

Kāmran; 4th—Sultān Begam the wife of M. 'Askarī; 5th—Umm Kulṣūm Khānam the grand-daughter of H. H. Gulbadan Begam; 6th—Gulnār Āghā, who was one of the wives of H.M. Firdūs Makānī (Bābar); 7th, 8th and 9th—Bibī Ṣafiya, and Bibī Sarw Sahī, and Shāham Āghā, who were among the servants of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī; 10th—Salima Khānam, daughter of Khizr Khwāja Khān. In the end of Mihr, Divine month, 8 or 9 October 1575, this auspicious party fastened the litters on the camels of joy, and a great number of men who had received food and travelling expenses followed in their wake. Out of respect to the head of the travellers (*i.e.*, Gulbadan B.), that nosegay of fortune Prince Sultān Murād was directed to attend upon her up to the shore of the southern ocean. The first day they halted at Dābar,<sup>1</sup> and at that place the pearl of the diadem of sovereignty and the heir-apparent of the Caliphate Prince Sultān Selim arrived  
**146** with many nobles and paid his respects. Inasmuch as the far-seeing heart of the leader of the caravan (*i.e.*, Gulbadan B.) considered that harm might possibly happen to the new fruit of the Caliphate (Prince Murād) on such a long journey, on account of his tender age she expressed a wish that he might be kept back. Her suggestion was approved, and by H.M.'s orders Bāqī Khān, Rūmī Khān,<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Beg<sup>3</sup> and some other vigilant servants of the court were sent along with her, and an order was given that the great Amirs, the officers of every territory, the guardians of the passes, the watchmen of the borders, the river-police, and the harbour-masters should perform good service for the travellers.<sup>4</sup>

One was Gulrukh; she married Ibrāhīm H.M. and was alive in 1614. Another married M. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, who was a brother's son of Ḥaidar M.; and the third married Shāh Fakhrud-dīn of Maḡḡhad.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently should be Dāir, four kos from Fatḥpūr Sikrī. See Badayūnī, Lowe, 174.

<sup>2</sup> Rūmī K. Ustād Jalabī, B. 441. Perhaps the word is Ḥalabī, *i.e.*, of

Aleppo. Or he may be the Jalā of A. N. III. 290, who is called Jalābī in the Iqbāl-nāma. Jalābī might mean horse-dealer, and A. F. tells us that this was Jalā's original occupation. He may have gone with Gulbadan B. as an interpreter.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the nephew of Ḥaidar M. who married one of Kāmran's daughters.

<sup>4</sup> See my wife's "History of





One of the occurrences was the (dispatch of Hājī Habibu-llah Kāshī<sup>1</sup> (i.e., of Kashan in Persia) to Goa. At the time when the country of Gujrat became included among the imperial dominions, and when many of the ports of the country came into possession, and the governors of the European ports became submissive (*lit.*, shakers of the chain of supplication), many of the curiosities and rarities of the skilled craftsmen of that country became known to H.M. Accordingly the Hājī, who for his skill, right thinking and powers of observation was one of the good servants of the court, was appointed to take with him a large sum of money, and the choice articles of India to Goa, and to bring for H.M.'s delectation the wonderful things of that country. There were sent along with him many clever craftsmen, who to ability and skill added industry, in order that just as the wonderful productions of that country (Goa and Europe) were being brought away, so also might rare crafts be imported (into Akbar's dominions).

One of the occurrences was the establishment of seven watches<sup>2</sup> (*caulīs*). Though the servants of the threshold of fortune were always on guard, and were continually rendering service, and were always awaiting the sacred command and regarded their constant attendance as Divine worship, yet there was no fixed system. Those who bound the girdle of devotion on the waist of their hearts and were pure from any thought of profit or loss, and also that body of energetic men of a mercantile disposition who knew their profit to consist in the traffic of service, paid no attention to times and seasons, but regarded all of them as opportunities of attaining their object. They sought to be continually in the

Humāyūn." O. T. F. 1902 for an account of Gulbadan B. Three of the ladies who accompanied her were her nieces, Salīma being her sister's child (and Akbar's wife) and Hājī B. and Gul'azār being daughters of her half-brother Kāmran. Bāqī Khān was apparently the elder brother of Adham Khān. The 10th lady Salīma Khānān was apparently Gulbadan Begam's step-daughter. The fact of her being styled Khānām

seems to show that her father was the Khizir Khwaja who was said to be a descendant of the kings of Kashghar or of Moghalistan.

<sup>1</sup> One of the things he brought back was an organ. See Badāyūnī, Lowe, 299, and also *infra* 228 of text.

<sup>2</sup> See Ain 8, p. 257 of B., where details are given about the distribution of the watches. See also B. 48, end of Ain 17.



Presence. But those who did not belong to these two classes did not render hearty service, but from folly and conceit, and lethargy, thought that loss was gain and indulged in vain thoughts. They took the path of sloth and accumulated eternal chastisement. At this time, which was the smiling commencement of the springtide of dominion, the institution of the seven watches shed a ray on the antechamber of the holy soul. All the servants who held office in the court were distributed into seven divisions, each of which was on guard for twenty-four hours. One of the grandees was appointed to command each division so that he might superintend everything during that period, and arrange the diversity of affairs. Also an accomplished courtier was made Mir 'Arzī (master of petitions) so that he might during the time of his watch represent

147 the petitions and request of mankind without reference to his own ease, and also the public be freed from the pain of waiting and from various troubles. By this act of graciousness the classes of mankind attained their objects, and the wishes of the people which might have remained unspoken owing to the greatness of the Sultanate were brought before H.M. The rank of the loyal was exalted, the market of the talented became brisk, and there was a day of testing for the servants. The slothful were guided to the domain of activity, and the ignorant and the speakers out of season emerged from their folly. Fresh lustre was given to the court, and things were knit together.

One of the occurrences was the decline<sup>1</sup> of the fortunate star of Mirzā Koka. Inasmuch as the royal graciousness had raised him from nothingness to the zenith of dignity, and had made him during long service a partaker in the secrets of the holy banquet, he was summoned from Gujrat, post haste,<sup>2</sup> in order that the business of the branding might be begun with the leaders. Another reason for summoning him was that M. Sulaimān was preparing to come to court, and it was desired that M. Koka should be present at the

<sup>1</sup> B. 326, top lines; c.f. Elliot V. 393.

Bādāyūnī says he was punished for speaking the truth about the branding, the *Kroris*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *bā aspān* with horses, but the variant *ba aspbām* is probably correct, for Bādāyūnī II. 214 has *bā ilghār*.





entertainment. He arrived on the day of Ashtād 26 Mihr, Divine month, and was received with boundless favours. As the ebullition of the favour of kings does not agree with every disposition, he from the wine of success, from his distance from the carpet of honour, and the crowd of flatterers, let his foot slip in the path of prudence. In the first place he used language about the affair of the branding—which is the disciplinary ornament of mankind, and the mode of guidance to the right path—which men of ordinary prudence would not use, and was still less becoming in pure loyalists. As the gracious sovereign had educated him like his obedient children he made as if he did not hear what he had said. When good counsel was of no avail, H.M., fearing in his love that he might fall into irreparable mischief, and might also lead others astray, joined the laws of supremacy with kindness and for a time degraded him from the position of an Amīr. From extreme caution he excluded him from his society and assigned him a place in his own <sup>1</sup> garden (*i.e.*, M. Koka's) where he might abide in comfort with all his property, take a warning, and appreciate H.M.'s kindness and teaching.

One of the occurrences was that some persons from lack of understanding, and imitateness, became senseless from wine drinking. The royal clemency cured them. When the institution of the branding became current the petty shop of fraud lost its custom. The opportunity of service fell into the hands of the energetic whilst the slothful were depressed. Those who had a warlike spirit and who from being honourable and fond of reputation looked after their servants had an opportunity of showing their talents. From keen-sightedness they performed the branding and so heightened their own fortune. The worthless who were slaves to pelf and collected gold instead of troops fell into evil 148 case. Among them, Shujāat Khān, M. 'Abdu-l-lah, Mīr M'uizzu-l-Mulk, Qāsim Khān Kohbar, Dost Muḥammad Bābā Dost, Muḥammad Amīn the accountant (*ṣāhib taujī*), were excluded from the Presence and sent to Bengal to Mun'im Khān Khānān in order that they might get fiefs there suitable to their condition. For the sublime nature deals thus with criminals, and clothes with the scarf of

<sup>1</sup> He was sent from Fathpūr to Agra and there kept under surveillance in his own garden.





beneficence the torn honour of such people. Though superficialists thought this to be favour and a mark <sup>1</sup> of grace, yet those who had inward vision knew this to be great disfavour and a heavy punishment inflicted by displeasure. For the pure-hearted and devoted know no more excruciating torment than that of being excluded from the visible Presence, when this is the result of wrath. Though the far-seeing ones of the spiritual world regarded this treatment of a faction who had not reached the high rank of pure devotion as a kind of graciousness, yet in the eyes of the masters of investigation, who are the special of the special in the symposium of wisdom, it is certain that to leave a mistaken crew to their own devices and to treat them as cured and so not administer medicine to them, but to abandon them to their own ideas, is one of the greatest methods of displeasure.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this is allegorical. The wine was the wine of infatuation. The word *canīn* (this kind of)

seems to refer to M. Koka's obstinacy.





## CHAPTER XXVIII.

M. SULAIMĀN'S PROCEEDING TOWARDS THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S COURT.

(This chapter begins with some reflections upon the final prosperity of the good, and the final ruin of the wicked which marked Akbar's reign. The author then proceeds to state that the adventures of M. Sulaimān are an instance of these things. It is noteworthy that these reflections do not occur in the Lucknow edition. They occupy over eleven lines).

From the time that H.M. Firdūs Makānī conferred upon M. Sulaimān the government of Badakhshān, he used to be obedient and did good service, but inasmuch as outward prosperity, evil company and the friendship of flatterers lower the lamp of wisdom 149 and dim the eye of counsel, wholesome truth-speakers had no honour in his presence, and empty, evil-disposed encomiasts were in great request. He did not understand his own good, nor did he allow another to show it to him. If any one from intensity of goodwill became his own enemy and uttered words of truth, he was obliged, on account of the prince's unwillingness to listen, to place his head in the collar of grief. Accordingly as the Mirzā found the defiles of the hill-country of Badakhshān too straitened for his desires, he dropped from his hand the thread of obedience. From darkness of intellect and perversity of fortune he in the beginning of this reign raised the head of presumption, and gave himself the name of majesty (called himself king?) and formed the design of taking Kabul, as has already been briefly narrated. Though the Khedive of the universe, owing to his being behind the veil, paid no attention to this, and the imperial servants, on account of the multiplicity of the affairs of the extensive country of India, did not regard it, yet the stewards of fate were there and, according to the measure of his deeds, gave him to drink of the wine of misfortune. In order to complete retribution, and to illustrate the sublime graciousness of the Shāhinsihāh, they caused him to visit as a pilgrim and a suppliant the gate of princes. Inasmuch as I desire to water the garden of speech, I proceed to give some account of these calamities according as one after the other emerged



from the privy-chamber of destiny. The first was the arrival of the Khānim.<sup>1</sup> The dust of contention between her and Haram Begam rose high, and the seed of savagery was sown in the land. Haram Begam was the daughter of Sultān Wais of Kūlāb of the Qibcāq tribe and who rose<sup>2</sup> high by the patronage of Sultān Maḥmūd M. When they married her to M. Sulaimān she showed dexterity and skill in the administration of the country, and the management of the army, and her influence came to such a height that the Mirzā made over to her even the infliction of punishments (siāsathā), from the obligation of which he could not free himself.<sup>3</sup> Khānim Muḥtarima had the name of Khānim and was the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sultān Kāshgharī. She was married to M. Kāmrañ, and from Kabul was proceeding to Kāshghar. On the way she passed through Badakhshān. M. Sulaimān's passions became roused and he sought her in marriage. Haram Begam became jealous of her, and anticipated matters by giving her in marriage to her own son M. Ibrāhīm. From this time evil thoughts took possession of them (both). A brief account of these will be given. Another thing which disorganized Badakhshān was that this faction (the Khānim's) stained the skirt of Haram Begam's chastity by insinuations about her and Haidar 'Alī Beg who was her beloved brother. The Begam's great attention and kindness to him emboldened them to make such frivolous remarks. M. Ibrāhīm from the intoxication of youth put that innocent man (Haidar) to death merely on account of those scandal-mongers, and became subjected to eternal contri-

150 tion. Another cause of injury to the Badakhshis was the Begam's predominance. She acted without consideration or appreciativeness, and quitting altogether the path of policy—which is the foundation of social matters—paid no attention in her punishments to time and place, or to propriety. When the dust of the

<sup>1</sup> The Khānim was the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad by Khadija Sultān Khānim the fourth daughter of Sultān Ahmad Khān, Bābar's uncle (Mrs. Beveridge's History of Humāyūn, p. 247, and T. R., Ross, 330). Her father was killed (T. R., Ross, p. 452) and her mother had to leave Kāshghar. She died on the

way to Badakhshān, and her children went on to Kabul where by Haidar's influence Muḥtarima was married to Kāmrañ. (T. R., 451.)

<sup>2</sup> I think this clause refers to the father and not the daughter.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the meaning is that he could not or should not have delegated such duty.





fabricators of lies had been laid, the Begam mingled revenge with stratagem and exerted herself to destroy the officers of the kingdom who had spread the calumnious reports. Among the things which caused loss to the inhabitants of the country was the fatal calamity of M. Ibrāhīm, of which a short account has already been given. When she heard of this heart-breaking sorrow the Begam became indignant with all the Badakhshians who were in the expedition, She abused the Khānim, and treated her advent as a bad omen. and often said to her in private and public conversations, "You were a traveller, I picked you up, intending to do you good, and I cherished you. I did not know your qualities." Such was the language she used, and which only the foolish indulge in. Her sole idea was that the Khānim would be disgusted by such treatment and would go to Kāshghar, and that she herself would bring up Shāhrukh. The Khānim from apprehensions of being separated from Shāhrukh cast aside all other considerations and treated those cutting reproaches as if she heard them not. But she always indulged in the luxury of the thoughts of revenge. Another thing which increased the internal dissensions (*nifāq*) of the people of Badakhshān was the arrival of Cūcak Khānim the wife of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Khān of Kāshghar with her two sons Sūfī Sultān<sup>1</sup> and Abū S'aid Sultān for the purpose of mourning for M. Ibrāhīm. After her condolences and sympathy were offered, Haram Begam's mourning was taken off, but when the ceremony was over she from excessive grief resumed it. Cūcak Khānim was displeased at this, and set herself to blaming her, and being nearly related to the Khānim she espoused her cause. She often said that Haram Begam should not abandon ancestral customs (*tora*), and should not abate one tittle of the respect due to the Khānim, and should take<sup>2</sup> a lower seat in assemblies.

<sup>1</sup> This chapter adds something to the information given in T. R., Ross and Elias, p. 120. Sūfī Sultān's proper name according to Mr. Elias was Adham Sultan, and he was the fifth son of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd. Cūcak must have come to Badakhshān during her husband's life if she came to condole with M. Sulaimān and

Haram for their son's death, for he was killed in 967 and according to Mr. Elias 'Abdu-r-Rashīd did not die till 973. The name of Abū S'aid as a son is not mentioned by Mr. Elias, but Raḥīm is.

<sup>2</sup> Pustī-batalabad. The I. O. MSS. have peshī natalabad, "should not demand the chief place."



Another thing which rekindled the fire of dissension among the Badakhshians was that Mir Nizāmī<sup>1</sup> Atāliq of M. Shābrukh, and a large number of the nobles of Badakhshān, and Shaikh Bābāi Wālī—who craftily made the garb of a dervish the tongue of his mendacity—raised up Šūfi Sultān the son of Cūcak B., the wife of ‘Abdu-r-Rashīd Khān of Kāshghar, and in the abode of trickery of the said dervish, which they called a hospice (*khānqāh*), took an oath together that they would erase the entry of Hāram Begam’s life from the book of the world (would kill her) and would consign M. Sulaimān to the corner of contempt. At this time one of the conspirators disclosed the plot to the Mīrzā (Sulaimān). Immediate-  
 151 ly the latter hastened off to Farkhār<sup>2</sup> along with Waqqāṣ Sultān who was an excellent hostage, and Hāram Begam went off to Kālāb in order that she might prepare for war and obtain a remedy against the intrigues of the Kāshgharians. When the Khānim (Cūcak apparently) heard of this crime (the conspiracy) she felt ashamed and sent for the presumptuous intriguer (Šūfi Sultān) and reproached him. The misguided young man answered that his foot had slipped on account of the evil imaginations of Mir Nizāmī and some of the evil-disposed Badakhshis and of that fair-seeming but inwardly bad dervish. Cūcak Khānim was ashamed and went off with her sons to Kāshghar. She wrote a letter of excuse in which she narrated her own innocence and the evil thoughts of that stirrer up of strife (Mir Nizāmī?). When M. Sulaimān learnt the real facts he sent prudent men and made his apologies (for suspecting Cūcak B.) and asked for an interview. Cūcak Khānim sent Šūfi Sultān and her people to Kāshghar, and for purposes of union halted with ‘Abu S’aid Sultān and Rahīm Khān. The Mīrzā and Hāram Begam came there and held a friendly banquet. In order to strengthen the foundations of concord the Khānim<sup>3</sup> married her eldest daughter to Abu S’aid

<sup>1</sup> Called Mir Nizāmī at A. N. III. 267, and described as husband of Muḥtarima’s daughter Mihmān B.

<sup>2</sup> Described in the *Ghiās-al-loghāt* as a town in Turkestan celebrated for the beauty of its inhabitants.

<sup>3</sup> Sic in text, but clearly Khānim

is a mistake here for Hāram. The Khānim (Muḥtarima) had not Rustāq in her gift. However, it would appear from the sequel that the term Khānim is also applied to Hāram.



Sultān and gave Rustāq as her dowry. When the friendship had been cemented, Cūcak Khānim made over her son (Abu S'aid) to the Mirzā and went off to Kāshghār. The Mirzā set himself to punish the sedition-mongers. He sent many to the pit of annihilation and imprisoned others. The dervish and his crew he pilloried (tashhīr) and expelled from the country. A number fled with great quickness out of the country.

Another thing that increased the distress of the Badakhshīāns was Hāram Begam's bestowing the government of Kūlāb on Nadīm Qabbūzī. This caused a disturbance in that country, and was disagreeable to the army of Kūlāb. From the want of true affection and respect they raised up 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr the son of Jahāngīr 'Ali Beg the brother's<sup>1</sup> son of the Begam, who was in Qarātagīn, and put Nadīm to death. Hāram Begam took M. Shāhrukh from Qandūz, and Abū S'aid Sultān from Rustāq, with her, and marched against Kūlāb. The rebels fortified themselves in Qarātagīn, and the Begam set herself to besiege it. Mir Aflātūn, who was her general, crossed the river and blockaded the country. 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr and some of the garrison fell upon him, and he was killed. Just then the Kūlābis in the Begam's army cast the dust of faithlessness on their heads by deserting to the enemy. The Begam was compelled to make a rapid retreat, and 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr was wicked enough to pursue her. He came up with the Khānim (i.e., Hāram) and M. Shāhrukh, but as there was some good in his disposition he only plundered her property and honourably released her. She was in consternation at her misfortunes when suddenly M. Shāhrukh appeared and drove away her grief. She said to him, "My husband left your father among the enemy and hurried off, and I left you among the rebel-crew and ignorantly 152 fled in haste. May God forgive me for it!" In a short space of time she joined M. Sulaimān and his army and proceeded against Kūlāb. 'Abdu-l-lah took refuge in Qīrghīz, but his goods and chattels fell into the hands of his enemies.

Another cause of mischief in Badakhshān was when by the exertions of M. Hākim and the leaders of that country the servants of M. Sulaimān were turned out in a wretched condition from

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is apparently that 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr was the Begam's nephew.



Afghanistan, as has already been described. M. Sulaimān came to Kabul, and when he did not succeed, he turned back. He imprisoned Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī and some others who had shown slackness in their service. Some of them he caused to be beaten, and some he censured, and he took away from Muḥammad Qulī the governorship of Qunduz and gave it to Ḥājī Taman Beg. Qanḡhar Bāi, Yūsuf Qulī, Bir Kacī Khāksār, S'aid Beg his son, Ḥājī Fakhrīgī, Bāqī Beg and a number of others fled to Ḥājī Taman Beg, and that wretch joined in with those ungrateful and evil servants. They also in collusion with the Khānim put forward the seven years old M. Shāhrukh, and raised the dust of sedition. Their sole thought was to obtain for M. Shāhrukh the country which had belonged to M. Ibrāhīm, so that another shop (of intrigue) might be established, and that there might be a splendid asylum for the ill-conditioned. When M. Sulaimān heard of the sedition-mongering of this crew he proceeded against them. They shut the door of the fort and took steps to defend themselves. The siege (of Qunduz) lasted for about forty days. By the strenuous exertions of M. Sulaimān, and the efforts of some right-thinking persons, M. Shāhrukh waited upon the Mirzā, and the whole of that iniquitous crew were seized. The Mirzā bound these wicked, fly-like men and sent them to Qarātagīn. There they colluded with the garrison and brought Mihr 'Alī, who was governor of Qarātagīn, to disgrace. No one had yet been appointed as chief when the officers of Qarātagīn said to those presumptuous and evil-disposed men, "Neither we nor you have any one who is fit to be chief; one of two things must be done; either do you bring M. Shāhrukh in order that we may elect our service in his presence, or you must depart from this country and manage your affairs yourselves." The matter came so far that they sought to seize the faction. They became helpless and hurried off to Balkh as supplicants. Ḥaram Begam sent presents to the governor there and requested him to punish them. The gang escaped by the intervention of Shāikh Ḥusain of Khwārizm and came to Kabul. Owing to discord, and vacillation of opinions Ḥājī Taman Beg and some others turned back and hastened to Badakhshān. S'aid Badakhshī, Tengri Bardī Qūshbegī, Ḥājī Beg, Bāqī Beg and some others turned towards the world-protecting court. When this commotion subsided,





Muhammad Quli's favour was increased, and Qundūz was given to him. Shāh Tayīb, who was nearly related to Haram Begam, was made atālīq (guardian) to the Mirzā (Shāhrukh).

One of the occurrences which might prove the retribution of M. 153 Sulaimān for his ingratitude was this that the sedition-mongers again made M. Shāhrukh a pretext for commotion. The brief account of this is that 'Abdullah Khān the ruler of part of Tūrān set about seizing Hiṣār. The people of Hiṣār asked help from M. Sulaimān. The Mirzā, in order to keep up the tie of relationship which he had recently formed, and also from consideration of the opinions of farsighted persons who thought that if the country were absorbed by 'Abdullah Khān, the war would reach him, determined to collect the Badakhshān army and proceed thither. He was engaged in the work of administration and in putting his army into order and had made over the Passes to experienced men, when owing to the quarrelsomeness and evil nature of Muhammad Quli Shighālī, who was the prime minister, words were uttered by him which were unfitted for the occasion. At such a time when Muhammad Quli should have supported him, he in his wickedness preferred all sorts of demands, as is the way of the empty headed. When the Mirzā saw this bad behaviour, he was at first amazed and then reproached him for his improper language. In the same assembly he sent trustworthy men to summon Haram Begam in order that he might make him over to her for punishment. Muhammad Quli became confused and came away from the meeting, pretending that he had a pain in his belly. He went off to Qundūz in order that he might fortify it and engage in strife. He sent his younger brother Khwāja Beg to Tāliqān in order that he might renew the old compact with the Khānim and get hold of M. Shahrukh, and stir up the dust of strife. That strife-monger combined with Mullā 'Alī and Mast 'Alī, who were in the Khānim's service, and plotted evil things. The Khānim and M. Shahrukh, who was now fifteen years of age, left Tāliqān on the pretext of going for an excursion. Shāh Tayīb became suspicious at this departure, and quickly arrived and kept a look-out. Mullā 'Alī, Mast 'Alī, Jahāngīr Beg, Muḥarrām Beg, Pīr Qulī, Khākī Khānazād and some other wicked men represented to the Khānim that Shāh Tayīb was alone and that they ought to finish him. But from fear



of Haram Begam no one had the courage to do this. At last, after much talk, M. Shahrukh at the instigation of those perverted ones shot an arrow at him and the persons above mentioned killed him<sup>1</sup> with their knives. The Mirzā did this improper act from simplicity and from the infatuation produced by the bad teaching of those darkened intellects!

When the Mirzā heard of the flight of Muhammad Qūli he came quickly to Qundūz. As Muhammad Qūli had not had time to strengthen the fort he fled, and the Mirzā came into possession of 154 Qundūz. When the catastrophe of Shah Tayīb and the rebellion of Shahrukh became known, he went off to put down the rebels. At the same time the Khānim, when such errors were being committed, took M. Shahrukh and went off with him to the Hindu Koh in order that if she could get help from the Aimāqs, and Muhammad Qūli joined her, she might return to Badakhshān. Otherwise she would go to the sublime court and rub her forehead on the threshold of glory. For the Khānim had from old times the connection of service and devotion with H. M. the Shāhīnshāh, and his kindness was a great support to her. When they came to the Hindu Koh the Aimāqs collected in crowds. Muhammad Qūli also joined them. M. Shahrukh returned and with little trouble took possession of Andarāb. From there they went to Kahmard. Sabz Tūlakōi the governor of that place came and paid his respects. The Khānim left M. Shahrukh there and went on to Ghorī. Sultān Ibrāhīm, who was related to M. Sulaimān, fortified Ghorī. Though they brought forward his son and threatened that if he did not surrender the fort they would slaughter his darling (his liver lobe), he replied, "It is better that whoever spills his honour and fidelity should have his blood spilled." And like a faithful servant he was firm in holding the fort. When M. Sulaimān heard of this commotion, and was meditating marching thither, Haram Begam yielded up her life. He went off to Kishm for the mourning. From there he proceeded towards Ghorī. M. Shahrukh was unsuccessful and hurried to Andarāb. The Mirzā resolved to go to the Hindu Koh in order to get hold of the families and property of the Aimāqs, and that he might scatter M. Shahrukh's forces. Just then M. Shāhrukh, at the instigation of evil-disposed persons petitioned

<sup>1</sup> The Lucknow ed. has *teador* but probably this should be *tirdoz*.





that the estates which had belonged to M. Ibrāhīm might be surrendered to him, and represented that in this way commotion might cease, and unity and concord result. M. Sulaimān made no reply. When the Aimāqs' property came into his hands and M. Shāhrukh's position became insecure, the latter was obliged to go to Sirāb. From there he hastened to Khost in order that he might make the defiles of Badakhshān his protection. M. Sulaimān proceeded towards that country by the way of the plain, and when M. Shāhrukh came to the parting of the ways for Ghori and Qundūz and was in doubt as to which route he should take, there suddenly arrived the vanguard of M. Sulaimān's army under the command of Mihr 'Alī. The Mirza's (Shāhrukh) troops broke. He himself, Muḥammad Qūli, Nūr Beg his brother, Sabz Tūlakī and Qulij turned against their evil fortune, and fighting bravely drove off the enemy. They went off to the mountains towards the district of Anjuman.<sup>1</sup> M. Sulaimān plundered M. Shāhrukh's camp and went off to Harm. M. Shāhrukh after traversing mountains, and much unsuccess, got possession of Qundūz owing to the negligence of the watchmen. As many of the Badakhshān families were there, M. Sulaimān's men left him and 155 took to coming in (to Shāhrukh). Many of them behaved in an unmanly manner and incurred eternal disgrace. Muḥammad Qūli Shighālī and many other officers of Badakhshān were of opinion that the Mīrzā (Sulaimān) should be pursued and put to death. M. Shāhrukh, from innate goodness and reverence, did not, in that strong blast of indiscretion and stony ways of unloveliness, listen to the words of those wretches, and trod the rose-garden of rectitude. He fixed himself in Qundūz. M. Sulaimān sent him a friendly letter and made over to him Ibrāhīm's territories. Many days had not elapsed when the evil-disposed of that country suggested that Kulāb was a nursery of soldiers and also an inaccessible place, and that M. Sulaimān wished to fortify it. It would be well to extirpate him by taking possession of it. M. Shāhrukh was confused by the preambles of those black-hearted,

<sup>1</sup> See T. R. 189. It is entered as a place in the Index to Bib. Ind. Anjuman is marked in Govt. map of

Afghanistan. It lies S. E. Badakhshān.



fly-like men and went off to Tāliqān. When he came there every one who was with M. Sulaimān wickedly took the path of faithlessness and went over to M. Shāhrukh. Those wicked men got their opportunity and exerted themselves to utter gold-incrusted words and to lead that simple-minded one astray. In spite of their urgency the Mīrzā did not drop the thread of righteousness, and begged permission to wait upon M. Sulaimān. He replied, "Let the Khānim come first and solace my heart. After that come you and be the light of my eyes." M. Shāhrukh agreed to the wish. He hastened to pay his respects, and waited upon M. Sulaimān. While they were in Tāliqān, M. Sulaimān, from excessive suspicion, would not for some time allow the Khānim to depart from his presence. Muḥammad Qālī and his brethren out of wickedness behaved harshly to the Mīrzā's (Sulaimān's) men, and M. Shāhrukh suitably rebuked some of them. He also gave a great banquet, and in the banqueting-hall promises and oaths were interchanged. It was determined that Shāhrukh M. would never leave the highway of doing what was well-pleasing to M. Sulaimān.

When solemn oaths had been taken, M. Sulaimān said that during the lifetime of M. Ibrāhīm he had a desire to visit the Hijāz and to circumambulate the holy places, and that now the same desire was disturbing his soul. His wish was that they should part on good terms, and that the division (of territory) which had been made should be adhered to. M. Shāhrukh from goodness and reverence hesitated to grant this request. And as imagination—the sovereign—had great predominance, every supplication which M. Shāhrukh made was regarded by M. Sulaimān as something different and sinister. When nothing could pacify M. Sulaimān, M. Shāhrukh was compelled to take leave of him with all reverence and to  
 156 allow him to depart with his property. From there M. Sulaimān came to Kabul, and his whole idea was to form some alliance and so take revenge on M. Shāhrukh. If Hakīm M. would help him, he would return and exact vengeance, and if he could stir up strife in Kabul, he would attempt to do so, and make this a help towards his recovering Badakhshān. Otherwise he would go to the Shāhīnshāh's court and there try to carry out the secret objects of his heart. When M. Hakīm perceived the





notes of commotion on his brow he sent him to India along with trusty<sup>1</sup> men. From Bikram the Mirzā sent a petition to the court, which contained thousands of regrets and apologies. The broad-minded and tolerant sovereign accepted his excuses and sent an order to the Punjab officers to go out to meet the Mirzā and to show him all respect. He also sent off Khawāja 'Āqā Jān with the rarities of India that he might hasten forward to gladden the exile's heart. He met the Mirzā on the banks of the Indus, and comforted him, and made his sorrow-laden soul embrace joy. The stewards of fate in this old caravanserai of the world, which is a place for the retribution of actions, brought him, on account of his old trespasses, into the dust-bin of adversity and marked him with the dust of catastrophe. As his fortune had something of auspiciousness in it, he carried the countenance of supplication to the sacred court. Inasmuch as the threshold of the fortune of the world's lord is a fount of benevolence and respect, he was encompassed with favours. The envoys met the Mirzā, some in the borders of Scinde, and some in Bhīra, and showed him respect. The officers went out to welcome him near their fiefs and paid him reverence. When he arrived near the capital, the high dignitaries and the great officers assembled in crowds, in accordance with the orders of H.M., and received him with ceremony. When the procession came within three kos of the capital the appreciative world's-lord mounted his horse and rode thither. The superintendents of the palace decked out the hall of audience and the whole of the city, and made them resemble the picture-gallery of China. From the front of the palace to the end of the stage, mountain-like elephants wearing chains of gold and silver, and golden and bejewelled housings, were drawn up in two rows. The foot of the glance moved from its place, and the eye of the heart was amazed. Between every two elephants there was a *cīta* attired in costly clothing. The conspicuous places on the route and the city-streets were also adorned. H.M. mounted his horse on the 157

<sup>1</sup> The T. A. and Badāyūnī give a different account. They say that M. Hakīm supplied worthless guides who ran away at the first stage, and that Sulaimān, who had his

daughter with him, had great difficulty in making his way to the Indus. A. F.'s account reads as if it had been inspired by Shāhrūkh.



day of Amardād 7 Ābān, Divine month (middle of October 1575), and all the insignia of royalty appeared before the Mīrẓā. He dismounted and came hastily forward. The illustrious Shāhīnshāh who made the increase of worldly dignities a motive for increased humility and friendliness dismounted and performed the *kornish*. The Mīrẓā performed the prostration (*sijda*), and was exalted by favours. All at once, the grief of former wanderings, the sorrows caused by the recalcitrance of Shāhrukh M., the bad behaviour of Ḥakīm M. and the distracting influences of exile were erased from his heart. From that place he returned with a heart full of thankfulness, and a tongue full of praise. The Mīrẓā had the bliss of being nearly associated with H.M., and became enrolled among his followers. The sovereign returned to his palace, and there was a great banquet.

*Verse.*

They prepared a wondrous banquet hall  
In it was an abundant feast  
In every corner were the beauties of China and Chigal<sup>1</sup>  
They robbed the senses and seduced the soul.

(six lines of rhetoric).

In that feast the Shāhīnshāh opened the hand of liberality and conferred boundless favours on the Mīrẓā and on all the visitors. Inasmuch as the whole idea of the Mīrẓā was to get the government of that hilly country—Badakhshān—he was gladdened by the news that this desire of his would be gratified. He was informed that the armies of the Panjab would shortly be despatched under the command of Khān Jahān, and that they would soon bring Badakhshān into the Mīrẓā's possession. The Mīrẓā performed the prostration and became partaker of perpetual joy.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal came and performed the prostration on the day of Debādīn 23 Ābān, Divine month. He brought as a present fifty-four noted elephants, and rarities from Bengal, which had been obtained in the battle of  
158 Takarōi and at the time of the peace. He described the events of the country in accordance with what has already been related. He

<sup>1</sup> A town in Turkestan famous for the beauty of its youth.



was the recipient of various favours. Financial and territorial matters were entrusted to him, and he was made Maghrif-i-diwān.<sup>1</sup> He served with honesty and the absence of avarice. There was no cupidity in his administration. Would that he had not been spiteful and revengeful so that a little opposition<sup>2</sup> would cause dislike to spring up in the field of his heart and acquire strength and substance. Such a quality is considered by the wise to be one of the worst qualities in a man, especially in an administrator to whom men's affairs are entrusted, and who has been selected as the vakil of such a world-lord. If bigotry in religion had not coloured his nature he would not have had so many bad qualities. But in spite of these defects, if we look to the nature of men in general, in fullness of courage (*serdili*), absence of avarice—that market was always flat with him—in the performance of service, in diligence and skill he was a man such as is seldom seen, or rather he was incomparable.<sup>3</sup>

One of the occurrences was that the territory of Gaḍha was taken from Rai Sarjan<sup>4</sup> and given in fief to Sādiq Khān who was sent there to take charge of it. To Rai Sarjan was given the fief of Cunār.

Another occurrence was that M'aṣūm Khān<sup>5</sup> came from Afghanistan and entered into service. He was given high rank and sent to Bihār. He belonged to the Saiyids of Turbat in Khurāsān. His paternal uncle Mir 'Azīz<sup>6</sup> had been in the service of H.M. Jahān-bānī and had attained to the rank of vizier. He stood to M. Hākīm in the relation of Kokaltāzā (foster-brother). He was renowned for bravery and thoroughness. Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandī, from a

<sup>1</sup> B. VII.

<sup>2</sup> Bayāzīd Bīyat M. S. I. O. 132a mentions an instance of Todar Mal's religious feelings when he punished Bayāzīd, with justice apparently, for breaking down a temple at Benares and converting it into a Madrasa. Afterwards when Bayazīd on his return from Mecca got a pargana, Todar Mal rack-rented him. Perhaps A. F. was thinking of Todar Mal's conduct to Shāh Maṣūr. He put him in prison and

in chains, and afterwards reported him to Akbar. He also perhaps had to do with his murder.

<sup>3</sup> See B. 431, n. 1.

A. F. also represents Todar Mal as prejudiced against Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī.

<sup>4</sup> B. 409. Gaḍha is Gaḍha-Katanga, i.e., Jabalpūr.

<sup>5</sup> B. 143, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> The Mir 'Azīz-Ullah Turbatī of B. 527.



cloud on his mind which happens to worldlings, on a slight suspicion endeavoured to destroy him. From far-sightedness he came to court, and was received with the glance of favour.

In the same year Mir Saiyid<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Mir 'Adil was given the government of Bhakar.

One of the occurrences was that Jalāl Khan<sup>2</sup> quaffed his last draught. It has already been mentioned that he was sent to assist the army of Siwāna. When he came to Mirtha, Sultān Singh and Rām Singh the brothers of Rai Rai Singh, and 'Ali Qulī the relation of Shāh Qulī Khan Mahram, sent a message that they had in accordance with H.M.'s orders addressed themselves to the uprooting of Candar Sen, but that owing to the hilliness of the country, the difficulties of the roads, and the crowd of audacious men, he was making great resistance, and that it was time for help to arrive. Jalāl Khān marched quickly to that quarter. Candar Sen took to vulpine tricks on the arrival of this army, and had recourse to stratagem. The imperialists saw through his design and marched against him, and he took refuge in the mountain of Kanūja (?)<sup>3</sup> and came forward to fight. A large number were killed, and when his glory was discomfited, he of necessity retreated to the folds of the hills.

159 The officers entered victoriously into the fort of Rāmgarh.<sup>4</sup> At this time one of the crafty spirits represented that he was Debi Dās. Vagabonds gathered round him. Many were certain that Debi Dās was killed at Mirtha in the battle with M. Sharafu-d-dīn Husain. At this time the claimant gave out that he was wounded in that engagement, and had lain on the ground nearly dead. A benevolent hermit had taken him on his shoulders and conveyed him to his cell, and had there applied plasters to his wounds and had healed them. He had then gone in attendance on the hermit to visit holy shrines. Now the hermit had given him leave, and he had again put upon his shoulders the scarf of social life. Some believed his story and some repudiated it. He joined Jalāl Khān in order that he might do good service and his name be reported to the Shāhīnshāh. Suddenly fortune, the juggler, played another trick.

<sup>1</sup> B. 438.

<sup>2</sup> B. 475.

<sup>3</sup> In some MSS. it is Kanūca. Qu.

Is it the hill near Gūndoj mentioned in Rajputana Gazetteer II. 223?

<sup>4</sup> In Jaipur 100 m. N. W. Jaipur.





The short account of this is as follows: When they were in hot pursuit of Candar Sen, that fabricator represented that the ruined wanderer (Candar Sen) was in the fief of Kalā the son of Rām Rai, his (Candar's) own brother's son, and that his face was turned towards the wall of contempt (*i.e.*, was in a wretched condition). The victorious army hastened to the spot. Kalā from ill-fatedness maintained that Candar Sen was not there; and by fraud and deception won over Shimāl Khān to his side and set about ruining Debī Dās. Shimāl one day brought him to his house and was about to seize him, but he bravely got out of that whirlpool. As he had come to despair of the imperial troops, he craftily went to Kalā and became his companion. On the day of Shahriyūr 4 Āzar, Divine month, November 1575, when the imperial soldiers had gone off in various directions, the lamp of the vision of Debī Dās and some other daring and presumptuous ones was extinguished while they were seeking to glut their vengeance. They took Jalāl Khān's quarters to be Shimāl Khan's and attacked them. He fought bravely but without arrangement, and yielded up the coin of his life. The evil-doers went from there to Shimāl Khān's tent, and just then Jaimal came up with many combatants and quelled the disturbance. When this catastrophe was reported to H.M., he appointed Saiyid Ahmad, Saiyid Hashim and a number more of the Saiyids of Bārha to chastise the presumptuous men of that region. They did good service, and put down the rebels.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is chiefly taken up with the affairs of Badakhshān, and it gives many interesting details about the history of that country. There is an amount of feminine gossip in it which makes one think that A. F. is here copying from some lady's memoirs. Perhaps it represents a missing part of Gulbadan Begam's memoirs! Presumably Muhtarima did not marry Ibrāhīm M. till after the death of her first husband M. Kāmran. This occurred

in the end of 964 (1557). Two periods are referred to in the chapter, one when Shāhrukh was 7 years old, and the other when he was fifteen. Ibrāhīm his father was killed in 967, and apparently Shāhrukh was born in that or the following year. The character given of him by A. F. corresponds with that given him by Jahāngīr in his memoirs. He married Shukranisa, a daughter of Akbar. His mother died in 993.



## CHAPTER XXIX.

### THE ENTRUSTING OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL TO KHĀN JAHĀN.

160 On the day of Mārisfand 29 Ābān, Divine month, reports came from Bengal to the effect that Mun'im Khān had died on the day of Khūr 15 Ābān, Divine month (23 October 1575),<sup>1</sup> and that Dāūd had wickedly broken his oath and taken to rebellion, and that the officers from want of wisdom and envy had not stood their ground, but had abandoned that fine country without a battle. They were now, it was said, at the parting of the ways, and in confusion in the desert of bewilderment. They neither thought of staying where they were, nor had the courage to proceed to the holy threshold.

The brief account of this instructive occurrence is that when Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān had made peace he hastened to Ghorāghāt, and quelled the disturbance there. From there he returned, and made habitable the city of Gaur which formerly was the capital. This he did both that the army might be near Ghorāghāt, which was a fountain of sedition, and might entirely put down commotion there, and also that he might restore this delightful place, which had a noble fort, and magnificent buildings. He did not notice that the atmosphere of the place had acquired poisonous<sup>2</sup> qualities in consequence of the vicissitudes of time and of the decay of the buildings, especially at the time of the end of the rains, when there is a change of climate (*ābgardish*) in most of the districts of Bengal. Though those acquainted with the character of the country stated the facts, their remarks were not listened to. He adopted the ordinary kind of resignation and so kept a world in the whirlpool of annihilation. The resignation which is practised by the elect of the palace of inquiry consists in observing the dictates of deliberation, and the glory of wisdom—which are the sentinels of the mate-

<sup>1</sup> The date given in Bayāzīd Biyāt's Memoirs is the night of Monday, 18 Rajab, 988, which is equal to 23 October, 1575; 15 Ābān should

be 25 or 26 October. The M'aasir I. 644 does not give the full date.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jarrett II, 120.



rial world—and then leaving the result of their skill to the incomparable Deity, and not to reason and outward causes. On this account<sup>1</sup> Ashraf Khān, Haider Khān, M'ūnu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān, Farankhūdī, Lāl Khān, Hājī Khān Sistānī, Hāshim Khān, Muhsin Khān, Hājī Yūsuf Khān, Qandūz Khān, Mirzā Qulī Khān, Abulhasan, Shāh Tāhīr, Shāh Khalīl, and many other officers, each of whom was a proper soldier and a world-conqueror, fell asleep on the bed of annihilation; and the thought of death took hold of everyone. Though in that year there was a strong wind of destruction in all the eastern provinces, which shook the pillars of life, in that city it amounted to a typhoon.

As the Khān-Khānān had acted contrary to the opinion of many, he stuck to what he had said and did not take warning. But when the mortality exceeded calculation, and he perceived the wretched state of affairs, he applied himself to remedy matters. At this time the news came that Junaid was beginning to raise a disturbance in Bihār, so that a motive of coming away from that valley of annihilation presented itself. He left that city of calamities with the intention of crossing over to Bihār. It was a still more extraordinary thing that he did not suffer in that typhoon of plague which was fraught with evil to the generality, but as soon as he came to Tānda he died after a little illness.<sup>2</sup> On account of this there was great

<sup>1</sup> See list in B. 376. Ashraf Khān was a noted calligrapher and is mentioned in A. F.'s Inshā; cf. B. 101 and n. 6 and p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> Mun'im Khān was over eighty when he died (Badayūnī 221). It will be seen that he died at Tānda and not, as commonly stated, at Gaur. There is some account of the plague at Gaur in Bāyazīd Biyat, p. 147a. He says the pestilence was aggravated by the intemperance of the army.

There is a long and good account of Mun'im Khān in the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 229 *et seq.* His son died before him, and according to Badāyūnī all his wealth went into the

exchequer. The Maasir I. 635 has a long account of Mun'im and says, p. 645, that the enduring offspring of Mun'im is the bridge he built at Jaunpūr over the Gāmtī in 981 (1573). The bridge is still standing. Stewart in his history of Bengal, 162 note, mentions the interesting fact that in 1773 a brigade of British troops sailed over the bridge which suffered no damage from the violence of the current. See also an account of the building of the bridge, etc., in the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 250, etc.

The exact date of Mun'im's death seems uncertain. A. F. only gives



161 uneasiness in the army. Although the officers appointed Shāham Khān as commander, and the eunuch I'timād Khān, who was distinguished for sense and judgment, put upon his shoulder the scarf of dexterity, yet on account of the want of harmony among the leaders, and the imaginations of the generality, and the small capacity of most of the advisers, and the flames of the dissentients, there was no unity in the deliberations. Dāūd's evil spirit was aroused by hearing of these quarrels, and he snatched the veil of honour from his face and broke his engagements. He besieged Naẓr Bahādur in the town of Bhadrak, and after inducing him by promises to surrender, he put him to death. Murād Khān let the foot of his courage slip from the city of Jalesar (Jellasar) and came to Tānda without fighting a battle. At this time of confusion Īsā Zamīndār fell upon Shāh Bardī, who had charge of the boats and the artillery of the province. Though he put forth the foot of courage and raised the standard of victory, yet out of excessive apprehension he left that country and joined the officers with the artillery and the flotilla. The chiefs of the victorious army on account of their being disgusted with the country, and the want of right thinking, dropped from their hands the thread of work. They crossed the Ganges and came towards Gaur. The whole soul of those paltry-minded men was engaged in carrying their acquisitions out of that country (Bengal), while outwardly they said, "When we have put the river between us and the enemy, we shall give our minds to fighting, and then the Qāqshāls from Ghorāghāt will join us." When they had crossed the river, Qutlaq Qadam produced a lying<sup>1</sup> letter (*muzawwir nāma*) and spread unpleasing reports about the world's lord. Those friends of pelf, foes of fame (*āzdostān*, *nāmūs dushman*) used this false statement as their credentials and went off towards Bihār by

the date according to the Persian Calendar. Elliot V. 395 wrongly has Ṣāfar instead of Rajab. The T. A. and also apparently Badayūnī (who copies the T. A.) only gives the month, for the ten days are those of the illness and not of the month. Bayūzīd has the night of Monday 18 Rajab (983).

The *Iqbāl-nāma* says distinctly that he was ill for ten days and died on the eleventh day. It also gives Tānda as the place of death.

<sup>1</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* calls it *Kitāb jā'āt*, a forged book or letter.





way of Purniya and Tirhut. They gave up such a fine country without regarding it. Still stranger! Adam Tajband, who at this time had brought firmāns from H.M. to the Khān-Khānān and the Bengal officers, from wickedness and the instigation of evil men appropriated to himself the elephants and other property of Mun'im Khān. He opened a thousand doors of plundering and gave out that he was by orders of the Shāhīnshāh taking measures for the preservation of the goods. In reality he was sunk in cupidity and was enriching his house for his own harm and by his own efforts arranging for himself the materials of eternal ruin.<sup>1</sup>

When these occurrences came to the royal hearing he thought that he might entrust Bengal to M. Sulaimān, so that he might in that fine country amend his misfortunes, and accumulate happiness of life. Should he, under those circumstances, wish for the headship (*sirdāri*) of Badakhshān, and if the being in that Highland country had taken possession of his mind, that desire would be easily gratified. The high wind of M. Sulaimān's passion for revenging himself on M. Shāhrukh, and of his overweening affection for the stony land of his birth, extinguished the lamp of plan and deliberation. The notes of joy did not appear on his forehead when **162** he heard of this great boon. The world's lord pardoned the simpleton and gave him the glad tidings of the gratification of his petty wishes. But inasmuch as it is inscribed on the portico of world-rule that urgent enterprises should be preferred to ordinary ones, and that the principles of sovereignty must not be abandoned, H.M. directed Khān Jahān, who was prepared with a victorious army to proceed to the conquest of Badakhshān, to march to Bengal and to conquer and clear that country. He imparted to him instructions which were calculated to soothe mankind and to be well pleasing to God. On the night of Isfandarmāz 5 Āzar,<sup>2</sup> Divine month, about 15 November, 1575, he was dismissed to that country after his dignity had been increased by great favours. Rajah Todar Mal, who was an able and experienced man, was appointed to accompany him,

<sup>1</sup> Bayāzīd Biyāt, Mem. 147a, describes how he went to Gaur after Mun'im's death, and the difficulty he had in securing the property.

<sup>2</sup> This must be the date of issuing

the order of appointment. The news of Mun'im's death only came on the 29th of the previous month (Ābān), and Akbar's first thought was to appoint Sulaimān.



and an order was given that all the Bengal officers and land-holders should regard Khān Jahān as the executor of the orders of the Caliphate and should consider his will and pleasure as those of the sovereign, and should properly exert themselves for the conquest and civilisation of the country. The government of the Panjab was taken from him and given to Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram who was renowned among the brave and right-thinking.

Khān Jahān addressed himself to service according to the rules of the loyal and fortunate. The Bengal officers had reached the neighbourhood of Bhagalpur when the victorious army arrived there. The bewilderment of those self-interested men increased. They were not inclined to turn back and co-operate (with Khān Jahān) and they could not venture to proceed to court. Most of them threw off the veil of shame, and eloquently discoursed upon the refractoriness of the people, the pestilential atmosphere of the country, and the large mortality, and objected to go back. Some from evil disposition and strife-mongering brought forward the affair of religion,<sup>1</sup> and began to chatter foolishly about the headship of Khān Jahān. By the halo of the Shāhīnshāh's majesty, the politic conduct of Rajah Todar Mal, and the wide capacity and toleration of Khān Jahān, the seal of silence was impressed on the lips of every one, and they elected to accompany him. Ism'ail Qulī Khān took his place in the army with a band of active and courageous men, and by the Divine aid, and their skill and loyalty, Garhi, which is the gate of Bengal, was recovered with little difficulty. Ayāz Khūṣa Khail, who had charge of that place, fell alive into their hands and was put to death. Dāūd in his pride never imagined that the imperial army would come so soon. On hearing the reverberation of its approach he suddenly proceeded to take defensive measures. By alertness and dexterity Khān Jahān chose for his camp Āk Maḥal<sup>2</sup> which is fortified on one side by the river,

<sup>1</sup> Khān Jahān was Bairām's sister's son and a Persian and a Sh'ia. The Bengal officers were, many of them, Turks and Sunnis.

<sup>2</sup> Rājmaḥal. Perhaps Āk is Turkish and the name means White House. B. however reads Ag Maḥall.

See his Errata. But see Jarrett II. 129. The name Rajmaḥal was given to it in consequence of Rajah Mān Singh's choosing it for his residence. The Turkish word for white is properly āq. The text is wrongly punctuated, and makes it appear as





while on the other side access is impeded by lofty mountains, while in front the tracks were effaced by a large marsh. Apart from its being a strong refuge, Āk Mahal is in the forefront of Bengal. Accordingly the occupants of this strong position were saved from the effects of accidents, and the inhabitants of the country remained **163** in security as soon as the armies of fortune had come there. Khān Jahān drew up in battle-array, but owing to the difficulties of the country and the time there was no engagement. The gallant warriors came out on every side and displayed devotion, and there was abundant testing of men's mettle.

One of the occurrences was that Mir Muḥammad Khān Khān Kilān died in Pattan Gujarat on the day of Farwardīn 19 Dai, Divine month (December, 1575). The appreciative sovereign begged<sup>1</sup> forgiveness of his sins and assuaged the grief of those he had left behind by princely favours.

Among the occurrences was that M. Sulaimān obtained leave to travel to Hijāz. From the time that the Mirzā obtained the bliss of doing homage, he was continually encompassed by the favours of the Shāhīnshāh, and was distinguished by great honours in the holy assemblies. As his whole soul was intent upon chastising M. Shāhrukh, and upon obtaining the government of the mountains of Badakhshān, the knot on his heart was not loosed. When Khān Jahān went off to the province of Bengal, and there became a little delay in the fulfilment of his wishes, he from his ill-fortune and haste did not understand the real state of affairs and applied for leave to go to the Hijāz. He thought that perhaps by this route he might reach that country (Badakhshān), and obtain his ends by feline tricks. H.M. acceded to his wishes and bade him adieu, and sent Qulij Khān and Rūpsī to accompany him and to wait upon him, and to see him through the difficult parts up to the Gujarat ports. Subsistence for several years and a well-found ship were bestowed on him. The above-mentioned officers conveyed him peacefully and with comfort to the port of Surat and sent him off to the Hijāz.

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if it was Dāūd who encamped at Āk Mahall.

<sup>1</sup> i.e., repeated the *fātiḥa*.





## CHAPTER XXX.

## THE ROYAL CORTÈGE PROCEEDS TO AJMERE.

The parterre-adorner of the Caliphate in his plenitude of Divine worship and his keen quest of truth conducts himself with a regard to the feelings of the superficial majority. In consequence of his vast comprehensiveness, and his thorough knowledge of the pulse of the age, he seldom promulgates the luminous conceptions which cast rays on his heart from the sky of genius. For the food of forest-lions is not adapted to sparrows of the house-gable, nor are the rations of mountain-like elephants expended upon feeble gnats! Nor is the diet of the spiritually strong beneficial to the mentally sick. Accordingly the enthroned one of the Sultanate allows for the condition of the classes of humanity and regulates his effulgence in accordance therewith. From his observing this course, there arises no dust of  
164 unsoundness in the inner chamber of his spirit. Though he sit upon the throne of the spiritual kingdom and of a world illuminated by the rays of true light, he regards the worship of the True God to be also accomplished by external forms, and worships the very God as superficialists do, and is a spiritual worshipper according to the formulas of ordinary followers of the world's customs. From this idea, the circumambulation of the sepulchres of the leaders of the caravan of existence (*i.e.*, saints, or perhaps it only means those who have gone before)—which is regarded by some as the essence of the worship of the Creator, and of the acknowledgment of Divinity, while others look upon it as a pious act and a contemplation of the Divine mercy—was rigorously practised by him, just as if he were a mere formalist. By this excellent plan he introduced worshippers of externals to the feast of practical wisdom and guided them to the highway of Truth. And when he who understood the pulse of the age, devised such a cure for those sick persons, there came no dust

<sup>1</sup> This exordium does not occur in the Lucknow ed., nor do Akbar's re-

marks occur in the collection of his sayings at the end of the *Ain*.





from such earth-questing (*khākparsī*) to sully the skirt of his grandeur. Many a time there rose to his lips, in his sacred privy-chamber, the words, "Seeing that the note of man's greatness, which consists of knowing the truth and the performance of good actions, is not visible in the elemental house—which is an abode of lust and affections and is in the world's language called Body—how can it be sought for in an earthly prison (the grave)? Moreover, when the cavalier of Purpose (*maqsūd*) gets lost in the equable mansions of Time, that is, the bodily frames, what hope is there that he will be found after the web and woof of the constitution have been dissolved in the prison-house of death, which is a boisterous ferry (or perhaps bleaching-ground, *i.e.*, graveyard) of the Divine wrath? When he cannot be found in his own house, why drive a mine into the house of the dust? If the matter were rightly considered, men would not conserve the house of a ruined home, which they call the grave. But this language may not enter into every ear, nor can impress itself on every heart. Hence it follows that those who understand institutions and are widely tolerant do not on beholding this springless autumm surrender the flower-garden of their soul to the winds of disturbance, but contemplate the ideas of those who regard the practice (of pilgrimages) as Divine worship, and enjoy an autumless Spring."

On account of such views H.M. left the capital of Fathpūr on the night of Zamīyād<sup>1</sup> 28 Bahman, Divine month, and proceeded towards Ajmere. He passed along, stage by stage, dispensing justice and increasing joy, and by the guidance of the Divine aid he encamped on the day of Ashtād 26 Isfandārmaz, Divine month (18 March 1576), in the bounteous district of Ajmere. In accordance with prescribed customs he performed the last stage to the shrine on foot, and making external things a means of increase to internal light, he came as the flower-gatherer of the garden of truth. He divided a large sum of money among those who sate at the threshold of the shrine, and fixed splendid salaries for the expectants. He made strong the souls of the wishful, and caused the depressed of heart to be chief sitters in the hall of acceptance. By the blessed influence of the setting up of the sublime standards, the country acquired fresh prosperity. At once, outward customs were observed, and likewise was

<sup>1</sup> T.A. says 7 Zūl q'ada, *i.e.*, 9 March, 1576.



the spiritual world decked out. The dignity of the clay was exalted, and illumination was bestowed on the heart. In this dust-bin of externalities (the world) it is an approved principle to honour saints and to ask inspiration from them, and to magnify those who are connected with this chosen class, especially when this is done by majestic Kings. God be praised! This noble temper as well as other grand qualities have been implanted in the holy personality of the Shāhīnshāh. And inasmuch as this laudable quality holds high rank among the outwardly great, how can the majesty thereof be reckoned when it occurs in the highflyers of the spiritual world, and the high-thoughted and wide of capacity who have combined the leadership of both conditions—as is the case revealed by the lustrous brow of the world's lord!

*Verse.*

My words have risen high ; me fears  
 A portion<sup>1</sup> of them may leap from my mouth.  
 The roadster of discourse is grown impetuous ;  
 Me fears, the reins may spring from my hand.

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<sup>1</sup> Possibly, instead of *jazūī* we should read *jazda*, a cricket, and also a whisper.





## CHAPTER XXXI.

BEGINNING OF THE 21ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION OF  
THE SHĀHINSHĀH, viz., THE YEAR ĀZAR OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

In this spring-time of increasing justice the equable vernal breeze began to blow. The outer world acquired freshness just as did the city of the soul of the Khusrū of horizons.

*Verse.*

The zephyr adorned the garden of the world with verdure,  
The earth appeared a model of the meadows of the other  
world.

Where is Majnūn that he may petition and see  
The beauteous hall, and the loveliness of Laila?

On the night of Sunday 9 Zilhajja (11 March 1576), after passing of one hour and nineteen minutes, the physical and spiritual illuminator cast his glance on the Sign of Aries, and the 21st year of the second cycle began. At the banquet of sovereignty a spring-time without autumn showed its face from the picture-gallery of truth.

*Verse.*

God be praised for this movement of the zephyr.  
What limits are there to His gracious works?  
They send gifts to eye and heart,  
They are protagonists of life and growth.

In the beginning of this year H.M. gave his attention to the augmentation of the repose of the inhabitants of Gujarat. From the time when M. Koka had from inauspicious fortune gone astray, and the physician of the horizons (Akbar) had restrained him from office and sent him to the school for learning wisdom, it had been in the secret chambers of his heart that if the Mirzā awoke from his somnolence and took the path of bliss he would send him away to protect that country. As the time for that had not arrived, M. Khān, Wazīr



166 Khān, Mir 'Alā'u-d-daula, Saiyid Mozaffar, and Bipāk<sup>1</sup> Dās, each of whom was distinguished in his own line, were sent to protect property, life, honour and religion—which sum up the possessions of mortals—and to compose the distractions of the country. Their external rank was exalted by glorious favours, and they were also the recipients of precious jewels of instruction. The government of the province was entrusted to Mirzā Khān, while the administration was committed to the weighty judgment of Wazīr Khān. Mir 'Alā'u-d-daula was made Amin, and Bipāk Dās was appointed Dīwān. Mir Mozaffar was made Bakhshī of the armies. The above-mentioned officers went there, and in a short space of time the country became peaceful.

Among the occurrences was the despatch of an army against the Rānā.

The choicest worship for the social state, from which the lamp of recluses gets light—is when majestic rulers obliterate the darkness of the desert of presumption by the effulgence of farseeing wisdom and the flashes of the world-adorning sword, and cause the stiff-necked wayfarers of the lanes of pride to journey to the city of supplication. And if the ill-fate of men of this class have been confirmed, great rulers cleanse the earth from the rubbish of their existence, for most evil-doers are of a wicked nature, though some are only foolish, so that they may obtain their deserts, and mortals their repose, and that every one may, under the shade of peace, make his own fashion of Divine worship, and his customs a means of thanksgiving; thus may the outer world acquire repose and adornment, and the spiritual world set its face towards increase and development.

In accordance with these views, as the disobedience and presumption of the Rānā, as well as his deceit and dissimulation had exceeded all bounds, H.M. addressed himself to his overthrow. Kuar Mān Singh, who was among the first in the court for wisdom, loyalty and bravery, and who, among other favours, had been granted the lofty title of farzand (child), was nominated for this service. On the day

<sup>1</sup> The Lucknow edition has Pīyāg Dās. The Iqbāl-nāma has Pāk Dās, and it appears that this is the real

name and that the 'b' is the preposition.



of Dībādin 23 Farwādīn, Divine month, corresponding to 2 Muharram 984 (3 April 1576), he left Ajmere. Ghāzi Khān Badakhshī, Khwāja Ghāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī, 'Aṣaf Khān, Saiyid Aḥmad, Saiyid Hashim Bārha, Jagannāth, Saiyid Rājū, Mihtar Khān, Mādhū Singh, Mujāhid Beg, Khankār, Rai Lonkarn, and many other brave officers went with him. From abundant graciousness H.M. briefly 167 and comprehensively reduced into writing instructions as to what was proper with respect to temporal and spiritual matters.

Among the occurrences was that at this time M. Yūsuf Khān, Masnad 'Alī Fath Khān, Saiyid Umr Bokhārī, Shāikh Muḥammad Ghaznavī, and Saiyid Qāsim were sent to the Panjāb so that that province might become a place of increasing peace and tranquillity.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Siwāna,<sup>1</sup> one of the forts of Ajmere, and which was in possession of Candar Sen, and was held for him by Patā Rāthor. As Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and Rai Rai Singh did not conduct the army properly, the horses became weak, and the want of barley and forage distressed the soldiers. In the first place Saiyid Aḥmad Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Hashim, Jalāl Khān, Shimāl Khān, and many other distinguished combatants were appointed to endeavour to take the fort, while the former were to hasten to court. The officers proceeded to their fiefs and set about collecting equipments. Meanwhile the catastrophe of Jalāl Khān occurred, and the stubborn ones of the country raised the head of commotion. Especially did Kalā, the son of Rām Rai and grandson of Rai Māldeo, and many of the disaffected assemble in the fort of Deokūr.<sup>2</sup> The Saiyids of Bārha and other leaders exerted themselves to put down those wicked men, and so the business of Siwāna dragged on. Accordingly Shahbāz<sup>3</sup> Khān was appointed from the court to bring the thing to an end, and then to return to court. When he came near the spot he learnt that the army were perplexed about the siege of the fort, and that the affair was difficult on account of a succession of troubles and great fights. Shahbāz Khān arrived, and immediately set about taking the fort. By the celestial help which befriends the strenuous and the pure of

<sup>1</sup> J. II, 276. It is there entered as in Sarkār Jodhpūr.

<sup>2</sup> B. 399, n. 1. Perhaps the Deogāon of J. II, 273.

<sup>3</sup> His real name was Shāh Ullāh. See Badāyūni II, 171. Lowe 174. This explains the pun at p. 333 of Lowe.



heart, victory showed herself, and a large number of the enemy were annihilated, and the fort was taken. The rebels were caught, and Shahbāz Khān having left some of the Saiyids of Bārha in the place (*thāna*), addressed himself to the conquest of Siwāna. Seven kos from that fort there was a stone fort called Dūnāra.<sup>1</sup> When the army was crossing (the Lūnī) near it, the Rajputs of the Rāthor clan assembled and displayed haughtiness. Though the highway of obedience was indicated to them, it was of no avail, and it was necessary to take the fort. *Sābāts* were made, and in a short time that strong fort was taken. The blood of many of the audacious ones was spilt on the dust of disgrace, and this great success was a preamble to the conquest of Siwāna, and was a cause of increasing the dismay of the wicked. From there Shāhbāz Khān proceeded to take Siwāna, while  
 168 he sent the former army (*lashkar-pesh*, i.e., the army that had failed) to court. In making *sābāts* and in the disposition of materials for the untying of this apparently difficult knot hand and heart were combined, and skill joined with valour. In a short space of time the garrison sought protection and made over the fort to the loyal and hastened to prostrate themselves at the threshold of fortune. They did this while the imperial standards were at Ajmere, and were received with royal favours. When the affairs of this province had been completed H. M. proceeded on the day of Khūr 15 Ardibihisht from Ajmere to the capital, and on the day of Bād 22 Ardibihisht he reached Fatḥpūr. He applied himself more than ever to affairs which brightened the world, and the rose-garden of the world attained fresh verdure.

One of the events was the appointment of the army of Bihar to the province of Bengal. It has already been mentioned that the world-subduing armies had, after the taking of Garhī, confronted the enemy at Ākmaḥal. From that time news was continually conveyed backwards and forwards by relays of mounted couriers. At this time news was brought that the rainy season, which is tempestuous in that province, had arrived, and that if a fresh army were appointed, the conquest of Bengal would be easily effected. Accordingly an order was issued to Mozaffar Khān and the other officers of Bihar that they should put their army in order and proceed to Bengal.

<sup>1</sup> The text has *Dūbāna*, but there is the variant *Dunār*. It lies on the right bank Lūnī, S.W. Jodhpūr.





Also at this time, as the privations and the shortness of supplies for the army had impressed themselves on H.M.'s mind, boats laden with money and goods were despatched, and the anxiety of the timid was remedied, while the hearts of the enemy were filled with trepidation. Also during this time, the news came from the army that one day Khawāja 'Abdullah <sup>1</sup> Naqshbandī, who was full of the light of loyalty, was in his entrenchment and had gone with some of his men and sought battle. A large number of the enemy came forward, and the Khawāja's companions became stained with the dust of disgrace and took to flight. The Khawāja stood firm and slew many of the enemy. At last he played away the coin of his life and ascended to the sky of fame. H.M. the Shāhīnshāh was grieved at this occurrence and bound up the hearts of his children and dependants by various acts of kindness.

One of the events was the sending of Shahbāz Khān against Gajpatī.<sup>2</sup> The brief account of this affair is that Gajpatī was one of

<sup>1</sup> Badāyūnī II, 240, says he was a descendant of Khawāja Ahrār.

<sup>2</sup> Called Kajī in Lucknow ed. See B. 399, n. 2. Bayāzīd, I.O. MS. 135a, says Gajpatī held Bhojpūr and Bihīya, and he calls him the Ujjainiya Rajah. The word is badly written in the MS., but I am convinced that my friend Mr. Irvine is right in suggesting that Ujjainiya is what is meant. See B. 513, n. 1. Blochmann adds that the Bhojpūr Rajahs called themselves Ujjainiahs because they claimed descent from the Rajahs of Ujjain in Malwa. Maulwi Abdul Haq Abid has favoured me with a genealogical tree, procured from the office of the Rān<sup>1</sup> of Dumrāon, showing that Rajah Gajpatī, commonly known as Rajah Gujun Shah, of the village of Dawa, Pargana Bihīya, Zillah Shahabad, was the 73rd in succession from Rajah Vikramāditya of Ujjain. He was the son of Badal Shāh. The

Dalpat Ujjainiah of B. 513, n. 1, and his successor Pratāp, were also members of the Dumrāon family, but it appears from the genealogical tree that Dalpat, called there Dulīp Shāh and Dalpatī Shāh, was not Gajpatī's son, but his uncle (?). He is said to have reigned from 1577-1601 and to have been succeeded by Muluk Mān Shāh of Bihta. Pratāp is called in the tree Rudra Pratāb Narain Singh and is said to be the 77th in succession from the Rajah Vikramāditya. I have also received an official letter from the Shahābad Collectorate to the effect that Gajpatī is commonly known as Gujunsāhī, and that his palace was at Jagdīspūr. The account of the jungles near Gajpatī's palace recalls the events of the mutiny and of the fights with Koer Singh who was also connected with the Dumrāon family.

Badayūnī calls Gajpatī, II. 227, zamindar of the country about Hājīpūr





the noted landholders of the province of Bihar. He used always to be associated with the warriors of the threshold of the Caliphate, and 169 he had rendered good services in the conquest of Bengal. For some insufficient reasons he took a sort of leave and went off to his own country. At the time of the Bengal rebellion he sought help from (*panāh āward*) Khān Jahān, but when the latter passed with his army through his premises (*yūrat*), Gajpatī, from an inverted fate and evil nature, went aside and had not the felicity of accompanying him. As the army of fortune was for a long time stationary in front of the enemy, the ill-conditioned strifemonger became increasingly addicted to highway robberies and to oppressing the weak. Evil-disposed and self-interested men gathered round him, and his seditiousness became more and more pronounced. In his folly and shortsightedness he extended his robberies to towns<sup>1</sup> and cities. When he raised the dust of predominance in the vicinity of the town of Arrah, Farhat Khān, the *jāgīrdār* thereof, did not deem it expedient to engage in battle with him and shut himself up in the fort. In his wickedness Gajpatī entered into negotiations with Dāūd and exerted himself to close the lines of march. He also seized and imprisoned Peshrau Khān who was proceeding<sup>2</sup> post-haste by boat from the capital towards Bengal. In his blindness and ill-fatedness he stretched his foot beyond the measure of his blanket, and, as it is a rule of the organizers of fate to draw up some ingrates and evil-doers so that they may have the heavier fall, and be broken to pieces, they let this black-hearted man blaze forth for some days like a fire of straw, on the heights of error. Farhat Khān, his son, and Qarāṭāq fell in battle against him. The brief account of this is that Farhang Khān,<sup>3</sup> the son of Farhat Khān, on hearing of the siege of

and Patna. Nizāmu-d-dīn says Gajpatī rebelled when Mozaffar K. went off towards Rajmahal to help the Khān Jahān, and so left Bihar without troops. Perhaps the variant Kajatī is really Gajani. The Iqbāl-nāma has Kajani or Kajatī.

Jahāngīr in his Memoirs, Elliot VI. 321, speaks of the territory of Ujjainiya as lying near Patna. Evi-

dently he means the Bhojpūr Rajah's country.

<sup>1</sup> The Lucknow ed. has *banahīb* "for plundering" here.

<sup>2</sup> *ba tarz ilghār*. Lucknow ed. has *ba tarz aghkār*, *lil*, like a quantity of tears, and has a note explaining the idiom.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently Farhang's fief lay east of the Sone. He crossed it in





Arrah, came there from his fief and was joined by Qarātāq Khān who was in the neighbourhood. Near the fort they engaged the fleet of that devastator of the general weal and defeated it, and then gallantly crossed the Sone. The presumptuous and brainless man was emboldened by the number of his reckless bravoes to give them battle. At first Farhang Khān distinguished himself in hand-to-hand encounters, and twice brought his sword to bear upon Gajpatī, and that spark of sedition was nearly put out, when his swordsmen hamstringed Farhang's horse. He fought valiantly on foot and journeyed to the desert of annihilation. After that Qarātāq also gallantly tied up the chattel of existence. When Farhat Khān heard of the fatal catastrophe he came out of the fort from his abundant paternal affection and, after the manner of life-sacrificing lovers, chose the route of the blessed land.

When the news of the rebellion of this evil-doer reached the august hearing, H.M., on the day of Rām 21 Khurdād (beginning of June 1576), Divine month, sent off Shahbāz Khān, who was distinguished for fidelity and good service, to punish the wretch. An order was also issued that S'aid Khān, Makḥūṣ Khān, and other servants who were in that part of the country, should join him with a suitable equipment and should unite in putting an end to him. Shahbāz K. on receiving the order hastened to the spot, and the officers above mentioned joined him with all celerity. Gajpatī was heedless of the end of things, and thinking that what was the depth of downfall was the height of exaltation, he increased in arrogance and brought many towns and villages into his possession. He was about to proceed against Ghāzipūr where the family and dependants of Khān Jahān were. Just then the victorious army arrived, and he in his pride turned back and drew up for battle. By the blessing of the Shāhīnshāh's fortune he soon received fitting punishment as shall briefly be described.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān to Malwa. The lofty genius which was always attending to

order to relieve Arrah. Badayūnī calls him, II. 227, Mirak Radāī, but perhaps Radāī is a mistake for Rāzavi. See B. 381 and 438. Nizāmu-d-

dīn calls him Mirak Rawānī; according to the Lucknow lithograph, Elliot V. 399 has Mirak Rāwī.



the civilization of countries, the cultivation of hearts and the distribution of justice to the oppressed, took care of the bringing into repose of the inhabitants of that country, which is an extensive and delightful region. He increased the rank of Shihābu-d-din Ahmad Khān, who was distinguished for ability and cherishing of the peasantry, and conferred on him a maṇṣab of 5000 and despatched him to the province on the day of Dibādīn the 23rd Khurdād, Divine month. He loaded the ears of his fortune with the weighty jewels of admonition, and so increased his wisdom.

[Here follows 2½ pages—from the middle of p. 170 to the bottom of p. 172—of a dissertation about the different (six) classes of men, and about the duties of an administrator. It may be compared with the chapter at p. 37 of Jarrett II, and that on the currency of the means of subsistence at p. 50 *id.* The dissertation does not exist in the Lucknow edition, and there is nothing informing or characteristic of Akbar in it except a remark at the end about the expediency of increasing the numbers of elephants, and caring for horses, oxen, asses, etc. I have not thought it necessary to translate the dissertation. The dissertation purports to be an abstract of Akbar's instructions to Shihābu-d-din on his being sent to govern Malwa.]

- 173 One of the occurrences was the death of Mir Sharif Qazwīnī. Inasmuch as in the game of Caugān, which strengthens onsets and hand-to-hand encounters, there is education for the strenuous, and improvement for horses—which is the most choice part of soldiering—H.M. regards the pastime as worship under the guise of sport. From this view a game was held on the day of Ārād the 25th Khurdād, Divine month. Mir Ghīāsu-d-din Naqīb-Khān and Mir Sharif, the sons of Mir 'Abdu-l-laṭīf Qazwīnī, in consequence of the favour of the Shāhīnshāh, took a distinguished part in the play. In the heat of the onsets the horses of the two brothers collided. The young novice was thrown to the ground, and became senseless, and blood flowed from his ear. H.M. dismounted in that plain, which was a world-spectacle, and cast the shadow of compassion (on Sharif). The spectators, when they did not see the world's lord on horseback, became confused and uttered cries and lamentations. Evil-minded strife-mongers took advantage of the opportunity. A moment had not elapsed when that composer of the world's distractions mounted his





horse at the entreaty of Qutbu-d-din Khān and rode over the plain. The consternation ceased. In a short space of time the combination of the elements in the fallen man was dissolved. H.M. distributed at the tomb large sums to the family of the deceased, so that their heart-shoulders were lightened of the load of debt, and there came a time of good fortune. May the satisfaction of the heart (at his debts being paid) support him in his awful journey!



## CHAPTER XXXII.

THE BRIGHTENING OF THE LAMP OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S FORTUNE, AND THE SINKING OF THE RĀNĀ INTO THE DARKNESS OF FLIGHT.

It has already been mentioned that the Rānā's arrogance was swollen by the fact of the glory of his line of ancestors who were in ancient times rulers of India. The strength of his position, the extent of his territory, and the large number of his Rajputs who would sacrifice life for honour, cast a veil over his vision. He did not perceive the marvels of the Shāhīnshāh's fortune, and abandoned obedience and went astray. The parterre-adorned of the world ordered Kuar Mān Singh to go with a number of loyal men and arouse him from his infatuated slumbers and guide him to the school of auspiciousness. But to him who is unfortunate (*lit.* has a black blanket) the motives of awakening only bring increase of somnolence. The imperial forces remained for some time in the town of Mandalgarh, waiting for their officers and the gathering of the camp. The Rānā during this time of awakening ignorantly increased his obstinacy and came forth to make commotion. He paid no heed to the fortune which was conjoined with eternity, and regarded the leader<sup>2</sup> of the victorious army as a landholder subordinate to himself. His whole idea was that he should come to the town above mentioned and fight a battle. But his well-wishers did not suffer him to increase his loss (*khasārat*) by this act of daring (*jasārat*).

174 When the imperial army had been collected, Kuar Mān Singh, relying upon daily-increasing fortune, drew up his forces and marched towards Goganda,<sup>3</sup> which was the native country of him of somnolent fortune (the Rānā). He himself was in the centre, the Saiyids of Bārha were on the right wing; Ghāzi Khān Badakhshī, Rai Lonkarn, were on the left; Jagannath and Khwāja Ghīāsu-d-dīn 'Alī, Āṣaf Khān were in the van; Mādhu Singh and other distinguished men were in the *altamsh*; Mihtar Khān and others were in the rear. On the side of the enemy the Rānā was in the centre; Rām

<sup>1</sup> About 100 m. N. E. Udaipur.  
I. G. It is described by Tod.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., Mān Singh. The Iqbāl-nāma

says this had been the position of the Amber family.

<sup>3</sup> B. 418, n. 2, Tod calls it Gogoonda.



**Shāh** <sup>1</sup> Rajah of Gwalior had the right wing ; the left was commanded by Bedāmāta of the Jhāla tribe ; Rām Dās, son of Jaimal, was in the van. The Rānā, owing to the darkness of his presumption, had not the head for arranging his forces in battle-array, but by the efforts of far-sighted men various arrangements were made, and he displayed alacrity. On the day of Amardād 7 Tīr, Divine month <sup>2</sup> (18th ? June 1576), when a watch of the day had passed, the two armies met in the village of **Khamnūr**,<sup>3</sup> which is the mouth of the Haldī defile and is a dependency of Goganda. They strove together valiantly. The price of life was low, that of honour high.

*Verse.*

When army commingled with army  
 They stirred up the resurrection-day upon earth.  
 Two oceans of blood shocked together :  
 The soil became tulip-coloured from the burning waves.

The enemy's right wing drove off the left wing of the imperialists, and their vanguard also prevailed. Many of the imperialists gave way. Jagannāth behaved bravely, and was about to sacrifice his life when the *altamsh* arrived, and Kuar Mān Singh in person joined in the fight. The enemy's left wing also prevailed over the imperial right. Sāiyid Hāshim fell from his horse, but Saiyid Rājū rehorsed him. Ghāzī Khān Badakhshi advanced and joined the van. There was a market of life-taking and life-surrendering. The warriors on either side yielded their lives and preserved their honour. And as the men did wonders, so did the elephants perform marvels. On the side of the enemy was the rank-breaking Lonā. Jamāl Khān Faujdār brought the elephant Gajmukta <sup>4</sup> to encounter him. The 175

<sup>1</sup> B. Ram Sāh.

<sup>2</sup> 21 Rabi, I. B. 418 n. Badayūnī has the beginning of Rabi I.

<sup>3</sup> Tod's map shows a village Kammor to the north of Goganda. The battle is usually called that of Haldī-ghāt. Elliot V. 398. Badayūnī says it was 7 kos from Goganda. The text has the word *berūn* instead of Haldī, but the reading of the Cawn-

pur ed. Hardī, i.e., Haldī is preferable and is supported by the Iqbāl-nāma. The best account of the battle is that given by Badayūnī, Lowe 236, etc. See also Noer's Akbar translation I. 247, etc. Kavi-rāj Shymal Dās says the place is called Haldī because the soil there is yellow, like turmeric.

<sup>4</sup> B. 121.



shock of these two mountain-like forms threw the soldiers into trepidation, and the imperial elephant was wounded and about to fly when by the help of daily-increasing fortune a bullet struck the driver of the enemy's elephant, and he turned back. Just then Pertāb,<sup>1</sup> a relation of the Rānā, brought forward Rām Pershād which was the head of their elephants, and threw down many gallant men. At the time of wavering Kamāl Khān brought up the elephant Gajrāj and took part in the fight. Panjū brought the elephant Rām Madār opposite Rām Pershād and did excellently well. This elephant too was nearly letting the foot of his courage slip. By the might of fortune the driver of Rām Pershād was killed by an arrow, and that noted elephant—which had often been a subject of conversation in the sacred assemblies—became entered among the spoils. Up to midday the contest continued.

*Verse.*

Many a one engaged with another,  
Much blood was poured out on the battle-field,  
Livers grew hot, cries resounded,  
Necks were throttled by nooses.

Rām Dās, son of Jaimal, went to the sorry abode of annihilation from a stroke by the hand of Jagannāth. Rajah Rām Shāh with his three sons Sālbahān, Bhān Singh and Pertāb Singh fell, fighting bravely. During these blazing sparks of commotion and contest, and the heat of the fires of fortune, Kuār Mān Singh and the Rānā approached one another; and did valiant deeds. In the opinion of the superficial the foe was prevailing, when all at once the lightning of the Divine aid—which supports the eternal fortune—flashed out victory. One of the external causes of this was that during the tumult the vanguard arrived equipped for battle. A report circulated that the world's lord had come on his steed swift as the wind and had cast the shadow of his might on the battle-field. A cry went up from the combatants, and the enemy who were continually becoming more and more predominant, lost heart. The breeze of victory began to blow upon the rose-bush of the hopes of the devoted

<sup>1</sup> The Rajah is also called Pertāb though generally spoken of as Rānā Kikā.





from the quarter of celestial help, and the rose-bud of success of those loyal exponents of their lives bloomed forth. Vanity and conceit were changed into disgrace. There was a new testing of the fortune conjoined with eternity. The devotion of the sincere was increased, and sincerity was imparted to the simple. The auspicious morning-breeze of confession and belief blew for the sceptics; to the enemy came the thick darkness of the night of destruction. About 150 *ghāzis* died on the field, and of the enemy more than 500 distinguished men were stained with the dust of annihilation. On account of the excessive heat and the fatigue of the battle the imperialists did not set their hearts on pursuing the enemy, and the Kuar proceeded next day to Goganda after offering thanksgivings. The wretch fled 176 and hastened to the defiles of the hill-country. The imperial army encamped in that city, and a report of the battle mentioning the services of the heroes and the bravery of the enemy was sent to court along with splendid articles of booty, especially the elephant Rām Pershād, in company with Maulānā ‘Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī, who had obtained leave from among the group of learned men (*ahl-sa’ādat*) for this expedition. On the day of Māh the 12th Tīr, Divine month, the news of victory reached the august hearing. He returned thanks to God, and raised the rank of the loyal and devoted. On the same day Saiyid ‘Abdullah Khān<sup>1</sup> was sent to the eastern provinces by post-horses to convey to the officers the news of the approach of the world-conquering standards. He was both to convey the news of the glorious victory and also, if the soldiers of the province of Bihar had not marched to assist Khān Jahān, he was to insist upon their doing so.<sup>2</sup> At the time of sending him off H.M. said that a ray of inspiration had fallen on the portico of his heart which announced to him that, as he was taking to that country the news of this celestial victory, so would he in a similar manner bring to court the news of the conquest of Bengal.

<sup>1</sup> B. 465.

<sup>2</sup> *Sazāwalī namāid*, lit. “display *sazāwalī*.” A. F. does not explain in the *Ain* the word *sazāwal*. Here it seems to be used in the sense of dunning or urging, and may be compared with the *tākīdgīr* which

used to denote in Bengal a man employed by zamindars and indigo-planters to urge on the peasants to pay their rents and sow indigo. Cf. text 178, 11 lines from foot, and p. 177, l. 14.





## CHAPTER XXXIII.

EXPEDITION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO BENGAL AND HIS RETURNING FROM  
THE FIRST STAGE.

(The chapter begins with some unmeaning praises of Akbar, which do not occur in the Lucknow edition.)

The account of this is briefly as follows: Some trustworthy  
177 people arrived from the eastern provinces and announced that the  
light of daily-increasing fortune was continually shining in the vic-  
torious camp, and that Ism'ail by name, an Afghan, to whom Dāūd  
had given the title of Khān Jahān, had been killed at the entrench-  
ments of the Qāqshāls. They also reported that the leaders of the  
army were of opinion that without the arrival of the standards of  
world-conquest the lights of victory would not fully shine forth, but  
that out of respect they could not freely state this. H.M. ordered  
that preparations for an expedition should be made, and that the  
army should go thither by land and water. Qāsim Khān was sent  
to Agra to arrange for the stations on the river. In a short time the  
managers of the business accomplished the work of several years.

As the pillars of knowledge and the Sultans of wisdom never  
approve of the work of to-day's being postponed to the morrow, and  
think this especially bad in the matters of administration, the Shāh-  
inshāh, in reliance upon the Divine bounty, left Fathpūr in the  
height of the rains,—a season when many energetic men refrain from  
exertion,—starting on the day of Ābān 10 Amardād, Divine month—  
corresponding to Sunday 25 Rab' al-akhir (22 July 1576).

*Verse.*

The Shāh rode off from the abode of glory,  
Bakhtiyār (his elephant ?) became the abode of glory (?).  
The standards (*Kaukaba*) were of heavenly splendour,  
The moon of his ensign rose to heaven,  
The forms of the elephants bent the earth,  
There was a shaking in the universe.

His sublime intention was that he should proceed by the river  
with a few of his courtiers, while the army should go by land.



Though the season was not suitable for the movements of an army, yet as the world's Khedive was looking to the settlement of a country, he considered that the repose of the soldiers would consist in the quelling of the enemy. On the way he said to some of his intimates, "Last night a window opened into the mystic world while I was in a state of dream, and I learnt that in a short space of time news would come of the conquest of the eastern provinces, and that the inhabitants thereof would enjoy repose and daily-increasing justice." On that day, when he had reached the village of Birār, which is a dependency of the district of Agra, at the beginning of night, Saiyid 'Abdullah Khān, having accomplished a long journey in eleven <sup>1</sup> days, brought news of the victory of the imperial servants, the discomfiture of the haughty rebels, and the conquest of the country of Bengal. And in order to teach mankind he threw down in the *jilaukhāna* 178 (shed) of the courtyard the head of Dāūd. A cry arose from the spectators, and mankind rejoiced. Though in the eyes of the superficial, a great victory had occurred in the outer world, yet in the eyes of those of profound vision it was the spiritual world which had been conquered. Guidance was furnished to the weary of foot in the wilderness of search. Seekers who had lost their way and who used to search for the night-illuminating lamp (of direction) in the dark abode of covetous wearers of rags (*i.e.*, from the ascetics and beggars) obtained the prince of the horizons for their guide, and commenced work anew, and had the candle of their vision lighted by two great marvels—to which intelligence had no access, and for which conjecture and reasoning had no capacity. The blind of the rose-garden of existence were made joyful by the fountain of vision and the acquisition of thousands of eyes of awakening and partook of the feast of witnessing (*shuhūd*). The lame of the field of recognition had the foot of knowledge restored. The blear-eyed obtained the antimony of vision. Those who were tottering on the highway of search received into their hands a staff <sup>2</sup> of firmness. The first (of the two marvels) was that at the time of giving Saiyid

<sup>1</sup> The battle was fought on Thursday, 12 July, 1576, and 'Abdullah arrived on the night of Sunday, the 22nd id. From the T. A. Elliot V. 400 it appears that Birār is 10 m. from Fatḥpūr.

<sup>2</sup> The text has 'azā "members," but the variant 'aṣā "staff" seems preferable.



'Abdullah his dismissal there had come from the lips of that creator of creation (Akbar) the words "You will bring news of victory and conquest." The second was that on that same day H.M. had while *en route* given the interpretation of his dream and conveyed the tidings of victory and conquest.

H.M. the Shāhīnshāh returned thanks to God for the two glorious victories. Though the untying of this hard knot (the conquest of Bengal) was in reality the result of the blessing of the holy influence of the world's lord, yet the external cause was the wide capacity, skill, and continuous efforts of Khān Jahān and Rajah Todar Mal, and the exertions of the irrepressible (*be ru?*) *sazāwals*.<sup>1</sup> When the heaven-aided army was in Ākmaḥal opposed to Dāūd there could be no pitched battle on account of the rugged nature of the ground; and the brave men on both sides were continually coming out and making trial of their courage. The whole idea of the presumptuous wretches was that when the rainy season set in, the camp would be broken up. The officers of the victorious army were for the most part Caghatāis, and did not wish that so great an enterprise should be headed by the Khān Jahān, who was a Qizilbāsh. They had not such fidelity as to disregard, on account of their master's work, differences in religion and custom, and to endeavour for carrying out his objects. Necessarily such unrighteous thoughts were an obstacle in the path of the auspiciousness of this faction. Also the Bengal army had their hearts turned against the country on account of the prevalence of the plague, and their whole energy was devoted to prevent the prosecution of the work. Where is that splendour of wisdom which can comprehend that time and place do neither good nor ill towards filling the measure of life? That amount will appear which is in the Divine knowledge, whether one spends one's days in a tiger-  
 179 jungle or on the verges of the fountain of life! And where is that

<sup>1</sup> *Sazāwalān*. This word is used here as in pp. 176 and 178 to signify special messengers or officers who were deputed by Akbar to urge on and quicken the movements of his generals. They are called *be rū*, lit. without face, because their business was to be importunate and trouble-

some and to have no respect of persons. Cf. English word effrontery.

A. F. dwells with some justice on Akbar's and the *sazāwals*' exertions, for apparently Khān Jahān would not otherwise have fought during the rains.





loyalty which asks for the sacrifice of life in the service of his lord? And also they were disinclined to combat, because in the eyes of the superficial the enemy was increasing in quality and quantity. They did not possess the far-sightedness which could see the armies of the daily-increasing fortune of the Shahinshah. Also they did not like the prospect of fighting on account of the strength of the enemy's position. They had not the magnanimity to find the equivalent of the strength of position in the might of H.M.'s fortune. Also the vehemence of the rains and the violence of the rivers withheld them from engaging. From total irrecognition of the Truth, they did not weigh spiritual aids against the calamities of the skies, and also the difficulty about grain and the high rates of articles caused weakness in their ardour. From want of trust, and from self-conceit they did not regard the Causer of Causes, and occupied themselves with secondary matters.

Khān Jahān and Rajah Todar Mal from their loyalty and knowledge of the world did not listen to men's idle talk, but exerted themselves greatly to hearten and encourage them. They bought over at a high price the disaffection of their companions, and submitted the jewel of service to exquisite tests. As they could not read the letters of the word of conquest in the forehead of these men's dispositions they set themselves to the bringing down the army of Bihar, and wrote letters to this effect. They besought the help of the sublime court in this matter. Mozaffar Khān was spending his time in the petty anxieties of men of small minds, but when the strenuous and irrepressible (*be rūi*) sazāwāl<sup>1</sup> came from the court, he was obliged to act, and together with Shujāāt Khān, Muhibb 'Alī Khān, M'asūm Khān Kabuli, Mir M'uizzu-l-mulk, Samānjī Khān, Mirzāda 'Alī Khān, Tarkhān Diwāna, he put the army in order and set his face to service. In the territory of Bhagalpur<sup>2</sup> Mozaffar Khān returned to his first opinion, and after eloquent discussions with his officers he decided that "The rains were a season of commotion, and that to go at this time to Bengal and fail was to ruin oneself. The proper thing to do was to remain where he was till the end of the rains. Khān Jahān, who was distressed from his long facing of the enemy, and

<sup>1</sup> *Sazāwālān be rūi* shameless importuners. Apparently the principal person referred to is Muhibb 'Alī Khān Rohtāsi; cf. p. 179, 15 from foot.

<sup>2</sup> *Kākalpūr* in text, but the variant *Bhāgalpūr* is probably correct.





excessive hardships, must return; when the star Canopus arises, the rivers begin to fall, and the air to be pleasant, the imperial servants shall proceed with unanimity to the conquest of Bengal and the extirpation of the Afghans." At this time Muhibb 'Ali Khān<sup>1</sup> arrived, and replied to this commotion by saying, "This idea cannot be weighed in the balance of loyalty or even of practical wisdom. When the wise ruler has sent a decisive order that we should hasten to Bengal and deliver battle, it is improper to think of any other plan or to indulge in delay. Let us hold fast to the command and go forward with our heart and soul to perform our service, and let us bring this long business to an end by the help of God and the fortune of 180 the Shāhīnshāh." Inasmuch as this encouraging idea came from the fount of devotion and loyalty, it appealed to every one. Willingly or unwillingly, the crew of slingers of stones of delay assented to the proposition and suggested that before they joined the army (of Khān Jahān) trustworthy messengers should be sent to assure it that when the two forces were amalgamated the battle would not be delayed, and that they would bring the great work to a termination; for they feared lest the officers of the advanced force (K. Jahān's) should not be inclined to fight and would wish to wait for the arrival of the Shāhīnshāh's cortégé, and that their camp might in such a season become broken up. Accordingly Mir Mu'izzu-d-dīn and Wazīr Jamīl were sent to reassure them.

When the writing of delay had been thus erased they were obliged to move towards the province. On the day of Mārisfand 29 Tir, Divine month (10 July), the armies of Bihar and Bengal joined. The Khān Jahān met the chief officers (of the Bihar force) and treated them with honour. He brought them into his quarters and gave them a great feast. Next day he went to the quarters of Mozaffar Khān and had a private interview with him. After much talk of little moment he (Mozaffar) set his heart on fighting and they proceeded to draw up their forces. Khān Jahān commanded in the centre; the Bihar army had the right wing; in the left wing were Rajah Todar Mal, Jabbārī, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, I'tmād Khān Khwā-jasarū, Rajah Gopāl, and others. In the van were Shāham Khān, Murād Khān, Jān Muḥammad Bahsūdī, Isma'īl Beg Uzbek, and

<sup>1</sup> This is Muhibb 'Alī Rohtāsī and not Muhibb 'Alī, the Mīr Khālifa's son. See B. 422.





others. In the *altamsh* were Ism'ail Qulī Khān, Qiyā Khān, and others. The enemy's forces were arranged as follows: in the centre was Dāūd; Kālā Pahār had the right wing, Junaīd the left; in the van were Khān Jahān the ruler of Orissa, and Qatlū. On the 31st Tīr, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 15 Rabī'ag-ṣanī (12 July) the battle took place. Though the whole country was under water and there was no way of crossing it by a bridge, the gallant men of the victorious army kept the slope of the hill before them and made, by the help of daily-increasing fortune, efforts to gain fame and jeopardised their lives. A suitable path was found, and when the news of this success arrived they raised the pæan of joy. They arranged themselves in order and sought for victory. When they had gone some distance there appeared before them a deep, black stream. There was no way of crossing it, and they could not think of turning back. A flood of apprehension seized the superficial and shortsighted whilst the profound of vision opened the eye of instruction and waited for some wonderful effect of Fortune. In a short space of time the mystic rays lighted up their faces with joy and that difficult stream became fordable. The able and intelligent took this as a pre-181  
sage of victory. When the enemy perceived what had happened they prepared for battle. Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and all the heroes of the left wing crossed the stream and behaved with activity. Kālā Pahār and the other brave men among the enemy stood firm and brought the jewel of courage to the bazaar of battle. The battle-field became glorious.

*Verse.*

Spears (*sinān*) smote upon breasts (*sīnahā*),  
The world became like the day of the resurrection.  
So much blood flowed stream on stream  
That it carried away heads like polo-balls.

Owing to his ill-fatedness Bābā Khān turned his rein. Just then Jabbārī and some other brave men came up and attacked. Severe fightings polished the jewel of courage. The strenuous were nearly wavering when Rajah Todar Mal came bravely forward. The devoted renewed the attack, and making skill the ornament of energy they engaged in wondrous hand-to-hand encounters and drove off the foe. Kālā Pahār was wounded and saw that his safety was in flight. The courageous heroes did not think it advisable to pursue him as





there were great marshes in front, and also they had no news about the rest of the troops. They were obliged to draw rein and to behold the wonders of fortune. The holy warriors of the right wing were about to prove their courage when the enemy became stained with the dust of ruin, and no engagement worthy of description took place. Junaid, who was the sword of the Afghans, and who had military skill, measured the ground of baseness (was killed). The cause of this was that on the night which was pregnant with the morn of victory, a cannon-ball reached Junaid, who was sleeping on a *cār-pai* (bed), and broke his leg. Murād Khān and others of the van crossed the stream and advanced. The enemy gave proof of courage and drove them off. Just then other *ghāzīs* of the van and the *altamghā* came up and turned back those who had been defeated. They stood firm and gave proof of devotion.

*Maṣnavī.*

Two armies came together seeking for vengeance

The brave came to the battle-field

The day of battle rose and fell

The dew of blood (descended) to the Fish, the dust (rose) to the moon

The swords of the heroes were red with blood

One gave his life, and another fled

Armour was broken, and loins unloosed

There was neither strength of hand nor of head.

Khān Jahān, who was at the head of the enemy, went to annihilation, and disorder took possession of the foe. The battle had not yet reached the centre when the light of the crescent of Divine favour illuminated the world, and the luminary of the Shāhīnshāh's fortune increased in brilliancy. The victorious soldiers pursued the fugitives on every side, and the hostile troops gave their honour to be consumed by the sparks from the fiery swords and went in confusion to the desert of bewilderment. Many of them in their confusion entered the rivers and streams, and so lost their lives. Khān Jahān had gone off in search of the foe when the battle-field became full of the noise of victory. His ears were delighted by the sound of rejoicing. On every side were heard the notes of the drums of joy. In the midst of this joyous confusion they brought in as a prisoner the



foolish Dāūd. It seems that his horse stuck in a quagmire. Talib Badakhshī, a son of the Khwāja Ibrāhīm, who had been a confidential servant of M. Hindāl, had wickedly given him a horse and allowed him to depart. Suddenly an unknown person (*ilāi az nā shīnāsān*) reported the facts to Murād Sistāni and Ḥusain Beg Gurd, and they seized him and brought him in. At this time too that ill-intentioned one (Talib) came with them and claimed a share (in the capture). On seeing what had occurred he went off ashamed. Khān Jahān asked the strife-monger (Dāūd) what had become of his compact and oaths. He removed the veil of shame from his face and said, "That engagement was with the Khān-Khānān. The time has now come to make friends and to enter into a new treaty." <sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as elegance of speech does not light up the darkness of the ruin of action, the Khān-Khānān wisely stopped the wiles and story-weaving of the wicked one and ordered <sup>2</sup> that he should be relieved of the burden of his head of contentious brains. Immediately afterwards he sent the head along with Saiyid 'Abdullah, and reported the fortunate facts. The body of the treaty-breaker was affixed to a gibbet at Tānda, which is the capital of that country.

*Verse.*

Great God ! who has such fortune  
 That he takes a world with little trouble.  
 Hail to his lofty jewelled umbrella  
 The shadow of God shades his throne.  
 As yet his sharp sword is hidden.  
 As yet one rose of a hundred has not bloomed,  
 As yet mystic victories are in store,  
 As yet there are good news beyond thought.

When the facts of this great victory became known, fresh thanks were offered to God, the Giver of kingdoms. The market of giving and of increase of dignities became active. Saiyid 'Abdullah was distinguished by liberal gifts of money, etc., and so much red and white coin was poured into the skirt of his hopes that he could not carry it away. Bulletins of victory were sent to rulers and

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<sup>1</sup> This refers to Khān Jahān's making no answer to Dāūd.

<sup>2</sup> Badayūnī says K. J. did not

want to kill Dāūd as he was very beautiful, but the officers persuaded him to do so.



governors. Hail to the Fortune which in the course of 25 days displayed two great victories, such as have seldom appeared to mighty princes of old times. The first was the dispersal of the Rānā's pride, the second the conquest of Bengal, and the execution of Dāūd. Although the superficial were astonished at these results, yet those who know the glorious qualities and actions of the sovereign—his wisdom, his recognition of truth, and his purity—considered them but as one out of thousands of blessings, and bowed the forehead of adoration !

As the general public were troubled by so distant an expedition at such an unpropitious season H.M. recognised the fact that a speedy return was the forerunner of thanksgiving, and turned back on the morn of victory, and spread the shade of justice over Fathpūr the capital. Great feasts were given, and there was much rejoicing. The spiritual market acquired fresh activity, and waves of largesse quenched the thirst of the needy.

*Verse.*

Like an ocean which casts up waves,  
Pours out pearls and then retires,  
The subject-cherisher in his universal bounty  
Was like a rain that rains in due season.

By the glory of the justice of the world's lord, and the splendid exertions of Khān Jahān and Rajah Todar Mal, that wide country came anew into possession, and became an abode of peace. A people of opposed nations and habits arrived at repose and the holy heart became entirely at rest about a country which from old times was called a house of contention (*bulghāk-khāna*).<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the dust of commotion was always being stirred up in that country by wicked men. Whilst the wise throne-occupant on beholding the tokens of right-thinking and right-acting implored the Divine aid and prayed for increased energy, mankind in general returned thanks for their lucky stars, in having bestowed on them such a wise, loving, pious and subject-guarding ruler. They bound the knot of obligation (*'aqd-i-luzūm*) on their mental skirt and made auspiciousness the face-brightener of their lives.

<sup>1</sup> B. 331, where the epithet is especially applied to Sāt-gāon.