



suddenly appeared. This was a pleasure to H.M., and he rewarded him with royal favours. Also in the neighbourhood of Nārṇol, Khān A'zim M. Koka came a long journey from Gujrat on the wings of affection and did homage. He was exalted by glorious favours from the Shāhīnshāh. In the beginning of Dai, Divine month, the delightful spot of Ajmīr was visited by H.M., and he circumambulated the shrine. Justice and liberality were dispensed, and night and day there were glorious festivals in that Martyr's plot. All classes of men experienced his bounty. The chief philosophers and the leading men of learning sought enlightenment from the holy words of H.M., and seekers after the spiritual and temporal kingdom gained their desires. May the world-adorning Creator long preserve his holy frame so that he may complete the defective and exalt those who are perfect in faith!

At the time when Ajmīr was blessed by the presence of H.M., Rai Rai Singh came in haste from Fort Siwāna and reported that Candar Sen, the son of Māldeo, was making a disturbance in Jodhpūr, and that the army which had gone to take Siwāna had not been able to put him down. If an army of the combatants of fortune were sent against him, things would have a happy termination. His representation was approved of, and he was treated with favour and sent back to his work. Taiyib Khān, Saiyid Beg Toqbāi, Subhān Qulī Turk Kharrām, 'Aẓmat Khān, Sewa Dās, and many able servants were sent against Candar Sen. That ill-fated one withdrew from Rāmpūr to the steep mountains. The victorious army, knowing that the daily-increasing fortune of the world's Khedive made difficulties easy, proceeded to the hill-country. They were partially successful, and many of the guilty were trodden under foot. The wretch (Candar) could not withstand them and became a vagabond in the desert of destruction. The *ghāzīs* from inexperience and shortsightedness regarded his flight as the end of the task and returned to court without being summoned. When H.M. heard of this, he, in order to give a lesson in the laws of service, degraded those astrayed ones from the position of trust.

In a short time H.M. had disposed of the affairs of that part of the country, and on the day of Rām 21 Dai, Divine month, he distinguished the Khān A'zim with great favours, and sent him away to manage the affairs of Gujrat. He himself proceeded towards the

R



capital. One of the occurrences was that for the comfort of travellers he issued an order that at every kos of the way from Agra to Ajmīr a pillar¹ (*minār*) should be set up, and be adorned with deer horns so that those who had lost their way might have a mark, and that strength might be given to the fatigued.

¹ Some of these pillars still exist. Badāyūnī is sarcastic about the benefit of them.



CHAPTER XXI.

THE ARRIVAL OF H.M. AT THE CAPITAL (AND BUILDING
OF A HOUSE OF WORSHIP).

H.M. had in the course of seven months done the work of many years in conquering new countries, administering the old, in favouring the sincere and serviceable, and overthrowing the ungrateful, in extending justice, in general benevolence, and in advancing the science of worship. On the day of Ardibihisht (18 January 1575) 3 Bahman, Divine month, he illuminated Fathpūr by his presence.

Quâtrain.

What ray is it that fortune sheds upon the earth ?
What commotion is it that dominion casts into the sky ?
Is it the dust of the cortège or the breeze of success
Which sends a fragrance of peace and repose to the nostrils
of my soul ?

The degrees of sovereignty and the stages of world conquest, 112 which are based upon increase of wisdom, and on perception, went on augmenting, and that which is apt to become in mortals, whether in former or in present times, a source of insouciance, only increased his circumspection. Although Almighty God raised the pure-dispositioned one to lofty heights, viz., to increased territory, abundance of devotees, the overthrow of enemies, the gaining possession of the wonders of the world, and the opening of the doors of knowledge, and lofty perception, yet this suppliant of Deity increased his supplications, and the thirst for inquiry augmented.

At this¹ time when the capital (Fathpūr Sikrī) was illuminated by his glorious advent, H.M. ordered that a house of worship ('Ibādatkhāna) should be built in order to the adornment of the spiritual kingdom, and that it should have four verandahs (aiwān).

¹ The order for the building of the 'Ibādatkhāna was given in Zi-lqāda 982, February-March, 1575.

Though the Divine bounty always has an open door and searches for the fit person, and the inquirer, yet as the lord of the universe, from his general benevolence, conducts his measures according to the rules of the superficial, he chose the eve of Friday,¹ which bears on its face the colouring (*ghāza*) of the announcement of auspiciousness, for the out-pouring (*ifāzat*). A general proclamation was issued that, on that night of illumination, all orders and sects of mankind—those who searched after spiritual and physical truth, and those of the common public who sought for an awakening, and the inquirers² of every sect—should assemble in the precincts of the holy edifice, and bring forward their spiritual experiences, and their degrees of knowledge of the truth in various and contradictory forms in the bridal chamber of manifestation.

Wisdom and deeds would be tested, and the essence of manhood would be exhibited. Those who were founded on truth entered the hall of acceptance, while those who were only veneered with gold went hastily to the pit of base metal. There was a feast of theology and worship. The vogue of creature-worship³ was reduced. The dust-stained ones of the pit of contempt became adorners of dominion, and the smooth-tongued, empty-headed rhetoricians lost their rank. To the delightful precincts of that mansion founded upon Truth, thousands upon thousands of inquirers from the seven climes came with heartfelt respect and waited for the advent of the *Shāhinshah*. The world's lord would, with open brow, a cheerful countenance, a capacious heart and an understanding soul, pour the limpid waters of graciousness on those thirsty-lipped ones of expectation's desert, and act as a refiner. He put them into currency, sect by sect, and tested them company by company. He got hold of every one of the miserable and dust-stained ones, and made them successful in their desires,—to say nothing of the be-cloaked⁴ and the be-turbaned. From that general assemblage H.M. selected by his far-reaching eye a chosen

¹ *Shab-i-jam'a*, which, as B. points out, 173 n. 3, means Thursday night, as the Muḥammadans commence the day at sunset.

² Text *muhtājān* "the necessitous." I. O. M.S. 235 had this reading, but the copyist has erased it and

substituted *murtāzān*, which seems a better reading.

³ *Khalqparastī*, i.e., authority.

⁴ *lit.*, the wearers of large turbans, and the hangers-down of scarves. The Maulvis and learned doctors are meant. A. F.'s account

band from each class, and established a feast of truth. Occasionally he, in order to instruct the courtiers, sent perspicuous servants who could discriminate among men, and these reflective and keen-sighted men brought every description of person to perform the *kornishā*. Then that cambist and tester of worth examined them anew and invited some of them. There were always four noble sections in that spiritual and temporal assemblage. In the eastern chamber of worship (*‘Ibādatkhāna*) were the great leaders and high officers who were conspicuous, in the courts¹ of society, for enlightenment. In the south- 113
ern compartment the keen-sighted investigators, both those who gathered the light of day (*i.e.* the Illuminati) and those who chose the repose of the night-halls of contemplation, sat in the school of instruction. In the western compartment those of lofty² lineage practised auspicious arts. In the northern compartment were the Sūfis of clear heart who were absorbed in beatific visions. A few of felicitous and wide comprehensiveness which they had attained to by the bliss of H.M.'s holy instructions—lighted the torch of knowledge in all four compartments. Lofty points and subtle words passed from the holy lips, and physical and Divine truths trickled from that soothsayer of the court of variety, so that the leaders of the arena of manifestation, and the swift coursers on the mountains of contemplation burned³ with shame. It is of this condition that *Zahīr*⁴ sings.

of the *‘Ibādatkhāna* may be compared with *Badayūnī*'s, B. 170 and 171, Lowe 203, and the T. A. Elliot V. 390. *Badayūnī* states that the *‘Ibādatkhāna* was erected on the site of a cell once occupied by *Shaikh ‘Abdullah Niyāzī* of Sarhind (for an account of whom see the *Darbār Akbarī* 81 and *Badayūnī* III. 45). The original building must surely have been much larger than what is now pointed out as the *‘Ibādatkhāna*.

¹ *Hijābstān-i-taalluq*, meaning "in social life."

² *i.e.*, the Saiyids, see Elliot V. 391. I.O. 235 has *Muharriman parastān* "worshippers of God."

³ It is *ālīsh* "fire" in text, but I.O. 235, and apparently I.O. 236, has *uns* and the meaning seems to be "they associated in grief" (*i.e.*, were ashamed).

⁴ *Zahīru-dīn Faryābī*, a Persian poet, who died at Tabriz in 1201 A.D. See Browne's *Daulat Shāh*, p. 109 *et seq.* Some preferred him to Anwarī. The variant *ab-kār* is more poetical than the *afkār* of the text and it has the support of both the I.O. MSS. The word *m'araz* معروض might then be taken as *m'iraz* and the lines translated, "Before the robes of the daughters of his fancy, shame befalls the roses and the rose-garden."

*Verse.*

In the glorious assemblage of his thoughts
Shame befalls the rose and the rosarium.

A set of wisdom-hiving, judicious men were in readiness to propound questions and to record views. The difficulties of the various classes of men were fittingly resolved. The mirrors of the inquirers of the Age were polished. The whole of that night was kept alive by discussions which approved themselves to one and all. The degrees of reason and the stages of vision were tested, and all the heights and depths of intelligence were traversed, and the lamp of perception was brightened. By the blessedness of the holy examination, the real was separated from the fictitious, and the uncurrency of those who were only coated with wisdom was brought to light.

Verse.

The fictitious (*lit.*, copper-cored) Ḥāfiẓ¹ did not pass with him.
For the expert sees all the hidden faults.

The various forms of ability came from the darkness of concealment to the hall of manifestation. Rather they came from the abyss of non-existence and were resplendent on the height of existence. If I were to record in detail the illustrious events of these glorious assemblages, and describe the attainments in learning of this school of truth, a separate volume would be required.

During this spring-time of enlightenment, the writer of this noble volume presented himself a second time, and had the glory of a second birth. The brief account of the instructive story is that in the beginning of this year he brightened his forehead by performing the prostration in Agra, the capital. As he had the pride of common place knowledge in his head he delayed in proceeding to the eastern provinces in spite of the spirit of sincerity and loyalty which he had borrowed from his honoured father. Though he had not the equipment for a journey yet there was also in his idolatrous and conceited soul no aspiration for such an expedition. Also
114 there was pride in the idol-temple of his knowledge. A desire for physical retirement and for contemplating the world was seething in his soul. But he did not think it proper to traverse

¹ One who knows the Qoran by heart, also, a singer or musician.

the world without the permission of his honoured father. That mine of kindness could not bring himself to bid me adieu. At last a gracious letter came from my most excellent of brothers from the eastern provinces to the effect that the prince of the world had remembered me. As his (A. F.'s) means were insufficient, his design of entering into service was not carried out.

One of the wonderful things was that at the time when the predominance of the Afghans was bruited abroad, and there were praters in the city, one night of nights when my soul had been freed from the connections of existence, and had gone to the world of dreams, a window suddenly opened into the mystic world. The victory of the eastern provinces with all the circumstances which actually occurred, from the beginning of the siege to the time when Dāūd went to annihilation, and also the attainment, by this confused one of Creation's contingent, of the bliss of service and the degrees of favour from H. M.—which came to be realised—became visible before his astonished eyes. And in that long night, whenever he awoke from dreams, he contrary to custom immediately fell asleep again, and what was still more strange, whenever he began again to dream he commenced where he had left off. At dawn he went to his honoured father's chamber and described to him what had happened. He displayed great joy, and congratulated him. A desire to serve arose in his heart's core, and he wrote out the draft of a commentary on the beginning of the *Sūra* (chapter) of Victory in order that he might offer it as a present to the holy assembly. When the royal standards came to Ajmir and H. M. in the banquet of wisdom again remembered this disturbed one of the desert of existence, and when by the great kindness of the (A. F.'s) noble brother this was revealed, the longing to kiss the threshold increased. All my aspiration was that I might behold for some days the world-adorning beauty of the world's lord, and then retire to the corner of obscurity and enter into a contest with myself. The sole desire of my troubled mind was that the horrid desert of hermitage might be trodden by the feet of my energy, for my heart was aweary of beholding the men of my own land, and I had no inclination for society. Thousands of thoughts careered in my mind. I had not the detaching reason to enable me to dispense with plans and to make the thorn-brake

of solitude the mantle (*purnyān*) of repose, and when it chanced to me to be in that emporium, there was no gracious one to help me, and pride did not suffer me to search for an introduction (to Akbar). Nor had I a place where for a time I might burn the lamp of privacy. My brother, greater in years and in wisdom than I, guided me to his own cell (*zāwīya*), and as he was one of the feeders on spiritual food I of necessity conceived a longing for the Spiritual chief (Akbar). Next day I happened to go to the chief mosque, which is one of the grand edifices of the Shāhīnshāh, and suddenly, on that great assemblage, the world's lord cast the shadow of kindness (*i.e.* Akbar came into the mosque). I had the bliss of performing the prostration from afar off. I had the sense to be entrusted with the thought "If the Shāhīnshāh does not see you, yet you are seeing that holy light, and if I be not favoured by a glance from the Shāhīnshāh I have attained vision and understanding by beholding that holy one." In this thought I was absorbed in the contemplation of Divine power, when the appreciative sovereign cast an educating glance upon me and summoned me. Inasmuch as there were present to my mind the circumstances of the time and the nature of mankind, and there was added to the fact of my being a long way off from H. M., I regarded my sight of him as the consummation of my wishes. But at length it appeared from the glorious interest which the Shāhīnshāh took in me, that my good fortune was powerful, and that the star of my destiny had emerged from its obscurity. I approached him and rubbed my forehead on the sublime threshold. On one occasion he accosted me in that assemblage of realm and religion, where hundreds of thousands of sects and schools were gathered together, and described my condition beyond what I myself was conscious of, to the special guests at the sacred festival. Many lassoes fell on my soul's neck and drew my heart towards the slavery (*gīraugānī*) of the hall of dependence. Though for two more years a longing, which nearly came to action, held my heart so that in the recesses of soul there rose the strain "Ho, come out from among citizens and men of the world and indulge your idiosyncrasy in the ample abode of uniqueness, and the pleasant place of singularity," yet the Shāhīnshāh's graciousness was daily lifting me from the floor of



grovelling (*khasī*) to the summit of personality (*kasī*) and was elevating me, degree by degree, on the steps of education. Accordingly the key of the temple (*Bait-al-maqaddas*) of Attainment fell into my hand, and Truth, spiritual and temporal, removed the veil from my eyes. In the first place I emerged from the tumult of Desire, and my second birth began. By my good fortune I reached the lofty chamber of discipleship to the sublime Director and so turned my face towards the border of my third birth. I came from the womb of conceit to the land of supplication and became a front-sitter in the reposeful hall of universal peace. By the blessing of the Divine aids and from the light-shedding of the sitter on the throne of fortune I came from the thorny ground of "Peace with all" to the ever-vernal rose-garden of Love, and became a gatherer of the flowers of joy. A fourth child was born to my mother-nature. At this stage my endeavour is to obtain a lofty-chambered dwelling in this thornless garden and autumnless spring, so that by the blissful ray of the *Shāhīnshāh's* glance and by perseverance, a fifth child may glorify my mother-nature and I be exalted to the exceeding bliss of absolute Resignation, and so the cheating commotion of Desire may sink her face in annihilation. When I shall have obtained in this holy heaven a heart-pleasing abode, may I, by the guidance of the Foreseer of Creation's banquet obtain the fresh honour of a sixth birth and enter the glorious ocean and sit¹ at ease in the four-arched portico of Surrender, and abode of enlightenment, where the feet of Desire have been amputated, until at the seventh birth—which is the time of loosening the links of the elements—I may cast off from the shoulder of my nature the burden of social life, and arrive at the privy-chamber, which appears as non-existence, but which is full of joy. In that holy shrine there will be bestowed, together with an easy mind and an open brow, leisure for denudation and permission for separation, till at the eighth birth—either in the abode of metempsychosis or in the cessation of resurrection—I 116 shall not be within the circle of Desire.²

¹ *murabb'a-nishān*, lit. sitting squarely, i.e., with the legs folded under one, as in the statues of Buddha.

² Cf. the third book of the *Inshā*, pp. 266-67 of the *Niwal Kishor* edition. Seven births are there described.



One of the occurrences was that Mu'nim K. Khān-Khānān had his fief in Bengal. When H. M. went to the eastern provinces, his estate had been allotted to him in Bihar. When the rebels of Bengal sustained defeat after defeat, and that country became an abode of peace, he sent Khwājah Shāh Manṣūr of Shirāz to court and asked for a *jāgīr* in Bengal. The Shāhīnshāh's graciousness granted his request.

One of the occurrences was that in the country round Agra things like spiders' webs, but several degrees thicker than they, fell upon the fields and pastures. In some places they were half a *jarīb*¹ in length and breadth, and in others they were smaller than this in length and breadth. Apparently, the sublime Divine Wisdom devised such a remedy for the corruption of the air, and so made a special display of His benevolence towards mankind.

¹ The *jarīb* was according to Wilson originally a measure of capacity. Jarrett II. 61, n. 2. Afterwards it came to be synonymous with a *bigha* or about five-eighths of an acre, *id.* 62 n. But the word is

Arabic, and Lane gives *jirba* as a place of seed-produce. The word *jarīb* is also used in Timur's Institutes, White and Davey 365, to mean a division of land.



CHAPTER XXII.

INTRODUCTION OF THE LAW ABOUT BRANDING,¹ AND THE GUIDING OF
MEN TO TRUTH AND FIDELITY.

The adorning of the throne of sovereignty never passes a year or a month without devising good institutions or without tranquilising and decorating the world by the gleams of his far-seeing wisdom, which is the mirror of things earthly and Divine. At this time he cast far-reaching glances and established great principles for the regulation of the army and the peasantry and for the prosperity of the country; among them was the institution of Branding (*Dāgh*). It is not hid under the veil of concealment from judicious observers that man is continually dominated by cupidity and anger. The power of lust or wrath covers with dust the bright lamp of the understanding of the wise and mature, whenever there comes a little carelessness or neglect, so what can happen in the case of those who are sunk in folly? When too justice and humanity are rare, or rather are non-existent, and when the lord of horizons (Akbar or other sovereign) is behind the veil of inattention, assuredly there will be the commotion of avarice and the typhoon of faithlessness among many of the masters and servants. The commander² (*tābīn bāshī*) withholds from the followers what he has received from the court, and becomes more greedy, and the follower sprinkles the dust of disloyalty on his head and acts on all occasions as if he were his own master (?).

¹ In spite of the heading of this chapter, no description of branding is given. There is an account of it in the 7th Ain, B. 255. It was introduced by Shahbāz K. in the 20th year, B. 326. The corresponding chapter of the *Iqbāl-nāma* is fuller than the A. N., for the author has added some particulars taken from the Ain.

² Text *baā'in-i-imdād* بائین امداد. But a note states that several MSS. read *tābīnbāshī*, and the two I. O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have this reading, and it is probably the right one. For *tābīnbāshī* see B. 242 and 265.

Whoever turns away from such wickedness and from the crowd of the unjust and from such improper courses and out of self-respect and observance of equity takes the path of just dealing, and chooses 117 contentment and honesty, becomes stained with the dust of suspicion. Though in the beginning of this year, before the commotion in the eastern provinces, H. M. had applied his mind to this subject, and his officers had begun to work, yet the organisation of this great task took shape while the standards of fortune were at the capital. The inquiry was made then, and the grades of offices were settled. The Shāhinshāh in order to arrange the foundations of the kingdom, and for the peace of the subjects, made the imperial territories crown-lands. At the time when the sovereign was under the veil and was testing men, the imperial clerks increased immoderately the assessments on the territories, cities, towns and villages and opened the hand of embezzlement in raising and diminishing them. Whoever acquired their good graces gained his ends, and whoever's heart was not in the quarter of giving became a loser. Also whoever was well-treated, was from his unfairness and avarice, ungrateful, and whoever was less successful was on account of his discontent and disloyalty a grumbler. At the time when the beams of fortune's morning were brightening, and the throne-adorned was engaged in casting away the veil, he gave some of his attention to this subject and began by making the imperial territories crown-lands. The officers and other servants received money-salaries and their ranks were determined in accordance with their merit and the extent of their commands.

Able and trustworthy men were appointed to survey the spacious territories of India and to determine the amount of production and to substitute payments¹ in cash so that the market of the embezzlers might fall flat. The provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Gujrāt were from foresight and appreciation left as they were; Kabul, Qandahār, Ghaznī, Kashmīr, Tatta, the tracts of Bajaur

¹ I think this must be the meaning of the phrase *baqa'id-i-zabt darāwarda* بقید ضبط در آورده.

See Ain text, p. 296, line 6, where the phrase *bazabt āmad* is used to express the fact that Sher Shah and

his son substituted cash for payment in kind. In Timur's Institutes, p. 364, the phrase *arāzī mazbūt* is used, and the translators render it "restricted land." Apparently it means lands in occupation.



and Tirā, and Bangash, and Sorath and Orissa had not been conquered. 182 collectors (*ʿāmil*) were sent off to take care of the crown-lands (*Khālāṭ*), and as every collector was appointed over an extent of territory which yielded a krór of *tangas*,¹ they were popularly known by the name of *krórī*. At this time the head-officers were *Shahbāz Khān*, *Khwāja Ghīāṣud-dīn ʿAlī Āṣaf Khān*, *Rai Purakhotam* and *Rai Rām Dās*. By these measures the equipment of the army was provided for, and the country was well governed, while at the same time there was a safe-guard against trickery and embezzlement. H.M. also gave his attention to the regulation of measurements in order that cultivation might be increased. In former times measurements were made by a rope, and thus a difference arose according as the rope was wet or dry. This gave an opportunity for dishonesty. The *Shāhin-shāh* introduced poles² made of a reed which in Hindi is called *bāns* (bamboo)—and which poles were joined by iron rings. By this device men's minds were quieted and also the cultivation increased, and the path of fraud and falsehood was closed. 118

One of the great institutions was that of a Record-office.³ It was at this time of smiling fortune that the idea occurred to H.M. An order was issued and it was decreed that whatever proceeded from the court should be recorded so that the officers might have a valuable assistance, and that the administrative orders might be preserved. God be praised! for that what was formed in the hidden chamber of the holy heart was carried into effect. By this excellent device the religious service suitable to the condition of society was performed! The details of these great laws are given in the concluding volume.⁴

One of the occurrences was that the cupola of chastity *Qasīma*⁵ *Bānū*, the daughter of ʿArab *Shāh*, entered the royal harem. A

¹ Or *tankas*. Cf. *Badayūnī*, Lowe 192, and *Elliot* V. 383. At B. 13 A. F. speaks of officers being appointed over a krór of *dāms*. Does this mean that *tanka* and *dām* are synonymous?

² Cf. *Jarrett* II. 62.

³ See account of this office in *Blochmann* 258.

⁴ The reference is to the *Ain*, *Blochmann* 258, etc.

⁵ *Qīma* in text, but there is the variant *Qasīma* (beautiful) which I adopt in preference to *Blochmann's* *Qismiyyah*, *Blochmann* 618.



great feast was given, and the high officers and other pillars of the State were present at it and rejoiced.

Verse.

Gardens on gardens (of flowers) were scattered in joy.
Caps were flung to sky upon sky.

This is an important chapter, but as usual, A. F. is unduly concise when he ought to be explanatory. The measure of making the whole of the dominions crown-land seems very revolutionary. The office of 'Āmil or collector is described in Jarrett II. 43.

There is also a reference to the

krorīs in Blochmann 13. A. F. there states that it was the Khwājahsarā Iti'mād Khān who set Akbar upon making his reforms in the administration of the land. See Blochmann's note 1, p. 13. The chapter on Sayurghals, Blochmann 268, should be studied. See also Elliot V. 343.



CHAPTER XXIII.

MUN'IM KHĀN KHĀN-KHĀNĀN'S WARS IN BENGAL, THE DEFEAT OF
DĀUD, AND OTHER EVENTS.

When by the Divine aid Bengal had been conquered, Dāud went off to Sātgaon and Orissa. Kālā Pahār, Sulaimān, Bābū Mankali and some other Afghans went off to Ghorāghāt. Wherever they went, they raised disturbances. The Khān-Khānān in concert with Rajah Todar Mal took up his quarters in Tānda which is the capital of that country, and engaged in arranging matters, political and financial. Owing to the just constitutions of the Shāhinshāh the distracted condition of Bengal was cured. Victorious armies were stationed in the vicinity of and on all sides of that city in order that that delightful country might be wholly purged of the weeds and rubbish of opposition. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Tokbāī, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Niyābat Khān, Qamar Khān, Maqbūl Khān, Ṭalib Beg, Nāṣir Beg and a set of brave and active men were sent towards Sātgaon under the command of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās in order that they might give Dāud no time to make preparations and that they might seize him. Majnūn Khān, Bābā Khān, Jabbārī, M. Beg, Khāldīn and another set were sent 119 to Ghorāghāt¹ in order to put down the disturbances there. Murād Khān and a chosen force of brave men were sent towards Fathābad² and Baglā³ in order to make that territory an abode of peace. Itimād Khān and a number of strenuous combatants were sent to Sonārganw (Sonārgaon) in order that they might stay the hands of the oppressors.

When the cure of the calamities of the people of that country had been arranged for, it was announced that Junaid Kararāni—who had fled from the sublime court—had cast the dust of failure on his

¹ Blochmann 434.

² Jarrett II. 123.

³ Jarrett II. 132. Baglā is Baklā

and is part of the modern district of Backergunge. Pargana Candradwīp belongs to it. See Jarrett II. 123.



head and had come from Gujrat and the Deccan to Jharkhand, and was meditating a disturbance. Rajah Todar Mal, Qiyā Khān, Naẓr Bahādur, Abul-Qāsim Namakīn and a number of holy warriors set themselves to suppress him. By heaven's help they did good service, and the enemy suffered loss and turned their faces to the desert of destruction. The Qāqshāls displayed valour in the country of Ghorāghāt, and the discomfited enemy fled towards Kūc (Kūc Bihar). Sulaimān Mankalī was killed, and the victors obtained much booty, and made the families of the Afghans prisoners. That extensive country came into the possession of the imperial servants. Junaid, who had come out from Jhārkhand, turned away before the might of the brave ghāzis, and hid himself in the hills. The victorious army returned and came to Bardwan.

At this time Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sikandar Khān, Muḥammad Khān and some other presumptuous rebels stirred up strife in the town of Selimpūr.¹ The Rajah sent a suitable force against them, and there was an engagement. Muḥammad Khān was killed, and Sikandar's son fled. Just then news came that Junaid had emerged from the abyss of contempt and was stirring up strife. The Rajah went off to that quarter. Junaid had gone off from Jhārkhand to Dāūd with the idea that perhaps he might play the game of deceit with him and collect materials for disturbance. Owing to his self-opiniatedness, and excessive demands he did not get his companionship, and was returning when he was astonished by hearing the sound of the victorious army. Naẓr Bahādur, Abul Qāsim Namakīn, Muḥammad Khān son of Sulṭān Ādam Gakhar, Imām Qulī Cūlak, Bihārhamal Khetri, and some brave men who were marching in front of the victorious army, had from inexperience advanced too far, and had not behaved with prudence.

120 Junaid fell upon them. Muḥammad Khān, Bihārhamal and some others behaved bravely and sacrificed their lives. When this news came to Rajah Todar Mal he proceeded with prudence to chastise the wretch, and Junaid was unable to stand his ground and fled quickly to Jhārkhand. By the daily-increasing favour of God the dust of disturbance was laid.

¹ In Sarkār Maḥmūdābad. Jarrett II. 133.

One of the occurrences was that Yār Muḥammad Arghūn Qarāwal proceeded to near Mūlhair¹ and plundered that country and got hold of a great deal of property. The elephant Apār, which is one of the noted elephants of that region, was one of the things he got. Though Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān summoned² him, he made excuses, and hastened to the borders of Jhārkhand and set about collecting property. The vagabonds of the country gathered round him. Thence he plundered up to the city of Belghatha, and came to the jungles of Lūnī³ and Kankar, which were the asylum of the Afghan families. There too he stretched out the hand of power and got possession of much property. His whole design was that he might hasten by way of Jhārkhand to the sublime court, and in this way bring into safety his collections. When he came to Tāra,⁴ Bhūpat Cohān and Shihāb the son of Dhanjī arrived in the jungle. The victorious army addressed itself to pursue them. Bhūpat from trickery came and paid his respects (to Yār Muḥammad). He learnt the state of affairs and in the guise of friendship acted as an enemy. By his guidance Junaid made a night attack, and got hold of everything that he (Yār M.) had collected, and of all the goods of the merchants and of that great caravan. The slumbrous one awoke from the sleep of negligence, and was fortunate enough to join the Rajah's army. Before the might of the latter Junaid again took shelter in the hills.

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās proceeded against Dāūd with the army which was aided by heaven, and conducted it with prudence. When he came within twenty kos of Sātgaon, the enemy began to waver. They threw the dust of ruin on their heads and

¹ In Baglāna S. of Gujrat. Mūlhair is now in the Nausārī district of Baroda. Jarrett II. 251, n. 2, where it is spelt Muler. But it is doubtful if this can be the place meant. Muher on the borders of Behar and Jhārkand may be the place meant. See text, p. 127.

² It appears from the sequel that it was rather the elephant that was

sent for, than the qarāwal himself! Yār Muḥ. was shortly afterwards put to death, text p. 127.

³ This can hardly be the Lūnī in Jodhpūr, B. 398, n. 1. Belghatta may be the place in Ghoraghāt. J. 136.

⁴ Perhaps Du Tara or Dunārā in Jodhpur. Jarrett II. 276.

went off towards Orissa. The victorious army encamped at the port of Sātgaon. The gates of justice were thrown open and measures were taken for soothing the distracted inhabitants. At this time, scouts brought the news that Sirhari who was Dāūd's rational soul was going off rapidly to the country of Catar.¹ Though Muhammad Qulī Khān made all speed, he was not successful, and that alert trickster got off in safety. All the thoughts of the leaders of the army were about taking their ease in that country. Meanwhile

121 Rajah Todar Mal joined them, and spoke severely and honestly to them about proceeding towards Orissa and extirpating Dāūd. By the vigour of his intelligence and his endurance of burdens he cured the babblers and he supported Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlās. While they were at the town of Mandalpūr² Muhammad Qulī Khān died in the middle of Dai, Divine month. Except that at the time of breaking his fast he ate *pān* and then got fever (*harāratī*), no other cause of death appeared. Some farseeing ones ascribed this result to the evil designs of one of the slaves of the Khwāja Sarā.³ This unavoidable event caused disorder in the camp, and the market of the opportunists became brisk. A number of men made Qiya Khān, who was the head of the babblers and was at enmity with the Khān-Khānān, their leader, and resolved to proceed to court by way of Jhārkhand. They proposed to make the discomfiture of Junaid a trophy for the *kornish*. Though Rajah Todar Mal used his reason and his loyalty, he

¹ Catar (*قَطَر*) in text: see Blochmann 341 who calls Sirhari Sar-madī. Perhaps Chittuī is the place meant. See Blochmann 375, 376. Chittuī is N. of Midnapore. Apparently this is the Chatwā in Madāran of Jarrett II. 141. There is the variant Jessore.

² B. says 342 Mednīpūr and so does the T. A. But Mednīpūr was then in Orissa, which perhaps the imperialists had not entered. The Maqir III. 206 has Mandalpūr, as in the A. N. There is no Mandalpur in the 'Ain, but there is a Mandal-

ghāt mentioned in Sarkār Madāran, J. II. 141, which is perhaps the same as Mandalpūr. B.J.A.S.B. XLII, 223, says it is at the mouth of the Rūpnarain. Perhaps by Mednīpūr B. only means that the place is now in the Midnapore district. See also Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 107.

³ Blochmann 341, 342. I take the Khwāja Sarā to be I'timād Khān, but perhaps all that is meant is that Muhammad Qulī was poisoned by one of his own eunuchs. This is Blochmann's view.

was not successful. He sent couriers to the Khān-Khānān to inform him, and represented that the method to restrain the faction was to send money by one who was loyal and smooth-tongued. Mun'im Khān sent a large sum by Lashkar Khān, and held out both threats and hopes. In accordance with the Rajah's advice the envoy in a manner quieted the slaves to gold. By the foresight and efforts of Mun'im Khān, Shāham Khān, Khawaja 'Abdullah, and a body of brave and loyal men joined the army, and by their arrival order was restored. Their hesitating and discontented hearts resolved upon extirpating Dāūd, and they marched off.

Dāūd had hurried off to the extremities of Hindustan and was anxious to spend his days in the corner of obscurity, but when he heard of the dissensions in the victorious army, and got encouragement from Khān Jahān (Lodi) who governed Orissa for him, he returned to do battle. The officers left Bardwan and came by Madāran¹ to Citua.² As the foreheads of many of the officers were still stained with disaffection the Rajah (Todar Mal) considered that if this was their condition how would things go on the day of battle, which is the time for the seething of devotion and courage. It was clear that if the Khān-Khānān arrived, no mischief would happen from the evil-heartedness of some of the misguided ones. Acting on this idea he wrote to him. The Khān-Khānān was spending his time in the far-off thoughts (*i.e.* apprehensions) of old men, and he did not consider sufficiently that if a misfortune happened to the army, things would become difficult. At this time the prescience of the world's lord took matters into its hands. The brief account of this story is that the alert *sazāwals* brought the holy order. Its gist was that as by heaven's help that fine country had come into the possession of the imperial servants, and the inhabitants had obtained justice, he was not to consider the discomfiture of the enemy a light matter, but address his energies to his extirpation so that the inhabitants might once for all be at rest about his commotions. The Khān-Khānān was

122

¹ Identified by B. with Bhitargarh in Hugli district, J.A.S.B., vol. 42, 223, n. See also Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 106.

² In Sarkar Madāran, the Catwa of J. II. 141. It is in Midnapore, near Ghattāl, Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 106.

obliged to conform to the order and to undertake the task. He joined the army at Cittūā. Dāūd was with a large army in Harpūr,¹ which is intermediate between Bengal and Orissa, and was taking special care to strengthen the approaches. Many of the officers, and the common soldiers, were from folly and cowardice, and bad intentions, disinclined to serve, and wanted that there should be some kind of agreement made (with the enemy). The Khān-Khānān convened a council of enlightened men and in the first place read chapters from the Shāhīnshāh's book² of fortune (his rescript), and exerted himself to encourage them. After this he spoke about loosing the knots of difficulty, and about their preserving their reputation. Each officer answered according to his knowledge and courage, and the degree of his devotion. Some preferred peace to war, and sought for safety. Some set their hearts upon fighting, but reflected upon the difficulties of the roads. Others from excess of courage did not distinguish between what was easy and what was difficult and rejoiced in the giving of battle. At last by the exertions of Rajah Todar Mal and the firmness of Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, all agreed to fight. But search was made for another road, for it was difficult to go straight forward. Ilyās (Elias) Khān Langā and a number who knew the difficulties of the country pointed out an easier way and did good service. The strenuous and laborious were sent off to smooth and make easy that route. They with agility and dexterity crossed by that path into Orissa. All Dāūd's plans for fortifying the roads were made vain. With a distracted heart he turned back and resolved upon giving battle. The two armies came face to face in Tukarōī,³ and that battlefield was adorned by the flashings of the heroes' swords. The brave men on both sides distinguished themselves, and presented the coin of valour to a crucial test. At last by the blessing of the Shāhīnshāh's fortune,

¹ Or Harīpūr, B. 375. Perhaps the Harpat of J. II. 125. However I. O. MS. 236 has Dharpūr, which is given as a variant in Bib. Ind. The word recurs at p. 435, and perhaps Dharmpūr is the correct reading. See Elliot VI. 75.

² Perhaps this only means that he recalled to their recollection various successes of Akbar.

³ See Blochmann's valuable note 375.



on the day of Dīn 24 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 20 Zilq'aada (3 March 1575), Dāūd was defeated, and a large number were killed. The account of this great boon is that when the Khān-Khānān determined on this engagement, the troops were drawn up as follows: He commanded the centre, and Lashkar Khān, Hāshim Khān, Mahasan Khān and many strenuous men **123** supported him. The *Altamsh* was commanded by Qiyā Khān, Khānzāda Muhammad Khān, son of Kocak 'Alī Khān Badakhshī, and others. The *harāwal* (vanguard) was composed of 'Ālam Khān, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Shīroya Khān, Saiyid 'Abdullah, M. 'Alī 'Ālamshāhī, Shāh Tāhir, Shāh Khalil, Talīb Khān, Niyābat Khān, M. Muḥammad Jalāir, Khān Qulī Diwāna, Hāfiẓ Kosa, Shujā' Beg, and others. The right wing was ordered by the strength and wisdom of Shāham Khān Jalāir, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Tokbāi, Payinda Muḥammad Khān, Tīmād Khān, Qatlaq Qadam Khān and Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn Bokhārī. In the left wing were Āshraf Khān, Rajah Todar Mal, Mozaffar Moghal, Yār Muḥammad Qarāwal, Abūl Qāsim Namakīn, and others. When the enemy came in front of the victorious army, courage was tested each day, and brave actions were performed on both sides.

Verse.

From the amount of blood sprinkled everywhere
The ground was like a lacerated face.
Three days was blood thus spilt;
The valiant did not cease from fighting.

On that day, in consequence of oppositions of the planets they did not intend to engage, and the brave men combated according to the daily practice. All at once the enemy came up in battle-array. In the centre Dāūd heaped up materials for his ruin with his own hands. The right wing was dark with the gloom¹ of Sikandar, the brother of Khān Jahān. The left was oppressed by the evil thoughts of Ism'ail Khān. The van was commanded by Gūjar Khān. All at once the commotion began. The Khān-Khānān was

¹ *Shomī*, referring to Alexander's failure to find the water of life.

compelled to draw up his forces and was supported by the fortune of the Shāhīnshāh. The Khān 'Ālam from his noble disposition and excessive courage broke the thread of discretion, and galloped too far. The archers¹ applied their hand to the work and there was a hot fight. The Khān-Khānān was vexed at this mistake and sent an angry message to him and brought him back. The imperial army had not yet been properly arranged when Gūjar Khān advanced with a formidable line of active elephants in front and his presumptuous and daring troops behind. As the tusks and heads and necks of the elephants were covered with black yak-tails and the skins of the animals, they produced horror and dismay; the horses of the imperial van were frightened on seeing these extraordinary forms, and hearing the terrible cries, and turned back. Though the riders exerted themselves, they were not
 124 successful and the troops lost their formation. Khān 'Ālam, who was mounted on a tried and fearless steed, remained firm and displayed courage, and slew many of the Afghans. Suddenly his horse got a sword-cut and reared, and he fell off. But with consummate agility he mounted again, and again adorned the fight. Just then a misfortune befel him, viz., he was overthrown by an elephant. The Afghans crowded on, and he yielded up his life after the manner of the loyal and the famous of the visible and invisible world. By this profitable trafficking (*az saudāi pūr sūd*) an everlasting good name revealed itself. Before the dust of war had risen he had said to some of the servants of the fortunate threshold that he had a presentiment that he would fall in this banquet of battle and that he trusted that they would mention his devotion at the sacred court and tell the great assemblage that the well-pleasing of the lord of horizons is the material of salvation and the adornment of eternal life. What is there improbable in such intimations to the pure hearts of the sincere?

When this happened to the leader, Gūjar Khān drove off the whole force and proceeded against the altamsh. As soon as he reached it, it broke. Khānzāda Muḥammad Khān bravely sacrificed his life and went to the eternal land. Then ~~that~~ presumptuous and daring one routed the troops (the altamsh) and proceeded to

¹ *giroh-i-ūqāi*.

attack the centre. The courage of the latter (the centre) was shaken, and the men received the retribution of their feelings. Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān with Lashkar Khān, Hājī Khān Sistānī, Hāshim Khān and some others stood their ground and fought bravely. Though the Khān-Khānān's servants did not behave well, he manfully received wounds. Though he had many wounds on the head, neck and shoulder he did not give way, but took his whip.¹ Lashkar Khān, Hājī Khān Sistānī and Hāshim Khān were also wounded. The Khān-Khānān used always to say that though the wound on the head healed, his eyesight remained injured, and that though the wound on the neck got better, yet he had not the power to look well behind, and that owing to the wound on the shoulder, he could not properly raise his hand to his head. In spite of all these severe wounds, no idea of retreating entered his mind. At this time a number of his well-wishing servants seized his rein and turned him round. Gūjar was just then driving the people before him, till at last he came to the imperial camp. That orderly place was plundered, and this increased his pride and presumption. In his intoxication and haughtiness he in order to encourage his men cried out with a loud voice, "I have inflicted severe wounds on the Khān-Khānān, what is the good of prolonging the fight, make efforts, and 125 bring the thing to an end." But to his confidants he, being frightened at the uncertainties of fortune, was saying, "In spite of the signs of victory my soul does not rejoice, and from time to time my sadness increases. I know not what will appear from the veil of fate, and how the affair will end." When he passed beyond the camp many of his men dispersed in order to plunder. At this time Qiya Khān and his son turned some of the fugitives and proceeded to fight. Khwāja 'Abdullah, Shiroya Khān, Selim, Khān, Hājī Yūsuf Khān, Shujā' Beg, Jabbār Quli Diwāna, Hāfiz Kosa and others brought the escaped water back to its channel, and the Divine favour, which is surety for the hopes of this great

¹ Cf. Elliot V. 387 where it is said that Gūjar K. personally wounded the Khān-Khānān and that as the latter had no sword, he returned the cuts with slashes of his

whip. The statement that he had no sword is not in the Lucknow ed. of the T.A., p. 325, though it mentions the use of the whip.

dominion, shone forth. The power of the Shāhinshāh's favour took the upper hand. At this time when the brave and loyal advanced and renewed the battle, an arrow from the quiver of fate conveyed the order of annihilation to Gūjar. When he was destroyed, his comrades became disheartened and fled, and besides those who were killed, there were many who lost their honour. The Khān-Khānān who had hurried off three *kos* beyond the camp, returned and set his face to the battlefield. During the uproar when the heroes of the right and left wings were drawn up and engaged, the right wing of the enemy came in front. Apparently they had heard of Gūjar's success and wished to join him, when what was decreed (his death) occurred. They fled without coming to blows. The state of matters was that Dāūd came in front of the imperial left wing. Rajah Todar Mal by the vigour of his understanding kept his ground and held his troops in readiness. Just then one of the babblers brought bad news of the Khān-Khānān and Khān 'Ālam. He remained steadfast and replied, "The ray of the Shāhinshāh's fortune is shedding light on the heads of the courageous and loyal servants, if the days of one are ended, and if the feet of another have slipped, what injury has happened to fortune's countenance, and why should the strenuous supporters of dominion be dismayed. Don't prate, and don't say such things. The breeze of victory is about to blow, and the light of success is emerging from the horizon of hope." With heartening words he put the seal of silence on the lips of that ill-conditioned one, and hung in the ears of his understanding the jewels of instruction. He himself became the leader of the loyal. Bābāi Kulābī, Maqṣūd 'Alī, Mir Yūsuf Ābbārānī (of the river Bārān in Afghanistan), Ḥusain Beg Gūrd, and a number of other active men went forward to

126 fight. Shāham Khān Jalair lost firmness on hearing of the boldness of Gūjar and of the confusion of the army and was turning back. Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn Bokhārī, and a number of brave and devoted men who were in unison with him, spoke bitter-sweet words to comfort his soul and increase his activity, and so remedied matters. By the November-clouds of these ocean-hearted men of war and lovers of honour the dust of apprehension was laid, and the brave men of the right wing became of one heart and soul, and turned towards the left wing of the enemy. A battle ensued



and in a short space of time the enemy was driven off, and the victors proceeded against the centre. At this time, when the battle hung in the balance between the Rajah and Dāūd, the right wing of the imperial army appeared, and the enemy became disconcerted. Though Dāūd had heard of the defeat of the vanguard, *altamsh* and centre of the imperialists, the might of the *Shāhinshāh*'s fortune made him regard this as a trick of experienced soldiers, and so he abode in the stony place of cowardice till this army (the imperial right wing) arrived. The ingrate became shameless and fled to the desert of destruction. Just then news came of the fall of Gūjar, and there was hastiness in flight. The victorious soldiers followed with drawn swords. Many of the wretches slept the sleep of annihilation, and the plain became a tulip-garden from the blood of the slain.

Verse.

In every corner there fell a drunkard,
Such a drunkard as ne'r became sober.
You'd say 'twas a banquet, not a battle—
A banquet in which the brave were the wine-drinkers.

Abundant plunder was obtained, and there was physical and spiritual good fortune. Visible and invisible felicity was attained. The imperial servants had their wishes gratified, and offered up their thanksgivings.

Oh seeker after enlightenment, open the eye of edification and regard with an instructed eye the marvels of the Divine aid ! Advance from denial to confession, from confession to trust, and from trust to the lofty stage of devotion, and rejoice in the truth !

Verse.

Wisdom keeps not pace with his lofty fortune.
Hail, O power of fortune, Allah Akbar.

After such an unexpected victory, obtained by the Divine aid, the *Khān-Khānān*'s bodily wounds, and inward lacerations, were healed by the balm of conquest. Though before this, Bengal had come into possession, yet in the estimation of acute observers this day was the day of the conquest of that wide territory. A great

boon came from the abodes of secrecy to the bright halls of manifestation. The pillar of fortune was upreared. The **Khān-**
127 Khānān chose a camping-ground near the battlefield, and expanded in thanksgivings. Next day, owing to the abundant wickedness of the crew of ingrates, and to the o'ermastering power of wrath, he exerted himself in gathering together the prisoners. Their souls and bodies were separated, and eight sky-high minarets were made of their brainless heads, as a warning to spectators. When the news of this great victory reached the august hearing, there was an increase of awakening, and thanksgivings were made. Rescripts of great graciousness were issued, and the honours of the loyal and serviceable were increased. Their outward rank was exalted, and so also was their spiritual dignity.

One of the occurrences of these days was that the cup of life of **Lashkar Khān** became brimful. He was recovering from the severe wound which had disabled him on the day of the battle, but he died from carelessness and disregard during the days of convalescence.

One of the occurrences was the death of **Yār Muḥammad Arghūn**. He was one of the royal hunters, and was a prominent servant. His good service in Bengal carried him into the thorn-brake of presumption. By searching and striving he gathered secret treasures¹ and he behaved presumptuously as if he were chief of the army. Although **Mun'im K.** sent for the elephant **Apār**, which had come into his possession, he did not forward it. Advice did him no good. In this battle too he had a dispute with some of his servants about the plunder. When they demanded justice, the old enmity blazed forth. Without inquiring fully into the matter, or looking closely into it, he (**Mun'im**) opened the hand of wrath and condemned him to capital punishment. They beat him so severely that the woof and warp of his existence came to pieces. Though he was tyrannously dealt with, yet many evil-minded and presumptuous persons were guided to the happy land of obedience.

¹ *Asbāb-i-Mukannat* apparently means "hidden properties." *Balashkar begī dam-i-istikbār zad.* "He breathed the breath of pride as if he were Commander-in-Chief."

But it may also mean that he behaved presumptuously to the head of the army. He was a scout (*qārawāl*) as well as a hunter.

CHAPTER XXIV.¹

BEGINNING OF THE 20TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE
SHĀHINSHĀH, TO WIT, THE YEAR ĀBĀN OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

At this time of the increase of justice, and of world-adornment,
the harbingers of good tidings arrived, bringing the news of Spring,
and conferred world-wide joy.

Verse.

This day is the day of joy, and this year the year of the rose ;
Good is the heart's state, for good is that of the rose.

What is the rose? 'Tis a messenger from the garden of joy.

What is the rose? 'Tis a letter telling of universal² glory.

On the day of Friday 27 Zil-'qaada 982 (11 March 1575), after
the passing of 7 hours, 35 minutes, the world-adornor (the sun) cast **128**
his rays on the mansion of Aries.

Verse.

They tied a picture on the arm of morning,
They gave it the embellishment of early spring.

Time gave colour and fragrance to spring,

It put a nosegay in the hand of wish.

The twentieth year, which belonged to the second cycle, began.
There were rejoicings, and universal joy. Just as the physical
Spring year by year increases the beauty of young growths of
vegetation and augments the joy of the spectators of material
flashes so does the springtide of the fortune of the enthroned one
adorn the parterre of sovereignty with the development of the
virgins of the spirit, and increase the glory of the veiled ones
who fashion existence and Divinity? There is joy to those who
delight in the mystic garden such as does not come to the lovers
of physical flowers in the material spring. In this book of Divine
praise, although the foundation of the work is laid on a description

¹ This chapter is much shortened in the Lucknow edition.

² Text has *gul* at the end of the fourth line, but I think it should be *kull*.

of the wondrous workings of external fortune, and it is this which colours its words and makes them picturesque, yet as a comprehensive, much-knowing soul even with hundreds of torches of Divine aid cannot compound the collyrium for fully perceiving the limitless, spiritual ruler, how can the hand, the pen, the paper, the ink have the brightness to succeed in the mighty task? But inasmuch as genius helps, fortune is auspicious, and disposition consonant therewith, I let a little trickle out from the abounding river and so water the adust souls of the desert of inquiry, and light up a part of that hall of brilliance with the rays of the lamp of vision, and so illuminate the darkened ones of Use and Wont. O thou of somnolent fortune, if thou feelest that the opening of thy inward eye is a task beyond thy capacity, yet the opening of thy external eye is a thing dependent on thy will, why dost thou not open thy vision and cast a glance at the journal of the deeds of the Khedive of the world? If thou hast not power to contemplate the spectacle of that Manifester of holiness, why dost thou abandon the perusal of the ways of those attached to the sublime court? If from evil fortune and from wisdom's being overlaid with self-interest thou hast not the felicity to do this, contemplate to-day this work of fortune (*iqbāl-nāma*, *i.e.*, the A. N.) so that the holy blessings of the Unique and Incomparable One may vouchsafe an illuminating ray. If inward darkness let fall a veil over thy outer eye, take instruction from the condition of those attached to this Fortune, and from the wondrous marks therein acknowledge the sublime state of the world's lord! Deeds which in former times were with difficulty executed by magnanimous princes, are now easily exhibited by H.M.'s servants. Then turning from the

129 external to the internal infer what is the felicity of the holy spirit (of Akbar), and prostrate the forehead of the heart as well as the outward brow before the celestial threshold, so that, like those who are auspicious, thou mayest first bring thy external state into proper condition, and also enter upon the ever-verdant rose-garden of the inner life!

A fresh instance of fortune which adorned the opening of this year was that Dāūd, who wore upon his head the tiara of rule, made it a foot-rest in the court of the Shāhinshāh's fortune and became a servant of the threshold of fortune.



CHAPTER XXV.

DĀUD'S COMING TO SEE MUN'IM KHĀN KHĀN-KHĀNĀN, AND
THE ADORNING OF THE FEAST OF CONCORD.

When by the help of the heavenly armies, which are ever engaged in heightening the fortune of the world's lord and in elevating the standards of his fortune, Dāūd had cast the dust of disgrace on his fortune's head, and had taken to flight, and when Gūjar and many of the proud had gone down to the pit of annihilation, as has already been briefly related, the Khān-Khānān, acting in accordance with the advice of experienced men, sent Shāham Khān Jalāir, and Rajah Todar Mal to pursue the wretch. Qabūl Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāi, S'aid Badakhshī, Qamar Khān, Shāh Tāhir, Shāh Khalil, Tālib Bakhshī and many other active men had impressed upon their minds the canons of warfare and went forward on this duty. The infatuated Dāūd hastened to the corner of contempt. When the imperial troops reached the town of Bhadrak, it was ascertained that Jahān Khān had quickly joined him, and given him encouragement and taken him towards the fort of Katak (Cuttack) which is one of the strong forts of the province. The vagabonds of the country had gathered round him, and the sole thought of the presumptuous ones was that if the victorious army should come there, they might give battle, as the sudden defeat (*i.e.*, the battle of Tukaroi) had been the result of want of caution. If there was delay in their coming, they would make arrangements for a contest, and on a proper opportunity obtain their revenge. On hearing this news the old servants, whose fortunes were somnolent, were dismayed. The sedition-mongers became active in their machinations. Though Rajah Todar Mal brought his wisdom and fidelity to bear, and addressed himself to the soothing and quieting this crew, he was not successful. He was obliged to ask for the presence of the Khān-Khānān, and plainly wrote that a difficult business had been made easy by the fortune of the Shāhshāh. If reliance were placed on con-

ceited¹ men who were inefficient and heedless of the day of reckoning, things would again become difficult. It was fitting that the Khān-Khānān should take the matter into his own hands, and
130 come hither without delay. Though the Khān-Khānān's wounds were not yet healed he set off in a litter² and speedily arrived at the spot. He soothed the empty-headed and reproved the self-conceited, and so brought them back from their evil thoughts, and then pushed forward. He came near to that strong fort which the foolish Afghans had thought to be their refuge. Their confidence began to abate. They had no equipment for the defence of the fort, no means of fighting, and no way of fleeing, and the victorious army was numerous. Dāūd at the advice of tricksters adopted feline stratagems. He turned to entreaties and abjectness and knocked at the door of peace. He sent Fattū, Shāikh Nizām and some other officers, and these tricksters by gold and words induced the leaders of the army to come to terms. The old servants whose fortune was somnolent exerted³ themselves to magnify by finesses the enemy's position, and regarding this a means of increasing their reputation considered the proposition of a settlement as an advantage. Though Rajah Todar Mal, who knew the real state of the case, exerted himself hand and foot, it was of no use. In that abode of darkness the torch of his monition could not give light! The Khān-Khānān sent Hāshim Khān and Qutluq Qadam Khān, and expounded the conditions of peace. The gist of the compact was that in the first place Dāūd should come and accept the service of the holy court, and send noted elephants and other choice presents. After some time, when he had done good service, he was to convey his ashamed face to the holy threshold of the Shāhīnshāh, and have it coloured with

¹ Perhaps the Rajah was referring especially to Qiyā K. See text, p. 121, l. 7.

² Sūkāsan. See J. II. 122 for description of this kind of litter.

³ I presume that the meaning is that the old servants represented the position and resources of the enemy to be more than they were.

"They regarded this as a means of increasing their reputation." I suppose this means that they now magnified the enemy's position, thinking that they would thereby make people believe that their former views about the difficulty of the imperialists' enterprise were correct.

fidelity. At present he was to send one of his confidential relations to court to act there as his representative.

Dāūd, whose affairs were *in extremis*, gladly accepted every thing. On 3 Ardībihisht, Divine month, corresponding to 1 Muḥarram 988 (12 April 1575), there was a celebration. The banquet of reconciliation was prepared. Previous to this a pleasant spot had been chosen outside of the camp, and been adorned to the admiration of beholders. The Khān-Khānān came into the hall of joy on the above-mentioned date, and there was a festival. Ashraf Khān, and Hājī Khān Sistānī hastened and brought Dāūd and his nobles. The Khān-Khānān went to the edge of the carpet to welcome him, and displayed warm affection. Dāūd loosed his sword and left it behind him, implying that he had left off soldiering and had made himself over to the sublime court, and would do whatever the pillars of empire thought it right for him to do. The Khān-Khānān made him over to his servants, and after a time a splendid Khildt was given to him on the part of the threshold of the Caliphate, and a sword and embroidered belt were bound upon his waist. Dāūd with the humblest loyalty turned towards the quarter of the capital and made the prostration of service. He presented noted elephants, the rarities of the country, and abundant money, and made over Shaiḫ Muḥammad, the son of Bāyazīd who was his own nephew, that he might accompany Mun'im Khān to court. Much of that day was devoted to feasting and rejoicing, and when Dāūd received leave to depart, some¹ estates in Orissa were given in fief to him. When Mun'im Khān had dismissed him from the defile of difficulty to the wide expanse of joy he himself returned (to the camp). The generality showed joy, with the exception of Rajah Todar Mal, who from his far-seeingness kept his head in the fold of thought, and who was not present in that banqueting hall, nor put his seal to the document of that peace. Inasmuch as the world is a place of retribution, every one of them very quickly had the recompense² of his actions.

131

¹ According to Nizāmū-d-dīn, Elliot V. 390 and Stewart 161, the whole of Orissa was conferred upon Dāūd. Perhaps the phrase "*b'azī mahāl*" used in text has the techni-

cal sense of miscellaneous revenues.

² Alluding apparently to the deaths of the officers shortly afterwards in the pestilence at Gaur.



One of the occurrences was the disturbance in Ghorāghāt. The brief account of this is that when the Khān-Khānān with most of the troops proceeded to Katak; Kālā Pahār, and Bābūi Mankali and a number of Afghans raised a commotion and fell upon the Qāqshāls. The latter made a little resistance and then covered their honour with the dust of disgrace! The Afghans took possession of Ghorāghāt, and pursued the Qāqshāls. The latter could find no place in which to plant the foot of firmness and came to Tānda. The Khān-Khānān swiftly returned, and without entering into the city of Tānda hastened off from its neighbourhood to encounter the enemy. The enemy was indulging in confidence on the other side of the Ganges. The able leaders of the imperial army proceeded up stream to a place where the Ganges forms two branches, and had bridged one, and were preparing to bridge the other when the enemy lost courage. They stained themselves with the dust of defeat and took to flight. The Khān-Khānān hastened with his army to the borders of Tānda and from there despatched a force under Majnūn Khān to Ghorāghāt. The strenuous fighters reconquered that country and the sedition-mongers descended to the corner of contempt. The Khān-Khānān returned thanks to God and to the Shāhinshāh's fortune and returned (to Tānda).



CHAPTER XXVI.

AFFAIRS OF THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR, INCREASING PERFORMANCES
OF MOZAFFAR KHÂN, AND HIS RETURN TO FAVOUR.

The benefactions¹ which the *Shāhinshāh* bestows on mankind in general are beyond the region of computation, and the public are obliged to confess their inability to requite them. How then can those who are attached to the court, and are prominent sitters in the assemblage of justice, discharge the burden of their gratitude? In truth who has the courage, and where is the capacity that can 132 indulge in the thought of recompense? Devotion throughout long lives by single-hearted, efficient men cannot make requital for one of a hundred thousand favours! But the first stage of making up the account is, after perceiving the degrees of favour, not to forget to make a list of the register of reverence, and to attach the cincture of strenuous effort to one's service and to reckon whatever of good deeds has been done as one of a thousand acts of thanksgiving. So that one may always be abashed and ashamed, nor loose the thread of calculation, nor allow the contemplation of the imperfect service of all and of one's own good deeds to become the material of insolence. May one by this life of praise attain to the stage of limpid sincerity (*ikhlas*), and become a fixture at the threshold of obedience! May he pass the stage of selling his service and place the seal of silence on his lips. Hail to the fortunate one in whose journey through the ups and downs of service the dust of shame has not settled on the face of his fortune. Or if, from his inauspicious star, the dust of shame may have touched him, he has washed it away by the clear water of understanding, and he has with an open brow and cheerful countenance carried out what was in his destiny. How shall I write that there can be no change (for the better) in such obedience? On the contrary, even to wearied souls there comes, from long habits of obedience and service, a ray of the Presence,

¹ This introduction is bombastic and obscure and is wanting in the Lucknow edition.

and from time to time an increase of light. The case of Mozaffar Khān is a clear illustration of this fact.

It has already been related how H. M. as a means of producing discretion and enlightenment in him, had, without permitting him to do homage, appointed him, at the time of returning from the conquest of Patna, to assist Farhat Khān, and had sent him to perform the service of taking the fort of Rohtās; so that if he could not recognise the favour and the educating power of the Shāhīnshāh in the manner of the truly loyal, he still might not abandon mercantile considerations and the sense of favours received, and might in return for glorious benefactions exhibit the thanksgiving of good service. For some time he was in the thornbrake of failure and was with the hand of presumption poinarding his heart and liver. As felicity was implanted in his nature he emerged from his mental disturbance at the wise words of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfi, and applied himself to service. He brought out some of his accumulations of wealth and prepared the equipment of an army. By his courage he took possession of Caund and Shāhsarām (Sasseram) which on account of the multiplicity of the affairs of State had not been given in *jāgir* to any one, and then set himself to get things in readiness (for an expedition). He was in a position to do good service when Farhat Khān and the other officers came to besiege the fort. In the course of a few days he showed his quality. The brief account of this is
133 that one day Bahādur, the son of Haibat Khān, came out of the fort of Rohtās and made a disturbance. Mozaffar Khān behaved with activity and inflicted suitable punishment on him. His elephants, etc., were captured. Merely in consequence of that happy thought (of Mozaffar) his wandering waters were brought back into the channel. Immediately the standards of trustworthiness were upreared in that quarter. About the same time the officers arrived for the siege. Mozaffar frankly took part with Farhat Khān and assisted in carrying out the plan. In a short time a ray of the royal favour visited him, and an order was issued to the effect that if he and the other officers could fix a time within which the fort would be taken, he should exert himself in that great service. If he could not fix a time and if the capture would be a work of time, he was to suspend operations, and turn his attention



to the punishment of the turbulent Afghans who were making a commotion in Bihar. If they were willing to submit they would be pardoned. Otherwise he was to inflict chastisement on them in order that it might be a lesson to others.

Mozaffar Khān performed the prostration on receipt of the order and represented that he had not a siege-train with him, and that a period for the taking of the fort could not be fixed. The first business was to clear the country of the rubbish of rebels. This he proceeded to do in company with the imperial troops. Mirzāda 'Alī Khān and many of the strenuous workers whom the Shāhinshāh had left in the country went with him. Muḥasan Khān, Afāq, 'Arab Bahādur and a number of soldiers who were engaged in looking after Mun'im Khān's *jāgīr* also joined him and did good service. Mozaffar's ability was tested, and the dust of rebellion was laid throughout the whole province. Ādam Khān Batanī fled from Ibrāhimpūr without fighting and so did Daryā Khān Kāshī from Carkān,¹ and both of them fled to Jhārkhand.

When nothing more remained to do there, the agents of Mun'im Khān grew envious of Mozaffar Khān's success and in a shameless manner sent him away. As he had no fief assigned to him, he was forced to return to Caund and Sasseram, taking help from Khudādād Barlās and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn. On the way he learnt that the insolent garrison of Rohtās had taken possession of those two towns. As his fortune helped him, and his star was favourable, the dust of apprehension did not rest on the skirt of his courage, and he went with a stout heart to that quarter. By the glitter of the sword, and the strength of contrivance he freed those two places. By the help of far-seeing reason he **134** suppressed his own wishes and waited for a mystic revelation. He employed a portion of his accumulations in the work, and took pleasure in attacking and plundering. Suddenly a commotion arose in Bihar. The managers of the country coolly (*ba firāghat-i-tamām*) asked for the assistance of his presence. Mozaffar Khān disregarded their previous behaviour and hastened to do his master's work. He rendered good service. The brief account of this is that Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān had left 'Arab Bahādur

¹ Chārgaon in Sarkār Bihar, J. II. 154.

in Maheer¹ which lies between Behar and Jharkhand. At this time Haji and Ghazi two brothers came out of Jharkhand with some turbulent Afghans and gained possession of the fort. Many of the garrison were slain, but Arah succeeded in escaping. The officers of the province gathered together and asked for assistance to put down the disturbance. The Afghans went off to the mountain-defiles and swaggered there. The officers went there and then displayed hesitation. They could neither determine to turn back nor to advance. One day about 300 Rajputs from among the servants of Rajah Bhagwant Dās, but without him, entered boldly into the defiles, but as they did not behave rationally they were defeated. Jiā Kor, Kān Kachwāha, Didā Cohān and about one hundred brave men gave their lives to be plundered (were killed). When this disastrous affair occurred the officers lost firmness. They were ashamed of their former behaviour and were compelled to send able envoys to ask help from Mozaffar Khān. He quickly joined them. At this time when the vanguard of victory was rising from the orient of fortune, the officers of the army were slackening in their energy. It seems that the reason of this was a letter from the Khān-Khānān. Its purport was that Junaid was hastening to Behar from Jharkhand, and that Tengri Bardī had been appointed with a large force of courageous men. It was not advisable to give battle hastily before the succour arrived. The letter also referred to the catastrophes of the death of Muhammad K. Gakhar and of Yār Muhammad Qarāwal's having been plundered, of which events a brief account has already been given.

Muzaffar Khān stood firm and replied that the rational course was to make this circumstance (the advance of Junaid) a motive for greater courage and alacrity in fighting, so that the audacious rebels might be disposed of before Junaid's arrival. It was not known if that villain would arrive for ten days yet, and there was hope that the rebels would be dispersed in the course of one day. By the daily-increasing good fortune (of Akbar) the spirit which
125 had left the leaders returned to them and they all made promises of acting in harmony, and prepared for battle. By celestial aid a



party of men who knew the country pointed out another road, and it was determined that the army should proceed straight against the enemy, but should do so with sufficient slowness to allow the other force to come behind the enemy by the path mentioned. All agreed to this course and the army was arranged as follows. Mozaffar Khān commanded the centre, Fath Khān Maidānī commanded the right wing, Farhat Khān commanded the left wing. In the vanguard were Mirzāda 'Alī Khān, Qarāṭāq Khān, Ḥusain Khān, Ākhta, Āfāq, Bāqī Kūlābī, Sohrāb Turkamān, 'Arab Bahādur, Sher Muhammad Dīwāna, Kūcak Qandūzī and many other brave and strenuous men. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was appointed, along with some brave and experienced men, to go by the other path and take the enemy in the rear. The enemy were full of confidence owing to the strength of their position and their numbers, when suddenly the victorious army arrived in front and at the same time the force in the rear came up. Their firmness of foot gave way, and their courage hid under a veil. There was a grand victory, and a large amount of plunder. The officers took steps to pursue the enemy. The latter drew up their forces in the hilly country of Rāmpūr which belongs to Jhārkhand, and faced their pursuers. The best of the gang were Ādam Batanī the son of Fath Khān, Daryā Khān Kākar, Jalāl Khān Sūr, Ḥusain Khān, Ghāzī Khān, Yūsuf Batanī, 'Umar Khān Kākar and Mahmūd Kāsū. Mozaffar Khān made a skilful arrangement of his forces.

Verse.

The drums beat and the battalions deployed,
Swords flashed and dust raged,
The horsemen were intermingled in one place,
The infantry engaged in another.¹
From the blood of the brave and the dust of the troops
The earth became a ruby, and the atmosphere black.

The combatants were hotly engaged when Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and a party of active men took the enemy in the rear as on the former occasion and did valiantly. Ḥusain Khān, Ghāzī Khān, Jalāl Khān Sūr, who were among the brave men of note,

¹ *Juḍā*. Lucknow edition has *hama*.

fell into the dust of destruction. When the hands of the enemy grew weary of the contest they took to flight, and by the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh a great victory showed her countenance. Thanksgivings were offered up, and from cautious motives the army did not judge it advisable to remain there, and victoriously returned. Every one then went to his own place and sought repose.

When Junaid, who meditated an attack upon Bihar, heard 136 of this dominion-increasing event he ceased to advance and sought for his opportunity. Many days had not elapsed when Junaid thought he had his opportunity and proceeded to stir up a commotion in Bihar. The officers of the province gathered together in Patna and considered how they should remedy matters. They wrote to Mozaffar Khān and asked for his help. He in reliance on the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh proceeded towards them. As he had shown resolution, good service and loyalty, a sacred rescript reached him before his arrival, and it appeared from it that a silent tongue had enlightened H. M.'s heart about his excellent performances, and that the Sarkār of Hajipūr, which had been assigned in fief to Muhammad Qulī Khān¹ Birlās, had been conferred upon him. On receiving this good news, he became a flower-gatherer in the garden of devotion, and the shoot of his spirit came to maturity. His heart expanded and his intent spread her wings. With a wide capacity he joined the officers, and exerted himself to uproot the evil and seditious. He bridged the Pun-pun and crossed it.

At this time urgent messages arrived from the Khān-Khānān to the effect that they should not be hasty in engaging Junaid as he himself had decided to come there quickly. The officers gave up their intentions and chose delay. Though Mozaffar Khān gave them salutary counsels it was of no effect. His heart was troubled by thus coming and then turning back, and his zeal was such that he was prepared to encounter Junaid alone, when there arose a great commotion at Hajipūr. He was compelled to turn aside to that quarter. The brief account of this affair is that Tāj Khān Panwār, Fath Khān Mūsāzai, Shahbāz Khān 'Arabī, Sulaimān Panwār, and Thān Rai came and put to death Mir

¹ Who had lately died.



Maḥmūd Shaukatī, who was in Ḥajīpūr on behalf of Mozaffar Khān, and killed about a hundred more. Of necessity Mozaffar withdrew his hand from Junaid and went off to Ḥajīpūr along with Khudādād Barlās, 'Arab, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and a few other lovers of service. In spite of the large number of the enemy he, with the help of the fortune which is conjoined with eternity, addressed himself to battle. As it was difficult to cross over in front of the enemy he crossed the Ganges and came to the town of Siwāna. The river Gandak was running boisterously between him and Ḥajīpūr, and the Afghans were exultant on account of their numbers and the smallness of the imperial forces. As he had with him zeal which is the key of enterprise, and fortune and a right intention, he put into order the means of success. In the first place Udai Karn, the zamindar of Jītāran,¹ became one of the single-minded, and, at a time when there was a crowd of the vagabonds on the other side, while on this side the chosen combatants were on the eve of crossing, and apparently the 137 execution of the design was difficult, the said landholder became the guide of the march and said that it occurred to him that a number of his relations lived up the stream, and that this would be a means of conducting the affair to a successful issue. Also that there were strong boats to be had there. The proper course was for the victorious army to parade itself in front of the enemy and to raise a song of triumph, and that a party of alert and brave men should be nominated whom he would cross over the river during the night. When the latter had nearly arrived the army should cross over in front of the enemy, and while the contest was at its height the detachment should appear and throw the enemy into dismay. In accordance with this choice plan 300 warlike men under the command of Qāsim 'Alī Sistānī and 'Arab Bahādur proceeded by the desert of auspiciousness. Swift-swimming couriers were appointed to convey one after the other the news of the crossing of the detachment and of its near approach. When the world became illuminated by the effulgence of the light of Akbar (*naiyir-i-akbar*) and by the great luminary (*naiyir-i-a'zam*, i.e., the sun), and it was known that that band of heroes had crossed

¹ The variant Champaran is probably correct.

the river and were near at hand, Mozaffar Khān filled the boats with brave and experienced men and sent them across in front of the enemy under the command of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and Khudādād Barlās. The slumbrous-fated Afghans plyed guns and bows and made a commotion. Just then the sound of the kettle-drums and big drums (kurāka)¹ of the detachment struck upon their ear. They were forced to take to flight. A large number of these were killed, and Hājipūr was delivered. A large amount of booty fell into the hands of the soldiers. The rulers of Patna who from their evil nature had been spectators and not given assistance, felt ashamed. Had this gang regarded the world-adorning beauty of the Shāhīnshāh's fortune, or possessed a share of practical wisdom, or picked up a crumb from the banquet of those who are faithful to their salt, they would not have gone counter to the business of their benefactor, nor have been involved in so much shame!

One of the instructive events is as follows. When by the might of eternal fortune Hājipūr had been conquered, and the dignity of Mozaffar Khān had been exalted, it was reported by trustworthy scouts that Fath Khān Mūsāzai, Jalāl Khān 'Arabī, Selīm Khān Barmih, Satri and Catri and many presumptuous Afghans were assembled on the other side of the Madahā² Gandak. Mozaffar Khān set out to quell them. When he had encamped near the river he went off with a few of his staff to examine the river and to find a place for crossing. Though the breadth of the channel is less than the cast of a dart,³ it is very deep. While he was looking for a ford, about 200 horse were seen on the other side, and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, 'Arab Bahādur and a body of brave men were ordered to cross at a distance and to chastise that insolent and negligent troop. They went off, and the enemy becoming aware of this sent off for assistance. When the detachment showed itself the horse turned their reins and retreated to their camp. Mozaffar Khān swiftly crossed the river

138

¹ *Kurka*, P. de Courteille "espece de timbale."

² The Lucknow edition has Badh Gandak, and so have the Iqbāl-nāma and the I. O. MSS. There is also

the Little Gandak which is called Marha Gandak. See Beames' map, A. S. B. for 1885, p. 182.

³ Gazandāz. *Aqaz* is a dart or arrow.

and joined his detachment. His sole thought was that he would not be under obligations to those who made a traffic of their service. Just then, the enemy who were retreating were reinforced and came forward to do battle. From the numbers of the enemy and the paucity of the imperial troops, and from ill-fate and the cowardice of the soldiers, the troops dispersed. Many of them in their confusion fell into the water and were drowned. Moẓaffar Khān was nearly throwing himself into the waves. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn seized his rein and went off towards the hill-country,¹ and he sent a swift messenger to the camp, thinking that perhaps the strenuous heroes might come up. The enemy set themselves to pursue, and made a tumult. Hājī Pahlwān, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, 'Arab and some more companions—about fifty in number—continually turned round and used their bows. In this way they made the enemy slacken in their pursuit. When day was far advanced (*lit.* put her head in her skirt) and Moẓaffar Khān's position became more critical, the fortune of the Shāhīnshāh shone forth, and victory showed itself.

The detail of this Divine aid is as follows. There was a noise in the camp that Moẓaffar Khān was killed, and every one was about to fly into the country, when the messenger arrived. They plucked up courage and set about remedying the state of things. Khudādād Barlās, Mihr 'Alī and many other brave lovers of battle to the number of about 200 crossed the river and went forward. The same messenger conveyed the news of their approach. They² scented the breeze of success, tightened their rein, and raised the dust of battle.

Verse.

Such fight and struggle were waged till night,
 There was no hand which did not inflict a wound.
 You'd say all the Age had come out (to fight),
 That hill and plain had commingled.

At this time of life-shedding when the enemy in spite of victory were becoming feeble on account of the heat of their cuirasses and their great exertions, there was heard the noise of the

¹ *Kohistān*. Perhaps here the word means forest.

² Moẓaffar and his few companions.

drums of the victorious army, and this at once robbed them of their courage. They fled together with their evil fortune that night, and by the celestial assistance the breeze of victory blew on the rose-garden of the imperial servants' hopes. Such a victory showed itself after such a defeat! Joy after pain painted the eyes with collyrium. There was fresh life and salvation and abundant booty, and great rejoicing.

- One of the instructive occurrences was that Shaikh Jamāl of Parsarūr¹ was one of those who warred against the carnal soul.
- 139 While the contest was going on he fell on the ground and became insensible. When he fell in with Mozaffar Khān he performed the prostration towards the Shāhīnshāh, and guided men to the recognition of this teacher of horizons. When they inquired what had happened, he explained that when he was in a trance he had a vision of the world's lord (Akbar) being mounted on the steed of fortune and equipped for battle, and bringing the good news of victory. The courage of the enemy had been scattered by the majesty of that cavalier of the field of glory. "With the hand of kindness he raised me from the dust of unconsciousness, and encouraged me, and I came to myself. I became possessed of great power and I flew with the wings of (mystic) assistance and bought as a gift the news of fortune. He turned their rein and made them seized of victory." When had those hirelings² of defeat the heart or the ear to listen to this celestial intimation? They regarded this demonstration of truth as a fabrication, or an imagination, and considered that it was impossible for them to escape from their terrible position. What question then could there be of victory? Suddenly the victorious army arrived and gave news of fresh life to the despairing, and the delight of new honour to those who had given way. By the shining of the Divine aid a lamp of vision was kindled for the superficial. Those who by good fortune and farsightedness were, without having seen miracles, acquainted with the majestic qualities of the adorer of truth's assemblage (Akbar), and were worshippers of the wonders of power, returned

¹ J. II. 320. It is in Siālkot in the Panjab and is the Pasrūr of the I. G. Mozaffar was once collector of this pargana.

² *Rasmīān-i-hazīmatī*. Rasmī, a pensioner or domestic, perhaps "those accustomed to defeat."

thanksgiving to the Creator on beholding these lights of direction. The faction who were wrapped in the veil of self-conceit and were sitting in darkness on the hill of presumption had a window of illumination opened for them. Next day they went to the Afghans' village and plundered it. They got immense booty, and the tumult of the wicked was at once quelled.

Among the occurrences was that the Afghans aforesaid took refuge with Tāj Khān Panwār and recruited themselves. By his evil-planning the dust of sedition rose again, and abundance of wealth, want of wisdom, and a plethora of scoundrels led to a seeking for battle. Mozaffar Khān exercised caution and recrossed the Madaha-Gandak. He established himself in a place surrounded on three sides by that river, and on the fourth by a large tank. He engaged in collecting soldiers and munitions of war. The presumptuous gang waxed bolder from this retreat. They pitched their camp (*dāira*) in front of the imperial camp, but owing to the ruggedness of the ground nothing resulted except impotent longing, and the more they tried, the deeper did the thorn of disappointment pierce the foot of their desire. When for some days the fortune of the Shāhīnshāh had sported in this manner, it again put on beauty. Soldiers assembled and many of the landholders set their hearts on rendering assistance. The construction of a bridge was rightly considered to be a means of victory, and so was put in hand. Inasmuch as prudence is the ornament of good fortune it was considered that perhaps something bad might happen when the troops were crossing the river and were not in battle-array. So it was thought that during the night some active men should dig a trench in front of the bridge, and make a bulwark with 140 the excavated earth so that the soldiers might have time to deploy. No one was inclined heartily to engage in this enterprise. When Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfi perceived that the Turks were irresolute, and that the commander of the army was at a loss, he in his courage and efficiency took the task upon himself. He carried it through in a short time. The Afghans from feline craftiness left their camp empty and retired to a corner¹ with the idea that when the imperial army

¹ گونج *gurinj*, a wrinkle, a corner.
 There is the variant برعنبج and the

Lucknow ed. has in margin بزغ
bazagh weir. *Gurinj* seems right, the

crossed they would think that the enemy had run away and so proceed to plunder the camp. Perhaps at this time of negligence they would be able to prevail. Mozaffar Khān practised caution and appointed a large number of soldiers and camp-followers (*urdu-bāzārī rā*, men of the camp-bazar) to provide for safety under the circumstances which the black-hearted wretches had arranged for. The Afghans became aware of what he had done and did not put their stratagem into execution. When a large force (of Afghans) attacked those who had crossed, the infantry lost heart and fled. Their cowardice weakened the spirit of the cavalry and they too broke. The rush of the flyers broke the bridge, and they fell into the river. About 300 horse and foot were drowned. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Khudādād Barlās and other brave men who were ambitious of honour shot arrows and twice turned back the enemy. The third time, when the zealous had come to be perturbed, an arrow struck the horse of Husain Khān, the leader of the enemy, and he fell to the ground. His men became confused, and no harm came to the tiger-hearted defenders. After much exertion the bridge was repaired, and the imperial servants crossed the river in a majestic manner. The Afghans gave way and retired to Tāj Khān's strong position. Mozaffar Khān pursued them, and when the victorious army had nearly arrived, scouts reported that many of the Afghan officers were superintending in the neighbourhood the construction of a moat and did not imagine that the imperial army could march such a distance so quickly. Mozaffar Khān left Khudādād Barlās and some other strenuous men to protect the camp, and set about capturing those wicked and presumptuous men. Suddenly he fell upon them, and after a brief engagement the breeze of Divine aid arose. The enemy thought it best to fly and many of them were sent to annihilation. Hājī Khān Pahlwān cut off the head of Tāj Khān Panwār without knowing who he was, and brought it in. Jamāl Khān 141 Ghilzī, who was one of their noted men, was brought in alive and many were made prisoners¹ of the sword and caught in the noose. A great boon of fortune was vouchsafed. The darkness of night and the density of the forest prevented the commanders from laying

fact being that the Afghans hid themselves in an ambuscade.

¹ Perhaps this means that some were beheaded and some hanged.



hands on the abodes of the enemy. But many brave men reached the spot and obtained much booty. Next morning the army proceeded against the Afghan camp, and before it arrived the enemy fled in confusion and threw themselves into the river. What they thought to be their safety was the cause of their destruction. A number escaped with a hundred pangs from the whirlpool to the shore of safety, and the foundation of the scoundrels was devastated.

One of the occurrences was that when this disturbance was quelled, Satri and Catri joined with some of the Afghans and took possession of the country of Tegra.¹ That is a cultivated district thirty *kos* long and twenty *kos* broad, which lies opposite Monghyr from which it is separated by the Ganges. On Mozaffar Khān's hearing of this commotion he took with him Wazir Jamil, Khudā dād Barlās, Khawāja Shamsu-d-dīn, M. Jalālu-d-dīn, Bunyād Beg Khān, Tengri Quli and many other combative lovers of service and went off to extirpate this gang. When he arrived there, the audacious ones prepared for battle. A great fight took place, and Fath Khān, who was the head of those men, fell bravely together with 79 leading men, and that territory also came into possession.

When the flag of Mozaffar Khān's fortune was waving high from his devotion and exertions, Mun'im Khān did not desire that he should remain in the province. He sent an urgent message to him to the effect that he should immediately proceed towards the threshold of the Cānpate. This order for leaving that fertile country came to him at a time when the period of labour and un-success had been put an end to and that of enjoyment had arrived.

¹ I am indebted to the Collector of Monghyr, Mr. Adam, for the identification of this name. The text has Magra مغرا, but there is the variant Tegra تگرا and this occurs also in one I. O. MS. I. O. MS. 235 has تگرا without any dots. It is clear then, I think, that the place meant is *thāna Tegra* on the N. bank of the Ganges and on the N.-W. bank of the Ganges and in the N.-W. part of the Begum Serai Sub-

division. In the *Āin* it is entered as in *Sarkār Hājipūr*, and under the form of *Patkehra*, J. II. 155. But there is the variant *Tekhra* or *Tegra*, and Mr. Beames has identified *Patkehra* as "the old pargana of *Tegharā* lying along the left bank of the Ganges," and which he states is now known as *Mulkī*, though the town of *Tegharā* still retains its old name. *Tegra* is west of Monghyr town, and nearly opposite *Sūrajgarh*.

He was embarrassed by this letter, for the sacred order was that whenever the Khān-Khānān gave him leave he was to hasten to the imperial court. While he was in this state of inward disturbance, a gracious order arrived to the effect that the sole intention of H.M.'s apparent neglect was to guide him aright. Let him not be troubled in his mind, and let him feel that he was regarded with real favour and be zealous in the performance of his services in that country. If the Khān-Khānān gave him leave he should not come to court till he received an order summoning him. On receipt of this revelation Mozaffar Khān's devotion rose high and a spiritual window was opened for the superficial. After rendering of thanks publicly and privately, he came to Hājipūr and spread the carpet of enjoyment. The pleasant paths of joy were trod anew. As the jewel of his fidelity sparkled, and as he came from the arid desert of misunderstanding to the garden of appreciation, in a short time the day of his fortune appeared. He became ardent in

142 good service. The farsighted Khedive recognised his services, and his confidence in him increased. He made over to him the guarding of that wide province from the ferry of Causa to Garhī. An order was issued that the soldiers of that province, great and small, should act according to his advice. He from his devotion and wisdom observed the canons of sovereignty and the laws of the Caliphate, and became an adorer of justice.

One of the occurrences was H.M.'s showing graciousness to the officers of Gujrat. The praiseworthy nature of the prince of horizons has flashes which assist those who are ~~devoted~~ members of the court of realm and religion. He also exalts those who strive for sincerity to higher degrees of trust. He continually by the elixir of his glance of favour extracts the gold from the earth, and the pearl from the mud, and regards the commingling of spiritual and material feasts as his duty. Especially does he do so to those whose proper actions are a mirror of their heart's mysteries. In a short space of time the faces of those who sit secluded are unveiled and clothed with beauty. His increasing the dignity of the officers of Gujrat was a new instance of this.

When in the first expedition the standards of fortune had cast the shade of justice over that country, this set of men had by the



guidance of their good fortune rubbed the foreheads of supplication. But from the downfall of fortune and innate wickedness, as they had not loyalty in the core of their hearts, and their interior and exterior were not knit together and mutually supporting, many of them from short-sightedness ran away, and others were on the point of doing so. The Khedive of the Universe from his abundant graciousness, and his gift of appreciation, made allowance for the common nature of humanity, and for the special circumstance of the education of those darkened intellects, and for some time withheld them from employment. In this august year he perceived in them signs of repentance and cast a special glance upon them. He distinguished 'Itimād Khān, who was conspicuous for prudence and gravity, by special favours and committed to him the charge of the Darbār¹ (*darbār-i-mushkōi*) in order that he might minutely supervise that great place which is an ensample of heavenly things. Especially he had the charge of the jewels and decorated utensils. Ulugh² Khān Ḥabshī was caressed and exalted by a suitable fief, and Malik³ Ashraf was appointed to the governorship of the city of Thānesar, and Wajih-al-mulk was sent to superintend certain crown-estates in Gujrat.

One of the occurrences was that Sādiq Khān came and did homage at court. The Shāhīnshāh's kindness accepted his excuses and encompassed him with favours. In the expedition to the eastern provinces he had been punished for bad service and sent into the desert of exile so that he might learn wisdom by punish- 143 ment, and know that in the service of kings no distinction should be made between little and great employments, and that obedience must be paid with one's whole heart and energy. Although the sacred order ostensibly was that he should travel about in the desert of search and seek for a choice elephant, and that if he could not find one which could equal that incomparable one, he should

¹ The epithet *mushkōi* might seem to imply that 'Itimād was put in charge of the female apartments, but this 'Itimād was not 'Itimād the eunuch, and the context as well as the Iqbāl-nāma show that what 'Itimād was put in charge of was

the receptions and the jewels, etc. See also B. 386 and the Maasir I. 97.

² B. 437.

³ Ashraf in text, but the name has occurred before, and is Ashraq, and the variants show this.

pay the penalty,¹ yet in reality he dismissed him to the school for learning devotion and knowledge of service, so that the pride of skill might depart from him, and that he might always choose supplication. He in that time measured the heights and depths of fortune and then turned the face of discipleship to the holy court. By the prostration of repentance the rust was cleared from the jewel of his sincerity and he produced one hundred elephants as a fine. As he clearly had marks of truthfulness he was received with forgiveness and favour. Who strove and did not obtain! Who made his heart clean, and did not get his heart's desire! He hath opened the door of bounty and given an invitation to all! One of the occurrences was that Husain Khān showed ingratitude and received the recompense thereof. To whomsoever comes a day of destruction and a time of affliction, there comes first a darkening of the reason. His thoughts go to ruin and he thinks his loss his gain, and remains afar off from good actions, and turns aside from the highway of auspiciousness!

Verse.

When a man's fortune is bad
 Nothing that he does succeeds.

A fresh proof of this is afforded by the commotion of this simpleton. He was formerly with Bairām K. After that when he became a servant of the court, because the ocean of graciousness was commoved and the market of appreciation was brisk, his rashness was purchased at the rate of courage, and his election of service was taken to be sincerity, and he was encompassed by favours. And though he did not know how to keep numbers² in order (had not administrative skill), still, in the hope that he would learn (or perhaps be grateful), he was given the lofty position of an Amir. At the time when the august standards were about to proceed to the eastern provinces, his evil fate withheld him from that service, and when he brought an abashed countenance to

¹ Jarimāna "Fine." See B. 131.

² Intizām-i-kagrat namī dānist.
 "Did not know how to arrange
 multiplicities." Probably the mean-

ing is that he was an ascetic or recluse and not fit for social functions. This Husain K. is Bada-yāni's friend the Tukriya (Patcher).

court, the Khedive of the world, in punishment for his offence, refused him the bliss of paying his respects. This was a time when he should have increased the zeal of his service, but from excessive atrabiliousness and inverted fortune, he broke the thread of consideration, and from abundant wilfulness he let the things of the world and the materials of fortune go to wreck and ruin, and took the path of solitude (*tajarrad*). The wise prince on beholding such lack of wisdom had compassion on his condition and bestowed favours on him, and released his *Jāgīr*, and sent him to arrange about "the branding." When he got further away from the carpet of intimacy he in the darkness of his understanding set about attacking and plundering the country. From madness or from craft he would say that all his activity in this respect was in order to carry out the business of the branding! Plundering as he went, he hastened to *Basantpūr*, which belongs to *Sarkār Kumāon*, 144 as the rumour of mines and of abundance in that country had raised a tumult in his mind. Inasmuch as the stewards of creation have so ordained that the evil-doers and evil-devisers against the *Calphate* should be strenuously active in procuring their own punishment so that they may get their retribution by their own instrumentality, this infatuated man hurried on his own ruin. He lost the thread of plan and made war in that country without system and was defeated. He was wounded by arrow and bullet, and had met with his retribution before the circumstances of his position were made known to the royal hearing. When the news of his commotion arrived, *Ṣādiq Khān* together with some of the *Saiyids* of *Bārha* and *Amroha* and others were sent to him. Though owing to his severe wound he was somewhat cured of his infatuation and vain thoughts, he became still wiser on hearing of the victorious force (of *Akbar*). The wicked vagabonds fled away from him, and by the exertions of his well-wishers he saw fit to get into a boat and be conveyed to *Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān*. Perhaps by the intervention of the Commander-in-Chief his offences would be clothed with the scarf of pardon! He got into a boat in the confines of *Garh¹ muktesar* and went on quickly. Alert

¹ *Gadha muknessar* in text. It is an ancient town in the Meerut

district and is situated on the Ganges, S. I. G. XII. 162.

men arrested him in the neighbourhood of the town of Mārghara,¹ and under orders from H.M. brought him to Agra, and left him in his quarters² there and then hastened to court. In a short time he from his mortal wound put his face under the veil of concealment (i.e., died). Apparently the Shāhinshāh was aware of his condition and out of respect did not wish him to be ashamed on his last journey.³

One of the occurrences was that Ḥakīm Abu-l-faṭḥ, Ḥakīm Hamām and Ḥakīm Nūru-d dīn⁴ the sons of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzāq Gilānī, who was eminently skilled in the arts of observation (*nazr*) and of drawing horoscopes, came to court in the middle of Amardād, Divine month, and were exalted by daily-increasing favours. When Gilān came into the possession⁵ of the rulers of Irān and Khān Aḥmad the ruler thereof fell into prison from not understanding matters, Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzāq⁶ owing to his right thinking and true religion died under the pain of confinement, and these young men took refuge at this court. Their wisdom and felicity increased under the patronage of H.M. Though all three brothers were the distinguished of the age for the customary excellencies, yet Ḥakīm 'Abu-l-faṭḥ was specially remarkable for his tact, his knowledge of the world, and for his power to read the lines of the forehead and many other liberal qualities.

¹ In the Etah district, N. W. P., I. G. XVII, 204, where it is called Mārghara.

² i.e., in Ṣādiq K's house. See Badayūnī, Lowe, 224.

³ See my wife's article in Calcutta Review for January 1894. According to A. F., Ḥusain K. was on his way to Mun'im K. (in Bengal) when he was arrested, but according to Badayūnī he was going to his home in Patialī which is in the Etah district and not very far from

Mārghara. Both statements may be correct. The meaning seems to be that Akbar, who was then at Faṭhpūr Sikrī, did not insist on Ḥusain's being brought there, but allowed him to stay at Agra.

⁴ He was a poet and wrote under the name of Qarārī. He was killed in the Bengal mutiny about the same time as Moẓaffar.

⁵ This was in 974 (1567).

⁶ B. 424.



CHAPTER XXVII.

VISIT TO THE HĪJĀZ BY SOME OF THE VEILED LADIES OF THE CALIPHATE. 145

That veil of chastity, etc., Gulbadan Begam the paternal aunt of H.M. the Shāhīnshāh had long ago made a vow to visit the holy places, but on account of the insecurity of the ways, and of the affairs of the world, she had not been able to accomplish her intention. At this time when the delightful country of India was an abode of peace, and the vagabonds' abode of Gujrat had become inhabited by right-thinking lovers of justice, and the masters¹ of the European islands, who were a stumbling-block in the way of travellers to the HĪjāz, had become submissive and obedient, and the renown of the justice and piety of the world's lord had spread from Qāf to Qāf, and the classes of mankind had, owing to H.M.'s constant care and dispensing of justice, come into the reposeful home of peace, the luminary of longing arose in the orient of the heart of that shining chaste one and broke the repose of her noble mind. As the rays of truth impinged upon the antechamber of the celestial soul (of Akbar), he, in spite of his close union with her, did not prefer his wishes to hers. Moreover all his desire is that every class of mankind may become religious and worship God in accordance with the measure of their faith. He sent with her a large amount of money and goods and gave her permission to depart. In connection with this opportunity a number of inmates of the harem of fortune were also excited by the same longing, and the sovereign poured into the lap of each the money that they wanted and so made the burden of their desires light. The names of the chaste ones who went in attendance upon that unique one of the field of spirituality are as follows: 1st—The veiled one of the curtains of fortune, Selīma Sultān Begam; 2nd—and 3rd—Hājī Begam and Gul'azār Begam² the daughters of M.

¹ *Amīrān-i-jazā'ir-i-firang*. *Jazā'ir* perhaps here means peninsulas or countries.

² *Kāmrān* had three daughters, and *Ferishta* after mentioning *Kāmrān's* death tells us whom they married.