

he did not succeed by gentle means, he made him over to wicked, shameless men, and he was nearly dying under torture. By good luck 'Arab Bahādur, on account of old friendship, rose up, and took charge of him on the pretext that he would induce him to give up his accumulations. He took the chains off his feet, and set himself to soothe him. The Khwāja got his opportunity and escaped along with some others. He joined himself to Rajah Sangrām in Gorakpur. On account of the roads being closed, and there being little open country, he could not join the army, but he became a great cause of harassing the enemy. He continually attacked their convoys, and laid hold of their cattle when they came out to graze. In a short time Ḥasan 'Ali 'Arab, Āfāq Diwāna, M. Ḥusain Nishāpūri, 'Ali Qulī, 'Azīz and many well-disposed persons, who had joined the enemy out of helplessness, waited upon the Khwāja. Nearly 1200 men collected together, and the assemblage of the enemy slackened, and there was some dispersion of them. Their prosperity suffered diminution.

One of the occurrences was the imprisonment of Shāh Mangur Diwān. From his practice in accounts, and seeking after profit (for the government), he looked narrowly into the transactions of the army, and giving his attention to one side only of a Vizier's duties he pressed forward the rules of demand. He is a Vizier, who by acuteness and the strength of honesty preserves the revenue, and also looks after the servants of God (i.e. Muḥammadans, or here probably men in general) and considers the mean between liberality and rigour,<sup>1</sup> and between severity and softness, to be the highway, and regards the living with friends and foes on the same terms, as the middle course of truth. He does not abandon what is suitable for the time and place, nor does he regard the collecting of gold as the finest of occupations, but lives with an open brow, a sweet tongue, a strong heart, a gracious soul, and a constant justice. He closes the eye of envy and opens the door of wide toleration. He shuts the shop of fastidiousness<sup>2</sup> and hard-bargaining and drives away from men dealings at a high tariff. Mayhap, by this noble course

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<sup>1</sup> The text and the MSS. have *dād-u-dihish*, which generally means liberality, but I think that the true reading must be *dād-u-dahshat*

"graciousness and awe," otherwise there is no antithesis.

<sup>2</sup> Text wrongly has *makashad* instead of *mashkal*. The sentence is



the tribes of mankind may emerge from the market of loss and gain, and gather eternal bliss in the garden of devotion. Also the accountant (*mastāufī*) should have something else to do besides clerking,<sup>1</sup> and stirring up of strife, and collecting arrears, and increasing the revenue. He should remove interested motives and watch over the account-department. The *Khawāja* went out of his proper course and set himself to increase the revenue. Nor did he consider the disturbances of the time and the crisis of the age, but demanded payment of arrears. *Rajah Todar Mal* reported that the imperial servants were engaged in a hot war, and that the market of sacrifice of life (*sirbāzi*, lit. playing with one's head) was active. The government-officers were at such a time of contest acting without consideration or knowledge of the times, and had closed the purse of liberality and were demanding the payment of revenue<sup>2</sup> that had already been levied (?). What name could be given to this kind of presumption? And to what set could he belong who made demands out of reason? The just sovereign deprived him of employment and made him over to Shah Quli K. Maḥram. He bestowed the high office of Vizier upon Wazīr K. The combatants in the eastern provinces bound anew the girdle of devotion on receipt of this great favour, and advanced the foot of courage. Many abandoned ingratitude and made submission. Would that they had also entered the pure spot of loyalty, and retired from soul-injuring wickedness and evil thoughts!

One of the occurrences was that Prince Daniel—the jewel of the throne of the Caliphate—was sent off to Ajmere. The<sup>3</sup> wise

obscure and metaphorical. Bada-yūnī, Lowe, 287, tells us that Akbar was fond of using the word "shop" in an allegorical sense.

<sup>1</sup> Text *nek basīṭī*, "good thoughts." But the I.O. MSS. and the context show that the true reading is *bitīkeīgīrī*, from *bīṭīkō* a Turkish word meaning a clerk. See J. II. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this means that the officers alleged that the payment had been made to the wrong person. Cf. Elliot V. 419 where an abstract of

Todar Mal's report is given. It is there said that Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī was appointed to assist Wazīr K.

<sup>3</sup> A. F.'s object is to explain why Akbar ceased to make his annual pilgrimage to Ajmere. He, therefore, tells us that there are two kinds of religious worship. One is, good deeds (works), and the other is ceremonials, the visiting of shrines and the like. As Akbar was a sovereign he practised both, but as at this time spiritual religion was on the increase,



sovereign fashions and adorns, in the workshop of inquiry and enlightenment, the palace of dominion, according to two kinds of religious worship. Firstly, he, from enduring perception, bestows the glory of truth on the auspicious record of his deeds, and by the assistance of wisdom, which is the house-lord of this variegated dwelling (viz., the palace of dominion)—and the controller of the market-places of social intercourse—he holds his nature in check. In this kind of worship there is no topsy-turviness. But as the mastery of the transitory world has been made the veil over the leadership of the spiritual world, he also makes use of what the superficial regard as the worship of the incomparable Deity, and out of consideration for the feelings of contemporaries takes accounts of its defect and excess. For all his thought is how to preserve the simple from devious paths and wrong ideas, and to keep the **317** world clear from the mist of shortness of thought. The visiting the tombs of departed men of awakened heart he considers as an instance of such shallowness. If union with the spirit of the saint be the object, then nearness or remoteness does not matter. If the idea be to reverence worn-out dust then it is polytheism<sup>1</sup> and idolatry. At this time, when there was an increase of spiritual worshippers, and of the gatherers of truth, and those who saw into the substance of things had obtained vogue, and the short-sighted and superficial had put on the garb of true worship, the idea of the necessity of this kind of worship (visiting shrines, etc.) became erased from the mind of the world's lord. Moreover at this time there was no administrative work to be done in that quarter (Ajmere), and there were various things to be transacted at the capital. Of necessity he withdrew from his intention (of visiting Ajmere) and devoted his valuable time to what was fitting. But as that bounteous shrine (Ajmere) was an opportunity for displaying abundant liberality, and many indigent persons attained their wishes thereby, it occurred to his celestial mind that one of his

and also he had many weighty matters to attend to, he desisted from going to Ajmere in person. Daniel seems to have timed his visit so as to be present at the anniversary of the saint's death, which according

to J. III. 362 occurred on 6 Rajab. In this year (988) that date corresponded, or nearly so, to 4 Shah-riyūr, i.e. middle of August.

<sup>1</sup> *Sharik-m'abūdi*. See Hughes' Dict. Islam, 579.



children should visit the place, and gratify the wishes of expectants. On 19 Amardād, about 30 July 1580, the luminary of fortune's heaven (Prince Daniel) was given leave to depart. S. Jamāl, Mādhū Singh, S. Faizī, Jamāl K. and other intimate courtiers went with him. On 4 Shahriyūr he distributed various properties, and a world ran over with gifts.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Ḥakīm-al-Mulk<sup>1</sup> to the Ḥijāz. His avaricious heart was tied to the world, and this idea did not occur to him. He was given leave as a retribution for his vacillations. The means he tried to avert it were unsuccessful, and he left on the 5th (Shahriyūr, August 1580) with all his accumulations, looking backwards with the eye of regret.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the prince from Ajmere. He had reached that place quickly, and had scattered bounties. All the indigent reaped joy. On the 8th he did homage.

Also at this time one came to court who had no shape of ears and no orifice.<sup>2</sup> Yet he had heard perfectly what was said to him. Apparently, the melodists of the palace of fate communicate to mortals the glories of the dominion conjoined with eternity, and the wondrous, daily-increasing fortune quickens the audition of the earless ones of the Age!

One of the occurrences was the increase in the responsibility of Ptṁād K. Gujrātī. H.M. always desired to reward him for his good

<sup>1</sup> Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk, who is distinct from Ḥakīm 'Aīnu-l-Mulk, was from Gīlān and his name was Shamsu-d-dīn. Badayūnī has an account of him, III. 161, which has been copied into the Darbār Akbarī, p. 758. See also Badayūnī, Lowe, pp. 283, 293. He was given five lacs of rupees to distribute to the poor at Mecca. According to Badayūnī, Akbar asked Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk to come back, but he refused to do so, and died in Mecca. Probably the "vacillations" *laḡhzaṣṣhā* referred to by A. F. mean that at first Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk signed the famous document acknowledging

Akbar as a Pope, and that afterwards he opposed A.F. He was distinguished as a physician, and is included in the list of physicians at p. 542 of Blochmann's *Ain*. He is also mentioned under the 26th year in the T. Akbarī.

<sup>2</sup> The T. A., Elliot V. 420, states that Akbar made the man a daily allowance. See also Badayūnī, Lowe, 296, who connects the establishment of the "Dumb House" with this incident. It would appear from A.F.'s remarks that he refers specially to the man's hearing the words that Akbar addressed to him.



behaviour at the first conquest of Gujarat. At this time, when the inscription of auspiciousness and happy augury was read on the tablet of his forehead, H.M., the granter of desires, showed him favour, and gave him the Sarkār of Pattan in fief. The care of the crown-lands in Gujarat was entrusted to him. Thirty elephants and one hundred horses were given to him when he was sent off, and Mir Abū Turāb was sent with him as his counsellor. 318

One of the occurrences was the return of Yūsuf K. Cak to the government of Kashmir. It has been described to what distress he had been reduced by the wickedness of the people of that country, and how he had, by the guidance of good fortune, come to the court of fortune. Saiyid Mubārak came to the throne by the plausibility and magical strains of sedition-mongers. Before two months had elapsed, evil and shameless men had consigned him to the cell of obscurity and had raised to power Lohar Cak the cousin of Yūsuf K. When he (Yūsuf) had done homage, he received various favours, and was given leave to go to Kashmir. An order was issued that the Punjab officers should give him the convoy of a suitable army. The Kashmirians awoke from their sleep of neglect, and proceeded to adopt remedies. From fear of the victorious troops, they had recourse to entreaties. They impressed him with the thought of the evil that would be caused by the coming of the army and sent for him to come alone. Before the force had been arranged, and before communicating the secret, he went off quickly, and was received in Baramgala<sup>1</sup> by several of the noted men of the country. The new ruler got information of this, and appointed Shams Cak, Haidar Cak, and many others to effect a deliverance. They came forward in battle-array. He (Yūsuf) did not see in himself the power of fighting, and left this road, and went off to Sonpūr.<sup>2</sup> Lohar Cak opposed him with some troops. As the flower of his army had gone off to the other place, Yūsuf K. took him at a disadvantage and on 28 Ābān, 8 November, 1580, crossed the Bihat (the Jhelam or Vitasta) and dispersed the opposing force without a

<sup>1</sup> Paramkala in text.

<sup>2</sup> There is the variant Sūipūr. The Iqbāl-nāma seems to have "the defile of Sūipūr, *garva-i-Suipūr*,

but perhaps it is *garūwa sūwār*" by the route of defiles. Apparently the place is Sopoor near the Wular lake. Haidar Malik calls it Sonpūr.



serious engagement. Lohar Cak fell into his hands. From foresight he deprived <sup>1</sup> him of the light of his eyes, and in consequence of the great help thus received, the water that had strayed <sup>2</sup> fell into its channel, and he attained the government of Kashmir.

One of the occurrences was the disgrace of Candar Sen the son of Māldao. Though this foolish wretch had had the bliss of kissing the threshold, he out of short-sightedness and perverse fate took to insubordination, as has already been related. He went off to the corner of obscurity in terror of the world-conquering army and waited for an opportunity of making a disturbance. Then he came out from the defiles, and stirred up strife in some of the estates of the province of Ajmere. An order was issued to Payinda Muḥammad K. Moghal, Saiyid Hāshim, Saiyid Qāsim, and other fief-holders of that neighbourhood that they should be alert and harmonious, and should inflict due punishment on that turbulent fellow. They 319 obeyed the order, and turned their faces towards executing the service. That ill-fated one confronted the army of fortune, and a severe engagement took place. He suffered thousands of losses and retired into the desert of failure.

<sup>1</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma enables us to make an important correction here. The text has *rah nawardīda bagirift*, but neither the Cawnpore ed. nor the two I.O. MSS. have the word *rah*, and it appears from the Iqbāl-nāma that Yūsuf blinded Lohar Cak—*mīl dar casm-i-ao kushīda*. The word then is *nūr-dīda* and not *nawardīda*, and A.F. plays on the word *peshbīnī*, fore-

sight. The account of Yūsuf Shāh's success is given at great length by Ḥaidar Malik. He mentions the blinding of Lohar Cak and two others.

<sup>2</sup> The Lucknow ed. explains this as meaning that success came at a time of despair. But there is nothing in Ḥaidar Malik's account of the contest to support this view.





## CHAPTER LIII.

## THE DEFEAT OF THE REBELS IN THE EASTERN PROVINCES.

From the time that they lay opposite to the victorious army, and had removed the veil and taken to crooked ways—as has already been related—the lovers of fame came out every day and with fortitude and bravery brightened the faces of joy. They laid the dust of the battlefield with the lustre of a fresh countenance. The audacious and futile had their honour spilled, and sate in the dust of shame in retribution for their evil thoughts. Though Tarsūn K., Rajah Todar Mal, Muḥibb 'Alī K., and M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī observed the rules of leadership, and did not sally forth, yet Ṣādiq K., S. Farid, 'Ulugh K. and other energetic combatants brought new jewels to market, and the trade of the taking and giving of life went on briskly. The wise sovereign kept a watchful eye on the wonders of Divine providence, and sometimes from abundant love and graciousness had compassion on the ignorance and sufferings of those who had gone astray, and sometimes rendered thanks to God for the approaching retribution of the evil-doers and the progress of the right-thinking which his knowledge of mysteries had imparted to him. On account of his ruling the spiritual kingdom he often gave that crew the go-by, and without any change of purpose, did not give his mind to redress matters. But as the incomparable Deity had left to the shoulders of the genius of that unique one of creation the adornment of the outer world, he, of necessity, gave some attention to the laying the dust of disturbance. He sent one army after another under the command of firm loyalists, and also sent much money and so gave renewed strength to the hearts of the public. He constantly sent chosen servants of his court such as Peshrau K., Jamil, Ṣālih, Zainu-d-dīn,<sup>1</sup> and Tārā Chand, by relays of horses, and so increased

<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī 291, who says that Zainu-d-dīn was a relative of Shah-bāz K., and that he brought a lac of

rupees to Rajah Todar Mal. Tārā Cand is perhaps the son of the treasurer Bhagwān Dās.



courage and activity. The water of the powerful Fortune cooled the ardour of the enemy, and the deluge of annihilation destroyed the cohesion of those headless and footless ones. During the two months that the wicked rebels came and sate round the fortress, their condition daily grew worse. Though the Khān A'zīm, Shah-bāz K. and other officers did not arrive, yet the rebels were alarmed by the news of their coming, and their position ceased to be prosperous. The cautious and far-sighted, who had not decided for a pitched battle, determined to come out of the fort and bring the  
**320** jewel of bravery to the market, and to adorn the battlefield by deeds of valour. On hearing of this, the wicked and empty-headed rebels set themselves on 15 Amardād (25 July 1580) to take flight and went into the desert of vagabondage. Some of the victorious soldiers thought this was a stratagem to encourage them and induce them to come out. They were not aware that the rebels had lost their power, and were hastening away to put themselves in safety before the arrival of the imperial troops. Though the far-sighted ones of the camp knew the real facts, yet, out of caution, they did not put their foot outside. Next day, after much discussion, they came out of their entrenchments. Muhibb 'Alī K., Mihr 'Alī K. and other brave combatants formed the vanguard. From want of knowledge, and from circumspection, they moved forward in an irresolute manner (with two minds). At length, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, who was in the hill country, and was seeking for a means of joining, as has already been mentioned, arrived with 1200 horse, and represented the confusion of the enemy. The miserable plight of the foe became patent to the whole army, and another kind<sup>1</sup> of apprehension occurred to them. In spite of abundance of evil thoughts, the small amount of feeling, and the active bazaar of double-facedness, the heavenly aid brightened their countenances. When the brilliancy<sup>2</sup> and the victoriousness of the imperial officers, and of the pious servants came to the august hearing, he returned thanks to God and joined devotion with joy.

Now that the narration has come thus far, it is necessary that

<sup>1</sup> Presumably that the enemy would not stand.

<sup>2</sup> The word *bahrūzī* **بهروزی**, which

is not in the dictionaries, occurs again here. See above, p. 250, and below, p. 331.



the pen should write something about the condition of Bengal, and that the book of instruction for the seekers after enlightenment should be completed.

#### EVENTS OF THAT COUNTRY.

When the work of the makers of counterfeit had been tested, and their unjust balances had been detected, the ill-fated ones regarded the depth of their fall as the height of their ascension. Some of them stayed in the country and ended in eternal ruin, and many hastened to the damaging field of battle, as has been related. Qiyā K.<sup>1</sup> in Orissa, Murād K. in Fathābād, and M. Nijāt K. in Satgaon, had the words of good service on their tongues, but they made not a single step from the wide expanse of talk to the pure spot of action. Before the veil of his honour was rent, Murād K.<sup>2</sup> died a natural death. Mukund, the landholder of that part of the country, invited his sons as his guests, and put them to death, and laid hold of his estate. Qiyā K.'s days ended in failure, for they mixed<sup>3</sup> the poisonous herbs of annihilation with the draught of life. The landholders of that country got the upper hand. Qatlū marched against M. Nijāt, who made an unsuccessful fight in Selimābād and fled to the protection of Partāb Bār<sup>4</sup> Firingī. Time instructed the double-faced ones by punishment, and suitable retribution. About this time Bābā Qāqshāl was smitten with a sore disease, but in spite of his dangerous condition he sent Hamzabān to help (bar sū) M. Nijāt. He heard in midway of the success of Qatlū and hastened thither. Near Mangalkot<sup>5</sup> he had an engagement with Qatlū. He was defeated, and with blistered feet departed

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<sup>1</sup> A sentence very similar to this occurs at p. 291. Nijāt or Niyābat K., as we learn from the T. Maqūmi, Malet 135, had been married to Nāhid Begam's daughter, but was separated from her. She afterwards married M. Bāqī of Sind and was killed.

<sup>2</sup> B. 374 and J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> It appears from the Iqbāl-nāma that he was poisoned. But this does

not agree with the account given at p. 341 of text. But it does agree with A. F.'s language here. Perhaps both Qiyā Khāns were in Orissa, viz. Qiyā K. Gang and Qiyā K. Hasan. See B. 343 and 464.

<sup>4</sup> If this is Tavares, he must have left Akbar's service. See. B. 440, n. 1. The Iqbāl-nāma calls him Tāb Bār.

<sup>5</sup> A town N. E. Bardwan. B. 440.



to the desert of ruin. Bābā prepared for revenge, and Qatlū came forward with plausible speeches and wiles. . As the stewards of fate bring one misfortune after another on those who are disloyal to eternal dominion, the illness of that ringleader of sedition, and capital of the family of turbulence, ended in the incurable pain of cancer.<sup>1</sup> Every day they put two *sirs* of flesh into the wound to feed the maggots (*jānwārān*). When he had awakened somewhat from the long sleep of neglect and infatuation he said constantly, "My wickedness and faithlessness to my salt have brought me to this wretched state." When the Bihar rebels heard of his mortal disease, they dispersed. M. Sharafu-d-dīn Husain and Jabbārī and some evil-doers went to Bengal. M'aṣūm K. Kabulī and a set of ill-fated ones went under the guidance of the zamindar of Gidhaur to Bihar. 'Arab Bahādur and Nūram, the son of Tarkhān, and some others, applied themselves to brigandage. Soon their reputation was spilt by the might of Fortune. Caudhrī<sup>2</sup> Kishna was conveying treasure for the assistance of the prosperous (the imperialists). 'Arab, Nūram and others hurried off to plunder it, but he (Kishna) skilfully hastened on and arrived at the fort of Patna. They invested the fort, Bahādur<sup>3</sup> K. defended it loyally. At this time, when the officers were praying for victory, and were proceeding slowly in pursuit of the enemy, they got this news, and left the route of M'aṣūm K. and went off to Patna. They agreed that the main army should proceed, stage by stage, according to proper rules, while some active men should press forward. M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī begged for this service. As Rajah Todar Mal was distressed by his evil thoughts he granted him leave, but from farsight he appointed Muḥibb 'Alī K. and Mihr 'Alī K. to follow him with some loyal troops. At a time when the rebels had taken the outworks<sup>4</sup> of the fort, and the position of the garrison had become

<sup>1</sup> *Khūrah*. Cancer in the face, B. 369 n. 1, qu. lupus, or leprosy? A.F. describes it as if it were the morbus pedicularis.

<sup>2</sup> Caudhrī was a name apparently for those in charge of the mints. The I.O. MSS. have *kishta*. This agrees with the Iqbāl-nāma which

has "*Kishta* Mangāl, one of the trusty treasurers (Khazancīān) of the king." He was conveying the money from the court.

<sup>3</sup> B. 495.

<sup>4</sup> The text has *nakḥastān qil'a* without any *izāfat*. I have taken the phrase to mean the outworks.



critical, the above-named arrived and opened the hand of valour. The rebels made some resistance and were defeated, and by the Divine protection, no harm came to the forts or the treasure. Though M'aṣūm K. had done good service, yet without the approval of the imperial servants he cherished evil thoughts and went off to Jaunpur. On the way he took Ḥājīpūr from the servants of Bahādur.<sup>1</sup> On the day when fortune was adverse, and the victorious army was hotly engaged, that evil-doer had come out of Tirhut and seized many places. From that time Sarkār Ḥājīpūr was in his possession.

But perhaps the meaning is they had nearly taken the fort.

<sup>1</sup> This must be the Bahādur son of Badakhshī, who set up as a king in Tirhut. The I.O. MSS. have no conjunction before the words "on that day" *ānrūz*, though the text has *wa ānrūz*. I suppose that Bahādur's taking of Ḥājīpūr refers to some earlier period. See the author of Iqbāl-nāma's remarks about Bahādur

at end of his abridgment of this chapter. Near the same place he mentions that the name of 'Āsī was given to M'aṣūm Kabulī by Akbar, and that he shall henceforth call him by that name. It appears from Stewart's Hist. of Bengal, etc., that Todar Mal caused the dispersion of the rebels by inducing the zamindars to refuse their supplies.





## CHAPTER LIV.

## 322 M'AŞŪM K. KABULĪ MAKES A NIGHT ATTACK, AND IS DEFEATED.

At the time when the disturbance caused by 'Arab Bahādur was put down, the victorious army departed from Serāi<sup>1</sup> Rānī to Bihar in order to settle the affair of M'aşūm K. Kabulī, and to clear the garden of the land of the weeds and rubbish of rebellion. Owing to the continual occurrence of clouds and rain it halted on the bank of the Pun-pun. When the weather moderated, it proceeded onward on the road of service. The rebel came out of Bihār and proceeded towards the foot<sup>2</sup> of the northern hill country. On 15 Mihr (end of September 1580) the army reached the town of Gaya. At dawn the enemy left that place and halted at the flourishing city<sup>3</sup> of Bahīra. Next day the imperialists marched four kos and encamped. On account of the great amount of water the arrangements for encamp-

<sup>1</sup> This must be the Rānī Serai of Tiefenthaler I. 420. He says it is six kos (miles) from the town of Bihār and also six kos from the south bank of the Ganges. It must then be to the N. of Bihār.

<sup>2</sup> *Ba damana-i-kohistān-i-shimālī*. By the northern hill-country is meant hills south of Gaya and in Hazārībāgh, etc. This is shown by the 'Ain text I. 416, J. II. 149, where the breadth of the province of Bihār from North to South is stated as extending from Tirhut to the northern hill country, *shimālī kohsār*. M'aşūm had gone off from before Monghyr to the South and West of Bihār under the guidance of the Rajah of Gīdhaur, text, p. 321. But he was unable to maintain his ground against Todar Mal and so was marching southwards towards Hazārībāgh.

The imperialists pursued him, and did this somewhat too hastily and carelessly for he turned back upon them near Shergotty(?) and made a night attack in which he was nearly successful.

<sup>3</sup> *M'amūra-i-shahr Bahīra*. There does not seem to be any place of this name at the present day. But I conjecture that it is Shergotty, the name of which is properly "*Shahr ghātī*," a large and well-known place at the foot of the ghats or mountain-passes leading from the Highlands of Chutia Nāgpūr to the plain of Bihār. Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1885, I. 169. In the Ain it is called *Ghātī Bihar* (not *Ghātīsār* as in J.). It may, however, be Pahra or Kāṭī Bahra, both of which places are entered in J. II. 154.





ing were not carried out. The impetuosity of the combatants, and the paucity of the enemy led many into neglect. That sedition-monger was two farsangs off. Though rumours of his evil designs were current, and experienced and alert men spoke about keeping the soldiers in order, they were not successful. But Rajah Todar Mal in his quarters and Šādiq 'Alī in his, did not lose the thread of foresight, and remained ready for battle. That night was the watch of Ulugh<sup>1</sup> K. Habshī and his force. The leader slept on the bed of negligence, and sent his somnolent servants to be watchful! The enemy who had lost courage, recovered it on seeing the ill-timed cautiousness of the imperialists, and their slow-marching, and set themselves to make a disturbance. As they did not find in themselves the power to fight by day, they thought of behaving like owls and of making an attack in the darkness of night. When a watch of the night had passed, they attacked with a large force. They defeated the neglectful vanguard, and Māh Beg and some Abyssinians were slain. Their presumption increased, and they laid hands on the imperial camp, and the deluge of turbulence reached the quarters of Šādiq K. He stood firm and behaved bravely; the heroes who loved their reputation devoted their lives.

*Verse.*

I'll not call them two armies, but two mountains of Qāf.  
They stood drawn up in the arena.  
So hot was the engagement  
That steel swords made the rocks soft.

At this time when things were in the balance, and loss showed its face from afar, Kamāl K. faujdār brought up two elephants swift as the wind, and imparted lustre to the battle. The evil-doers fell into confusion, and the breeze of victory began to blow on the rosebush of the hopes of the good servants. The roses of the battlefield bloomed from being watered by the cheerful of countenance. Great deeds were done by the courageous, and by the sky-high elephants. Every arrow that reached the elephants was **323** regarded by them as an incitement to activity and increased their spirit. They cast down with their trunks the enemy's horsemen.

<sup>1</sup> B. 437. See Badayānī, Lowe 292, and Elliot V. 418.



Eighty-two arrows stuck in one elephant, and fifty-five in another. Many of the imperial servants were wounded, but owing to the Divine protection none were fatally injured. By the help of heaven a great victory revealed its countenance. If the narrowness of their energy had been a little widened, and they had followed up their victory, this would have been the last revolution of the heavens for the enemy. But the country was full of water, and their enterprise was at a low level, and the roads were full of jungle. The victorious troops were on their guard till morning. When the sun took possession of the earth, they came out of camp and halted near the city of Bahīra, and though they knew that the enemy was three *kos* off, they did not pursue them.

One of the occurrences was that the Khān 'Āzīm joined the army. Inasmuch as the incomparable Deity increases the fortune of the world's lord, the great rebellion had subsided before the armies effected a junction. The daily increase of dominion was impressed on high and low. The cause of the delay in the arrival of the Kokaltāsh was that when he crossed at Causa, he was detained by the rebellion of Dalpat Ujjainiya. His short-sighted companions represented his power in exaggerated terms, and he listened to them and set himself to punish that presumptuous one. About the same time Shahbāz K. arrived, and the Khān 'Āzīm also kept him back, and represented to him the necessity for punishing the landholder. As the celestial superintendents were engaged in displaying the wonders of daily-increasing fortune, the plannings of the imperial servants were not happy, and the effects of their energies were stayed by the performance of this part of their work. Jagdespūr, the seat of the rebel, was plundered. The forests which also contained miry places were a help to the rebels. The imperialists halted there, and tested their valour in daily engagements. Meanwhile babblers caused a dissension between the Khān 'Āzīm and Shahbāz K. and the light of concord became dark. The Kokaltāsh withdrew his

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is that heaven was showing the wondrous good fortune of Akbar by allowing his servants to make mistakes and yet producing eventual success. Dalpat was the successor of Gajpatī. Apparently

he was Gajpatī's uncle. He is reckoned as the 74th Ujjainiah chief, Gajpatī being the 73rd, Dalpat, or Dalpatī, or Dulīp Shah is said to have been Rajah from 1577 to 1601. See B. 513 and n.



hand from the work, and went off towards the army, on the 18th, i.e. the day after the night-attack, he joined the camp, and a fresh lustre was given to affairs.

One of the occurrences was the death of S'aādat 'Alī K. 'Arab Bahādur and some rebels marched against Shahbāz K. The officers out of caution sent S'aādat 'Alī K., Qamar K., Payīnda and Rustam with auxiliary troops. On their arrival, the rebels dispersed. <sup>324</sup> Shahbāz K. placed troops here and there for the protection of the country, and he assigned the fort of Kant,<sup>1</sup> which is a dependency of Rohtās, to S'aādat 'Alī K., Payīnda, Rustam and the landholder Rūp Narain. 'Arab and Dalpat had their opportunity and made an attack. A great engagement took place. Though they could not guard the fort, they guarded their honour and staked their short lives in a worthy manner. Though S'aādat 'Alī K. had, at the beginning of the rebellion, been a kindler of strife, yet he spent his last breath in loyalty. 'Arab, from his depraved disposition, drank some of his blood. He stained his forehead with some of it, and gave new lustre to villainy.

One of the occurrences was the departure of many rebels from the province of Bihar. When the Khān 'Āzīm joined the army of fortune there was great rejoicing. The evil-doers relinquished the idea of battle and hastened off in failure to Bengal, though, owing to the evil thoughts of some, they were not pursued, nor was an expedition made into Bengal, so that the ingrates might have had their wings and feathers burnt off and have received the retribution due to their deeds. But proper steps were taken for the reducing Bihar into order, and there was profound peace in that territory. On the <sup>2</sup> 20th Muḥibb 'Alī K. was sent off and the country was made over to his watchfulness from Shahr Bahīra to Rohtās. Saiyid Moẓaffar and Mir M'aṣūm<sup>3</sup> of Bhakar and other servants accom-

<sup>1</sup> So in text. But apparently it is the Kot of the Ain J. II. 157 which is described as having a stone (*san-gīn*) fort. Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1885, p. 181, thinks that Kot must be the "well-known hillfort of Bijaygarh on a high platform overlooking the Sone." It is up-stream from Rohtās, fifty miles S Benares and nine

from the Sone, and is in the Mirzapūr district. It is the fort which was occupied for a time by Chait Singh.

<sup>2</sup> The I.O. MSS. support the variant "the 8th," in which case presumably Ābān is meant.

<sup>3</sup> The well-known historian and writer of inscriptions. B. 514.



panied him. On that day the army halted in Gaya, in the neighbourhood of Rajgarha. Dost Muhammad<sup>1</sup> Bābā Dost—who from his evil fate had colluded with the rebels—became, by a happy star, ashamed and repented, and joined with 200 men. When the victorious army came near Ghīāspūr, the news arrived that Arab had been defeated by Shāhbāz K. and was going to the province of Sārangpūr,<sup>2</sup> and that he was oppressing the weak. Accordingly Shāham K. and a number of men who had fiefs in that part were sent off in order to inflict punishment on him. Ghāzi K. Badakhshī was left with a body of troops in Bihar.<sup>3</sup> When a report came of the seditiousness of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, Tarson K. was sent off to Jaunpur. Sādiq K., S. Farid Bokhārī, Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Ṭaiyib K. and others were sent off to Monghyr in order to clear that country of rebels, and to give peace to the peasantry. The Khān 'Āzim, Rajah Todar Mal and others proceeded to Patna and Hājipūr. At this time Shāhbāz K., before the officers joined  
 325 him, set up a shop of his own. As he had chastised Dalpat and 'Arab, and had taken Hājipūr by force from the servants of Bahādur, he became self-conceited and presumptuous. When M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī went to Jaunpur, Bahādur had shown activity and taken possession of it (Hājipūr). If his common-sense had not been injured he should have joined the imperial servants and acted in concert with them. By working together they would have carried matters through. Success, which in the pure soul brings with it humility and supplication, had the contrary effect on him, and led him to commit the acts of an enemy. The first thing was that he made some delay in surrendering Hājipūr, which had been assigned from the sublime court to the Kokaltāsh. He was induced to give it up by the tact and skill of Rajah Todar Mal. The Khān 'Āzim and the Rajah took up their quarters in Hājipūr, and Shāhbāz K. stayed in Patna. The former spent their time in trouble (*sirgīrānī*) and in using blandishments<sup>4</sup> (*ashūfaroshī*), while that newly-

<sup>1</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma says that he had formerly been the *vakīl* of Mun'im K.

<sup>2</sup> The I.O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. have not the termination *pūr*, but only Sarang. Is Sāran-

garh in Sambhalpur meant, or is it Sāran?

<sup>3</sup> The city of Bihar, says the Iqbāl-nāma.

<sup>4</sup> I suppose this refers to attempts to soothe Shāhbāz. Or it may mean



infatuated one employed himself in adorning his shop<sup>1</sup> and in managing matters. From his increasing dignities and giving of fiefs, many of the officers turned towards him. The Khān 'Āzim was disgusted with everything (withdrew his heart from everything) and the Rajah postponed<sup>2</sup> everything. The whole of the affairs of the province devolved upon Shāhbāz K. Though right-thinking persons intervened, in no way could the thread of unity be duplicated,<sup>3</sup> or the path of conciliation trodden. Though they represented that by the wondrous working of fate, the imperial troops had been divided into two portions, and had indulged their own wishes and not taken the path of concord and that the indispensable thing now was that one portion should take upon itself the charge of Bengal, and another the guarding of Bihar up to the capital, yet inasmuch as self-interest had let fall a veil over the eyes of truth-seeking, and broad and right-thinking was hidden, the remarks had no effect. The Khān 'Āzim and the Rajah and some officers went off to Tirhut. Though the pretext was that they wished to put down Bahādur, but in reality they sought to get away from Shāhbāz K. When they had gone a little way, they sent Ghāzī K. in advance. The rebel (Bahādur) made ready for battle, and was defeated, and his home and family were captured. Shāhbāz K. went off with a large army to Jaunpūr. Though he too was moved by a desire for separation, and for being free from daily discussions, yet he gave out that he wished to guide M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī to service.

One of the occurrences was the dying of Shārafud-dīn Husain M. Though the leaders of the victorious army were self-willed, the wondrous fortune (of Akbar) still displayed her countenance. When

that they did nothing, but only practised amiable speeches.

<sup>1</sup> This metaphor about keeping a shop and setting off the wares to the best advantage was a favourite with Akbar and A. F.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. threw things into the foundation or into the reserve (*tarh*).

<sup>3</sup> A. F.'s language here is tortuous and his metaphors obscure. Apparently, the phrase *rishia-i-ikja-*

*hatī dotāī nagirift* means that the thread of singleness of action and concord could not be made of two strands, i.e. Shāhbāz, and the K. 'Āzim and the Rajah. And this, although it was suggested to them that circumstances favoured them, by allowing them independence of action, for there were two distinct fields for their energies, viz. Bengal and Bihar.



326 M'aṣūm K. Kābulī fled to Bengal, dissension broke out between him and the Mīrzā, and each lay in ambush for the other. The Mīrzā became haughty on account of abundant plunder, and of the pressure of flatterers (lit. dog-flies). That fox (M'aṣūm) had recourse to deception and blandishments, and by craft contrived to poison him. The Mīrzā had an Indian boy named Maḥmūd whom, from a regard to externals, and ignorance of human nature, he loved. M'aṣūm corrupted him by money, and he mixed poison with the Mīrzā's opium (*khashkhash*). In a short time he died and his contemporaries were quit of his troubling.

One of the occurrences was the death of Dastam K.<sup>1</sup> In the previous year he had been sent to put down the disaffected, and to support the oppressed in the province of Ajmere, and he had performed the task with zeal and devotion. At this time, Ucla the son of Bhalbhadra, Mohan, Sūr Dās and Tilūksī, the brother's sons of Rajah Bihārī Mal, came thither from the Panjab without permission, and stirred up strife in the town of Lūnī,<sup>2</sup> which was their home. That excellent (*farohīda*) man out of respect for the Kachwahas tried the effect of advice. Inasmuch as a rough file is of use for an unfinished article (*angāra*) and a smooth one for a polished surface,

<sup>1</sup> See B. 398. Bayazīd Biyāt calls 99b Dastam or Dostam's (B. 620) mother Tākhta, and tells how Akbar on one occasion borrowed a needle from her to take thorns out of his feet.

<sup>2</sup> B. has an elaborate note about the sites mentioned by A. F., p. 398, n. 1. There is a Lūnī entered in the Ain as belonging to Sarkār Delhi. J. II, p. 238, but I suppose it cannot be the place alluded to here. Ranthanbor is now in Jaipūr. There is a Bolī entered in Sarkār Ranthanbor, J. II, 274, which B. supposes to be the Lūnī of text. There is a Sherpūr marked on the Govt. map of Jaipūr, between the Banās and the Cambal. These are the variants for Lūnī of Lūlī and Nūlī. I think it

is almost certain that B. is right in identifying Lūnī and Bolī. The latter, besides being mentioned in the Ain, is referred to in Bābar's statement of the revenues of India, where we have Sarkār Ranthanbor including Bolī, etc. See Erskine's Hist. of India, I. 274. The place where the fight took place is called in text Thorī, but the Iqbāl-nāma has Bhorī, and this seems to be the correct reading, for we have Bhorī Bhara in J. II. 274 and Bhorī Pahārī in *id.* 102. It would seem from Akbar's remark that Dastam and he met when the latter was only three years old, and presumably, therefore, when Akbar was with his uncles in Kabul or Qandahar.





gentleness and conciliation did not suit those turbulent ones, but increased their wickedness, and put a new head to their refractoriness. At this time Ādam Tajband brought an order from court that Dastam K. should bring them into the road (of submission) by warnings and threats, and that if they did not accept these, he was to punish them. He did not make plans and acted hastily. Without collecting soldiers he hastened to their abode. On 10 Ābān he fell in with the enemy in the village of Thori and engaged them. Mohan Dās, Sūr Dās, and Tilūksī attacked the vanguard, which was commanded by Miskīn 'Alī. He fell from his horse, but got up and fought bravely. Dastam K. on perceiving this sent forward most of his companions. There was a hot engagement. Mohan Dās and Sūr Dās were killed, and Tilūksī fell in another part of the field. Ucla, who was the ringleader, took refuge in a field of millet (*jawār*) and was watching his opportunity. Suddenly he came out of his ambush, and calling out "Dastam Khān," came to the battlefield. He turned to fight, and did not regard the fewness of his men. The scoundrel inflicted a severe wound on him with a spear, and Dastam, in spite of the dangerous wound, killed him with his sword, and himself fell senseless on the ground. Just then some of his men came up and set him upon his horse. As the engagement was hot, he said nothing about his injury, but encouraged his men. They addressed themselves to the fight and slew many. The rest of the **327** enemy fled, and the houses of the rebels were plundered. By the blessing of daily-increasing fortune a great victory was gained. When the fight was done they halted near the same place. Next day at the time of return he died in the town of Sherpūr. He yielded up his life in good service and with the beauty of loyalty and bravery, and, by the spilling of a short life, acquired an eternal name. The world's lord lamented for a while, but from his lordship of the spiritual world he moved to the garden of resignation. By various acts of kindness and by cordial words he soothed somewhat the agitated mind of his mother and said, "From the beginning of the springtide of my existence I spent (only) three years without him, but with that exception he held a place in the ante-chamber of favour. He did his work and understood my position (or perhaps men's dispositions). All are aware that secluded, chaste one has spent many years without him. It appears that his loss is harder



for us,<sup>1</sup> and that it is she who should minister comfort to me." He spoke many choice words. May the incomparable Deity preserve him on the throne and make him successful spiritually and temporally. He bestowed many favours on the survivors of the deceased, and the sorrowful had a new joy. He sent M. Khān to manage the country and bestowed Rantanbhor on him as a fief. He hung many jewels of counsel on the ears of his reason.

Also at this time Khwāja Shāh Maṣūr was distinguished by the royal favour. It has been mentioned why he had been removed from the Viziership and sent to the prison of schooling. As it appeared that in the writing of accounts and demanding of arrears there was no fault of the Khwāja's except the thought of increasing the revenue and a failure to recognize the circumstances of the time, he was again exalted to that high office, and the jewel of his understanding was polished by good counsels.

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Vizier (Wazīr) K. to Oudh. As that province was without a great officer, H. M. ordered that the peasantry and soldiers should be succoured. He went off in the end of the month, and many choice servants and soldiers accompanied him.

One of the occurrences was that Niyābat K. received punishment. That base man was the son of Mir Hāshim of Nīshapūr, and had the name of 'Arab. He had been brought up from an early age in the service of the world's lord, and been exalted by great confidence. For some time he managed the crown-lands. The accountants brought a charge of arrears against him, and the slave of gold preferred disobedience to service, and by his own acts fell into eternal ruin. He made long the arm of sedition and besieged the town of Kara. Ilyās K. Laukā<sup>2</sup> with a few servants of Ism'ail Qulī K. fought a battle, and bravely drank the last draught. Many could not believe in his shamelessness, and some rejoiced in it. On hearing of this, H. M. sent off, on 3 Āzar, Isma'il Qulī K. 'Abdumattalib, S. Jamāl, Bakhtiyār and other loyal servants. Wazīr K. and the other officers of the province were ordered to act with concord and activity, and to inflict retribution on him. When the

<sup>1</sup> Text has *bar ao*, but I.O. MSS. and Cawnpore edition have *bar mā*.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Langā.



army approached, and opened the hand of superior strength, that futile fellow strengthened some of the forts and went off to Arail. Wazir K. and some brave men addressed himself to the taking of it, and in the first place proceeded to take Ilahābās (Allahabad). Ism'ail Qūli K. and others followed up Niyābat K., and near the river of Kantit,<sup>1</sup> Muṭṭalib K. and S. Jamāl arrived before the others and adorned the field of battle. From every side brave men met together, and bought with their lives the valuable goods of honour. Friends and foes praised each other's strength of arm.

*Verse.*

First with arrows from both sides  
 They made a single hair into a hundred strands.  
 When they wearied of the cuirass-splitting arrow  
 They drew their swords from the sheaths.

The victorious army was nearly suffering loss. Suddenly Ism'ail Qūli K. arrived with some brave and experienced men and the fire-temple of battle was rekindled. By the help of God, matters were changed and victory ensued. Many of the enemy were killed, and that turbulent one trod the desert of failure, and sate in the corner of disgrace. Various kinds of plunder were obtained, and his houses were soon seized.

One of the occurrences was (the display of) the physical might of the world's lord. He had ordered that every day distinguished<sup>2</sup> wrestlers should contend in his presence. This gave pleasure to many who were present at the public audiences. One day Jag Sobhā and Haibat Tahamtan contended, and astonished the spectators. Haibat, who was strong, abandoned the rules of wrestling and in a 329

<sup>1</sup> The text has Kaṣṭt, and Bada-yūni has Gaṣṭt, a dependency of Patna, Lowe 298. But as B. has pointed out, 425, n. 2, Gaṣṭt is a mistake for Kantit in Allahabad Sarkār, J. II. 161, and Patna for Pannah. The river "āb" of Kantit must be the Ganges. The mistake also occurs in Elliot V. 420. Bada-yūni says Niyābat dismounted Jamāl

Bakhtiyār and then spared his life. After his defeat Niyābat went off to Oudh to M'aṣūm K. Far-ankhūdī. Kantit is entered under Sarkār Ilahābās in J. II. 161. For Karā or Karrah, often called Corah, see I. G. XIV. 416. It is 42 miles N. W. Allahabad.

<sup>2</sup> See the chapters about pahlwāns or wrestlers in B. 253.





demon-like fashion applied his strength, and tore off the fingers of his antagonist. Inasmuch as the administration of punishment rests in the first instance on the holy personality of kings, the world's lord put his fist into the face of that misbehaver. By the might of the shadow of the hand of God that gigantic form fell senseless like a weakling. The powerful of body were amazed, and the superficial had their attention directed to realities.

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## CHAPTER LV.

THE TEARING OF THE VEIL OF REVERENCE BY M'ASŪM K.  
FARANKHŪDĪ, AND HIS SOILURE IN THE  
DUSTHOLE OF FAILURE.

It has been stated that that wretch separated, in his presumption, from the army of fortune, and kicked against fortune. He came to Jaunpūr and occupied himself in evil thoughts. Fly-like beings and slaves of gold gathered round the poisoned honey. Though for a long time past sedition had been oozing out from his behaviour, and he used to make evil speeches, yet, on this day when the disturbance caused by the rebels in Bengal and Bihar had subsided, and their power had been scattered, and when it was time for him to weave a screen over his evil deeds, he, from innate wickedness, and a demoniacal disposition, totally severed the woof and warp of shame, and seated himself in the melancholy abode of misfortune! Sound reason is withdrawn from those for whom the time of retribution has arrived, and their eyes of warning become dim. The counsels of the time do not give them clearness of vision: they think loss is gain, and proper what is bad! The circumstances of that turbulent man illustrate this view. The increasing of eternal fortune (Akbar's) and the losses of the rebels, together with the report of the coming to the Panjab of Hakīm M. and the design of H. M. to proceed thither, called forth his ingratitude and presumption from the straits of his bosom to the open ground of demonstration. He forcibly took Jaunpūr from the servants of Tarson K. For a long time his misconduct was not credited at Court. How could a head on which so much bounty had been shed, be the bearer of so much unpleasantness? And how could a brain which had received so much truth be filled with the smoke of delusion? But when fortune is darkened, the lamp of wisdom grows cold, and safety is sought in nothingness, and repose in loss. Obligations of old standing are placed in the privy chamber of oblivion. The weight of desires, and the levity of wrath, cast the man headlong 330 into the dark ravine of failure.



*Verse.*

Wherever lust sets a firm foot  
 The pleasant place of life is disordered,  
 When desire is firmly fixed in the heart  
 Fidelity's foundation remains not in her place.

When successive instances of his wickedness had occurred, the noble graciousness of H.M. decided that some prudent men should be sent to bring him to the station of bliss, so that he might either join the army, or turn the face of supplication towards the court. But advice only increased his madness, and his excuses became materials for strifemongering. Inasmuch as it is the rule of H.M. to walk circumspectly, an order was issued that if M'aṣūm could not bring himself to do either of those two things, he should withdraw from Jaunpūr and proceed to Oudh, and regard it as his fief and look after it. That evil-starred one thought he was saved, and hastened off to that province. In appearance he obeyed the order, in reality he got an opportunity for accumulating the materials of disturbance. Though the imperial servants reported some of his misdeeds, they were not listened to on account of its being the market-day of graciousness! Shagūna Qarāwal and some intimates were sent to inquire into his condition, for many well-meaning persons have become objects of suspicion on account of the negligence of rulers and the malignity and self-seeking of their servants, and been ruined in their reputation and their lives. They (the servants) have made the matter a means of selling their own goods and so have developed another market.

The envoys, owing to their small wisdom and great covetousness, represented the wicked seller of wiles as loyal and serviceable and said that he was in some unsteadiness on account of the untrue reports, but that if one or two magnanimous courtiers were sent to him and soothed him, he would come to court and produce thousands of the goods of submissiveness. The world's lord from his noble nature credited these representations and sent off on this service Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram and Rajah Birbar. When they arrived in the neighbourhood, they, from foresight, sent a conciliatory letter, conveying the news of H.M.'s graciousness. That man, whose fate was somnolent, came out from behind the screen of respect, and



used improper language. Perceiving that the affair was past remedy, they returned. Before they reached the court Shahbāz K. arrived with the army of fortune and laid the dust of sedition. The presumptuous one became a vagabond in the desert of defeat. Every one to whom the Incomparable Deity grants reason-increasing auspiciousness obtains long life and happiness, and those who wish ill to his fortune are stained with the dust of failure. Whoever peruses ancient records, or holds reasonable converse with the guardians of speech—who adorn the library of the heart—perceives this. Or he can do so by opening the eye of enlightenment and studying with a fair mind a portion of the record of the World's Lord. A fresh example is afforded by the circumstances of the overthrow of this man of turbulent brain. Owing to the disappearance of the department of skill, and the absence of any enlightened intermediary, the abundance of sedition-mongering sophists, the friendship of flatterers, and the fault-finding with others, there was no banquet of concord among the officers of the victorious army. Why should I say this? There was not even any tact, which is indispensable in the social state. The prosperity of the imperial servants was without any such regulating principle! The Khān Ā'zim and Rajah Todar Mal went off to Tirhut, and Shahbāz K. hastened to Jaunpūr. The conquest of Bengal and the chastisement of the rebels became hidden under the veil of delay. Owing to daily-increasing Fortune, that which might have been a matter of loss to prestige became the material of increased victory (bahrūzī) and auspiciousness. When Shahbāz K. reached the town of Bihīya<sup>1</sup> the news came that 'Arab Bahādūr had been defeated by Tarson K.'s men and was in that neighbourhood, and was oppressing the weak. Some active men were sent and they inflicted suitable punishment on him. From thence he went to Jagdespūr and set himself to punish the refractory in that quarter. At this time it became certain that M'ašūm K. Farankhūdī had gone wrong, and that Niyābat K. and 'Arab were backing him. Of necessity he hastened to Oudh, and sent a wise

<sup>1</sup> There is a variant, but probably Bihīya is right. It is in the Shahabad district and now a railway station. Shahbāz might pass through Bihīya

on his way from Patna to Jaunpūr if he kept to the south side of the Ganges.



letter (to M'aṣūm) along with an acute man. Its purport was that he should arrest 'Arab, Niyābat K. and Shāh Dāna, and go with them to court, or go himself in advance so that the veil over his actions might not be discarded and that his evil actions might be turned into good ones. Inasmuch as the lamp of his wisdom had grown cold, and his fortune had gone to sleep, he regarded the counsel as fiction, and increased his folly. He sent his family and household across the Sarū (the Sarjū) to a difficult country, and prepared for war in company with distracted Turks.<sup>1</sup> Shāhbāz K. prepared for battle. He himself was in the centre, Tarson K. was on the right wing, Mihtar K., Pahār K., Saiyid 'Abdullah K. and Qamar K. were on the left. Mihr 'Alī K. Sildoz, Jīwan K. Koka, Mīr Abul Qāsim, and Mīr Abul M'aālī took front rank in the van. Mufākhār Muḥammad and some experienced soldiers formed the reserve. The sagacious enemy chose a difficult ground. 'Arab commanded the right wing, Shāh Dāna and 'Abdī the left wing. M. Qulī Toqbāi and a party of ill-  
**332** fated ones were in the van. Niyābat K. had his place in the *altamsh*. He himself (M'aṣūm) remained in ambush.

On 13 Bahman (22nd January 1581) when a watch of the day had passed an engagement took place near Sultānpūr<sup>2</sup> Bilahrī, 25 kos from Awadh (the city of, i.e. Ajodya or Faizābād).

(Quatrain)

The van of the victorious army pushed forward, and the *altamsh* supported it, and the enemy was defeated. M. Qulī stepped towards the abode of annihilation, and carried off his life to the lodging of dishonour. The combatants of the right wing, also, by great efforts, drove off the foe. At this time M'aṣūm K. approached the centre (Shahbāz's) and stirred up the dust of battle. Shahbāz K. lost heart, and took the road of flight. On receiving this news the right wing and the van turned back. By the wondrous work of the adorners of fortune (i.e. Akbar's mystic helpers) a cry arose

<sup>1</sup> There is the variant buzurgān and it is supported by I. O. 236. M.S. 235 has zarbandagān. It is not likely that Turkān is right.

<sup>2</sup> Bilahrī and Sultānpūr are mentioned separately in J. II. 174. B. in

Errata corrects his Bilkarī to Bilahrī. See Oudh Gazetteer III. 428. Bilahrī is now known as Barausna. The old pargana of Sultānpūr is divided by the Gumtī into S. Barausna and S. Mīranpūr.





that M'asūm K. had been killed, and the enemy's opportunity was dissipated. When that brainless one (M'asūm) had gone some distance he came (back) to the field of battle. He could see no trace of his men and sank into the depths of bewilderment. Suddenly an army appeared, drawn up in battle array. The confused man thought it was his own troops and joyfully proceeded towards them. He found that it was the left wing of the victorious army. His bewilderment and despair increased. The beginning of the battle had taken place on low ground, full of trees. When the enemy<sup>1</sup> had been routed, the troops proceeded to plunder their camp. The Baggoti clan who were attached to that body (the left imperial wing) also joined in the plundering. Like a flood they swept away the quarters of the foundationless wretches. The plunderers<sup>1</sup> had come to the field of battle when that rebel came there. Though his comrades represented to him that those men (the left wing) were not aware of the condition of Shahbaz K., and that the suitable thing was to pause a little, as when the facts were known, they would disperse of themselves; he did not listen to them and proceeded to attack. He was unsuccessful, and returned wounded. He drew rein on some high ground, which really was low (past, i.e. base). Though the field had been gained by the strenuous servants of fortune, yet they had not the energy to take a few steps and seize the loitered. That ill-fated one recited the verse of despair and went to his camp. As he could see no sign of it, he was overwhelmed with grief. With a darkened mind and in wretched plight externally, he went off to Awadh. The victorious left wing heard of the rest of the troops having<sup>2</sup> given way and encamped at Akbarpūr<sup>3</sup> twelve kos from Awadh. They sent swift messengers to convey the news of victory to Shahbāz 333 K. and the other leaders. Shahbāz K. in his alarm had drawn rein

<sup>1</sup> *Ghanāīm*. I take this word to refer to the imperial troops who had just plundered M'asūm's camp. The author of the *Iqbāl-nāma* seems to have so understood it for he has *bughanaim nā mahṣūr*, with boundless plunder.

<sup>2</sup> *dil bāi dādam*. This is the phrase which occurs in Vol. II, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> In the Faizabad district. See I.G.V. 180. It is E. N. E. Sultanpūr. See "Oude Gazetteer," I. 14 and 15. It seems to have been founded by Akbar and had a bridge which was apparently built in 976 (1568-69) under the supervision of Muḥammad Muḥsin.



at Jaunpur thirty *kos* from the field of battle. The right wing and the van halted in Surhirpūr twelve *kos* from the battle-field. It was solely by H.M.'s good fortune that such a great defeat<sup>1</sup> fell upon the enemy. As the leader of the victorious army was exalted by the world's wine, such a crop-sickness of sorrow fell upon him. On the 21st the celestial news reached H.M. and he returned thanks to God. The worthy servants were rewarded by divers favours. There was abundant collyrium for the eye of the heart, and the clearness of vision acquired fresh lustre.

One of the occurrences was the Shāhīnshāh's giving special attention to Divine matters. No time passed without his taking into consideration the world of bliss, or without his giving a penetrating glance to the acts of the ancients. The whole of his noble energies was directed towards the subsidence of the turbulence of schisms, and to the removal of the mists of contest. In the holy temple of his head—which is an explanation of the Divine privy chamber—he was grieved by the varieties of religions, and he was in search of what was pleasing to God. He stepped aside from the untruthfulness of the religion-splitting deceivers and hypocrites. The heart and tongue of this Unique of the world of creation always sang this strain of supplication.

*Verse.*

O God, show the way of approach to Thee,  
Show one glory of that heart-entrancing beauty,  
Write on the heart the letters worthy to be read,  
Show us the picture worthy to be seen.

On the 25th he removed the veil from many secluded verities and brought out the truth to the hall of manifestation, and said with his wondrous tongue, "If this repose should be effected, and

<sup>1</sup> A. F.'s account of the battle is confused and he does not, like the T. A. and Badayūnī, ascribe the victory to Tarson Muḥammad. He makes him command the right wing, but it is to the left wing that he ascribes the victory. Cf. Elliot V. 421 and Badayūnī, Lowe 298. B. 400

has Shāhbāz fighting all the way to Jaunpūr, but I think that the word fighting is a clerical error, and that B. wrote "flying." Neither A.F. nor the Maagīr says anything about Shāhbāz fighting his way up to Jaunpūr.





it should be impressed on all that the doing the will of God was an indispensable duty, how could sufficient thanksgiving be paid therefore? Where is the strength to give praise for this? But in accordance with the saying of the wise of old." 'If all cannot be effected, all should not be abandoned,' it occurs to us that we and all those around us can do one thing in proportion to our strength, and can regard that as the material of bliss. Therefore it appears to us that as our ancestors made a twelve years' cycle, in every year, one good action may be performed. (1) In the<sup>1</sup> Sicqān year, mice should not be injured. (2) In the Ud year, endeavours should be made to strengthen oxen and they should be presented to cultivators. (3) In the Pārs year, one should refrain from capturing leopards, and from hunting with them. (4) In the Tawishqān year, one should refrain from eating or hunting hares. (5) In the Loi year, one should adopt 334 the same practice with regard to fish. (6) In the Yilān year, one should not injure serpents. (7) In the Yūnt year, horses should not be killed or eaten, and presents should be made of them. (8) In the Qūi year, the same with regard to sheep. (9) In the Mūcūn<sup>2</sup> year, apes should not be hunted, and those caught should be set free. (10) In the Takhāqū year, cocks should not be killed, nor used in fighting. (11) In the Yit year, dogs should not be employed in hunting, and attention should be paid to the nurturing of this faithful animal, especially the friendless ones of the streets. (12) In the Tangūz year, hogs should not be injured. Likewise, some good work after this fashion should be done in every month of the lunar year.

(1) Muḥarram. Living creatures should not be killed. (2) Šafr. Prisoners should be set free. (3) Rabī-al-awwal. Thirty selected needy persons should be given presents. (4) Rabī-al-akhir. The bodily elements should be kept cleansed, and pleasures not be indulged in. (5) Jamādī-al-awwal. One should not adorn oneself in gorgeous raiment nor in woven silk. (6) Jamādī-al-akhir. One should not use leather. (7) Rajab. One should according to his

<sup>1</sup> A.F. gives an account of the Turkī era in the *Ain*. J. II. 20. In the Persian text of the *Ain* I. 273 the names of the years are spelt, letter by letter.

<sup>2</sup> So in text, but a mistake: the true reading is either Bīj or Bīch as in Lucknow ed., or Maimūn.



ability help forty persons of his own age. (8) Sh'abān. Every day one should put away oppression by oneself or by others. (9) Ramzān. One should feed and clothe thirty indigent persons. (10) Shawwāl. One should repeat 1000 times every day the names of the Creator. (11) Ziq'ada. One should watch the first night, and every day one should make presents to and cherish some persons of another Faith than his own. (12) Zihajj. Thirty useful buildings should be erected. Continually, such good practices should be kept up according to years and months." The farsighted and intelligent person well knows that these institutions of the world's lord are intended for the tribes of mankind who have left the way of bliss and are sunk in the pit of formalism and evil ways. His world protectiveness keenly feels this desire. As for the ocean of enlightenment and treasure-house of wisdom, he, as regards the sovereignty of the outer world and the Caliphate of the spiritual universe, holds a continual darbār in the temple of wisdom.

*Verse.*

O God, do Thou exalt this enlightened King,  
The exalter of diadem and throne.  
Build his throne on the top of the sky,  
Do what he and his fortune desire.

One of the occurrences was the death of Bahādur Baskī.<sup>1</sup> He was at the head of the rebels of Bengal. In the province of Bihar he, in league with Jān Muḥammad Bihsūdī and some reprobates, practised tyranny. When the mist of dissension (lit. two colours) arose among the officers, and the march of the victorious army to Bengal was postponed, Šādiq K. and some gallant men took their stand in the neighbourhood of Monghyr. Ulugh K. Habsḥī, Bābū Mankī, Abā Bīkr, and Bāqir Anṣārī went to Bhagalpur, and spread out the carpet of neglect. Those ill-fated ones (Bahādur and his companions) became bold and attacked them, and they were unable to resist and returned to Monghyr. Šādiq K. sent some alert and

<sup>1</sup> The text has بَسْکِی. I.O. MS. 236 has *paskī*. There is the variant *Khweshgī*. This is not the son of S'aid Badakhshī. He did not die

till the 26th year when he was executed by Akbar. See text 374. I believe the word to be *Bangī*, a chewer of bhāng. One MS. has *bangī*.





experienced men to give them battle. By good fortune, Bahadur, 335 who was the ringleader, was killed, while the other rebels fled to Bengal. The pleasant land of Bihar was swept and cleansed of weeds and rubbish. The mandrake<sup>1</sup> grew up instead of the thorn, and the season of joy became active.

<sup>1</sup> *mardam giyā*. The plant is supposed to resemble a man, and possibly the word is here used metaphorically for man. Cf. Isaiah

lv. 13. The mandrake is also called *mihrgiyā*, and is regarded as an aphrodisiac.



## CHAPTER LVI.

### EXPEDITION TO THE PUNJAB, AND THE FAILURE AND RETURN OF HAKĪM M. TO KABUL.

Assuredly the stewards of the privy chamber of fate impel him who is of wide capacity, and great kindness, and who is possessed of great power together with right thinking, to leave to the Deity the amendment of the evil and seditious. If the latter are of a good nature they recall them from their wickedness and send them to make supplications at the Court of the world's lord. Otherwise they confound their evil wishes and deliver them over to failure. The case of this young man of disturbed brain illustrates this. Although reports of his misfeasance reached the ears of H.M. he did not address himself to punish him. He used to say to his servants, "He is a memorial<sup>1</sup> of H.M. Jahānbānī. A son can be acquired but how can a brother be obtained?" He from drunkenness and the intoxication of youth was inflamed of mind, and nourished the thought of contending against God-given dominion. He did not know that a great fire could not be put out by a little water, and that the medicine for a scratch cannot be the plaster for an old gangrene. At the time when the rebels in the eastern provinces were stirring up the dust of dissension, as has already been described, though the imperial servants urged an expedition to that quarter, this did not find acceptance. The reason why it did not obtain assent was because it had flashed upon the holy heart that that evil-wisher would stir up strife in the Panjab. So it turned out, and mortals obtained collyrium for their vision. The Mirzā desired in the previous year to make confusion in the tranquil land of India. M. Sulaimān diverted him to Badakhshān, and his success there increased his audacity. The idle talk of the rebels of the eastern provinces added to this. In the middle of Āzar (December 1580), he sent a body of troops under the command of Hājī Nūru-

<sup>1</sup> See J. III. 383, where this remark is repeated.



d-dīn, and the latter crossed the Indus. M. Yūsuf K. the fiefholder in that country sent an army under the command of Ḥasan Beg. S'aid K. Gakkar and some strenuous men joined this force. As owing to the rapidity of movement a large army had not arrived, it was thought that battle would be given after some days. But who can restrain the augmenters of fortune? In a short time a battle took place, and the enemy was defeated. When the imperial army was about to encamp, a herd of deer suddenly appeared, and Ḥasan Beg was seized by a love of sport. He shot one with an arrow and hastened after it with some companions. On the other side, the fates had stirred up the leader of the other army to come out to see the spectacle. Ḥasan Beg and Ḥājī Nūru-d-dīn encountered one another, and by good fortune the latter was wounded and put to flight. All at once the disturbance ceased. Some of the ill-fated ones were captured, and many lost their lives in the river. The leaven of the rebellious ones was chilled<sup>1</sup> in the neighbourhood of Peshawar and became extinct. He was one of the base wretches of Ḥiṣār. For a time he had behaved ungratefully to the court of Muḥammad Ḥusain<sup>2</sup> M., and when the latter died, he, by a thousand efforts, flung himself among the evil-thinkers of Kabul and acquired some measure of trust.

Though the warlike servants received the reward of their good conduct, yet as it was clear that M. Yūsuf<sup>3</sup> K. did not use foresight and prudence in the management of the frontier: he was removed, and the administration of the neighbourhood of the Indus was made over to Kuar Mān Singh. He marched from Siālkot to manage the country, and from foresight and skill he sent some troops in advance under the charge of Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī. At Rāwalpindi he heard of the arrival of Shādmān on the bank of the Indus. He quickly proceeded to engage him. A battle took place, and by the strength of H. M.'s fortune the enemy was punished. When the Mīrzā heard of the catastrophe of Nūru-d-dīn it did not awaken him from his

<sup>1</sup> *gazak shuda*. Gazak means a relish to wine, and also the turning cold of a wound. I presume the latter is the meaning here.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Sulṭān Ḥusain M. the governor of Qandahar and nephew

of Tahmāsp. Muḥammad Ḥusain went to Persia and was put to death by Ism'ā'īl II. See Maṣṣir III. 246.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently this is the Yūsuf K. who was afterwards thought fit to govern Kashmīr. B. 346.



somnolence, and he dispatched Shādmān, whom he regarded as the sword of his army, with a large force. On 6 Dai that presumptuous one crossed the Indus and proceeded to besiege the fort of Nilāb.<sup>1</sup> Zainu-d-din 'Alī and other servants of Kuar Mān Singh exerted themselves to defend it. When the Kuar arrived, he made over the van to Alū Khān Kachwāha and the *altamsh* to his own brother Sūraj Singh. The enemy was in the slumber of neglect. They were aroused by the sound of the kettledrums and sought to engage. On the 12th the battlefield was adorned. The lovers of honour and  
 337 enemies of their lives strove with one another in a marvellous manner. By the strength of daily-increasing fortune the breeze of victory began to blow. It appears that in the hand-to-hand combats which test men, Rajah Sūraj Singh discomfited the enemy's leader (Shādmān), who was wounded and had to tread with blistered feet the desert of failure. He died in the neighbourhood. He was the son of Sulaimān Beg of Andijān, and his grandfather was Loqmān Beg, who was an honoured servant of H.M. Firdūs Makānī. His mother had watched over the Mīrzā's cradle, and he himself had grown up with the Mīrzā. From his bravery, and success in war, he was highly regarded among the Afghan tribe. On hearing the news, H.M. returned thanks to God, and said to those around him, "It appears that our expedition to the province of the Punjab is near at hand. Though the celestial executants have done our work without our exertions, and are doing it, yet we know that the management of affairs is the helping of God. When the Mīrzā hears of the death of Shādmān, he will, without delay, come to India. The right thing for the time is to take steps for the expedition of the officers of sovereignty." From foresight and knowledge of affairs he sent forward Rai Rai Singh, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl and other loyal officers. An order was also given to the officers of the Indus that if the Mīrzā should proceed to cross the river, they were not to oppose him and to put off an engagement. By the guidance of the Divine kindness, the standards of fortune would shortly cast the shadow of justice on that country. As it had flashed

<sup>1</sup> Elphinstone in his account of Cabul I. 147 says Neelaub is a town fifteen miles below Attock. It is

mentioned in J. II. 325 as a place in the Sind Sagar Dūāb.





upon the heart conjoined with heaven, so did it shine forth. On 14 Bahman news reached the royal hearing of the coming of the Mirzā to the Punjab. The astrologers, under H.M.'s directions, held a meeting to determine the auspicious moment. H.M. paid some attention to the arrangement of the affairs of the capital. And in order that he might keep a watch over the eastern provinces, he stated that for the repose of the kingdom he would leave the pearl of the crown, Sultān Selim, with some high officers, and would go himself to the Punjab. The prince begged through H.H. Miriam-Makānī that he might accompany H.M. The sovereign granted his request and appointed to that high office Sultān Daniel. He appointed Sultān Khwāja, Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram, S. Ibrāhīm and many others to serve the prince. On the 28th corresponding to Monday, 2 Muḥarram 989, 6th February 1581, at an hour which able astrologers approved of, he set off for that province. Fortune accompanied his rein, and victory his stirrup. The star of success shone, and the whiteness of the morning of dominion came out.

(Verses.)

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The far-seeing ones of the court gave him the news of victory. The takers of omens who knew the stars made inquiries of the heavens. From caution and foresight the places of the combatants were determined, and the warlike equipments were made ready. The baton-holders (i.e. guards)<sup>1</sup> of Thursday and Friday took their places under the shadow of the august standards. The officers of Saturday and Wednesday were on the right wing, and those of Monday and Tuesday were on the left. The warriors of Sunday were in the van. At the beginning of this expedition, news came of a fresh victory and gave joy and repose to the superficial and to the spiritually illuminated.

<sup>1</sup> This means that they were in the centre. The passage may be compared with that at the end of Ain 17 of the 1st Book, B. 48, but the arrangement is different. See

also B. 115. The word for guards is *kishkdārān*. According to B. 115 it would appear that 15 was the strength of each guard.



## CHAPTER LVII.

### VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS, AND THE VAGABONDAGE IN THE DESERT OF FAILURE OF M'AŞŪM K. FARANKHŪDĪ.

Shahbāz K. was by his success and his failure awakened from the dream of self-admiration, and proceeded on with skill and activity. He took the right road, and was soon ready for battle. The wicked ingrate, whose time for prudence and shame had come, fell into a profound slumber, and set about gathering his forces. He spent in ingratitude the accumulated treasures of this enduring dominion. He sent for his household and the men whom he had sent into places difficult of access. His idea was that he was promoting the cohesion of men, while those who knew, let their lips run over with laughter because he was seeking the means of destroying his reputation. The warriors of fortune formed into line and proceeded against the enemy. That shameless and turbulent one also came out of his quarters. In the centre Jajhār K. Khāṣa Khel brought to the market the substance of wickedness. 'Arab had the right wing of those who had lost their honour. Niyābat K. swaggered in the left wing. Shāh Dāna was in the van of failure. M'aşūm himself was in the reserve and was accumulating the materials for his own destruction. On 24 Bahman (2nd February 1581) the brave and fortunate soldiers decked the battlefield seven kos  
 339 from the town of Awadh. The wretch prepared stratagems, and delayed in advancing. Most were of opinion that on that day there would not be a fight. The army which was aided by heaven set about intrenching themselves. Just then that wily one, whose fortune was somnolent, came forward in quest of battle. The heroes rapidly turned their attention to combat. First, the van charged with mountain-like elephants and drove off the enemy's van. The enemy's right wing pressed against the imperial left wing, but at last was nearly being defeated by the firmness of the imperialists, when their courage was reinvigorated by their reserve. By the jugglery of fate things were nearly becoming serious for the victors



(the imperialists), when the van and the *altamsh* came up after driving off their opponents. By the help of God the rebels disgraced themselves and fled. The imperial right wing also prevailed over the enemy's left, and cleared the field of that evil crew. Some noted elephants who in the previous battle had fallen into the hands of the enemy, turned round and did good service, and contributed to the victory. By the wondrous working of fate, the lamps of joy were lighted up eleven<sup>1</sup> days after the first battle, and he who was ruined in faith and fortune retreated in confusion to Awadh. All his possessions—which formed the element of his intoxication—fell into the hands of the imperial servants, and most of those who had gone astray received enlightenment and took the path of bliss, and turned aside from the defiles of ingratitude. *Shahbāz K.* thought his victory a great boon and did not stir half a step from the field of battle. Either he had not the courage, or prudence suggested this course. Either there was not time, or the foolish fancies of cowards prevailed. Owing to this inopportune halting the disheartened enemy escaped, and the termination of affairs was somewhat postponed. *M'aṣūm* after a thousand distresses reached his home. Though he wished to lay his hand on his heart, which was in a thousand pieces, and to draw his foot within the skirt of patience, he did not find in himself the necessary resolution. Suddenly he heard a false report about *Shahbāz K.* and he came a little to himself. Apparently some active men of the victorious army had plundered a suburb of the city and turned back. 'Arab came with a few men, and engaged them, and some of the imperialists were killed. Fly-like persons spread the report that *Shahbāz K.* was among them. The wicked one came forward on hearing this news and soon found that it was a mistake. He set himself to watch the inside and outside of the city, and to make safe the towers and walls. As his star was con- 340  
sumed, his designs continually failed, and whatever he thought would be good became injurious. For instance, he placed a gun on the top of the gate and made it ready. Owing to the wrath of God,

<sup>1</sup> The text has fifteen, but as the first battle was fought on 13th Bahman and the second on the 24th id. *panzdaham* must be a mistake for

*yāzdaham*, as is very often the case. The English date is 2nd February 1581.



as soon<sup>1</sup> as it was fired off the roof (of the gateway) split and so conveyed the news of failure. The deceitful mercenaries dispersed, and M'asūm fell into evil case. His comrades were ready to fly, and the might of the world-conquering army continually increased. He had not the strength to come out of that wall of misfortune. Nor could he remain in those defiles of difficulty. On account of his numerous family he did not sever<sup>2</sup> the thread of association (did not die?). At this crisis 'Arab and Niyābat K. and Shāh Dāna—who were the mainstay of his infatuation—separated themselves. They shod<sup>3</sup> their horses backwards and went off by cross roads. That man who was deserving of vagabondage (M'asūm) left his household and his accumulations of many years and fled. When he had gone some way he chose to separate from the double-faced ones who accompanied him and set off with seven companions. They all disguised themselves by shaving<sup>4</sup> off the hair on their faces, etc., and he departed like a madman to obscurity and ruin. At the time of failure the zamindar of Gawāric<sup>5</sup> joined them, and out of old acquaintance took him to his house. By pretended friendship, and by humouring their folly, he took from them what money and goods they possessed, and then sacrificing the maintenance of old obligations to brigandage,<sup>6</sup> he dismissed them. M'asūm sometimes rode himself, and sometimes mounted his son. He crossed the Sarū (the Gogra or Sarjū) in a wretched condition. Rajah Mān, the landholder of that part of the country, took him to his house, and helped him. Shāhbāz K. heard of this and held out threats and promises to induce

<sup>1</sup> *Bām dīrham shikast*. The Iqbāl-nāma has *bām-i-darwāza*, so that apparently *bām* does not mean the roof of the gun.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably this means that he did not commit suicide.

<sup>3</sup> فعل واژون برسته را چلیا (چلیا) در نوشتند

Probably the expression is used metaphorically.

<sup>4</sup> *cār zarb shuda*. Cf. text 307 and translation, p. 574, of vol. I. The

Iqbāl-nāma has *qalandar wār* "like Calendars."

<sup>5</sup> Text كوج. But apparently it is the Gawāra of J. II. 174 and Ain text I. 435. The word is Gawāric. It is a pargana in the Gonda district. See *Oude Gazetteer*.

<sup>6</sup> *qazzāqī*. But this is not the word in the I.O. MSS. Apparently the true reading is افراقی (or it may be *firāqī*) *iftarāqī* "separation" and the meaning is "giving a sorry ending to old obligations." The Iqbāl-nāma says he kept him 2 or 3 days.



him to deliver up M'aṣūm or to kill him. He refused,<sup>1</sup> but secretly consigned him to vagabondage, giving him some companions under pretext of their being guides. On account of the jewels which, it was supposed, he possessed, he arranged to have him killed. M'aṣūm read on their foreheads what was intended, and corrupted them by gold, and made wide steps to the abode of obscurity. On the day after the victory Shahbāz K. entered the city of Awadh and the whole of his family, etc. fell into his hands. One hundred and fifty elephants were captured, and everything that M'aṣūm possessed, whether of physical goods or of honour, was plundered. An instructive lesson was given to mankind, and the evil consequences of ingratitude were again impressed on the heart of the age. The news was communicated in the neighbourhood of the capital, and the far-seeing ones of the court regarded it as the presage of other victories. H. M. offered up thanksgivings to God and exalted the loyal servants by great favours. From abundant kindness he ordered that Shahbāz K. should preserve the family of the rebel, for what crime had these weak and secluded ones done in this insurrection?

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It was reported that M'aṣūm would convey himself by the skirts of the northern mountains to the rebellious Kābulis. Out of caution Qulij K. was sent off with some active men to that neighbourhood. On 10 Isfandarmaz Delhi was distinguished by H. M.'s advent, and the shrines of the saints were illuminated by his intercessions. Hitherto the advance camp had not preceded by more than four *kos*. It was now ordered that it should precede by not less than six *kos*. On the 12th the royal standards cast their shade on the town of Sonpat (28m. N.W. Delhi). Qulij K. came back from his expedition and did homage. The vagabondage and wretchedness of the turbulent-brained one (M'aṣūm) were confirmed.

One of the occurrences was that the cup of the life of Qiyā K. Kang (or Gang) became full. From the time that the pleasant land of Bengal became stained with rebellion, he with some brave and loyal men was passing his days in Orissa. Though he had not the ability to calm the disturbance, yet he kept that country free from

<sup>1</sup> *ba rāh-i-inkār shilāft*. "He hastened along the path of denial." Apparently the meaning is that he

only ostensibly refused, but in reality meditated the putting him to death.



the dust of opposition. At the time when it became denuded of the imperial troops, Qutlū K. with a large force showed fight and gained the upper hand. Qiyā K. brought together warlike materials and took refuge in a fort. On account of the length of the war, and the desertion of his comrades, he fell into distress. At last he, together with some heroes who loved their honour, made a good fight and gathered an eternal good name.<sup>1</sup>

On the 17th<sup>2</sup> H.M. encamped near Thānessar. As he pays little regard to himself and always seeks the company of the servants of God he visited the cell of S. Jalāl, who had spent his life in the worship of God, and whom men regarded as a saint. The Shaikh made his supplications according to the measure of his knowledge and represented, "At this day our wishes are bound up in the assistance of the truthful throne-occupant. For his pleasure, the heavens revolve." He implored his blessing and begged for a statement of truths. The world's Lord made some acute remarks and solved some difficulties. He (Akbar) discoursed eloquently. Many heart-impressing words illuminated the holy temple of the dervish. At a hint from H.M. the author of this noble volume asked the Shaikh, saying, "You have spent a long life, and have enjoyed the society of the good. Can you tell of a cure for melancholy?" And have you obtained a remedy for a heart distracted by opposing desires?

**342** At first he answered by tears, and then he recited this verse.

*Verse.*<sup>3</sup>

Oh, for sweet content, Oh, Oh!

It has closed to pride the path of both worlds!

<sup>1</sup> There were two Qiyā K.—Qiyā Gang, and Qiyā Ṣāhib Ḥasan. It seems that Qiyā and his companions sallied forth, and as the Iqbāl-nāma expresses it, bought everlasting glory with the coin of life.

<sup>2</sup> The 17th Isfandarmaz, 28 February 1581.

<sup>3</sup> I am not sure if I have understood the verse correctly, and if the saint wished to extol resignation or renunciation (istighnā) or to regret

it. The interjection "Ah" occurs thrice and seems to be intended to express sorrow. However the lines may mean, "Hail contentment, for has closed the path of ambition for both worlds." There is an account of the Shaikh in Badayūnī, Lowe 322, and in III.3. He says he was the successor of S. 'Abdu-l-qaddūs Gangohī, and that he attained the age of 93. He died in 989 (1582). See also J. III. 374 where there is an account of



One of the occurrences was the death of Khawāja Shāh Manṣūr the Diwan. Alexander Zu-al-qarnīn was accustomed to say to his special intimates, "Boon companions and jesters are of one class. Their business is nothing but to promote mirth by means of witticisms and wonderful stories, without regard to their truth. They replenish with oil the lamp of enjoyment, and by effective hits enhance pleasure, and trick out the bride of delight in every limb (*ba har haft*, lit. with all seven. See Vullers II, 1458<sup>6</sup>). The class of the pillars of the court, who are, as it were, the hand and arms, is different. All their business is to arrange for ministering to the dissensions of the world, and curing the aged, old, and stricken ones of the Age. They utter things which may heal the distractions of the time and may compose what is confused and so tranquillize the world. They make joy allied with security, and if purchasers be not at hand, they meditate remedies in silence and right thinking. Every evil which occurs to the palace of dominion is chiefly occasioned by those two classes leaving their proper work." He also continually said to his officers, "Whoever, with the idea of flattering us, leaves the highway of truth, and lets drop the reins of right consideration, and promotes our prosperity by harsh dealings with the soldiers and subjects, and who seeks by improper means, and incorrect statements, to increase the treasures of dominion will assuredly cause the stewards of destiny to turn our hearts from him, and will receive condign punishment." The case of the Khawāja is a fresh instance of this. From love of office and cupidity he was always laying hold of trifles in financial matters, and dis-

'Abdu-l-qaddās, and B. 538 where the Shaikh is called Jalālu-d dīn. See also the Khazīna-al Aṣfiyā, vol. I, p. 440, where it is stated that the saint died at the age of 95 on 14 Zi-ḥajja 989 (9 January 1582). He was originally from Balkh and belonged to the Cistī order. See also the Safina-al-auliya of Dārā Shikoh ed. Newal Kishore, p. 101. It is curious that Dārā says nothing about his great-grandfather's visit to the Shaikh. The Iqbāl-nāma tells

the story and helps us towards understanding it. It says that A.F. asked the Shaikh, at the end of the interview, what was the remedy for the pain of search (*dard-e-ṭalab*) and the near way to the attainment of desires; the Shaikh wept and then repeated the lines. The Iqbāl-nāma adds that the Shaikh was respected by all, that for eighty years he read the whole of the Qoran every day, and that he never went out of his cell.





the Iqbāl-nāma etc. it appears that it was the Khwāja, and not Malik Sānī, who was thus dealt with. Some MSS. add that the Khwāja was imprisoned, and this is supported by the Iqbāl-nāma.



longed to Firūzpūr—which was the Khwāja's fief—had opened negotiations with the Mirzā (Hakim) and would soon join him. At this news the wrath of the sovereign blazed forth, and an order was given that if the Khwāja would engage to produce the man (the writer) and give proper security for this, he should remain, as before, in prison. Otherwise, he was to be put to death in order that the short-sighted and covetous might be punished, and that a lesson might be given to the wicked and those of crooked mind. He in reply uttered injudicious words, and could not furnish security. Out of kindness H.M. ordered that if Khwāja Sulaimān,<sup>1</sup> who was related to him by marriage and had a brotherly friendship for him, would engage for him, his security should be accepted. That cowardly one was struck with terror, and turned round, and from fear of his own life went aside. Inasmuch as the time was confused owing to the presence of envious people, and the season was critical, and the grandees were plotting against his life, of necessity an order was passed for capitally punishing him. The servants<sup>2</sup> were bound by an order and hung him on a tree near the serai of Kot Kacwāha. From want of understanding and narrow-mindedness (*tabiyat dosti*), Turk and Tājik (i.e. all classes) were pleased, and there was great rejoicing in the camp. It generally happens that envious and artful persons who are self-interested act in this way, and that there is retribution for selfishness and for evil-mindedness towards the weak.

*Verse.*

Be not severe in the world's work,  
 For every oppressor has a severe death (?).  
 Beware, and have pity on the weak,  
 Be afraid of the severity of fortune.

He was contentious, or had not the art of living. He ruined the houses of men in order to improve his own. For his own advantage he destroyed a number of poor people. He did not read the signs of the times, and did not distinguish between the season of conciliation and that of strictness. But there is seldom found

<sup>1</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma says that when Akbar found out his error, K. Sulaimān fell into disgrace.

<sup>2</sup> *Khidmat-pazīrān*. The servants meant are the *Khidmatīyyas* of B. 252.



such an acute accountant and one so laborious, so discriminating, and so plausible of speech. If he had had a little piety to God, a little **344** loyalty to the lord of the universe, some kindness to the people, and a little absence of cupidity and injuriousness, he never would have come to this end from the wrath of the Shahinshāh, nor have been caught in this illustration of the Divine anger. The appreciative monarch often uttered with his pearly tongue, "From that day the market of accounts was flat and the thread of accounting dropped from the hand." He assigned the office of Vizier to Qulij K., and gave orders that Zain K. Kokaltāsh and Hakīm Abū-l-Fath should also be present in the Vizier's office, and should superintend matters.

*Notes.*

In Faiẓi's poems B.M. MS. Add. 25981, p. 282b, and also on p. 287 of another B.M. MS. of the same author there is an epigram which describes the joy of the public at being delivered from Manṣūr's tyranny.

NOTE ABOUT SHĀH MANṢŪR'S DEATH.

The story of Shāh Manṣūr is a very sad one, and throws a lurid light on the morals of Akbar's officers. A.F.'s account is, as usual, obscure, and has to be explained by the T.A., the Iqbāl-nāma, Badayānī, Lowe 300, and the Maasir. al-Umarā I. 653. See also Noer's Akbar, Mrs. Beveridge's translation, II. 52. We learn from the T.A., Elliot V. 422, and from A.F., that Mān Singh sent to Akbar some letters that he had found in Shādmān's portfolio. Shādmān was defeated and killed near the Indus on 12 Dai (about 22 December 1580) and Akbar got the news before leaving Fathpūr. Presumably Mān Singh sent the letters he had found in Shādmān's portfolio along with the news of the victory. The T.A. tells us there were three of them, viz. one from M. Muḥammad Hakīm to Hakīm-al-mulk, one to Muḥammad Qāsim Mir Baḥr, and one to Khwāja Manṣūr. They purported to be replies by Hakīm M. to friendly letters received from these three persons. We are told by A.F., p. 342, that Akbar considered these letters to be forgeries, and did not show them to Manṣūr. They either were forgeries, or very stale documents, for one of them was addressed to Hakīm-al-mulk who had gone off to Mecca in August 1580 (see A.N. 317). Possibly, however, the person meant is Hakīm Ain-al-mulk the faujdār of Sambal. See text III. 348. From Fathpūr Akbar moved out to Bād Serai 15 kos off, and there he heard of Shabbāz's victory near the city of Ajodhya (Elliot V. 422). He continued his march and reached Delhi on 10 Isfandārmaz (about 20 February 1581). Two days later he was at Sonpat, 28 m. N.W. Delhi, and here it was that Malik Ṣānī formerly in the service of





M. Ḥakīm, arrived, and as the T.A. informs us, put up at the quarters of Manṣūr (Sonpat is the place mentioned by A.F. The T.A. says Panipat, which is a station some 25 m. further on). Here Akbar, whose former suspicions had been increased by Malik Ṣānī's arrival, showed Manṣūr the papers that had been found in Shādmān's portfolio. On 17 Isfandarmaz (about 27 February) Akbar reached Thānesar and had the interview with Jalāl S. From there he went on to Shahabad in the Ambāla district, and here it was that the kotwāl of the camp, Malik 'Alī, produced on 19 Isfandarmaz the letters which he said had been obtained in Sirhind from a courier of Sharaf Beg who was Khwāja Manṣūr's agent and in charge of his estate at Firūzpūr. These letters sealed Manṣūr's fate and led to his being hanged at Koṭ Kacwāha, which according to Blochmann 431, n. 2, is a village on the road from Karnāl to Ludhiāna. Presumably it is near Shāhābād. The Khulāṣat Tawārīkh states that it was between Shāhābād and Patāla. The same authority denies that Todar Mal had any hand in the intrigues against the Khwāja. It adds that Akbar found out his mistake ten days afterwards. We are told by Nizāmud-dīn, Elliot V. 426, that the letters on which Manṣūr was hanged were forged by Shāhbāz K.'s brother Karam Ullah. According to the Maaṣir I. 157, Karam Ullah was the tool of Todar Mal. The Maaṣir gives the chronogram of Manṣūr's death Ṣānī Manṣūr Ḥallāj, "A second Manṣūr Ḥallāj," alluding to the martyrdom of this Sūfī in A.D. 922. The B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247, Rieu's Cat. I. 247, contains some remarkable variations from the Bib. Ind. text and from most MSS., in its account of Shāh Manṣūr's death. It is evidently a different recension. One valuable thing is that in several places it gives the corresponding Hijra date instead of only the Divine era dates as in the Bib. Ind. text. Thus at p. 343 it tells us that 19 Isfandarmaz, which it calls the Farwardīn day, corresponds to 23 Muḥarram. Consequently it was 28 February 1581. Then it adds that the letters were obtained by Malik 'Alī from the enemy's camp. It also states that two days before—viz. 17 Isfandarmaz, Sunday, 21 Muḥarram—Pāk Dās was made *diwān*. It also says that Akbar did not want to put Manṣūr to death, but was induced to do so by Rajah Bīrbar and others, and it adds that Manṣūr was hanged on a *Kaika*, i.e. bābul or acacia tree. The explanation of his death too is differently worded. A.F. in this MS. admits more clearly than in text that Manṣūr was wrongly convicted and suggests that he must have committed sins on former occasions (in a previous life?).

<sup>1</sup> Probably this is the Khwāja Malik 'Alī mentioned at B. 515.

The title Mīr Shāh may mean that he was the night-watch.





## CHAPTER LVIII.

## THE FAILURE OF HAKĪM M. AND HIS HASTY RETURN TO KABUL.

The enlightened<sup>1</sup> gatherers of experience, and the illuminated souls of those who walk with circumspection, do not accept truths in advance of evidence, and do not hasten on to beliefs with poverty in arguments. Every great man, who at the time of increase of realm and power keeps the rose-garden of his heart fresh and verdant by the irrigating waters of justice, and who regards his prosperity as material for supplication to God and gives to his thoughts and actions the adornment of auspiciousness, and who regards himself as a trustee appointed by God, and watches over soldier and subject, and who applies the balm of soothing speech and kindness to the distressed and broken, shall assuredly have his wishes accomplished without having to entreat the help of sellers of service and will execute easily difficult enterprises. These things are apparent in the early career of the world's lord, and this noble record tells somewhat of them. The ruin of the Mirzā is a fresh instance of this, and will be recognized as such by the awakened and fortunate.

When some disaffection arose in India, and the fire of discord attacked part of it, the villains of that country and the foolish ones of Afghanistan<sup>2</sup> bewildered that misguided young man and led him to indulge in vain thoughts. He sent some soldiers and stirred up strife. Retribution followed, and he ought to have awaked from his somnolence, and have felt ashamed and have endeavoured to remedy his backslidings. On the contrary, he hastened to make war.

When he crossed the Indus, the officers of that quarter obeyed

<sup>1</sup> There are variants, and the paragraph is obscure. Apparently it means that prudent people do not believe without evidence, and that Akbar's career furnished the necessary evidence of the statement that great men who are good attain their

ends without the help of self-interested persons.

<sup>2</sup> Text Zābulistān. At p. 408 of J. II. A.F. says that *Ghaznī* was formerly called Zābulistān and that some reckon Qandahar as included in it.





the royal command and gathered together at Lahore and prepared to defend the fort. M. Yūsuf<sup>1</sup> K. put down his foot to defend Rohtās and no one joined the evil-thoughted one. Far less did any of the enlightened ones. He read the writing of failure on the soldiers,<sup>2</sup> and he did not see any of the peasantry inclined towards him. Hopelessness from time to time augmented his anguish. He 345 pleased himself with the lies of foolish talkers, and spent his days in idle fancies. He brayed the wind in a mortar, and sifted water with a sieve! At last he came to besiege Lahore. By untimely efforts he laboured to open the knot of his own destruction! Though the retreat of the imperialists rejoiced him for a time, yet he had heard much of the deeds of those lovers of honour and foes of life. Their not fighting at this time encouraged his hopes. He trembled at the courage and activity of the world's lord, but was supported by not hearing of his advance.

When the moment chosen by heaven arrived, H.M. turned his sun towards the Panjab. Joy circulated in the brain of the age.....

*Verse.*

The world's lord marched on tranquilly, hunting by the way. Though he advanced from stage to stage, no report came of his (M. Ḥakīm's) having fled. No dust of apprehension clouded his soul. The evil-minded rejoiced from thinking that he (M. Ḥakīm) intended to fight, while the auspicious and acute were glad from the thought that he would be defeated. With his pearl-laden tongue he (Akbar) said, "Something tells me that his standing his ground comes from his not believing that the royal standards are approaching. Idle talkers have impressed a different opinion on him. Probably when we reach Sirhind, we shall hear of his flight." What that knower of the secrets of destiny had said, came to pass. On the same<sup>3</sup> day that the standards left the capital the Mirzā stirred

<sup>1</sup> B. 346. He was a Saiyid of Mashhad.

<sup>2</sup> The soldiers meant are Akbar's, and the sentence means that M. Ḥakīm did not find any readiness on their part to mutiny.

<sup>3</sup> If Ferishta is correct, this statement is not quite correct. Akbar

left Fathpūr on 2 Muḥarram 989 (6 February) and Ferishta says M. Ḥakīm arrived at Lahore on 11 Muḥarram 989—15 February, 1581. In Add. MS. 27. 247 it is stated that M. Ḥakīm arrived at Lahore 2 Muḥarram, stayed 22 days, and left on Monday the 23rd Muḥarram.



up the dust of strife near Lahore and spent twenty<sup>1</sup> days in melancholy joy in that garden of Mahdī Qāsim K., and shot arrows at an imaginary target. S'aid K., Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Kuar Mān Singh, Saiyid Hāmid K. (Bokhārī), Muḥammad Zamān and other fiefholders of the Panjab strengthened the fort somewhat and prepared for war. As the order was, not to engage, they abode in the batteries and from prudence they restrained the beturbaned (i.e. the  
**346** learned) foolish talkers of the city from making confusion. By the help of God they prevented the gates from being opened.<sup>2</sup> Several times did Sher Khwāja, Nād 'Alī, Qorbān 'Alī and Mir Sikandar make attacks from the side of the besiegers, but they received<sup>3</sup> buffets from God's hand. The Mirzā became from time to time more distressed on account of the non-advancement of the work, and showed dissatisfaction with his prating companions. Suddenly his brain was worsened by the sound of the approach of the Shāhinshāh. He quickly turned to fly. He crossed the Rāvī one kos above Mahdī Qāsim K.'s garden and hastened off in confusion to Kabul. On that night he halted for a while in the neighbourhood of Shāham 'Alī, and then crossed the Cenāb near Jalālābād.<sup>4</sup> Many of his companions lost their lives in that crossing. Near Bhera he crossed the Bihat, and many also perished in its waves. He crossed the Indus by the way of Khīp<sup>5</sup> and returned to his own country. When H.M.

<sup>1</sup> The variant "twenty days" is supported by the I.O. MSS. and by Add. 27, 247. That MS. says, 324b, that M. Ḥakīm reached Lahore on the day of Zamyād the 28th (Bahman) Divine month of the 25th year corresponding to 2 Muḥarram (6th February, 1681), and that he left it on 19 Isfandarmaz—Monday, 23 Muḥarram. This makes his stay there to have been 22 days.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the meaning is—"they, the turbaned citizens, relying on God, wanted to open the gates and fight."

<sup>3</sup> *Mālīsh yāftand*. I think this must mean "were punished," and

that these are names of M. Ḥakīm's men, and the Ikbāl-nāma takes this view. See also p. 363 where Sher Khwājāh plunders the royal treasure. But B. 508 speaks of a Nādī 'Alī serving against M. Ḥakīm in the 26th year. He did join Akbar afterwards, but in the end of the 25th year he was on M. Ḥakīm's side.

<sup>4</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma has Jalālpūr, and says that M. Ḥakīm plundered Bhera. Add. 27, 247, says he crossed on a raft.

<sup>5</sup> There is the variant Khīt. But I believe the word to be Karpah, the Carrapa of Elphinstone. See J. II. 401 n., and A. N. II. 239.



heard of this, his royal clemency was put in motion and an order was issued that the army should refrain from pursuit lest in the rush of waters the Mirzā's boat should be sunk, and his condition pass beyond the power of remedies. "If that unfortunate one does not understand matters, and does not acquire enlightenment, why shall we, who have such glory of wisdom, erase his existence. Possibly he may in time gain sense, and the highway of vision may be manifested to him. Moreover in the balance of appreciation a brother is weightier than a son (because the former cannot be replaced).

(Here follow about five lines of rhetoric.)

On the 24th (Isfandarmaz ?) the army encamped at Sirhind and H.M. rested in the delightful gardens<sup>1</sup> of that city.

One of the occurrences was the revival of the laws of administration. Inasmuch as the far-seeing prince from time to time gives a new foundation to prudence, and regards the improvement of the world as the worship of God, on this occasion a pleasant thought occurred to him. An order was issued that the *jāgīrdārs*, *shiqdārs*, and *dāroghās* of the empire should reduce to writing the numbers and the occupations of the inhabitants, village by village, and should classify<sup>2</sup> them. They were not to allow any one to live without some trade or occupation, and they were to look narrowly into 347 the income and expenditure of men—who are composed of the good and the bad—so that in a short space of time the outwardly good, but inwardly bad, might be discovered, and the false, gold-incrusted coin might be brought to the place of weighment. By this enlightened order there was a market-day of graciousness, and the wide territory of India received a great calm. On the 28th he crossed the Sutlej at Maciwāra by a noble bridge. In that neighbourhood the Panjab officers did homage. Each was exalted by special favours. Thanksgivings were offered up for the successful results.

<sup>1</sup> *Bāgh-i-dilkusha*. Probably the allusion is to the gardens of Hāfiz Raknah. See J. II. 281.

<sup>2</sup> This passage about the census is translated in Elliot VI. 61.

Elliot renders this—"that these

lists should all be collected together," and perhaps the true meaning is that the lists should be digested and made into a general statement.



## CHAPTER LIX.

BEGINNING OF THE 26TH DIVINE YEAR FROM HOLY ACCESSION,  
TO WIT, THE YEAR ARDIBIHISHT OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

### *Verse.*

The dominion-flag of the New Year was unfurled on the  
plain,  
The bounty of the Holy Spirit was shed from on high.  
Such an air it was that Paradise halted in surprise.<sup>1</sup>  
Such an earth that heaven rose up in astonishment.

On the night of Thursday, 5 Šafar 989, 10 or 11 March 1581, after the passing of 6 hours 22 minutes, the light-dispenser of the spiritual and physical world, the lord of the visible and invisible universe, cast a glance of favour on the Sign of Aries. The material and spiritual kingdoms became full of light. A feast of joy was prepared, and there was a loud sound of delight. As the protection of the community is a thing inscribed on the frontispiece of sovereignty, it struck his celestial mind that, as by the aid of heaven the pleasant land of the Panjab had been swept and cleansed of the weeds and rubbish of sedition-mongers, so might the inhabitants of the banks of the Indus be refreshed by the irrigation of justice, and the sorrow of the afflicted be ended. Also some prudent and diplomatic persons had been sent and had by salutary counsels amended the disposition of the Mirzā. Wise words spoken close at hand make an impression such as thousands spoken from a distance do not make. H.M. also had the intention of laying the foundation of a lofty fortress on the bank of the river so that the savages of that region might speedily acquire bliss, and the imperial servants might receive protection. With this holy design he proceeded towards that quarter.

**348** One of the occurrences was that H.M. turned his thoughts

<sup>1</sup> Text *tahyīr*, "giving the preference," but the I.O. MSS. have *tahay-yar* "being astonished."



towards Nagarkot.<sup>1</sup> When he heard of the wonders of that ancient place of pilgrimage, and especially of the restoration there of tongues that had been cut off, his truth-seeking heart was attracted towards that place. At this time, when he was near that spot, the wondrous tale again occurred to him, and on the 15th<sup>2</sup> (Farwardin) he went thither with a few special intimates to see the marvel. At the first stage Rajah Jai Cand the ruler of the fort came and was exalted by doing homage. When a watch of the night had passed, H.M., in order to give men a rest, alighted in the town of Desūha.<sup>3</sup> Rajah Birbar, who was the fief-holder there, came and offered presents. The difficulties of the way and the rugged defiles had somewhat fatigued the companions of dominion, but from awe of the Divine majesty—which is a powerful closer of the tongue—no one ventured to say anything. During that night a spiritual<sup>4</sup> form—which had wondrous powers—appeared in the secret place of dreams. It recited the lofty rank of the world's lord and restrained<sup>5</sup> him from his intention. In the morning he mentioned the vision and returned. A great delight took possession of every one.

Between Khokowāl<sup>6</sup> and Kānwāhan<sup>6</sup> he crossed the Beās by a bridge, and on the 17th arrived at the pleasant city of Kalānūr. He enjoyed himself in its garden.<sup>7</sup>

One of the occurrences was the defeat of 'Arab Bahādur. When M'aqūm K. Farankhūdi went to ruin from his ill-fatedness, 'Arab Bahādur, Niyābat K., and Shāh Dāna and many evil-minded

<sup>1</sup> Kāngra. See I. G. XIV. 397, J. II. 312 and J. III. 306, where there is a good deal said about Nagarkot. See also Murray's Guide to the Panjab. A.F., B. 114, records how a recluse who cut off his tongue and flung it towards the threshold of Akbar's palace had it restored.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247, has 11th day of Khūr corresponding to Tuesday, 15 Šafar (21 March 1581).

<sup>3</sup> J. II. 316. The Dasūya of the I.G. XI. 194.

<sup>4</sup> B.M. MS. 27, 247, calls her Mahāmāyā and says that the goddess said

that she and a 100 like her were not worthy of Akbar's visit.

<sup>5</sup> In the Bārī Dūāb, J. II. 319. Gladwin has Ghoghawal and the Khulāṣa-t-Tawārīkh seems to have Gobindwāl, which approaches the variant Khondwāl.

<sup>6</sup> The text has Kānwadahan, the Khulāṣat has Kānwāhan, which, it says, is a royal hunting-place. See the "India of Aurangzīb" by Jadū Nāth Sarkār, p. 103.

<sup>7</sup> Called by Add. 27, 247 Bāgh Rūḥfāzā (the inspiring garden).