The Khwājazāda was frightened by means of an elephant which was not a manslayer, and as the sovereign was just and from extreme graciousness did not kill criminals, he was put in prison. For, keen inspection and profound consideration are requisite before destroying what has been founded by God (i.e. life).

Let it not be concealed that Baglāna¹ is a country one hundred *kos* long and thirty *kos* broad. It has 2,000 horse and 16,000 infantry. Its revenue is 6½ krór of dāms. Whoever is the ruler, is called Baharjī. There are two forts—Sālhīr and Mūlhīr on the summits of hills. It has also two large cities—Antāpūr and Cintāpūr. It lies between Gujrat and the Deccan; and it submits to whichever of the two is the stronger. At this time, when Gujrat came into the possession of the imperial servants, the ruler, being awed by the majesty and might of the Shāhīnshāh, did good service and brightened his countenance by performing the prostration.

One of the occurrences was that an injury happened to H. M.'s 31 hand; but it was cured. The brief account of this instructive catastrophe is that the sitter on the throne of the Caliphate is always shrouding himself under a special screen, while the stewards of fate are ever removing this screen and displaying the spiritual and physical glories of him who has been magnified by God. One night there was a select drinking-party. Discourse fell upon the bravery of the heroes of Hindustan, and it was stated that they paid no regard to their lives. For instance, some Rajputs would hold a double-headed spear, and two men, who were equally-matched,² would run from opposite sides against the points, so the latter would transfix them and come out at their backs. That Divine wrestler of the world, for the sake of screening his glory, or for testing men, or from

wards married Jahāngīr. Blochmann, 464 and 477 note 2. In Price's Jahāngīr 21, she is called Shāei Begam. Perhaps she is the Nūr Seraf Mahal who died in the 15th year of Jahāngīr's reign. Tūzuk 323.

¹ Jarrett, II. 251. The number of horse is there stated to be 3,000. See account of Baglāna, called there Bag-

lan, in Bomb. Gazetteer, XVI, 399 *et seq.* It is a northern subdivision of Nāsik. See also extract from Bādshahnāma, Elliot VII, 65, and Bird's Gujrat 122 and n. The revenue of Baglāna as stated by A.F. would come to about Rs. 1,62,500.

² Hamsir, perhaps rivals.

the melancholy¹ engendered by his being in the outer world, fastened the hilt of his special sword to a wall, and placing the point near his sacred breast declared that if Rajputs were wont to sell their valour in their² way, he would rush against this sword. Awe fell upon those who were standing at the feast, and none had the power to utter a word, nor even to offer any opposition. Just then Mān Singh ran with the foot of fidelity and gave such a blow with his hand that the sword fell down and made a cut between H.M.'s thumb and his index-finger. Those present removed the sword and H.M. angrily flung Mān Singh on the ground and squeezed him. Saiyid Moẓaffar³ foolishly tried to free him from the grasp of that tiger of God and by twisting his wounded finger released Mān Singh. This increased the wound, but by the Divine protection it soon healed.

When H.M.'s mind was at rest about the affairs of that country, he committed the charge of that lofty fortress (Surat) to Qulij⁴ Khān and gave him weighty counsels. On the day of Mār Isfand 29 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 3 Zi-l-q'aada, 8 March 1573, he proceeded to Aḥmadābād, and at this time too Rajah 'Ali Khān was honoured by kissing the threshold.⁵

¹ Cf. text p. 89 near top. A. F. means apparently that outward existence or social life was distasteful to Akbar. I do not think that A. F. means that Akbar was intoxicated; *nishāh-i-zāhīr* is used by A. F. to mean appearances, e.g., text III. 43, 3 lines from the foot, where the phrase is put into Akbar's mouth. *Nisha* also means intoxication. Du Jarric describes Akbar as being melancholy by nature.

² The Iqbāl-nāma represents Akbar as saying that the two Rajputs who killed themselves in this way were rivals and at feud with one another. He had no rival and no feud with any one (*ham-sir u ham-khāsh m na dārīm*) and so he would pit himself

against the sword. So also Mirāt Aḥmadī, Bom. lith. 125.

³ The Mirāt Aḥmadī says he was the brother of Saiyid 'Abdullah K. (B. 465). Probably he is the Saiyid Moẓaffar mentioned in Akbar's letter to the priests of Goa.

⁴ Blochmann 34 n. 2. Badāūni says the fort was put in charge of Qulij's son.

⁵ As before noted, Add. 27, 247 differs considerably from the other MSS. It speaks of the Faringhī ambassadors asking to be allowed to inspect the fort of Surat after its capture, and at p. 244b it tells a story about Akbar when in a state of intoxication attacking Shahbāz Khān



CHAPTER VII.

BEGINNING OF THE 18TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, *viz.*,
THE YEAR SHAHRIYŪR OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

During this auspicious time the shining standards of the Sultan of spring (the sun) polished the mirror of dispositions ; the gardens were adorned by the silks of the rose and the satins of the jasmine. The north winds and the zephyrs swept away the weeds and rubbish of autumn from the rose-garden of the world, and the temperate breezes, equable as the justice of the Shahinshāh, produced wondrous 32 effects, and mortals blossomed into new and glorious actions.

Verse.¹

The parterre from its lightness sought to fly
The jasmine from its delicacy sought to melt
The wind wrote with the hand of hope
The story of the rose on the page of the willow
The jasmine and rose formed a caravan
The turtle and nightingale joined in cadence
Whiles Spring came to salute the parterre
Whiles the rose tore her breast in adoration (?)
The recorders of the garden assembled,
The nightingale decreed the death of the crow.

After the lapse of eight minutes and seven seconds of the night of Wednesday the 6th Zi-ul-q'aada 980 of the lunar year (12 March

with a dagger because he would not perform in a singing-party.

The T. A. says that Akbar reached Aḥmadābād on the last day of Zi-ul-q'aada, 3 April 1573.

¹ These lines are a cento from Nizāmī's *Makḥzanu asrār*. The first two lines occur in Bland's ed., p. 23, line 609 ; the next four are at p. 32, line 598, etc. But Bland has *qiṣṣa dil*

instead of *gul*. The next two are at line 595, and the next two are at line 599, but Bland has *az dar-i-gul* instead of *bar-i-gul*, and *sip-ās* instead of *satārish*. The two last lines are at p. 33, line 621. The 'recorders of the garden' are the birds. Apparently the nightingale decreed the death of the crow, or the raven, on account of its croaking.

1573) the great light which illuminates the world shed his rays on the mansion of Aries, and the elemental world received the glory of the spiritual kingdom. One of the great acts of the justice of the Shāhīnshāh, which was revealed in the beginning of this year was the infliction of capital punishment on Jujhār Khān, the Abyssinian, who was one of the great officers of Gujrat, and was distinguished for his influence. When the borders of Broach were brightened by the standards of fortune, the mother of Cingiz Khān demanded justice at the sublime Court, alleging that the greedy (*zarmast*) Abyssinian had come under the guise of friendship and killed her son. Though the report was widely spread, and many in the camp asserted it, and it has already¹ been mentioned, yet as many incorrect and seemingly true stories are current, there was need for caution and consideration. So an order was issued that wise and impartial men should inquire fully into the case, and should report the result of their examination of witnesses, etc. They investigated and found that the charge was true, and an order was issued that the destroyer of God's handiwork should undergo capital punishment. So he was thrown under the feet of an elephant in the presence of high and low. The old and deserted woman never imagined that so powerful a man would be punished for misdeeds, and was astonished on beholding such justice. She returned thanks to the Khedive of God-knowers, and the general public received enlightenment from this just sentence. The black-minded and presumptuous sunk their heads in the collar of obscurity.

33

When the sacred cortège neared Aḥmadābād, the inhabitants went forth to meet and welcome H.M. On the day of Dīn 24 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 29 Zī-l-q'aada, H.M. encamped in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād. In ten days the affairs of the country were arranged. He made over the charge of the province to the Khān A'azam. Sarkār Pattan was bestowed on the Khān Kilān. Dhūlqa and Dandoqah were given to Saiyid Hāmid² Bokhārī, and similarly other estates were given to others.

¹ There is no direct mention of Cingiz' assassination in the previous pages of the Akbarnāma. There is only an allusion to his death in the account of Sharīn-d-dīn, p. 29, two

lines from foot. There is an account of Cingiz Khān's assassination in the T. A. near the end of the chapter on the kings of Gujrat.

² Blochmann, §97.



Though the Khān Kilān and Quṭbu-d-din Muḥammad Khān were the uncles of the Khān A'azam and were old, yet the far-sightedness of the Shāhīnshāh put them in a subordinate position, for in the code of just sovereignty weight is given to wisdom and not to years, and reliance is placed upon abundance of loyalty, and not upon age. Far-sightedness is the pillar, not bodily bulk. Intellect is the substantive thing, not the largeness of the visible body. The foundation of appointments is talents and virtues, and the qualities of ancestors are not regarded.



CHAPTER VIII.

RETURN OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S CORTÈGE TO AGRA AFTER THE CONQUEST OF GUJRAT.

When the Shāhīnshāh's sublime genius had done with the conquest of this extensive country, and had punished the haughty and presumptuous, and had rewarded the loyal, and had arranged for the administration of the country he, after celebrating the festival of the Īd,¹ proceeded on the day of Ardibihist 3 Ardibihist, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 10 Zī ul-hajj, 13 April 1573, by way of Pattan and Jālaur towards the capital. When the standards of fortune reached Sidhpūr² he renewed his instructions to the Khān A'azam. Especially did he exhort him to be active-minded and of wide capacity, and to overlook men's errors, and to accept the excuses of the faulty, and to proceed with great consideration in the disposal of disputes, and to treat impartially friends and foes. On the same day he graciously received and treated with favours the officers who had fiefs in that part of the country, and then allowed them to depart. Rajah 'Ali Khān too was received with princely favours and then returned to Khāndesh. Mozaffar Khān received the government of the province of Mālwa and was sent there. Mān Singh 34 Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Murād Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān, Saiyid 'Abdullah, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl,³ Bahādur Khān, Lashkar Khān, Jalāl Khān, Bhoj⁴ and a number of others were ordered to hasten to Dūngarpūr, by way of Īdar, and from there to come on to the capital. The Rānā and other zamindars⁵ of the neighbourhood were

¹ The 'Īd-uz-zaha which occurs on 10 Zī-ul-hajj.

² The I. A. has Haibatpūr and says Akbar arrived there on 18 Zī-l-hajj. The Khān A'azam left Akbar here. Sidhpūr, however, seems right. It is in Baroda. See *Bomb. Gazetteer*, VII., 616. It is 64 miles north of

Aḥmadābād.

³ Blochmann 502, 532.

⁴ Blochmann 458.

⁵ The reference is to the Rānā of Udaipūr. The result of Mān Singh's deputation is given later on. The zamindar of 'Īdar was Narain Dās Rathor.

to be treated with princely favours and to be brought to do homage, and the disobedient were to be punished.

When the world-conquering armies had been deputed, the Shāhinshāh proceeded stage by stage. On the day that he reached Sirohī, Mādhū¹ Singh and a number of men were sent to fetch that nursling of fortune's garden, Shabzāda Sultān Daniel, who had been conveyed from Ajmir to Amber, in order that he might be brought back to Ajmir, and might come under the shadow of the Presence. In order to do honour to Rajah Bhagwān Dās, his auspicious sister,² who held high rank in the imperial harem, was sent off in order that she might be present at the mourning for Bhūpat, who had fallen in the battle of Sarnāl.

When H.M. reached Sirohī, a letter came from the Punjab officers announcing that Ibrāhīm Husain M. had gone there with evil intentions, and that he had been properly punished and made a prisoner, and that mankind had thus been rescued from the flames of his sedition. The short account of this Providential help is as follows: Ibrāhīm Husain M., who had rebelled against the spiritual and material lord, had been defeated and become a vagabond and had joined his brothers in Īdar. The Shāhinshāh's fortune had produced dissension among them, as has already been related, and he had gone off to the metropolitan province, taking with him his younger brother Maś'ūd M. He had come by Jālaur and Jodhpūr to Nāgor. Farrukh Khān, the son of the Khān Kilān, had been appointed to the command there, and he undertook the defence of the town. The Mirzā proceeded to invest it, and matters were almost past remedy when Rai Raisingh, Mīrak Kolābī, Muḥammad Husain Shāikh, and a number of others whom H.M. had left in Jodhpūr when he went to conquer Gujrat, as well as Rai Rām, the son of Māldeo, who held Sūjat as his fief, and Naqib Khān, Mir³ Ghiāsu-d-dīn 'Alī, and a number of men who had bound on the dress of service and were on their way to Gujrat, joined together and marched in pursuit of the Mirzā. When ³⁵ they came near, he withdrew from the siege and went on faster. On the day of Sarosh 17 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 3

¹ Son of Rajah Bhagwān Dās.

² This was Akbar's wife and the mother of Jahāngīr.

³ The text has *walad*, son of, but

this is a mistake. Mīr Ghiāsu-d-dīn was another name of NaqībīK., and he was the son of 'Abdul Latīf.

Ramzān, 7th January, 1573, the loyalists arrived at Nāgor, and Farrukh Khān joined them. The officers were doubtful about pursuing the Mīrza, but at length, on the urgency of Rai Rai Singh, they became all of one accord and set off next day in pursuit. At the end of the day, near a village called Kahutoni,¹ and which is a dependancy of Nāgor, they came up with Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. As it was night they were obliged to draw up their forces and halt. Rai Rai Singh held the centre with his followers. Rai Rām held the right wing, and Mirak Khān Kolābī, Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaiikh, Farrukh Khān, Naqīb Khān, P'tibār Khān, 'Alī Cālāq, Muḥammad Ḥusain Jālabān, and Mīr Quṭbu-d-dīn held the left wing. It happened that the tanks in that neighbourhood were in the possession of the enemy. When a watch of the night had passed the men grew thirsty, and a party of the Moghuls rescued one of the tanks. The Mīrzā divided his force into three bands, and made an attack upon the imperialists. They began by engaging the advance-guard of Rai Rām, and they had gained an advantage when Rai Rām came in person and drove them off. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. detached a body of his own men and sent them against the Moghul officers. Gallant men advanced from the latter force and engaged in battle. The Mīrzā became aware of the defeat of his own men, attacked in person, and Mirak Khān Kolābī distinguished himself. But the force was nearly wavering when Rai Rai Singh came to its assistance. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. could not withstand this onset and turned and fled. Most of the imperialists escaped injury, but Naqīb Khān was wounded by an arrow. He however recovered. The victorious officers had regard to its being night and did not quit the field. That night a great misfortune befel the Mīrzā. His horse fell from the stroke of an arrow and he had to run some way on foot. Then one of his servants came up, and he got upon his horse, and fled with a few men. If the officers had exerted themselves next day, he would have fallen into their hands. But they were satisfied with their victory and all went off to their fiefs. The wretch went on towards Delhi. Raja Bihārī Mal, who was in the capital, sent Khangār² and a body of troops to Delhi, and all the

¹ Also called Kahtolī and Katholī.

² Blochmann, 419, mentions a Khangār who was zamīndār of Great

Kachh, but the Khangār here meant was the nephew of Rajah Bhagwān. See *Elliot* V. 364.

jāgirdārs who were not in this force assembled at Delhi. The inauspicious one (Ibrāhīm) hastened off to Sambal¹ when he heard of 36 the arrival of those troops, and there made some preparations. Husain Khān,² who was in Patiali,³ got together some jāgirdārs and others. Just then the news came of the taking of Surat and of the march of H.M. the Shāhīnshāh's army. Ibrāhīm was obliged to go to the Panjab. The Khān Jahān and the other Panjab officials were engaged in taking Nagarkot, and Ibrāhīm thought he would find the place empty and be successful, or else turn to Gujrat by way of Sind. For these reasons he went off from Sambal to the Panjab. Wherever he went he did not fail to exercise oppression and misconduct.

Husain Qān Khān in accordance with the sacred orders sent a letter of advice to the men who were in the fort of Nagarkot, but they did not hearken to his counsels. The officers marched and besieged the place. When Rajah Jai Cand was going to court he, out of forethought, committed his son Badī Cand, who was of tender age, to the charge of Rajah Gobind Jesawāl.⁴ Meanwhile the Rajah (Jai Cand) returned to the fort and proceeded to defend it. The work of the siege was nearly ended when the news came of Ibrāhīm Husain M.'s attack on the Panjab. When the loyal officers heard of this they held a consultation. Muhibb 'Alī Khān, M. Yūsuf Khān, Kharrām Khān, Fattū and a number of others were of opinion that this affair should be settled by a peace, and that they should hasten from this hill-country to the centre of the province, and take precautionary measures before the rebel should arrive. The Khān Jahān and another party took a narrower⁵ view of the situation. As they had worked hard, and the fort had been nearly reduced to extremities, they were not willing to make peace. The officers said, "The measure

¹ His former fief.

² This is Husain K. Tukriyah. The account of the siege of Nagarkot is more fully given by Nizāmu-d-dīn and Badāūnī. See *Elliot* V. 356 and Badāūnī.

³ In the Etah district.

⁴ This must be the same man who is called Gōpī Cand a little lower down.

⁵ The text has *naḡrā farākh̄tār sāk̄hta*, "taking a wider view," but the I.O.MSS. and the sense of the passage show that a negative has been omitted and that the reading should be *nasaḡhta*. Because the Khān Jahān had worked hard, he could not take a wide view, and perceive that the all-important thing was to anticipate Ibrāhīm.

of the gain or loss from the taking or not taking the fort is a known quantity, but the disturbance caused by this sedition-monger is a very weighty matter." The Khān Jahān said, "I will make peace on this condition, that a proceeding be drawn up, descriptive of the character of the consultation, and that each person put his seal to it, so that if this withdrawal does not please H.M. the officers¹ will escape responsibility." The officers delivered a writing and knocked at the door of peace. The Rajah regarded this as a great deliverance and was pleased. The peace was founded on four conditions: 1st.—The Rajah should send his daughter to the sacred harem. 2nd.—He should pay a suitable tribute. 3rd.—He should send with the officers
 37 responsible persons from among his sons and other relatives, so that if the king did not approve of the peace, those men should remain until the delivery of the fort. 4th.—As this province had been given to Rajah Birbar as his fief a large sum of money should be assured to him. The Rajah agreed to all four conditions. The Khān Jahān added a fifth condition, viz., that Rajah Gōpi Cand should come and pay his respects, and he said that in order to satisfy the Rajah, some of M. Yūsuf Khān's brothers would come into the fort until the Rajah returned. Or else M. Yūsuf Khān and Kharrām Khān would come and stay in the fort. At last he sent M. Yūsuf Khān's brothers and the Rajah took them with him and came into the camp. He paid his respects to the Khān Jahān and took leave. The victorious army addressed itself to putting down the Mirzā. No long time had elapsed when the Rajah returned and from spirit of loyalty said, "At this time when you are going against the foe, why should I go back to my house?" So with great joy he joined the army of fortune. The Mirzā had come plundering to the borders of Dipālpūr; when he heard the news of the approach of the loyal officers he became astonished and downcast. He abandoned the thought of Lahore and went to Multan. The officers left their baggage and the impedimenta of the camp and went on unencumbered to uproot the rebel. When they came near the town of Talamba,² which belongs to the

¹ By "officers" is here meant, apparently, the Khān Jahān himself or the officers who sided with him. Perhaps the meaning is "each will

bear his own share of the blame."

² It is Palta in text. Add. 26, 207 has Talamba.