

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CONCERNING THE EDUCATION OF H.M.'S AUSPICIOUS SONS.

219 The just world's lord continually exercises far-sightedness in judging of the grades of mankind, and so keeps the garden of promotion fresh and verdant. He knows the tests for men and bestows power upon them in accordance therewith. Just as it is indispensable that the cupbearer of the royal feast should judge of the drinking-capacities of men, and distribute the man-trying world's wine in proportion thereto, so does the ruler of the age in the plenitude of his perspicacity carry out this principle in the most choice manner. Some he raises to dignities step by step, and some whom he has found worthy of greatness are at once raised by him to the pinnacle of honour. As at this time, which was the beginning of the spring of daily-increasing fortune, he perceived in the characters of his sons the rays of intelligence and of apprehension of truth, he disregarded the tenderness of their years and raised each of them to a lofty dignity. As the household cavalry numbered 12,000 and were known by the name of *Aḥadīs*, and as no commander or *amīr* had a higher rank than that of 5000, the rank of Sultan Selīm was fixed at 10,000, and H.M. said that from observing the obedience, good disposition, prudence, and endurance of this nursling of dominion he made over the whole of the army to his charge. Prince Sultan Murād was made a commander of 7000, and Prince Sultan Daniel a commander of 6000

220 Though the sovereign went on, stage by stage, in the enjoyment of hunting, yet all his energy was devoted to the capture of hearts. Spiritual and temporal ministrations issued from time to time from the fount of enlightenment, and good actions adorned the age. At the stage of Bāmri¹ (?) which is a dependency of Mīrta² it was brought to his notice that the country was lying waste

¹ There is the variant Māmri. I have not identified the place. It is perhaps Bārmer.

² I. G. and Rajputana Gazetteer, II. 261 also Tod's Rajasthan. It is in Jodhpur. In J. II. 277 it is

owing to the bad condition of the reservoirs. In his abundant graciousness he visited the neighbourhood, and distributed active workmen among the officers. By one day's digging moisture was bestowed.

Verse.

The tanks shone like hearts' tablets,
They appeared like mirrors of wisdom,
Their limpid waters were like eyes,
Every drop was a hundred pearls.

One of the occurrences was the sending of a body of brave men to the province of Ajmere. When Shahbāz K.'s report was read and it appeared that he wanted some experienced men to take charge of the passes, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Fathpūrī was sent there with troops in order that he might take post in the territory of Lādlāi¹ and reduce to obedience the recalcitrants of that country, and that Shahbāz K. might exert himself in suppressing the Rānā.

spelt Merath and placed in Sarkār Nāgor.

¹ B. 403. The text has Lawalāli. Maasir, II. 571 in its account of S. Ibrāhīm has Lādlāi. Perhaps it is the Lāroālah of J. II. 203, and if so, was on the Betwa and in the Sarkār of Canderī and province of Mālwa.

But the context implies that it was in Rajputana. S. Ibrāhīm was the nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of S. Selīm who gave his name to Jahāngīr. See Ṭabaqāt A., Newal K. ed., 485. Lawalāli occurs again at p. 236.





CHAPTER XL.

EXPEDITION OF H.M. TO THE PANJAB, THE APPEARANCE OF THE
COMET, ETC.

When the affairs of this part of the country (Ajmere) had been properly disposed of, H.M. resolved to march to the Panjab, and while enjoying hunting to compose the distractions of that province. On 9 Ābān, Divine month, he encamped at Māhrôt.¹ From a desire to cherish the lowly he visited the dwelling of Narāyan Dās the
221 brother of Rūpsī. On the 27th he encamped at Amber,² and on the same day the ambassadors of Quṭb al-mulk³ produced choice presents. Among them was the elephant Faṭḥ Mubārak, who was renowned for his violence so that professional drivers were afraid of mounting him. When he was brought before H.M., he quickly mounted him, and made him obedient. The spectators were amazed, and were almost ready to vacate their bodies on beholding the might and majesty of the sovereign. What is wonderful in his performing such marvels, or what extraordinary in his subduing such wild animals?

One of the occurrences was the guidance given to Rajah Todar Mal. Just as he was one of the unique of the age for practical wisdom, and trustworthiness, so was he at the head of mortals for superstition and bigotry. His rule was that until he had performed in a special manner his idols-worship, and had adored them after a thousand fashions, he would not attend to business nor eat or drink. Suddenly, in the turmoil of moving the camp, the idols of that simpleton were lost. In his heartfelt folly he abandoned sleep and food. H.M. had compassion on him and administered consolations to him. He recovered somewhat and addressed himself to his duties.

¹ In Ajmere J. II. 273.

² The old capital of Jaipūr.

³ The title of the Golconda

Sultans. The Sultan here meant was Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh who died in 1581.

One of the occurrences was the laying the foundation of the fort of Mūl-Manahar-nagar. Inasmuch as H.M. is disposed to cultivate the soil (*gil*) as well as to civilize the soul (*dil*), he continually decks society and solitude by building up these two great places of worship. At this time, while he was at Amber, it came to his hearing that there was an old city in the neighbourhood, the ancient greatness of which was now recorded by a mound of earth. He resolved upon reviving it, and on 29 Ābān he, in an auspicious moment, laid with his august hands the foundation of that fortress. He nominated several officers to execute the work, and in a short time it was completed in an excellent manner. He associated it with Manahar¹ Dās, the son of Rai Lonkaran, the Zamindār of the place, and gave it the name of Mūl-Manaharnagar.¹

One of the occurrences was the appearance of a comet² after the sun had sate on the throne of the West.

Let there be a description of this phenomenon for the purpose of feeding the lakelet³ of discourse!

When the rays of the world-warming sun fall upon moist earth, heat is generated by that great luminary, and particles of the water become light and float upwards. They mix with the atmosphere and rise high. Such mixture is called vapour (*bulhār*). When the dry ground becomes heated by the sun, the supply of moisture which is hidden therein becomes united with the dryness, and from the influence of the heat the earthly particles get burnt

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¹ He was a poet and wrote under the name of Tausanī (a mettled steed). He was also called Mubammad Manahar. See Badayūnī III. 201. For Manoharpār, see I. G. XVII, 200. It is 28 m. N. N. E. Jaipur. Tiefenthaler I. 323 mentions a town called Monoarpur 15 leagues N. Jaipur, and calls it a "ville de marque" and says it had a fortress. See also B. 494, n. 2, Lowe 238, and Elliot V, 406, and Errata, vol. VIII. Perhaps it is the Manoharnagar of J. II. 277. There is a reference to Rai Manahar in Price's Jahāngīr 33, and in the Tāzūk, p. 8. See

Rogers' translation, pp. 17 and 321.

² *Zū zanab*, lit. possessed of a tail. This is the comet of 1577 described by Cornelius Gemma who was a professor of medicine at Louvain, and published his book at Antwerp in 1578. He died of the plague in the following year. His engraving of the comet has been reproduced by Guillemain. It passed its perihelion on 26 October, 1577 (B.B.R. A.S.J. XXI, 146).

³ The text has *dibāca*, preamble but the variant *dariyāca* is supported by the I.O. MSS.

and so their levity is increased. They then mix with the atmosphere and ascend. This mixture is called smoke (*dukhān*). Each is of two kinds. One becomes fixed in the ground and produces fountains, cavities (*kānhā*) and earthquakes. The other spreads over the surface of the earth and ascends. From it are produced clouds, rain, storms, thunder, lightning, and the like. Treatises on natural history describe these things clearly. I now proceed to refresh the garden of my discourse with an account of the production of those wonderful phenomena (comets).

Be it not concealed from the listeners to knowledge that whenever Mars is predominant in a country, the latter becomes arid, and thick vapours and smokes rise up in it. Especially is this so if Mars be in the tenth house of the horoscope of the year or season, and if that house be windy, or fiery and malific, and the moon, or Mercury, be windy, so that he (Mars) may regard them with a glance of affection.

Assuredly, the crops will then become bad, and there will be the elements of a famine. There will also be sicknesses, predominance of wrath, and the snapping of the thread of inquiry. (Wisdom-seeking).

In fine, when the viscous and hairy vapour first rises from the ground and joins the first stratum¹ of the atmosphere, viz. that which is mixed with fire, it assumes beauty, just as the smoke of an extinguished lamp becomes illuminated when approached by a lighted candle. It is then called a meteor (*shihāb*), also a shooting-star, and when it descends towards the earth, the vulgar think that a star is falling. If its beauty does not become so great, it, on account of grossness, does not flame, but still it is consumed. On account of the varieties of the atmosphere it assumes various forms. Thus it becomes hairy, or it acquires a tail, or it holds² a spear, or resembles a horned animal, etc.

¹ It is stated in the *Ain*, J. III. 38, that Fire is the first elemental sphere, and that its convex adjoins the concave of the sphere of the moon.

² *Nesa badast*. Cf. J. III. 38, n. 3. The word used in the *Ain* is *niyāzik*,

the pl. of *nezak*, a short spear or javelin, and J. translates this as the "Zodiacal light." But A. F. is there treating of the notions of the Greeks, not of the Hindus and it does not appear that the Greeks had observed the Zodiacal Light.

According to differences in its quality, it is either quickly consumed, or it lasts a long time. Occasionally terrible red or black appearances are observed in it. If it is dense, the red appearances excite dread, and if it become yet denser then black appearances inspire fear. Such forms were called in ancient language *ṣawābī*¹ *inajūm* and *zūāt al-azūāb*.² Each one of them had a different name in accordance with its difference in form. For instance, they called the hairy one *zū-zūāba* and the tailed one *zū-zanab*. In Hindi (i.e. Indian) books they reckon the number of forms as more than one hundred.³ In Greek treatises seven kinds are enumerated, and they are all regarded as of the natures of Saturn and Mars. The *zū-zūāba* (possessed of forelocks) and the *zū-zanab* (the tailed) are regarded as the most malefic. Ptolemy says that the *zū-zūāba* and the sun are eleven Signs apart. Some of the Greeks are of the opinion that the *zū-zūāba* show themselves in the morning towards the east, and that the *zū-zanab* appear at evening towards the west. Seemingly, this idea is the result of repeated observations. The sages of India have divided them into **223** two classes, according as they are benefic or malefic. All agree that their influence affects the country across whose zenith they pass, or where they are visible to the inhabitants, and that it depends on the

Probably then all that A.F. means by *niyāzīk* is spear-shaped comets. The next word, which Jarrett translates by luminous streams, is *umidha* (عمدة) in the original, and this is the plural of paucity of عمود pillar. The next expression is *zūāt al-qarūn*, lit. possessed of horns, but which J. renders "meteors." This corresponds to the *ke shālahā dāshā bāshid*, "which possess horns," of A. N. III. 222, eight lines from foot. In a MS. of the Ain in my possession there is no conjunction between *umidha* and *zūāt-alqarūn*, so that the phrase reads "horned pillars." There is an account of a comet in the *Tāzūk Jahāngīrī* 250, Elliot VI. 363.

¹ *Ṣawābet* is given in Meninskī as meaning a shooting star (*stella volans*), and this seems to be the meaning here. It therefore cannot be derived from *Ṣābit* fixed. It is perhaps derived from the root *ṣawab* and means retributory. The expression then may mean the retributory stars, comets being regarded as sent as punishments. The I.O. MSS. have *ṣawānī*, *ṣawānī* ثور which is the plural of *ṣāniyat* a second (of time) (seconds).

² Possessed of forelocks.

³ In the Ain it is stated that the Hindus reckon the number of comets, meteors, and the like, as a thousand (see text of Ain II. 24, and J. III. 38).

nature of the Sign in which they appear. They move according to the rapidity of the fiery sphere. Their effects depend upon the length of their appearance. Their wondrous¹ influences are detailed in old books in a manner which cannot be described here. Among them was the hairy comet which appeared in the Hijra year 662,² when the sun was in the Sign Leo. On that night there was a lunar³ eclipse to the extent of eleven digits $\frac{11}{12}$. More extraordinary still it was as large as a man's head, and smoke issued from the top of it. It passed to the countries of Tibet, Turkestan, China, Kāshghār, Farghāna, Transoxiana, and Khurāsān, and was visible for eighty-five days. There were disturbances in all these countries. In Transoxiana and Khurāsān the events connected with Qāid⁴ and Borāq and others illustrate this subject. Accordingly for a long time people reckoned their years and months⁵ from it. In 803 (1400) a tailed comet appeared in the zenith of Asia Minor (Rūm). Maulāna 'Abdullah Lisān, and Muḥīu-d-dīn⁶ Maghrabi and other astronomers of the time represented to Šāhib Qirān (Timur) that it appeared from the sayings of the wise that an army from the east would conquer that country and capture its monarch. That brightener of the face of Fortune had always meditated a campaign into that country, though his feeble-minded companions did not approve of it. He proceeded thither and impressed on the minds of high and low the brilliancy of his design, and the deep discernment of the astrologers. In the year 837 (1433) a tailed comet appeared in the

¹ *Nairangī-āgar*. Cf. B.B.R.A.S. XXI, 146 n., where the word *nairang* is taken to mean incantations.

² 1263-64. It appears from Pingre's *Cometographie* I, 406, ed. Paris, 1783, that this comet belongs to 1264. It appeared in France in July of that year.

³ *Kusūf*. This is usually applied to eclipses of the sun, but as this occurred during the night I suppose the moon is meant. Perhaps however *ser-i-zamīn* means the underworld.

⁴ The Kaidu and Borāk of Ney

Elias' introduction to the T.R., pp. 34, 35. Kaidu was a grandson of Oktāi, and Borāk a great-grandson of Caghatāi. He died in 1270. See also Vambéry's *History of Bokhara*, 152, 153.

⁵ *Sāl u mah-i derīn*. I.O. MS. 236 has *salmah*. The expression means a date and also perpetually.

⁶ An anachronism unless there were two persons of that name. Muḥīu-d-dīn Maghrabi lived in the time of Hulagū (1260). See D'Herbelot's article *Mohieddin*, and J. II. 19, N. 1. I cannot find Maulāna 'Abdullah Lisān.

first degrees of the Sign of Libra near the Northern Crown. It used to rise and set there. When some days had elapsed a singular movement of it took place. It became spear-bearing (*nezadār*) and went off to a distance from the Northern Crown, and in eight months it disappeared. A great pestilence occurred in Herat and its neighbourhood. Every day more than a thousand persons died. M. Ibrāhīm,¹ the ruler of Fārs, M. Baysanghar Arghūn¹ the *Shāh* of Badakhshān and S. Zainu'd-dīn Khāfi¹ died during this calamity. The contest between M. *Shāhrukh* and Sikandar the son of Qarā Yūsuf was also a result. Those acquainted with the mysteries of the heavens are agreed that if a comet appear in the angle of dominion, the sovereign of that country will die, and if it incline towards that angle, the possessions of that prince will depart from his hands, and if it occur in a falling angle (*sāqit-i-watad*) sickness and pestilence will increase, and there will be sudden destruction among the people. A thousand thanks to God that by the blessing of the holy personality of the world's *Khedive*, the malefic influences passed away from his empire. If from time to time such a terrible phenomenon occur, no great misfortune befalls this country. Still **224** in spite of such Divine protection, that prudent partaker of the banquet of enlightenment ordered the distribution of abundant charities according to the rules of Muhammadans and Hindus. Worlds upon worlds of men were made joyful.

The brief account of this great phenomenon² is as follows: On

¹ Both were sons of *Shāhrukh*, but according to Beale, Ibrāhīm did not die till 1435 or 839 A.H. Baysanghar died in 837, but I do not find that he was ruler of Badakhshān. The I.O. MSS. have *Shāh-Badakhshānī*, and I suspect that a conjunction has been left out and that *Shāh Badakhshānī* is a different person from Baysanghar and one of the *Shāhs* of Badakhshān. Neither does it appear that Baysanghar was an Arghūn. Probably then we should read M. Baysanghar and Arghūn

Shāh of Badakhshān. This view is corroborated by I.O. M.S. 23, which has the conjunction *u* before Arghūn. But I cannot find who the Arghūn *Shāh* was who died in 837; of Baysanghar there is a notice in D'Herbelot, and Bābur also refers to him in his Memoirs. Zainu'd-dīn Khāfi was a famous saint. He died in Shawāl 838, April 1435, B. 592, note.

² *Mauhibat*, which means a gift. Either this is an euphemism, or it refers to the circumstance that the comet did not injure India. I.O.

the day of Ārād 25 Ābān (5 November 1577), Divine month, at the time when the sun was auspiciously placed in Scorpio, this celestial sign appeared in Sagittarius, in the west,¹ but inclined to the north. It had a long tail, and in some countries it was visible for five months. Astrologers and those acquainted with the secrets of the upper world represented that in some of the inhabited parts of India grain would be dear, and they mentioned the particular places where this would occur. They also said that the ruler of Persia would die, and that there would be the dust of confusion in Irāq and Khurāsān. As they said, so did it come to pass without defect or diminution. About the same time a caravan arrived from Persia and some able and truthful men reported to the august court the passing away of Shāh Tahmāsp, the putting to death of Sultan Ḥaidar, and the arrival at power of Shāh Ism'ail. The brief account of this is that the Shāh—the cupola of paradise—died in Qazwin on 5 Khirdād.² Sulṭān Ḥaidar, his third son, considered the sovereignty as his right, and by the efforts of some of the grandes fancied himself to be secure. He was put to death by the exertions of his unkindly (*nāmihrbān*) sister Pari Khānim,³ and Ism'ail⁴ M., the second son, who had been imprisoned for 22 years in the fortress of Qahqa,⁵ was placed upon the throne. He, from wickedness, sent many of his brothers and cousins to the abode of annihilation. In one day he killed Sulṭān Ibrāhīm,⁶ together with eleven⁷ of his own brothers.

M.S. 235 seems to have moibat موبیت, which means a country visited by pestilence.

¹ *Bāḥtarrūia māil bashimāl*. J. remarks II, 278, N. 3, that though *bakhtar* is often incorrectly used, A. F. invariably uses it for the West. I am not sure if A. F. does not mean to connect the length of the tail with the fact that it was visible in various countries.

² Or 15 May 1576. At p. 590 of A. N. it is stated that he died on 4 Khirdād.

³ See details further on, A. N. III, 591.

⁴ According to Olearius, transla-

tion 1662, p. 346, Ism'ail was imprisoned for having made war on the Turks without authority.

⁵ A fort in the district of Tūs, Malcolm, Hist. of Persia, I, 514, ed. 1815, says he was told that Kakha is the modern Sheshah. Kakha is however mentioned by Reclus as being a large town.

⁶ Son of Bahrām M. and cousin of Ism'ail.

⁷ According to Olearius, Tahmāsp had only eleven sons. The word *barādar* evidently here includes cousins. See the list at p. 591 of A. N.

When the events of Persia were related to H.M. he remarked that the people of that country were beholding the retribution for their ingratitude, and that this gloomy and blood-shedding young man would fill up the measure of his days without moistening his lip (*lab tar nagushta*) with the wine of the world, for the spirit of the age could not endure infatuation. What appeared on the tablet of the tongue abounding in pearls came to pass. There was another proving of H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries, and the celestial phenomenon revealed its qualities both as regards the past and the future. First Shāh Tahmāsp went to the holy world before the appearance of the marvel (the comet), and after it had appeared, Shāh Ism'ail went to annihilation. He died after having spent one year and five months in bloodshed, dishonour and lust (*badmihri*). Many are agreed that he was poisoned by Parī Khānim.¹ During the lifetime of Shāh Tahmāsp she was the centre of affairs, and she expected to have still more authority during the rule of this ill-fated and noxious one (Ism'ail). He from presumptuousness and conceit dismissed her (lit. drew the writing of dismissal on the page of her position), though he had come to the rank of Shāh by her efforts. That foolish one² (Parī Khānim) plotted with the mother of Husain Beg Halwācī Oghli from whose hands he (Ism'ail) took his mixtures **225** and electuaries. On the night of Bahman 2 Āzar, Divine month (November 1577), of the following year (985) some horses had come as a present from the ruler of Gurjistan. He went to the polo ground to see them. As the comet cast its baleful shade, and as the astrologers of Persia agreed with the sages of India, they read to him the celestial message, and begged him to put off his visit. They were not successful. From the ground he went to the quarters of Husain Beg which were close by. Sharif Qazwīnī brought to him

¹ Malcolm calls Parī K. the favourite sultana of Tahmāsp, and this error is repeated by Oliver, J.A.S.B. 1887, p. 42. She really was S. Tahmāsp's second daughter, and was betrothed to Badī-uz-zamān, son of Bahrām M. See the 'Ālam Ārāī' and A. N. III, 590, 91. A. F. there gives a history of the Şafavī family.

² Cf. Lowe 248, where she is called Parī Jān Khānim. The expression is *kolāh khirād*, and possibly it refers to Ism'ail; in that case the word *hamdastān* must be taken to mean "associated with" and not "plotted."

from the house the accustomed intoxicant and remarked that the seal on the box (*hugqa*) had been removed. As the inevitable time had arrived he lost the thread of intelligence and made answer that if he had got it from the hands of Husain Beg's mother there was no fear. He took some of it, and gave some to Husain Beg. It has been heard from the secret knowers of Persia that when a portion of the night had passed away, Parī Khānim, whose house was in the neighbourhood of that confectioner's son's house, sent Shāh Wardī¹ with some men dressed up as women. They squeezed the throat and other vital parts of that infatuated madman and so killed him. As the heat of madness and his apprehensions kept him in solitude, his real well-wishers—who are the guardians of realm and religion—had not access to him. Indeed the servants generally could not set foot there. By the evil effects of such conduct—which is the worst of behaviours in the generality of those living in a state of association, then what must it be in the case of rulers,—these things happened to this confused and presumptuous one. The door of that house of terror was closed and nothing transpired from it. At last, night turned to day, and day had almost turned to night. No one had the courage to make a search. By the exertion of great courage M. Sulaimān the Vizier and M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm and some others of the nobility came there. They read the inscription of hopelessness on the portico and broke open the door and found him lying dead. The little finger of the right hand was broken, and the skin of the forehead and nose scratched (here follow some lines of rhetoric)

The condition of this inwardly-disturbed one is impressed upon
226 all. He began by vexing his father, and benefactor, and sovereign. The latter from affection and foresight and in hopes of curing him put him into prison. When by heaven's decree he became the ruler of Persia, he extinguished the lights of wisdom and settled down in the indulgence of lusts. He choked the fountain of wakefulness and engaged in killing friends and cherishing foes. He did not appreciate the dignity of sovereignty, and was active in ruining the foundations of dominion. Apparently it is the wondrous design of the stewards of fate that the bliss, benevolence, and justice of the



ruler of India may be proclaimed to the world, and that all the subjects of that abode of pleasantness may recognize the Imām of the time, and reposefully spend their days in the auspicious dwelling of thanksgiving.

Verse.

Praise be that mine of earth and water,
Which has produced such a brilliant pearl.
May there be a glorious day in that sky,
Which holds such a night-gleaming star.
O God, preserve that dervish-loving king,
Under whose shadow lies the repose of mankind.
Make him rule long over the people :
Keep his heart alive for the blessing of worship.

In fine, after some insincere expressions of grief, and more feastings, they proceeded to search for another ruler. As there were no royal sons who were fit for sovereignty they turned towards Parī Khānim, but she understood the spirit of the age and refrained from the high office, and referred them to Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda the eldest son of Shāh Tahmāsp, and whose blindness had saved his life in the time of the bloodshedding Shāh. Her sole idea was that he should nominally be the Sultān and that the real power should be with her. M. Sulaimān, who knew her craft and fraud, and who from his good disposition was not in league with her, fled to Shirāz from fear of being made prisoner. He made known her wickedness, and agreed with the mother of Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda—who was the real mother of Shāh Ism‘aīl—that they should get rid of this turbulent strife-monger. When Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda approached Qazwīn, Parī Khānim became aware of their designs and barricaded the city. Shāmkhāl Carkas (Circassian) her maternal uncle with some thousand men prepared for battle. By the exertions of right-minded people things had a peaceful termination. The lady of Irān made her excuses, and the farsighted men who were watching for their opportunity accepted them. When she came near the camp, they represented that there was not an auspicious hour on that day. She 227 should cause her litter to be set down near the camp, and Shāmkhāl with the main body of the troops should encamp in the neighbour-

hood of a certain village. In the morning before they joined the men of the camp, Shāmkhāl would be exalted by doing homage (to Khudābanda), and after that there would be a review of the troops on a grand scale. By such pleasing tales they (Parī K. and her uncle) were lulled into security. When night drew her dark mantle over the face of day they induced Amīr Aṣlān Afshār, who was ostensibly a friend (*az dostān rasmī*) of Shāmkhāl, to go and prepare a feast of friendship in his private apartments, and to kill him (Shāmkhāl) while he was off his guard. And they arranged to give that slave of gold the governorship of Ispahan as a reward for this service. He who did not understand the rights of acquaintanceship, and much less did he know the mysteries of friendship, spilled the cup of his existence. At the same time they seized that veiled¹ one of 'Irāq, and she shortly afterwards became a curtained-sitter in the secret chamber of annihilation.

One of the occurrences was that on 2 Āzar, Divine month, in the neighbourhood of the town of Kotputlī,² Mozaffar K., Rajah Todar Mal and Khawāja Shāh Maṣṣūr were summoned to a privy council and there was a discussion about the affairs of the empire. Many matters were disposed of. The Sarkār of Bihar was assigned to Shujā'at K., Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk and other servants. The mints of the imperial dominions which had been under the charge of *caudha-*

¹ A. F. seems to have thought that as he was telling a Persian story, he could not be too flowery and enigmatical. The result is that he is more than usually tortuous and obscure. It appears from the 'Ālam 'arāī B.M. MS., Add., 16, 684, 65b, that both Parī K. and Shāmkhāl were put to death. The text has *haqīqat-guzīn-i-'Irāq* and I.O. MS. 236 has *haqīqī-gazīn*, as if the passage referred to Shāmkhāl; but I believe that it refers to Parī K. and that the true reading is that given in I.O. MS. 235, p. 510a, 1, 2, *maqanna gazīn*. مقنعة گزین "the veiled one." The expression "the veiled

one of 'Irāq" thus corresponds to that used a little above where Parī K. is called "the lady of Irān, bānū Irān."

² Text has Kotbūqlī, but the variant Kotputlī seems right. It was in Sarkār Nāmaul, Province of Agra, J. II. 182 and 194. There was a copper mine near it which perhaps was the reason why the question of mints was discussed there. The passage is translated in Elliot, vi, 57, where the town is spelt Kotpakalī. Kotputlī is in Jaipur and about 60 m. N.E. the city of Jai-pur, I.G., XVI, 3.



ris¹ were divided. The directorship of this weighty business was assigned to Khawāja² ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Shīringalm in Fathpūr, the capital of the empire. The mint at Lahore was assigned to Mozaffar K., that in Bengal³ to Rajah Todar Mal, that in Jaunpūr to Khawāja Shāh Maṣūṛ, and that in Gujarat to Khawāja Imādu-d-dīn Ḥusain, that in Patna⁴ to Aṣaf K. On the same day it was ordered that square⁵ rupees should be coined. On 9 Āzar the victorious standards cast their shadow on the town of Nārnaul.⁶ There as the holy heart of H.M. is impressed by the glory of searching after God he visited the abode of Shaiḫ Nizām⁷ the hermit, and conferred eternal joy on that vaunter⁸ of simplicity. By the strength of his good fortune no sadness found its way into his holy heart from his not finding the marks of enlightenment (in S. Nizām). He only increased his search. As, owing to his wide capacity and exceeding research, his far-seeing glance did not fall upon his own treasure,

¹ A Hindu title. See Wilson's Glossary. It does not appear that A. F. explains it anywhere. But at B. 268 he speaks of Akbar's resuming the fiefs of the Caudhris.

² B. 107 and 495. He was a calligrapher. A. F. says he owed his perfection to a glance from Akbar.

³ A. F. does not say here or elsewhere at what place in Bengal the mint was. Here and at B. 31 the word Bengal (Bengāla) is used as if it was the name of a city. Perhaps Gaur is meant, for Tāṇḍa is separately mentioned at B. 31.

⁴ This is the Patana of B. 31, and is apparently Patna in Bihar and not Patan in Gujarat.

⁵ These are the Jalāla rupees mentioned at B. 31.

⁶ Nārnaul or Nārnoī is described in Tiefenthaler I. 212. He says it was rich and populous until Jai Singh took it from the Muhamma-

dans. It is now in Patiala. I.G., XVIII, 380.

⁷ B. 538 where A. F. has entered him next to his own father as one who understood the mysteries of both worlds. But possibly, as B. suggests, A. F. may mean here S. Nizām of Amethi. He is described in Badayūni III, 15, while S. Nizām of Narnol is described at id., p. 26. He belonged to the Cistī order.

⁸ *Dukkān āraī sāda lūh*. The expression seems intended as a sneer. According to the Bahār-i-‘ajam *dukkān āraī* is used metaphorically to mean boasting and the passing off things of small value as being of great price. The interview is mentioned in the T. A. and Nizāmu-d-dīn quotes a verse apropos of it. Evidently Akbar was then a keen inquirer, and Nizāmu-d-dīn says there was a mystic assemblage or dance.

and as he did not find in the wearers of rags, or in the learned of the age, any notes of the spiritual and celestial mysteries which are attached to the table of the bounty of God, his thirst for the limpid waters of truth increased from time to time. Hence it is that the intimates of the majestic council (of God) have described as eternal that pain of seeking after God which is the zenith of truth. The incomparable Deity does not come within the field of the heart of mortals, nor does the foot of search become worn out.

228 On the day of Āsmān, 27 Āzar, Divine month, the capital of Delhi was glorified by the Shāhīnshāh's advent. First of all he circumambulated the holy shrine of H.M. Jinnat Āshiyānī, and showered gifts on the custodians. Then he visited the other tombs, and was also lavish in gifts there. On 3 Dai, Divine month, he visited the quarters of Shāikh Farīd¹ Bakhshī Begī, who had many seats in that delightful neighbourhood on the banks of the Jumna, and had places of worship which were the praying-spots of India. H.M. went there at the request of this loyal servant and thus secured for him eternal exaltation. On the 5th of the month he halted at the sarai of Bāwalī² and spent some days there in administrative work and in hunting. The needy of that part were replenished from the table of his bounty.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Hājī³ Habībullah. It has already been mentioned that he had been sent to the port of Goa with a large sum of money and skilful craftsmen in order that he might bring to this country the excellent arts and rarities of that place. On the 9th he came to do homage, attended by a large number of persons dressed up as Christians and playing European drums and clarions. He produced before H.M. the choice articles of that territory. Craftsmen who had gone to acquire skill displayed the arts which they had learnt and received praises in the critical place of testing. The musicians of that territory breathed fascina-

¹ Farīd Bukhārī, B. 413 and 415, n. 1.

² Perhaps Bawal in *Ṣarkār Rewārī*, J. II, 293. Pālam, to which Akbar went afterwards, according to the T.A., was in *Ṣarkār Delhi*, J. II, 86.

Cf. *ante*, text 146, and Elliot v, 407, and vi, 57. The organ is described by Badayūnī in an obscure passage, Lowe 299. See Vullers, s.v. *arghanan*. It is the Greek organon.



tion with the instruments of their country, especially with the organ. Ear and eye were delighted, and so was the mind. Also at this halting place Khwājā Ghīāṣu-d-dīn¹ 'Alī 'Āṣaf K. arrived from Īdar and did homage, and his brother's son J'afar Beg, who had come from Persia, performed the prostration.

¹ Blochmann 433. His nephew J'afar was distinguished in Jahan-gir's reign.



CHAPTER XLI.

THE DEFEAT OF RAJAH MADHUKAR BY THE DAILY-INCREASING FORTUNE
OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

When the star of anyone's fortune sinks and his days grow dark, the first thing that happens is that the lustre of his sense becomes obscured so that he by his own efforts flings away his honour, and becomes contemptible in the spiritual and physical world. Such was the condition of this evil-thoughted zamindar.

229 At this time when the glory of justice had seized the world, and the eternal managers were labouring to make dominion (i.e. Akbar's power) resplendent, that short-sighted and crookedly-going man made his seeming power the strength of his country, and the number of his daring followers the material of presumption, and departed from the highway of obedience. The world's lord nominated Ṣādiq² K. with a numerous army to that quarter in order that if he did not accept the pleasing words of counsel, he should receive fitting punishment. The victorious army went by way of Narwar and communicated the exhortations. That turbulent and distracted one did not accept them. They were obliged to commence the work of clearing the jungle (*jāngalburī*) and proceeded to the town of Undcah (*Orchha* of I.G.). When they came near the fort of Karhara, Parmān Parmānand Panwār, who was in league with the wretch, took refuge there. The army surrounded the fort and addressed itself to the taking of it. Every day some of the garrison made sallies and were defeated. In a short space of time the cup of his power was ready to spill over. He opened his lips in supplication and asked for quarter. As the rule of the Shāhīnshāh is to cherish the humble and to accept excuses, the imperial servants observed this principle and gave him protection. When they had

¹ *Maasir-al-umarā* II, 131, and B. 488.

² B. 355, 356. The *Iqbāl-nāma*

says he was accompanied by the Mota Rajah, Rajah Āskaran and Qāsim 'Alī K.

untied this difficult knot, they advanced further. As the country was forest, and the marching of the army was difficult, they cut down the trees one day and marched the next. After this prudent fashion they advanced stage by stage till they came near the river Dhāra,¹ which is north of Unḍ-cah. The wretch collected a large army and prepared for battle on the bank. The braves on each side daily adorned the field of battle. From time to time there were gallant hand-to-hand combats. On 5 Dai, Divine month, it was resolved to cross the river and engage in battle. Owing to the difficulties of the ground, the troops could not keep their order. Šādiq K. led one body and Qāsim 'Alī K., Ulugh K., and S. Firūz with some brave men pressed forward to cross. On account of the enemy's fire the vanguard could not cross, and the work of the ghāzis became difficult. At this crisis the royal faujdārs Kamāl K. and Maḥmūd K. pushed the rank-breaking elephants into the water and crossed. First, Šādiq K. crossed with a body of active men and a noble engagement took place.

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Masnavi.

The desert became like a river of blood,
 You'd say tulips were springing up on it ;
 The ground became like a sea of pitch,
 With waves of daggers, clubs, and arrows.

Inasmuch as on the wide field of Divine aid physical resources are of no avail, and no dust of harm from crowds of wretches can fall on the pleasant abode of loyalty, the true man prevailed over the vagabond. The enemy was routed, and many of them lost their lives. The victorious army took possession of the Rajah's house without difficulty. On account of the number of trees, and ignorance of the locality, they were unable to make out what had become of him. Some thought that he was hiding and waiting for his opportunity. Others suspected that he would attack the camp. Šādiq K.

¹ B. 356 has Dasthārā. The Maasir has "the river Sawā, which is known by the name of Satdhārā." Elliot VI, 58, who translates this passage of the A.N., has Satdhārā

and explains this as the "Seven streams" and states that this is a name for the Betwa at Urcha. The Iqbāl-nāma has also Dhāra.

adopted the latter view and proceeded toward the camp. He turned ¹ the vanguard into the rearguard and sent off detachment after detachment. Meanwhile that slumbrous-fortuned fool emerged from behind and stirred up strife. Most of the troops gave way and turned their backs, Ulugh K. with some brave men stood their ground and fought. Sādiq K. arrived with an army of heroes and heartened the waverers. Abū ma'ālī and others grew bold. Each man left off thought for his life and stood upon guarding his honour. There was a brilliant engagement. Ulugh K., Abū-ma'-ālī and M. Muḥammad Sildoz distinguished themselves in single combat. Horai Deo, the Rajah's eldest son, was killed by a ball from a *gajṇāl*.² Khān Jahān the brother of the Rajah attacked a lofty elephant and fell to the ground. He got up with agility and planted³ his dagger in the elephant, and after prodigies of valour escaped wounded. Rām Sāh, the son of the presumptuous one, after fighting and being wounded by an arrow withdrew from the battle-field. The vagabond was defeated by the might of daily-increasing fortune. About 200 Rajputs of note were killed. Some of the brave imperialists were wounded, but by the Divine protection they recovered. Sādiq K. in expressing thanks for the good fortune (of Akbar) used to say, "When matters got out of hand, the holy personality of the "Shāhīnshāh came into my mind, and I directed my attention to the "source of blessings. I made the idea of the world's Khedive the "caravan-leader of the last journey, and engaged hotly in warfare.

231 "Suddenly the august standards appeared and that glorious figure "presented itself. For a moment that glorious apparition brightened "eye and heart. I sank into a sea of amazement and did great deeds. "From time to time new strength was vouchsafed. In that spiritual "and physical struggle, the lights of victory shone by the blessing of "that mysterious spectacle and dispersed the darkness. In spite of "the dispersion of friends, and the multiplicity of enemies, a victory, "such as entered not into the comprehension of the ordinary man,

¹ This obscure sentence is made clearer by the *Iqbāl-nāma*. Apparently Sādiq K. recrossed the river, thinking his camp in danger, and then Madhukar took advantage of his departure to attack the van-

guard which had, by Sādiq's retracing his steps, become the rearguard.

² A gun carried by an elephant. B. 113, first paragraph.

³ The *Iqbāl-nāma* says he killed elephant.

“displayed its joyful countenance.” Generally such occurrences which seem extraordinary to the clouded souls of the superficial are purposely effected by holy spirits, and are intended to guide the ignorant but fortunate. But sometimes the stewards of fate cause their production without those unique ones of existence being aware of the fact, in order to indicate the purity of the jewel, so that mortals may emerge from the wilderness of denial, and enter the pleasant abode of devotion. If the hearer of this instructive story be one of the intimates of the holy banquet and of those who share in the secrets of the palace of purity, and be aware of the knowledge of Divine matters possessed by the Khedive of the world, he will regard this extraordinary apparition as belonging to the first class, and if he be one of the auspicious ones of practical wisdom, and have some knowledge of the right-thoughtedness and abundant graciousness of the lord of the earth, he will regard it as belonging to the second class.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Qāsim¹ K. to the government of Agra. Owing to the quality of the climate the general public of that place are notorious throughout India for their turbulence, courage, and recklessness. They have accepted obedience on account of the Majesty of the Shadow of God, and perform service. At this time, when the august cortège was away on a campaign, they had, from wickedness and irreflexion on the end of things, raised their heads in sedition and oppressed the weak. Accordingly the just prince appointed him on 14 Dai, Divine month, as he was the distinguished one of the age for truth, knowledge of affairs, and courage, and gave him sage advices. He joined the glory of action to knowledge and tranquillized a world.

One of the occurrences was the Khān Jahān's marching against Sātgaon. The family of Dāūd was there, and Matī² and Jamshīd belonging to his *khāshkhail* (clan) and many wicked Afghans were making a disturbance there. When the centre of Bengal had been cleared of the rebels, Khān Jahān addressed himself to that quarter. Matī, who had brought together some of Dāūd's choice treasures, wished in his good fortune that he might be enrolled among the

¹ B. 379.

² His real name was Maḥmūd K. Khāshkhail. See *infra* A.N. 259. He

surrendered to Khān Jahān at Gwās, and was put to death there.

royal servants. Jamshīd and the other Afghans leagued together and made war upon him. After many conflicts he was defeated and had to retire into obscurity. Much of his property came into their hands. Yūsuf Balūc and Sarmast Afghan and some of Matī's friends were waiting for their revenge. One day that turbulent man (Jamshīd) went to their house in order to pacify them, and they killed him. By the marvels of celestial aid the ill-fated enemies fell into trouble of their own accord, and without any fighting on the part of the imperial servants. Dāūd's mother and the rest of his family asked for protection and agreed that when the fortunate army went to Tānda, she and her followers would come to Court. Khān Jahān accepted her overtures and went off from Sātgaon to the place agreed upon. She and her party kept their promise and came to Court.¹

On the 26th of this month H.M. went off rapidly to the neighbourhood of Hīṣār to hunt, and spread the shadow of his justice over that city. The house of Mihr 'Alī Sīldoz was honoured by his presence. Presents were offered and H.M. accepted a portion of them, and made him joyful. From thence he went to Hansī, where he alighted at the shrine of S. Jamāl, where he paid his devotions to God, and distinguished the attendants by great gifts. He was one of the lieutenants (*jainashīnān*) of Shāikh Farīd Shākrganj and on an indication from his *pīr* had settled there in order to guide inquirers. Whenever the Shāikh (Farīd) read the signs of excellence in any man he appointed him to a particular district and told him to take his letter of appointment to S. Jamāl.² If the latter agreed, he was to enter on his duties as one of God's servants, otherwise he was to endeavour to mortify (*gudāzish*) himself until he

¹ Apparently this only means that she surrendered to Khān Jahān. She did this at Gwās (in Murshildabad). See A.N. 259.

² There is an account of S. Jamāl in the *Khazīna-al-aṣfiyā* I, p. 285, and also in J. III, 379, where he is called S. Jamālud-dīn. He was descended from Abū Hanīfa of Kūfa. The story of Farīd sending certificates to him for signature is

told there and also in Ferishta's life of Farīd (near the end). Ferishta says that Farīd at the instance of his sister twice sent him the certificate of her son, and that on the second occasion Jamāl tore it up. Afterwards he gladly signed the certificate of Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya. Jamāl is said to have died in 659 A.H. (1260); he is buried at Hansī.



should become fit for such a high dignity. Accordingly they tell that he had appointed one to Delhi, and that the latter did not get S. Amāl's countersignature. Afterwards he countersigned the appointment of Nizāmu-d-dīn (Auliya). Apparently, the object was that his integrity might be impressed upon all, and also that his own high rank might be evidenced by this exaltation of a disciple. Otherwise, what reason was there for giving such authority to a subordinate, and why did he show such a procedure in enlarging the position of discipleship.

Also at this time Maulānā Muḥammad Amīn¹ arrived and did homage. He was of a noble family in Yazd and belonged to the village (*qariya*) of Aqdā. In Shirāz he studied in the school of that learned of the age Maulāna M. Jān, and read some commentaries and books on asceticism (*tajrīd*), and knew the 'Azdī,¹ and for the purposes of magic he knew a little about the stars and the science of geomancy (*ramal*) and something about chronology. He was an eloquent expounder of plans, and by his assurance and plausibility he sold himself at a high figure. At this time he came from 'Irāq to the threshold of fortune and by the instrumentality of court-intimates he was introduced. The Khedive of the world from the high opinion that he had of his introducers increased his dignity, and sent him along with Prince Murād to the house of Shaikh

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¹ This is the Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī of Badayūnī, and who, he says, got the name of Yazīdī (in allusion to the Yazīd who killed Ḥusain). See Lowe 214, 267, 284, 285. He is also apparently the Maulānā Muḥammad of the Ain. See B. 541. He was originally a Shia and in favour with Akbar who made him Šadr of Jaunpūr (A.N. text III, 281). But he afterwards rebelled and according to Badayūnī, Lowe 284, issued a fatwa declaring that it was a duty to rebel against Akbar. Akbar, it is said, had him arrested and drowned. A.F. does not seem to tell more

about him, except that at p. 309 he speaks of his having been drowned, and implies that this was an accident. The word 'Azdī either refers to the distinguished men of the tribe of 'Azd, see D'Herbelot s.v. Azd, or to the work called the Muwāqif 'Azdia composed by 'Azdu-d-dīn Qāzī of Shiraz who lived in the 14th century. See Beale. Apparently Mullā Muḥammad wanted to make Akbar a Shia just as Rodolfo Acquaviva wanted to make him a Christian, and both failed. Maulānā Mirzā Jān is referred to again at vol. III, p. 747.



Abdu-n-nabī, who was the centre of *ahl-i-sa'ādat* (learned men), or rather nothing important could be accomplished without his opinion, and loaded him with favours. As he was not of a good disposition, and had not studied the pages of genius, nor possessed a wide capacity, his counterfeit was soon detected and his veneer of gold was revealed to high and low, as will be mentioned in its proper place.

One of the occurrences was the capture of Mozaffar Husan M. Fortune rises up to wage war on whosoever lifts up his head from submission to the God-worshipping Khedive, and his foot is soon pierced by the thorn of failure. If he has no lot in auspiciousness he falls headlong into the abyss of annihilation. Otherwise fortune makes him foolish and delivers him into the hands of the lord of fortune, in order that he may in the prison, which is the school of truth, turn to do good service. The story of the Mirzā is a fresh instance of this. Though evil-disposed people made him a support of disaffection he soon became stained with the dust of shame and became a foot-blistered vagabond. From Gujarat he again hurried off to the Deccan, and joined with some evil-conditioned men in Berar. The troops of that country made war upon him, and there was a hot engagement. As he had turned away from the true qibla, he was defeated and came to Khandes. Raja 'Alī K. seized him and restrained him from plundering. Though in reality he was putting down the dust of dissension in his own country, yet in appearance he was behaving loyally to the holy court. When the facts came to H. M.'s knowledge, he sent orders along with Maqṣūd Damba to the effect that he should be sent to Court.

One of the occurrences was that a cloud came over the reliance which H.M. reposed upon S. 'Abdunnabī. The pious sovereign never considered himself and always practised equity. In accordance with the dictates of wisdom, the Sultan, he made no distinction between friend and foe. As the integrity¹ of the *Shaiikh* was impressed on H.M. by the simple, whose ignorance was sold at the rate of knowledge, and by interested persons who posed as being candid and free from desires, he raised him from the hollow of

¹ See vol. II, 248, where it is stated that 'Abdu-n-nabī was ap-

pointed in 972 at the recommendation of Mozaffar K.



failure to the high ground of honour. In the first place the management of the learned (*ahl-i-sa'ādāt*) was made over to him permanently, and afterwards the glorious affairs of the State were referred to him. As in the testing-house of man knowing assayers the counterfeit coin of mortals does not remain current, right thinking persons came to know the real facts, and at this time some portion of the story of his trickery and self-interestedness reached the acute sovereign. From abundant vigilance, and profound meditation—for many righteous persons become stained by the suspicion of the wicked and irreverent—he personally undertook the inquiry, and went into the question according to proper rules. There was no slackness in the Court of judgment, and the general public did not know of the inquiry. When there had been several revolutions of the spheres, the truth of former representations was proved in various ways.¹ 234

Verse.

If a man conceal his secret for a time,
Length of time reveals his fraud.

From perfect far-thoughtedness—which is indispensable in this evil world—an order was given in the borders of the town of Gohāna² to S. Farīd Bokhārī that when the august cortège should pass that way he should produce the owners of the *sayurghāls* (B. 268) of that country before H.M. in order that the position of each of them might be ascertained, and that the propriety of each of the grants might be impressed on his mind. In a short time it became manifest that owing to a love of gold, and the acceptance of recommendations, the rules of sufficiency and inquiry had been neglected. The world's Khedive in his abundant gentleness did not remove the veil from the face of his ('Abdu-n nabī's) actions but referred the investigation³ and criticism to prudent servants. He

¹ Cf. B. 269 beginning of first para. Badayūnī III, 80, ascribes the downfall of 'Abdu-n-nabī to his having put a brahman of Mathurā to death for disrespect to the Prophet. He adds that Akbar got very excited when discussing this matter, and that his mustaches stood out like a

tiger's whiskers. There is a full account of 'Abdu-n-nabī in the Darbārī Akbarī, 320.

² Kohāna in text. It is in the Rohtak district. I.G. XII. 304, J. II, 293.

³ Text has *nikohīdagī*. Is this a mistake for *nigāhīdagī*?

said, "A man cannot manage every thing on account of multiplicity of employment. Especially is this great employment larger than that one person can control it. It is an indispensable part of prudence that head men be appointed to each province and that this great form of worship¹ be divided, so that Truth may be fixed in her centre, and that the pillar of justice, i.e. knowledge of the truth, be exalted." About this time the Šadārat of the Punjab was conferred on Maulānā 'Abdulla Sultānpūrī, and it was intimated to some persons of enlightened heart that they should mention to H.M. the names of some trustworthy, experienced, and energetic men who might be fit for this work.²

At this time the town of Sunām was³ brightened by the glory of the royal standards. He conferred distinction on M. Yūsuf K. by addressing him (or perhaps by giving him a title) and said, "Something tells my heart that the world-surpassing⁴ territory of Kashmīr shall come into the possession of the imperial servants." Out of his abundant kindness that delightful country became assigned to him as his fief. I laud his perception and the light of his vision! What after so many years was to show itself, shone on that day in the pure temple of his soul which is a mystery-revealing mirror. On 21 Bahman Divine month (about 1 February 1578), he encamped at Shādīwāl, and for the guidance of those standing about the threshold of fortune he uttered auspicious counsels. He let fall many spiritual and physical truths. He said, "If the scarf of social life were not on my shoulder, I would restrain myself from eating flesh." Inasmuch as he was aware of the wolfish⁵

¹ 'Ibadat. The Lucknow ed. has qiyād, i.e. conduct or rules.

² Ain 19 about Sayurgahāls, B. 268 should be read. At p. 270 A. F. tells us that the Šadr was directed to consult him and to increase or decrease the grant in accordance with his advice.

³ Text Sīām, but there is the variant Shīām. I have not however found either of these places and so have adopted the Cawnpore ed., reading Sunām, which also appears

in I.O. M.S. 236. Sunām or Sunnām is a town in the Patāla State and is entered in the Ain under Sirhind, J. II. 296. It is mentioned in B. 286 as one of the places where Akbar used to hunt leopards. Bayazīd Biyāt got the pargana of Sunām in farm. See his Memoirs near the end. Also I.G. XXIII. 139.

⁴ I.O. M.S. 236 has instead of jahān gushāī, jān gushāī "soul-opening."

⁵ *Gurgkhōz*. This expression occurs also in the Ain B. 61, which

nature of men he considered that to tame them all at once would be to distress and pain the votaries of custom. Therefore the inspiration came to his holy heart that he would stretch out his hand slowly and by degrees so that things might not be made difficult for followers of the truth, and that constant apprehensions might not make the general public crazy. He has now for some time abstained from eating meat on Fridays.¹ It is to be hoped² that the practice (of eating meat) will be confined to certain days.

One of the occurrences was the bestowal of the pargana of 'Ihāra on Raḥmān³ Qulī Qūshbegī. For a while he had, in virtue of his leadership of the spiritual world, while in the midst of material calculations, been swimming⁴ in the ocean of Vision (shahūd). When he

treats of days of abstinence. There is also a similar remark there about leaving off the practice by degrees. Cf. Akbar's saying in J. III, 240, "Were it not for the thought of the difficulty of sustenance I would prohibit men from eating meat. The reason why I do not altogether abandon it myself is that many others might willingly or unwillingly (kān nākām) forego it likewise and be thus cast into despondency."

¹ Bartoli, *Missione al Gran Mogor*, ed. Piacenza, p. 7, speaks of Akbar's fasting strictly on Friday, and ascribes it to his contempt for Muḥammadanism. Akbar gave up hunting on Fridays for a reason given by Jahangir, T. J., 249.

² The word *umed* "hope" is not in text, but it occurs in the I.O. MSS. The clause is to me almost unintelligible, and my translation of it is of very doubtful correctness.

³ Text ۛ Racman, and there is the variant *caman* ۛ. But it is clear from the I.O. MSS. and the Bib. Ind. text, p. 196, that the name really is Raḥman or Raḥmān,

i.e. The Merciful, which is one of the names of God. At p. 196, Raḥman Qulī Qūshbegī (i.e. falconer) is described as coming from the Hījāz and as bringing a letter from the Sharīfs of Mecca. I have no doubt that he is the Raḥmān of the passage before us. Qulī means servant or slave so that Raḥmān Qulī means the slave of God. Apparently he is the Raḥmān Qulī of Badayūnī III, 278, who described himself as the loving son of the poet Mullā I'shqī. Mullā I'shqī was Mīr Bakshī. See B. 528 and A. N. III, 247. Perhaps he is the same as Ism'ā'il K. who is described as the father of Raḥmān Qulī Beg by Ma'sūm Bhakharī. See Elliot I. 245.

⁴ See B. 156 where a similar phrase is translated "launches forth into the ocean of contemplation." The words which I have translated "material calculations" are muḥāsiba nafsānī. I presume that nafsānī is used in the sense of carnal or material. But I am not clear as to the meaning. Perhaps the reference is to Akbar's having lately been

came out of this state (lit. when he returned) he displayed this great act of liberality. Some of the servants of the Court were meditative as to what could be the cause of this. He, who reads the inscriptions on the forehead of the heart, had compassion on their bewilderment and said, "When that township¹ (*qasba*) came in sight, whose name means "of yours,"² it struck me that everything was a manifestation of the glory of the Holy Being (God) while this (expression, or village name) only showed external things (*ṣūrat-i-namūdārī*). My heart became lacerated by the turmoil of "We and I (*mā u man*)" and by the grasp of connexion and dependence. I felt chilled by the abode of association, and my enchainment in outward things was nigh being severed. When the mysterious working of Divine destiny brought me into the world of contingent existence, it passed into my mind that as an act of thanksgiving this township should be given to one in whose name there was an allusion to the Incomparable Creator. At that time this chooser of service (Rahmān Qulī) appeared before him, and was distinguished by the great favour.

In that holy assemblage he uttered many delightful words and weighted with knowledge the brains of the awakened-hearted. By the sound of this awakening the slumbrous in the night of ignorance were roused and guided in the wilderness of search. Glory to the sublime strength which keeps the lamp of Oneness alight in the strong wind of multiplicity, and observes solitude in the midst of society. And hail to the lofty perception which keeps sovereignty shoulder to shoulder with saintship, and preserves unity of colour!

engaged in arranging about the mints, the division of commands, etc.; see supra, text 227.

¹ It is clear from J. II. 115 and elsewhere that A. F. uses *qasba* occasionally as equivalent to *pargana* or district.

² Text *azālī*, i.e. eternity. But I cannot find that *Tihāra* means eternity, and the two I.O. MSS. and also a MS. of my own have *Az tust* ازتست "yours," or "of you,"

and I believe this to be the true reading, for it is stated in Forbes's Hindustani Dictionary that تھارو *tiহারو* and *tiহারī*, Hindi तिहार, means "your" in the old Braj dialect. This accords with the next sentence in which Akbar alludes to pronouns and speaks of being distressed by the "*mā u man*," "We and I." *Pargana Tihāra* was in Sarkār Sirhind and on the Sutlej. See J. II. 295.

Verse.¹

A Shāh who by wisdom is the guide or the path to God,
An ocean which never for a moment is separated from God,
Though they call him the shadow of God,
We do not call him shadow, for he is God's light.

On 9 Isfandarmaz, Divine month, a bridge was made from the neighbourhood of Lakhi² Qiyāmpūr, and the royal standards passed over the Sutlej. Worlds of troops and universes of animals crossed safely and in comfort. Near this place Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram came from Lahore and paid his respects and was honoured with royal favours.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army to Baluchistan. As the leaders of that tribe, owing to their innate savagery and ill-fatedness, had turned away their heads from obedience and had not paid proper respect, M. Yūsuf K., Shah Qulī K. Maḥram, Saiyid Hāmid, Muḥammad Zamān and other strenuous ones were **236** sent off to that country. They were first to guide them by wisdom-conferring counsels, and if these were not effectual they were to enlighten their darkness by the flashes of the sword. On the 12th the cortège alighted at Patan (Pākpatan). The sovereign paid a visit to the shrine of S. Farīd Shakrganj.³ From the beginning of night he made the morning of truth shine, and he also spent most of the following day in that processional spot (muṭāf), and performed the duties of the primacy of the spiritual and temporal world. The attendants on the shrine and the inhabitants generally attained to high dignity and were comforted. During that banquet of enlightenment Šūfī Nāšir from Balkh and Mullā Mushfiqī⁴ from Bokhara had

¹ This quatrain seems to be Faizī's: cf. B. 561.

² J. II. 332, where it is called Qiyāmpūr Lakhī. There are three other Lakhīs in the Sarkār (Bet Jalandhar Doāb).

³ J. III. 363.

⁴ B. 583. Mashfiqī was a poet, and Badayūnī III. 328 gives two specimens of his poetry. The passage in text is corrupt and I have

corrected it from the two I.O. MSS. 236 and 235 of Ethé. According to the text the wisdom of these two strangers was tested as had been that of the sages of India. But in the two MSS. referred to, the word diyār "country" does not occur and the words are "ma'rifat-i-ānūrā cūn sha'ra-i-in'iyārgirifta." The expression about their coming to know that they had wasted their lives,



the happiness of presenting themselves. The spiritual knowledge of the one and the poetry of the other were tested, and they came to recognize the futility of their lives, and began their work anew.

and their commencing their studies afresh (under Akbar as teacher), is repeated with reference to 'Abdul

Bāqī Turkistānī at the foot of first paragraph of p. 244.



CHAPTER XLII.

BEGINNING OF THE 23RD DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, VIZ.
THE YEAR BAHMAN OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

On Tuesday 2 Muḥarram 986 (11 March, 1578), after the passing of 53 minutes, the sun filled with light the sign of Aries and the eleventh year of the second cycle began. Mortals rejoiced in the equability of the atmosphere, and in their delight returned thanks. Melody unmixed with sorrow sounded, and there was universal joy.

Verse.

The spring-clouds made pictures in the garden,
The morning breeze shed 'atr on the rosarium,
Whiles the musky gale brought perfume from hidden places,
Whiles vivifying Boreas shed jewels on the ground.

In the beginning of this year 3 Farwardīn, Divine month, a bridge was made over the Rāvi at Khānpūr, and the august standards cast their rays on that country.

One of the occurrences was the appointing of S. Ibrāhīm to the governorship of the metropolitan province (Fathpūr Sikrī). He knew the outer world and was skilful in its management. It was ordered that he should come from the thānadāri of Ladlāi¹ to that city and guard the orders of sovereignty. Though the awe of majestic justice keeps the distant as well as the near in the school of service, and they reckon employment as the source of secular and spiritual bliss, yet as vigilance and forethought are the characteristics of the sitter on the throne of fortune, he useth to make over each **237** country to some prudent and active-minded person, and in a sleepless manner spreads forth the shade of watchfulness. After this noble fashion did he worship the world-adorning Deity.

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Shujā'at² K. to the

¹ Text Lawalāli as at p. 220, where it is said to be in the province of Ajmere. See note at p. 220. In I.O. M.S. 236 it is Lāzhlālī.

² See B. 284 for an account of how Akbar saved Shujā'at from a tiger.

province of Mālwa. As it came to the august hearing that the officers of that country were somnolent and did not regard the afflictions of the weak, and had become worldly and had stepped aside from the highway of wisdom, he imparted counsels as regarded each of them suitable to their conditions, and sent off Shujā'at K., who together with courage, possessed knowledge of affairs and justice, to be their commander-in-chief. An order was also issued that Shāh Budāgh K., Tolak K., Muttalib K., and the soldiery generally should exert themselves with one accord in composing the troubles, and should act in conformity with Shujā'at K.'s opinion.

One of the occurrences was the stumbling¹ of H.M.'s horse. Whatever happens to him is a lesson and an ornament. If by reason of human nature slumbrousness overcome him, and forgetfulness be produced by the mantle of mortality, he is awakened by what is in appearance injurious, and enlightenment is bestowed in a wondrous fashion. Intimations reach the *masnad* of instruction in proportion to the slumbers of each person. But the much wakefulness of a world does not come up to his sweet sleep. Spectators are amazed, and as they do not comprehend the cause, they are bewildered. Apparently it was in this way that one night when he was coming back to the camp from hunting, his horse stumbled. He, the wise and foreseeing one, regarded this as a message from God, and prostrated himself in devotion. A new foundation was laid for Divine worship. May the Incomparable Creator uphold that holy personality on the pleasant spot of health and not suffer any untoward dust to settle on the skirt of daily-increasing fortune!

Verse.

Hail to the holder of the kingly throne!
The magazine of Divine aids,

¹ Perhaps this is the occurrence which is referred to in the collection of Akbar's sayings at the end of the *Ain*, text II, 234, and J. III, 386, five lines from foot. The words there: "On the completion of my twentieth year" appear to be a mistake arising from a corrupt text.

In two MSS. which I have consulted the word is not "*bist*" "20" but "*asp*" or "*asb*" horse, and the meaning seems to be "my horse stumbled." But Akbar had another fall from his horse in the 34th year at Daka in Afghanistan. See A. N. III, 572.



God be praised that in his lofty destiny,
No evil¹ comes except in the shape of rue.

Simple-minded, superficial persons who never saw anything but prudence and far-sightedness in that Unique of the realm of being, and who did not budge even half a step from the market square of ordinary causes, sought² out petty reasons. As one of the ancients has sung:—

Quatrain.

I went to kill the horse with my sword,
He said, "First hear this my excellent excuse:
I'm neither the earth's³ bull that I can support the world,
Nor the fourth sphere that I can draw the sun.

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One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Komulmīr.⁴ That fortress is of difficult access and is situated on a sky-high mountain. The Rānā had after the fashion of his ancestors made it his residence. In former times very few had succeeded in taking it. On this day owing to the wondrous fortune of the Shāhīnshāh, it became with a little effort the resting-place of the victorious army. When Shabbāz K. proceeded thither, he sent away to Court Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kuar Mān Singh lest from their feelings as landholders there might be delay in inflicting retribution on that vain disturber (the Rāmā). He himself went forward to take it, in company with Sharīf K., Ghāzi K., M. K., and others. By the guidance of the stars the troops passed over the stony tracts and easily crossed the defiles. At a time, when neither resident nor

¹ *Kamālī* "Perfection," but I think there is an allusion to the 'ain-i-kamāl, i.e. the evil eye. But the meaning may also be "No perfection comes unaccompanied by its rue" (as a prophylactic against the evil eye).

² There are apparently various readings. I.O. M.S. 236 seems to have *ba kīn u sālī* "revenge and questionings," and id. 236 seems to have *bakamīn u sālī* "with inquiries and questionings."

³ *Gāo-i-zamīn*. The bull which bears the earth on its horns.

⁴ *Kohlmīr* in text, the *Kōnbhal-mīr* of B. It is in the Udaipūr State and 40 m. N. of Udaipūr. The mountain is over 3,500 feet high. It was visited by Tod who has described it in his Personal Narrative. It was he who took possession of it in 1818. See also B. 400, the Rajputana Gazetteer, III, 52, and I.G. XVI, s.v. Kumbhalgarh.

stranger thought of it, Shahbāz K. arrived to take the fort. By the might of heavenly aid he got possession of the defile of Kelwāra,¹ which is such that the foot of fancy (*khīyāl*) cannot reach it. The heroes ascended the heights and prevailed. The garrison lost heart on seeing the lights of celestial aid. On 24 Farwardīn, Divine month, 3 or 4 April, 1578, the fort was invested and the drums of joy beaten. On beholding the might of the ghāzīs, the foot of courage of the turbulent one (the Rānā) slipped, and he became still more dismayed. By the wondrous work of fate a large gun inside the fort burst, and the harvest of his equipment was reduced to ashes. At once he dropt the thread of courage and fled to the hills.² Many Rajputs of fame stood in front of the gate and the precincts of the temple and made a daring fight. After gallant hand-to-hand combats they slept in the house of annihilation.³ In the morning of dominion that celestial knot was loosed, and a deed showed itself which ordinary people could not comprehend. When it was pointed out that that wicked one was in the hill-country of Bānswāla, he (Shahbāz K.) made over the fort to Ghāzī K. Badakhshī and hastened in that direction. Next day at midday he took **239** Goganda, and at midnight Udaipūr. The victors obtained immense booty.

One of the strange occurrences was that an ascetic hermit had for a long time lived in obscurity in the first fort (Komulmīr?). Men always sought a blessing from his lofty spirit. Before the catastrophe by three days he came out in the morning on the top of the Rānā's temple and sounded the "*‘aẓān*" (call to prayer), and announced the coming of the king's army. The governor was astonished and questioned him. He replied, "This (i.e. last) night I was informed that the capture would take place." The slumbrous-witted one was enraged and put him to death.

On hearing the news of this great Divine boon H.M. increased his devotions, and distinguished the loyal combatants by great

¹ I.G. XV. 198.

² The Maagīr II. 593 says the Rānā escaped in the dress of a San-yāsī, but perhaps this merely means

that he escaped naked or with few clothes.

³ The account of the taking of Komulmīr is partially translated in Elliot, VI, 58.

favours. On the 31st of the month H.M. went near Ciniot¹ towards the bridge,² and a portion of the great camp crossed under his inspection, and the active servants had a fresh instance of his marvels. How could so numerous an army have marched if he had not been there to guide it? Who has the ability to describe the equipment? Shall I relate the passing over hills and plains? Or shall I describe the completion of the bridge and the adornment (*āin*) of the boats? Or shall I write of the passage of the elephants through the boisterous river, or tell tale of the masterfulness (*isbahbadī*) of this spiritual king? On that day, on account of the ignorance of newly-trained servants, Pūndarik,³ a special (*Khāṣa*) elephant, was lost in the depths (*ṣ'harifhā*) of the river. The deep-seeing (*ṣ'harifniyāh*) sovereign regarded diminution⁴ of property as increase of life, and held a feast. One day there was on the hunting-ground a great hailstorm. The hailstones were as large as nuts.⁵ H.M. was in a litter⁶ (*sukhpāl*), and holding communion with his God. By the blessing of the shadow of the blessing of the *Shāhīnshāh* no harm happened to his followers in that unprotected plain.

One of the occurrences was the cessation of clouds and rain. The

¹ The text has *janūb*, south. The *Iqbāl-nāma* enables me to correct this to Ciniot. I. G. X. 285. Akbar was in Lahore when he heard of Shāhbāz K.'s success. On 31 Bahman he went to Ciniot on the Cenāb. See J. II, 320, 21, and R.A.S.J. for 1899, p. 132.

² The sentence is obscure and the Lucknow ed. and some MSS. have *khābar* "news" instead of *jisr* a bridge. Perhaps it is the name of a place, e.g. Jasroya or Jarrota, J. II, 320. Apparently H.M. marched from Lahore.

³ Sanskrit, Pūndarikā, a lotus.

⁴ This does not refer I think to the loss of the elephant. It is merely A. F.'s round-about way of saying that Akbar gave a banquet. Akbar considered, he says, the con-

sumption of property involved in giving a banquet as a means of increasing life. There is also a play on the double meaning of the word *kāhish*. It means both "diminution" and the disease of phthisis. A.F. also travesties a couplet of Nizāmī quoted by Vullers s.v. which says that *kāhish* (the disease) soon produced *kāhish*, diminution of life.

⁵ *Jauz*. We are not told the kind of nuts; perhaps A.F. as an Indian means cocoa-nuts, but more probably he refers to walnuts or *supārī* nuts.

⁶ Perhaps Akbar was in a litter on account of his recent fall from his horse. *Sukhpāl* seems to be the same as *sukāsan* mentioned at p. 130, top line, as used by Muni'm K.

account of this marvel is that for some days there was constant and unseasonable rain. The campmen and the generality of the subjects were distressed and complained. The wonder worker emitted his glorious breathings¹ on a mirror and then put it into a fire. From the wondrous effect of the breath² of him whom the spheres obey the celestial turbulence ceased.

Verse.

When energy assists the brave,
 They raise the Earth above the sky;
 By energy accomplish deeds,
 That difficulties may be easy to you.

One of the occurrences was the forgiveness of the offences of the Balūcīs. It has been mentioned that the leaders of that tribe had from darkness of understanding and slumbrousness of fate
 240 cast their eyes on the remoteness and strength of their country and taken the path of ruin. As the world-adorning sun of Divine³ light exists for the casting down of the wicked as well as for the cherishing of the good, an order was given that some of the Panjab officers should proceed to the abodes of the tribe and inflict proper chastisement on them. The sound of the approach of the world-conquering troops aroused the slumberers and guided them to good service. From dread and from farsight they sent prudent men and sought for forgiveness. H.M. accepted their excuses⁴ and received the entreaties of those tamed ones of the desert of ignorance at the

¹ See B. 164 where Akbar is described as breathing on cups of water and placing them in the sun. Perhaps *dar ātish nihād* means "he placed the mirror in the sun."

² *Damgīrāi*. It also means assistance, or power. See J. III, 366, where the original of the words "miraculous powers" is *damgīrāi*. A.F. plays on the double meaning. The miracle is described in a MS. of the T. A. in my possession. The account occurs near the beginning

of the 24th year and says that Akbar called for a mirror, breathed on it three times and then put it in the fire. The mirror was probably of metal. The story does not seem to occur in the Newal Kishore edition.

³ *Shamsah-i-peshfāq*. The sun-picture of the portico. See B. 50.

⁴ The *Iqbāl-nāma* gives the names of two of the Bilūcī chiefs who came to sue for grace, Hājī K. and Jihāt K. A. F. also mentions them in the following chapter.



rate of chosen service. He issued an order that the troops should return. For his whole thought is to accept the obedience of mortals so that multiplicity may become unity, and that mankind in general may have repose. He does not act like the rapacious and greedy who make stumbling an excuse for subjugation, and do not rest without shedding blood and heaping up wealth.

One of the occurrences was the composing of the distractions connected with the *sayūrghāls*¹ (rent-free lands). Many recluses suffered from their feebleness because they had not their land in one place, and sometimes were tormented by the exchequer-officers and the agents of fief-holders. Also avaricious and shameless people fraudulently laid hold of lands in several places. They looked upon the differences in localities as a means of fraud, and so fell into eternal ruin. The just lord of the earth ordered that the *Aima*² lands should not be mixed up with the exchequer and jagir lands. He also abolished the plurality of situations and assigned to each in a particular place his *tankhwāh*.³ Able men were appointed to every province and *sarkār* and made justice resplendent. By the holy orders the lamp of satisfaction was kindled for the recluses, and the evil-doers were guided aright. The work was done from the beginning, and by wise regulations the revenue was preserved, which is the highest form of worship in the social state. The light of justice also diffused new radiancy over the world.

One of the occurrences was the amazement of the superficial at the knowledge of mysteries possessed by H.M. One day he heard in his privy chamber the beating of a drum. Though those who had access there searched for the drummer, they could find no trace of him. It fell from the mouth full of pearls, "Something tells me that it is the admirable work of Yār Muḥammad."⁴ When

¹ Cf. B. 268 and Lowe 261 and 282. It was Qāzī 'Alī of Baghdad, B. 528, who was appointed to readjust the rent-free tenures.

² See Wilson's Glossary and cf. B. 269, first para.

³ His pension (lit. body-satisfying), the Tuncak of Warren Hastings' time. See Wilson's Glossary s.v. Tankhwah.

⁴ Perhaps the Yār Muḥammad Yas āwal of text III, 475. Or he may be the son of Ṣādiq K. B. 357, 499. The story is told in a MS. copy of the T.A. near the beginning of the 24th year. It says Akbar remarked, "It is Yār Muḥammad Naqārcī (drummer)."



they searched they found it to be so. Such far views were continually appearing for the guidance of the fortunate. A day did not pass that the various writings on men's hearts were not read by him as if they were inscriptions on a portico. If I were only to record the instances that had come to my own knowledge, a
241 separate book would be required, then what question can there be of the instances that have happened to others?

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE ENJOYMENT OF H.M. IN A QAMARGHA¹ HUNT, AND HIS CAPTURE OF THE PREY OF HIS DESIRES.

The sublime thought of the wise Khedive in the enjoyment of hunting is that he may, without the awe inspired by royal majesty and without the intervention of prattlers—whose skirts are mostly stained with self-interest—acquire a knowledge of the events of the world, put down oppressors, and exalt the good who sit in the corner of contempt. His holy heart also always longs for an opportunity of receiving spiritual influence, and thinks that perhaps he may in the fields of unconventionality fall in with some good man and thereby lay a fresh foundation for wisdom's palace. Or perchance the tongue of some silently eloquent one may communicate religious knowledge to him, and by his inward attractions (*kashashhā*, lit. "drawings") H.M.'s heart may be at rest from the questions of the Why and Wherefore, and may become fixed and pledged in one place, so that in this arid desert of self-confidence he may attain a spot of repose and may breathe freely in a holy mansion. While thus spiritually hungered in the struggles of search he on 12 Urdibihisht, 22 April 1578, resolved upon having a *qamargha* hunt in the neighbourhood of Bhera.² He crossed the Bihat (Jhelum)

¹ According to some copies of the T. A. Akbar had come from Pāk Pattan where he had been visiting Farīd's shrine. The account of the *qamargha* and of Akbar's "attraction" is omitted in the Lucknow lithograph, and the account in B.M. M.S. Add. 27, 247 is very differently worded from the text of the Bib. Ind. The verbose preamble is omitted, and the wording of the narrative is different. Add. 27, 247 is useful as it gives the corresponding Hijra dates. Thus it gives 12 Urdi-

bihisht corresponding to 14 Šafar (986), i.e. 22 April 1578, 15 Urdibihisht corresponding to Friday 17 Šafar, 25 April. It also adds the epithet *kuhna* "old" to the name Bhera. In fact, there are two Bheras, the old and the modern, and the first apparently lay on the right bank of the Jhelum.

² In the Shāhpūr district of the Panjab, Badayūnī says, "near Nandana," and a M.S. T.A. in my possession has Nandana Rohtās.

and gave orders to the great nobles and officers that they should according to excellent methods enclose the wild beasts from Girjhāk¹ to Bhera, a distance of twenty-five *kos*. They zealously applied themselves to the task and formed troops (*qushūn*, *qushūn*) and bands. At this time Hājī K.² and the other Bilūcī leaders came with a thousand feelings of shame and did homage. Inasmuch as the observance of promises is at the head of the deeds of the social state, he forgave their offences and raised them from the ground of disgrace. At a sign from H.M. they obtained a place in the company (for hunting).

The zealous strivers of the domain of enlightenment had fulfilled their orders, when the bird of desire fell into the net, and the tongues³ of eloquent silence obtained the joy of deliverance. That seeker after truth (Akbar) was putting forth the foot of search in that wide wilderness, and was holding self-conflicts in the pleasant place where the quarry had fallen. The glory of unity was bestowed by him on the pure spots and pleasant precincts of the temple of his supplications. As attainment follows upon search, the lamp of vision became brilliant. A sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame. The attraction (*jazāba*)⁴ of cognition of God cast its

¹ Kirjhāk in text. J. II, 324 and n. 6. It is the Hindu name for Jalālpūr, I.G., and is said to be the Bucephala of Alexander. It is on the right bank of the Jhelum. Add. M.S. 27, 247 says that the arrangements for the *qamargha* were carried out during ten days. It gives the date of the "attraction" as the day of Dīn 24 Urdibihisht corresponding to Sunday 26 Šafar, 4 May 1578. It mentions M. Yūsuf K., Naurang K. and Aṣaf K. as employed in arranging the hunt. It also speaks of Akbar's leaving his main camp on one side of the river and of his crossing over. In this M.S. the expression *jazāba qavī* "a strong attraction" is used, as in the T.A.

² B.M. M.S. gives 17 Urdibihisht

as the day of their coming, and adds the name of Jīta K. or Chēta K. as a variant.

³ Apparently this refers to the animals who were freed from the enclosing nets.

⁴ The *jazāba* is described by Bada-yūnī, Lowe 261, and by Nizāmu-d-dīn at the beginning of the 24th year, but the passage is omitted in Elliot V, 408. It seems to have been a remarkable occurrence, and Bada-yūnī speaks of it as having led to disturbances in the eastern provinces. Perhaps it caused Akbar's mother to come at this time to visit him. Nizāmu-d-dīn says Akbar distributed "money to faquirs under the tree where he had experienced the attraction, and ordered a house



¹ I am exceedingly doubtful of

caravans of animated beings had fresh life. The dumb of this world hastened to the rose-garden of joy. As his pure heart is free of sensual pleasures, and he ever desires asceticism, the thought of this boiled over in his soul and the desire for one-ness prevailed. He was nearly abandoning this state of struggle, and entirely gathering up the skirt of his genius from earthly pomp. But in obedience to the orders of Wisdom—the Shāhinshah—he passed from this desire, but conformed somewhat to the practices (of the ascetics). He shortened his hair which was long and beautiful and entrancing, and many of the lovers of the order¹ voluntarily imitated him. Stranger still, some time before this he had said that in the beginning of his reign he had, from sympathy with the natives of India, and in opposition of his ancestors, cherished the hair of his head, but from the wonders of Divine power would it be surprising if he should change his mind, and bring some inhabitants of this country to our “custom.” On the same day he crossed the Bihat and came to the camp, and gave up the thought of advancing
243 further. At this time² Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kuar Mān Singh arrived on the bank of the river from Ajmere and did homage.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at the camp of H.M. Miriam Makānī. At the time when the camp was on the bank of the Bihat, it was announced to H.M. that her litter was near at hand, and that she was very anxious to see him. He was much delighted, and made arrangements for doing her honour. First an order was given that the prince Sultān Selīm should go to meet her and that many officers should accompany him. After that, H.M. went on horseback and made the reverence to his visible God (his mother), an act of worship of the true-Creator. He at once acted according to etiquette and also exalted the rank of his knowledge of God.

Verse.

It belongs to a knowledge of rank to adore rank,
 God does not give rank, save to him who appreciates it.

¹ *Silāsīl*. Apparently the order of the Divine Faith. But perhaps the word means locks or curls, and the

translation should be “lovers of such chains (curls).”

² Add. 27, 246 says Bhagwant Dās

One of the occurrences was the arrival of presents from Bengal and Koc¹ (Koc Behar). At the time when the camp was by the river Bihat the bearers of reports from Khān Jahān arrived at court. The gist of them was that the eastern provinces were tranquil by the blessing of the ruler of the age. Rajah Māl Gosain, the zamindar of Koc, also again made his submission. First of all the rarities of Bengal, including 54 noted elephants, were produced, and then the presents of the landholder. Partāb 'Tār Feringi, who

came on the day of Mār Isfandār 29 Urdibihit, corresponding to Rabi' al awwal. On 1 Khurdād or Monday 4 Rabi' al awwal news came of the arrival of Miriam Makānī. Though Nizāmu-d-dīn puts the occurrence in the 24th year, he means 986 as A. F. does. Elliot's correction to 987 is wrong.

¹ There is an interesting account of Kūch Behar in A.N. III, 716. The Rajah himself did not wait upon Akbar. It was only his vakīl who came. At p. 716 A. F. gives an account of Rajah Māl Gosain. He says he was the grandson of Bishna (or Bisa, and the Visu of other authorities), and was an ascetic and did not marry till he was fifty. B.J.A.S.B. for 1872, 100 n., says he is the Nara Narain of Kūch Behar annals. See also Gait J.A.S.B. for 1893, 301 n. It is unlikely that an ascetic would develop into a great conqueror, and apparently the real warrior was his brother Sukhla Deva Silārāi, as indeed the temple inscriptions say. A. F. 716 calls Sukhla Dev the elder brother of Māl Gosain, but the inscriptions quoted by Gait, id. 295, show that he was the younger brother. Māl Gosain is more likely to be right than Bāl Gosain, as the first agrees with

the Mallā Deva of the inscriptions. Māl Gosain wrote a book or a letter in praise of Akbar and sent it to him along with some fine silks. Presumably this was part of the present sent on the occasion mentioned in the text. In the 50th year of his reign he made his nephew his heir-apparent, but after this either he or his brother Shukl (Sukhla) Gosain married and had a son called Lacmī Narain. See Glazier's Rungpore, p. 12. B.M. Add. 27, 247 calls Rajah Māl Gosain the Rajah of Kāmru (Kāmru).

¹ Cf. Elliot VI, 59. Partāb Bār is in the Cawnpore ed., p. 128, Partābā Bār, though at p. 182 id. we have Partāb Bā. As remarked in Elliot, the names of Partāb and his wife are very doubtful. In the two I.O. MSS. the name is Partāb Bāz. Partāb is mentioned again in the Bib. Ind. ed. III, 320, corresponding to Cawnpore ed. 182, where we are told that M. Najāt K. took shelter with him after having been defeated by Qatlū in Selīmābād (or Sulaimān-ābād) in Bardwan and Hugli, see B. Geography of Bengal A.S.B. 42, p. 218. B. id. calls him Partāb the Portuguese governor of Hugli, p. 440 and n. In all probability Partāb is the Tavares mentioned by

is one of the officials of the merchants of the ports of Bengal, had the bliss of an audience. He and his wife Nashūrna were from their happy star amazed at the laudable qualities of the sovereign,

Manrique: see Murray's Discoveries in Asia, Vol. II, 99. Sebastian Manrique was an Augustinian monk, and his book *Itinerario*, etc., was published at Rome in 1649. See also Bartoli, *Missione al Gran Mogor*, Piacenza, 1819, p. 5, who mentions Pietro Tavares as being a military servant of Akbar and also as captain of a port in Bengal. According to Bartoli it was Tavares who induced Akbar to send for Egidio Anes Pereira the priest of Sātgaon. The latter in his turn induced Akbar to send for priests from Goa. See also the Calcutta Review, vol. v, for June 1846, article "The Portuguese in North India," p. 257. Apparently this article is the authority for the statement in Toynbee's Sketch of the administration of Hugli, Calcutta, 1888, p. 3. Partāb Bār does not bear much resemblance to the name Tavares. Perhaps it was his Hindustani title, or it may be that the first syllable is a corruption of his Christian name Pietro. The Darbār-Akbarī, p. 67, has Tāb Bārro which comes nearer Tavares. The author does not, apparently, read the second name as that of a woman. The excellent I.O. M.S. old No. 564, new do. 236, has p. 317b, four lines from foot.

پرتاب باز فونگی که از اعیان بازارگانان
 بنادر بنگاله است سعادت بار یافت او
 بالسوزیا زن خود از لیک اختوی حیرت زده

خوی ستوده شهر بارگشت و باراسنگی عقلی
 و شایستگی حال در نظر اکبر آن گیتی
 خداوند اعتبار یافتند *

Thus the name of the wife appears to be Ulsozba, and she as well as her husband were received by Akbar, for the plural *yāftand* is used. I cannot make out what the name really is, though possibly it is Louisa or Isabella. The author of the Darbār Akbarī has Bāsūbārān باسوباران. That is, he has *ran* instead of *zan* (wife), and he seems to regard the name as that of a man. The other I.O. M.S. No. 235, p. 516a, has, instead of a woman's name, *ba sūd u ziyān lghud* "with his own profit and loss!" and has *yāft* instead of *yāftand* (according to the English numbering the page is 518a). The lady's name also appears in MSS. as Nashūr-nā, Nasūrtā and Basūrbā. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Agra, writing to Dr. Wolff in 1832, told him that a lady named Juliana, an inmate of Akbar's seraglio, was instrumental in procuring the presence in Agra of the Jesuit priests. See Wolff's Researches, etc., p. 303; and Col. Kincaid, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vol. III, p. 164, speaks of a Juliana as having married John Philip Bourbon, and as having been the sister of Akbar's Christian wife. Possibly all this is merely a distortion of the story of the Donna Juliana who was at the Court of Aurangzeb and Bahādur Shah.



and from their good sense and propriety of conduct they found favour in the testing eyes of the world-lord. Also at this time Abdul' Bāqī Turkeṣṭānī acquired bliss by doing homage. H.M. in his abundant quest of truth gave every one access to himself, and listened to the tales of plausible persons, as possibly his soul might be refreshed by them. In this abode of search (the world) the ²⁴⁴ unique pearl of enlightenment does not come into the hands until after hundreds of disappointments, and without having an open countenance for the various classes of mankind, nor can knowledge (of God) be attained. Many lights of the firmament of holiness remain hidden in the dark places of ignorance, and many, on the other hand, make a boast of themselves. From seeing such tumults, the questers in the wilderness of search withdraw their hearts from inquiry. They withhold their foot from endeavour, and choose the corner of apathy (*afsardagī*). But the far-seeing sovereign (Akbar) becomes more earnest in his striving when he does not get the night-gleaming jewel! By his orders the stewards of the holy banquet bring every sect before his noble glance, and accordingly at this time, by the direction of some courtiers, this man who had trodden the desert of exile, and who had come from the Hijāz, was brought into the enlightened assembly. For a time he discoursed pleasingly and with a fluent tongue, and communicated some of the things about religion and creed that he had acquired from learned Christians. It soon became evident that he had not examined into the matter with a discriminating eye, and that he had not penetrated to the pure temple of devotion (*riyāzat*). From his good disposition he became conscious of his empty-handedness, and of the waste of his life, and took up the matter anew.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Sakīna Bānū Begam to give counsels to Hakīm M. One of the secret thoughts of H.M. during this expedition was that he would hasten to Kabul and arouse the slumbering Mirzā by advice, and compose the distractions of Zabūlistān, and cause all the people thereof to sit in the shade of

¹ Probably he is the Maulānā Abdul Bāqī who became a Ṣadr. B. 272, 528, 541. The words at the end of his description are similar

to those used at p. 236 of text to describe Mullā Maḡhūqī and Sūfī Nāzīr. Add. B.M. 27, 247, calls him Martāza Bāqa.

justice. When the mysterious¹ revelation which loosed the knots of difficulties came to him, that design became erased from his heart, and he said, "My sole wish is that the Mirzā may emerge from the defile of savagery and be encompassed with princely favours. Inasmuch as he is young and inexperienced, and is associated with persons of small capacity, perchance he may on our approach turn away from the altar of fortune and go into exile.² Though able and farsighted persons have regarded a younger brother in the light of a son, yet something tells me that the existence of a dutiful son is doubtful, and the meeting of the brothers impossible. It is far better that I hearten him by good counsels from a distance. It may be that his somnolent fortune shall awake and that he shall take the path of obedience, cease to stray, and become a traveller to the abode of bliss! If through converse with evil-thoughted ones he has hurried away from the high road of obedience and the pleasant abode of service, and has fallen into the thornbrake of ingratitude, it becomes a magnanimous nature, and is suitable to a wide tolerance to act contrary to the opinion of the short-sighted, and to take that unfortunate wanderer and stumbler

245 by the hand, and to cure him by various instructions." On this account he nominated that veiled one of the palace of chastity, who was the Mirzā's full sister,³ for most men listen to the words of friends and near relatives, and do not accept the advice of well-meaning strangers, nor take their words into account. If they had a clear judgment and seeing eyes and an awakened heart, they would distinguish between the pearl and the glassbead like experienced jewellers of the market-place who test everything small or great, and they would cast out of view the speaker and regard only the intrinsic beauty of the speech! It was also in his mind that if the Mirzā should hearken to what was said, a fresh relationship might be established which would encourage and comfort him. Though in the opinion of the wise the intermarriage of near re-

¹ The vision during the hunt.

² The Iqbāl-nāma adds, he might take refuge with the Uzbegs.

³ Sakīna was given in marriage by Akbar to Naqīb K.'s son Shāh Ghāzī K. She died in 1014 (1605).

A.N. III. 839. Sakīna means tranquillity, and also the Shechinah or Holy Spirit. She is mentioned by Gulbadan B. as Māh Cācak's second daughter.

latives be not approved, yet the far-seeing hold it to be right under certain considerations, and regard it as a slight evil for a great good. Hence he ordered that if the veiled one of chastity saw purity (lit. crystal) in the forehead of his disposition, she should rejoice him with the tidings that Prince Sultan Selim might become his son-in law. She left on 19 Khurdād from Sīdri¹ (?) and went off in company with Mīr 'Alī K. Sildoz and Mīr Abu Issac² Ṣafvī.

At the same time the ambassadors³ of Shāhrukh M. obtained leave, and 'Abdulla⁴ K. and 'Ābdī Khwāja were sent off to encourage and soothe the Badakhshīs. It has already been mentioned that the Khānim had sent, on behalf of the Mīrzā, skilful persons, and apologized for the disorders of that country (Badakhshān). When the facts were known, the disturbances created by the Mīrzā were seen to be the result of his youth, and of ill advice, etc., and the excuses were accepted. The hearts of the distressed were comforted by various favours, and it was announced that when the veiled chaste one should come to court her countenance would be brightened by glad tidings.

NOTE.—See Akbar's opinions on this subject in J. III, 397, 398. He regarded the marriage of cousins as a survival from Adam's time when such connections were necessary.

About this time the primacy of the spiritual world took possession of his holy form, and gave a new aspect to his world-adorning beauty. In the pleasant abode of hunting the magical musicians⁵ came forth with their melodies, and for a time his august heart was engaged by this. On hearing this exorcising spell of the woof and warp of association, or rather talisman of the perception of the treasury of truth, that⁶ cavalier of the plain of vision experienced a trans-

¹ Or Sahīdri?

² B. 523. He was the son of Rafī-u-d-dīn Ṣafavī who was connected by marriage with A.F.'s father. See J. III, 423.

³ 'Abdu-r raḥmān Beg and M. 'Āshiq. See text, p. 211.

⁴ They were sent with the ambassadors, and probably Sakīna went off in the same party. B.M. M.S.

Add. 21, 247, says 'Abdullah was son of Mu. Ghaṇṣ of Gwalior. See B. 457.

⁵ Apparently this is allegorical, but see B. 611 for A.F.'s account of the influence of music.

⁶ The text has the word gusehkhā "loosed," but it is not in the I.O. MSS. and seems out of place here.

formation. What the chiefs of purity and deliverance had searched for in vain was revealed to him. The spectators who were in his
246 holy neighbourhood carried away the fragments of the Divine bounty. In a short space of time he by God-given strength turned his face to the outer world and attended to indispensable matters. If the tale of such spiritual things were to be unfolded and written down, volumes would be required, and the moving foot of the travelling pen would be worn out at the first advance. My whole energy is engrossed by recording the glorious occurrences of the outer world. Inasmuch as spiritual reflection has broken the rein of my heart I have through helplessness recorded something of the holy world of holiness.

At this time a fresh benevolence was exhibited. An order was issued for the taking of measures to fill the Anūptalāo ¹ with money. In the special apartments (courtyard?) (*daulat khāna-i-khāṣ*) of Fatḥpūr there is a reservoir twenty by twenty (yards) and twice a man's height in depth. It is paved with red stone and is an object of admiration to the critical. Before the august expedition (to the Panjab) had taken place there had trickled from the fountainhead of bounty the statement that "For some time the participators in the holy banquet have had their eyes and ears gratified by the clearness of the pearling waters and the prattling of the fountains. Now let it be filled to the brim with various coins so that the great treasures may become visible and the general public may receive an abundant share of the sublime bounty, and the necessitous be freed from the anguish of expectation." At this time the arrangers of the banquet of sovereignty set about filling the reservoir. Rajah Todar Mal reported that it would be filled by the time the royal standards arrived, that seventeen krons of *dāms* had been counted out, and that it was estimated that this quantity ² would suffice to fill it.

¹ The tank or reservoir (*hauz*) was made or completed in 983 (1575-76). Lowe 204. Badayūnī, after mentioning the tank, goes on to speak of Jalāl K. Kūrēī, and we know that he was killed at the end of 983. B. 476. Anūptalāo means "the unparalleled tank."

² *Misl-i-ān*. I am rather inclined to think that A.F. means by this expression that another seventeen krons would be required. This would make the amount agree with the statement in Jahangir's Memoirs, T.J. 260, that it took thirty-four krons, forty-eight lacs and 46,000 *dāms*



One of the occurrences was the coming of Shahbāz K. to court, and the bringing with him of Daudā the son of Rai Surjan. It has been mentioned that he had been sent to that country to subdue recalcitrant ones of the province of Ajmere and to punish the wicked there. He had done excellently there and had slain many of them. Some had saved themselves by submission, and rested in peace. The Rānā had his residence plundered, and had gone into obscurity in the defiles. Daudā, who had always been prominent among the turbulent had repented and become submissive.

to fill it. He calls it the Kapūr tank and says it was 36 by 36 cubits and $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits deep. The B.M. M.S. Add. 27, 247 has *hamīn qadr dīgar khwāhid gan id* "another equal amount would fill it," and the Iqbāl-nāma says that Todar Mal reported that seventeen khrs had been used and that there was still space, and that Akbar ordered it to be filled to the brim. Elliot V. 409 says the reservoir was filled with gold, silver and copper, and that the amount came to twenty khrs of tanks. Badayūnī, Lowe 272-78, says twenty khrs of copper coin were used. He also says that a ḥakīm undertook to build a subaqueous house in the tank and failed, and that the contents of the tank were distributed in three years. An account of the inauguration of the reservoir and the distribution of the money is given in A.N. III, 257. See also D.A. 125. This last gives an account of an old picture of the distribution. In the report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XVIII, Architecture of Fatehpūr Sikri 1894-98, Chapter I, there is an account of a Ḥauz or tank in the Mahāl-i-Khāṣ which presumably is the Daulat Khāna Khāṣ of A.F.

The name of the tank is not given, but the dimensions 95 ft. 7 ins. square agree fairly with those given by A.F. and Jahangir, if we take his *dara'* or *zara'* to be yards. The tank may also have been increased in size. There is also a tank, known as the Sweet Tank, at the back of the Diwān-i-Khāṣ. The tank in the Mahāl-i-Khāṣ is also shown in the plan in Keene's Agra. It is crossed by four causeways meeting in the middle. There is also a tank in the large square in front of the chief mosque. According to the Iqbāl-nāma it was this tank which burst in the 27th year and did considerable damage. See A.N. III, 392.

Jahangir speaks only of silver and copper coins being put into the tank whereas A.F. speaks of *muhrs*. According to Jahangir, Tūzuk 260, thirty-four khrs and forty-eight lacs odd of dāms (i.e. copper money) and sixteen lacs and 80,000 rupees in silver were poured in, making a total of one krór, and three lacs of rupees or three lacs 43,000 tāmāns. In this estimate the dām has evidently been taken as the fortieth part of a rupee, and the Persia gold tāmān as worth Rs. 30.

Shahbāz K. took that suppliant with him to court. On 5 Tīr, Divine month, he had the honour of saluting the threshold in the village of Tihārah, and was received with princely favours. His miserable condition was brought to the august notice and he was admitted to an interview. H.M. observed that eternal ruin was written on his forehead, and the draught of kindness did no good to the wicked. Inasmuch as the keeping of one's word is an essential part of rule, he was forgiven and allowed to sit in the shade of 247 tranquillity. When the royal standards proceeded to the capital he was left in the Panjab. Shortly afterwards he absconded,¹ and H.M.'s knowledge of hidden things was again illustrated. On the 9th of the month a bridge was ordered to be made over the Cenāb near the town of Kahlūr,² and the army crossed; on the 21st a bridge was made near Kalānūr, and the army crossed the Rāvī. From there an embassy was dispatched to the ruler of Kashmir. As 'Alī K.³ the governor (*hākim*) of that country had not hastened to the highway of obedience, H.M. sent on the 24th Mullā⁴ 'Ishqī of Ghazni and Qāzī Ṣadru-d dīn⁵ of Lahore in order that they might guide that sinner in the hills to obedience. Next day he halted in that pleasant spot (Kalānūr⁶) and stayed in the garden of that city of fortune in whose rose-like land the accession of the Unique one of creation took place. He gave a feast there. On 4 Amardād, Divine month, he crossed the Beah (Beas) by a bridge near Khokhrowāl.⁷ At this place S'aid⁸ K. was sent to the government of the Panjab. When the royal cortège first arrived in the province a large number of suppliants for justice had come and complained that Shah Qulī Maḥram did not attend to the punishment of oppressors, and that in consequence the administration of justice

¹ B. 410.

² One of the Simla Hill States, capital Bilāspur. I.G. VIII, 234.

³ 'Alī Cak. J. II, 330, father of Yāsuf Shah.

⁴ He was a Bakhshī and also a poet. B. 528 and Badayūnī III, 277. The dispatch of the embassy is noted in the T.A., Elliot V, 411. For its return see Badayūnī, Lowe 276.

⁵ B. 545. He is there described

as belonging to Jālandhar. But this is explained by Badayūnī III, 84, where he is described as of Jālandhar and afterwards of Lahore. He is also called al Lahorī in T.A. in the list of learned men.

⁶ In Gurdāspūr, Panjab.

⁷ J. II. 319, where it is Khokowāl or Ghoghowāl.

⁸ B. 331.



was not in a good state. H.M. censured him and quieted the grieved hearts. The wicked went into the corner of contempt. From that time H.M. meditated that a just and able man should be sent to watch over matters. At this time, when his intention was to proceed to the capital, he entrusted the duty to the skill of that able and just man (S'aid K.) and gave him wise directions. He also sent along with him to Lahore abundance of money for the poor and the empty-handed. He observed to Rajah Todar Mal that he had learnt that many Afghans had settled in the towns and villages of the Panjab. Though some professed to be traders and some to be husbandmen, yet there were signs of their being wicked. From time to time it appeared that they oppressed the weak, and that such things were not promptly inquired into; also the weak were unable to produce evidence. It appeared to H.M. that this body of men (Afghans) should be scattered and be sent in detachments to different provinces, so that the people might obtain relief from the burden of oppression, and also that the Afghans might not become vagabonds. At this time Rajah Birbar and 248 Saiyid Mozaffar were sent to Jalandhar in order that for some days they might serve at a distance and gather bliss by sympathy for the helpless. Every one who was looking for a holding (*madad-m'aash*) and could not get it was to be sent to court. He would get one sufficient for him from the crown lands.

One of the events was the appointing of Muhibb 'Alī K. the son of Mir Khalifa to the governorship of Delhi. From his early years he was an intelligent companion (of Akbar) and one who regarded his ability as a ray from loyal devotion. The wise sovereign offered him his choice of four great employments, 1st—The office of Mir 'Arzī at court. 2nd—The charge of the harem.¹ 3rd—The governorship of a remote province. 4th—The governorship of that blissful city. As his strength of body was not great, he rightly preferred the last employment.

On the 26th of the month H.M. ordered a bridge of boats to be placed over the Sutlej, and the army crossed. On this day Hāji K.

¹ *Darbār-i-shahistān*. Presumably this is the appointment formerly held by 'Itimād K. in the 20th year,

text 142, where it is called the *darbar-i-mashkū*. He must have vacated it when he went on pilgrimage.

and the other Bilūci chiefs from ignorance and savagery ran away. They had not beheld¹ the majesty of the great camp, and they did not choose to be far from their own homes lest court-service would fall upon them! At the time of crossing they searched for a wrong path. Kuar Mān Singh, Zain K. Koka and Khwāja Ghūṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf K. were sent after them. Owing to their being late in getting intelligence, they were unable to come up with them. Evil tale-bearers represented that they had not been active in the search, and for some days they were excluded from the bliss of the Presence and were in disgrace.

One of the occurrences was the leaving of Rajah Todar Mal in the province of the Panjab. When H.M. went off to Fathpūr, he was sent off in order to arrange the *jāgīrs* of the officers of the Kachwāha family. He was also ordered, with regard to some of the cultivated lands of the northern hill country, whose rulers were not obedient, to leave them in peace, if, on receiving advice, they laid upon their shoulders the burden of submission. Otherwise he was to extirpate the thankless crew, and to make over their lands and residences as the *tankhūwāh* of the combatants for dominion (Akbar's officers). In a short space of time the order was carried out. Many of the hill-proprietors became ashamed and apologised and attached themselves to the saddle-straps of fortune, and some were punished and banished. At the time when the royal standards cast the shade of justice over the centre of the Caliphate, Rajah

249 Bhagwant Dās and he (Todar Mal) came and did homage.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Fath K. to the government of Bhakar. During the Mālwa expedition news had come to Dībālpūr that Saiyid Muḥammad Mir 'Adl had died. H.M. sent them I'tmād K. the eunuch, who was distinguished² for justice and ability. He in an able manner conducted an army to Sehwan,³ and after being successful returned after making peace.

¹ Apparently A.F. means that the Bilucis were so ignorant of the splendour of Akbar's court that they thought they would be impressed and kept as his servants.

² B. 438 says he died in 985 or 986, but at p. 490 he thinks that the

date given by M'aṣūm, Shabān 984 or Oct. 1576, may be more correct. The T. M'aṣūm says he was succeeded by his son Abul Faṣl. Elliot I, 243.

³ The text has Sahṣawān, but the variant Sehwan seems right.