

Inasmuch as most men drop from their hands the thread of wisdom and become presumptuous when they have been successful, and do not respect their subordinates, and lose sight of the attracting affection which is the greatest of Divine gifts, this prudent man was caught by this evil quality. In his conceit and negligence he did not recognize friend from foe, nor separate the flatterers from the speaker of bitter-seeming truths. The wicked and evil-minded were trusted while the right-thinking and right-acting were disregarded. In addition to this he used harsh and insolent language to his servants. He called craft circumspection and did not act justly. At the time when H.M. was in the Punjab he was about to convey his soldiers to the holy court in order that their horses might be branded. From somnolence of intellect he thought that the loans which he had formerly made to his men would supply<sup>1</sup> him with the means for his expenses. Though they declared their poverty, he paid no heed and did not act justly by them. One morning Maqsūd 'Alī, a servant, joined with some scoundrels and killed him. Many of them were seized, but some escaped to Qandahar. H.M. appointed Fath<sup>2</sup> K., who was distin-

<sup>1</sup> The meaning appears to be that he called in his loans. This is how B. has understood it, for he says, 13 note, "In order to equip his contingent, he collected his rents and 'outstandings, as it appears, with 'much harshness.' The Iqbāl-nāma puts it somewhat differently, saying that I'timād's men asked for the expenses of the journey and for help, and that he would not give them any money, and abused them. Perhaps then the meaning is not that he called in his loans (and surely he would not do this when they were about to undertake an expensive journey), but that he would not give them any help, as he thought that the loans he had already made them were sufficient. The Maasir I, 90, says that when

Maqsūd, who was blind of an eye, represented his poverty to I'timād, the latter told him that he deserved to have his blind eye pissed upon, and that Maqsūd drew his dagger and killed him. The Maasir also remarks in the biography that castration tames animals, but makes men more fierce. See also B. 13n and 428, and Elliot I, 244, where there is a translation of Māsūm Bhakharī's account of the matter. It appears from this that the murder was committed at Bhakhar and on 10 Rabī'al-awwal 986, or 17 May 1578.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the Iqbāl-nāma that this is Fath or Fattu K. Masnad 'Alī, B. 502, 523 and 531. He was an Afghan, and perhaps he was sent in pursuance of Akbar's scheme of





guished for his observance of justice, to take charge of the country. On 5 Shahriyūr, Divine month, the royal cortège passed near Sirhind, which received the freshness of spring by his advent. The great officers, and the doctors of poetry<sup>1</sup> and proof, and other special members of the holy feast were eloquent and acute according to their degree. The ocean of the lord of oratory swelled up, and the thirsty-hearted ones of the desert of ignorance were saturated with knowledge.

One of the occurrences was H.M. the Shahinshāh's proceeding by water. Owing to the largeness of the crowd, it occurred to him that the camp should go by land and that he himself and some special courtiers should go by water. On the 14th he set out from the ferry of Sultānpūr Khiṣrābād. The select ones accompanied him while the great camp and the common soldiers went by land.

250 On the 19th he reached the environs of Delhi, and visited the tomb of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Ashiyānī. Then after a time he re-entered the boat and weighed anchor. As the peasantry of that neighbourhood complained of the revenue officers (*'amalguzārān*) he left Moẓaffar K. and Shāh Maṣṣūr there to dispense justice to them, and then join him.

removing the Afghans from the Panjab. In the T. M'asūmi, Elliot I, 244, he is called Faṭḥ K. Bahādur.

<sup>1</sup> *Hukamāi nāla u istidlāl*. Perhaps *hukamāi nāla* means Musicians.





## CHAPTER XLIV.

## THE RAPID JOURNEY OF H.M. TO AJMERE, AND HIS RETURN TO THE CAPITAL.

It was a rule that he should go every year in the beginning of Rajab to the holy shrine, and distribute gifts. In this way he worshipped God. But from the view that Divine worship is not restricted to any one place, and that speciality of locality does not befit universal bounty, he had the inspired thought that the chain of "use" and "went" should be broken, and that there should be a wider sphere for the reception of the truth. This view, however, was not carried into effect in this year. Suddenly his heart was inflamed by the thought that he should rapidly go to the holy spot and return. Accordingly on the 24th he in the neighbourhood of Muttra mounted on a swift steed, and proceeded thither. A few intimates accompanied him. On that day he sent off Khwāja Fath Ullah, who was one of his servants, to Gujarat to bring Qutbu-d-dīn K. to Court. From the time that M. Koka, in full reliance on the Shahinshāh's kindness, had gone into retirement, the secret<sup>1</sup> wish of H.M.'s loving heart was always the desire to enhance the glory (*bahrūzī*) of that seeker after bliss. From this thought he sent for him upon this expedition, in order that if he had got rid of his ill-humour he might come to Court and be encompassed with royal favours. Owing to his being full of fancies, and not listening to

<sup>1</sup> I have only guessed at the meaning of this clause for the word *bahrūzī* بہرُوزی is unintelligible to me. *Bahrūz* means a transparent blue crystal, and it also means Indian frankincense, but its meaning here I do not understand. I presume that the expression *Sādat pazhūh* refers to Akbar for I do not see how M. Koka could be described by A. F. as a seeker after auspiciousness. Literally, the clause seems to mean

"hidden in the loving heart was the crystal of auspicious search." But I suspect some corruption of the text though the I.O. MSS. agree with the Bib. Ind. *Bahrūzī* occurs again at p. 320 and seems used there to mean victory. It is apparently a form of *firūzī*, both meaning a blue crystal. See also p. 394, where we are told that Akbar exerted himself anew to develop (*dar bahrūzī*) Sultan Selīm.





advice, he remained in the same disturbed state. Accordingly Quṭbu-d-dīn K., who was his uncle, and in the place of his father, was sent for, as perhaps his advice would put him on the road of happiness. H.M. travelled so rapidly that he went more than a hundred kos in four days. He made his first halt in the house of Daudā in the town of Ḥājīpūr. Next day he reached Mūl-Manaharnagar,<sup>1</sup> and after that he came to Sāmbar.

- 251 On this day the eye and heart of the writer of this noble chronicle were glorified by a special view of H.M. The brief account of this is that every day two especially devoted followers were appointed to collect cows for the use of the blissful young<sup>2</sup> children, whom H.M. took with him after quieting their mothers and grandfathers. On this occasion, when the standards of fortune had advanced beyond Mūl Manaharnagar, my elder brother S. Abū-faiẓ Faiẓī and myself were chosen for this important service. In the beginning of the month my noblest of brothers was in attendance on the august stirrup and discoursing eloquently. This inexperienced one (himself) had to attend to the business alone. As the place is the abode of savage hill men, the dust of disturbance arose in every place where I searched for cows. Most people did not believe that the king would pass by that way. For a time I was lost in bewilderment, but by my good star I came to my senses. My soul was troubled thinking that if the orders were not properly carried out, what would happen? And that if from excitement I got confused I would be a byword for stupidity. "Perhaps I shan't be able to manage the thing alone." Suddenly, a secret message of joy came to me in that hopeless place, and the star of fortune shone. I called to mind H.M. and he opened the knot of difficulty. All at once I in that burning spot of heat,<sup>3</sup> and in the coldness of search, hastened to a little hill, and there a number of cows were seen. They drew near of their own account and separated two of their number. By the marvels of Divine assistance about 20 others followed those two. A difficult task became easy, and my heart had fresh glory. The rosebush of devotion was irrigated anew!

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 221 of text.

<sup>2</sup> I presume this means Akbar's children.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the heat of the air is contrasted with the coldness, i.e. the ill-success of the search.





On the 27th Shahriyūr, Divine month, Ajmere was brightened by the Shāhinshah's advent. The circumambulation was performed, and the expectants had their desires fulfilled. Next day, when midnight had passed, H.M. and nine followers mounted swift steeds and proceeded rapidly towards the capital. (They were) Naurang K., Shīroya K., Husain K., Maqbūl K., Fath Ullah the sherbatdār, 'Abdulla Bilūc, Hilāl Aftābcī, Shākīr K. Ābdār, Maḥmud K. Khawās. They travelled 120 kos in two days<sup>1</sup> and reached the capital in the end of the month.

Also at this time a report came from Gujarat from the imperial 252 servants to the effect that the caravan<sup>2</sup> of chaste ladies had traversed the dangers of the ocean and reached Gujarat. When the preparations for a land journey had been completed they would proceed to the Presence. H.M. was delighted on hearing this news and sent an order to Shihābu-d dīn Aḥmad K. to expedite the noble caravan, and to dispatch it to the K'aba of fortune (Fathpūr Sikri).

<sup>1</sup> The T.A. Elliot V, 408, says Akbar left Delhi on 1st Rajab and travelling 30 kos a day reached Ajmere at the end of 6 Rajab, the saint's anniversary. Next day he returned, and travelling 50 kos a day reached Fathpūr in the evening of Friday 9 Rajab. According to this account he took four days. The statement in Lowe 262, "at day-break," is wrong. He reached Toda then. B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 which often differs from the Bib. Ind. text, says that Akbar left for

Ajmere on the day of Dīn 23 Shahriyūr, or Friday 2 Rajab, and arrived on the day of Marisfand 29 Shahriyūr, night of 8 (should be 6) Rajab, which is that of the anniversary, and arrived at Fathpūr on 30 Shahriyūr or Friday 9 Rājab. But these dates seem wrong and Dīn is 24, not 23 Shahriyūr.

<sup>2</sup> This must have been some of Gulbadan Begum's party. She and Selima did not return till 1582. A. N. 385.





## CHAPTER XLV.

THE INCREASED SPLENDOUR OF THE 'IBĀDAT KHĀNA FROM THE BRILLIANCE  
OF THE ACUTENESS OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

Although God-given wisdom and the science of Divine knowledge (theology) adorn his holy personality and illumine his actions, yet, owing to the utter marvelousness of his nature, he every now and then draws a special veil over his countenance, and exercises world-sway and speaks and acts in accordance with the requirements of the time. At the present day, when the morning-breeze of fortune is blowing, and the star of success is continually acquiring fresh radiance, he, by his practical knowledge and farsightedness, makes external ability the veil of spirituality and appraises the value of the mortifiers of the passions, and the calibre of scientists. It has been mentioned<sup>1</sup> that he, in his ample search after truth, had laid the foundation of a noble seat for intellectual meetings. His sole and sublime idea was that, as in the external administration of the dominion, which is conjoined with eternity, the merits of the knowers of the things of this world had by profundity of vision, and observance of justice, been made conspicuous, and there had ceased to be a brisk market for pretence and favouritism, so might the masters of science and ethics, and the devotees of piety and contemplation, be tested, the principles of faiths and creeds be examined, religions be investigated, the proofs and evidences for each be considered, and the pure gold and the alloy be separated from evil commixture. In a short space of time a beautiful, detached building was erected, and the fraudulent vendors of impostures put to sleep in the privy chamber of contempt. A noble palace was provided for the spiritual world, and the pillars of Divine knowledge rose high.

At this<sup>2</sup> time, when the centre of the Caliphate (Fathpūr Sikrī)

<sup>1</sup> See text 112, and Elliot V, 930. A. F. puts the building of the 'Ibādat khāna into the 19th year, and the T.A into the 20th.

<sup>2</sup> The translation in Elliot VI 59, begins here.





was glorified by H. M.'s advent, the former institutions were renewed, and the temple of Divine knowledge was on Thursday<sup>1</sup> nights illuminated by the light<sup>2</sup> of the holy mind. On 20 Mihr,<sup>3</sup> Divine month, 3 October 1578, and in that house of worship, the lamp of the privy chamber of detachment was kindled in the banqueting-hall of social life. The coin of the hivers of wisdom in colleges and cells was brought to the test. The clear wine was separated from the lees, and good coin from the adulterated. The wide capacity and the 253 toleration of the Shadow of God were unveiled. Šāfi, philosopher, orator, jurist, Sunni, Shīa, Brahman, Jatī,<sup>4</sup> Sīūrā<sup>5</sup> Cārbāk,<sup>6</sup> Nazarene, Jew, Šābī (Sabian<sup>7</sup>), Zoroastrian, and others enjoyed exquisite pleasure by beholding the calmness of the assembly, the sitting of the world-lord in the lofty pulpit (*mimbar*), and the adornment of the pleasant abode of impartiality. The treasures of secrets were opened out without fear of hostile seekers after battle. The just and truth-perceiving ones of each sect emerged from haughtiness and conceit, and began their search anew. They displayed profundity and meditation, and gathered eternal bliss on the divan of greatness. The conceited and quarrelsome from evilness of disposition and shortness of thought descended into the mire of presumption and sought their profit in loss. Being guided by ignorant companions, and from the predominance of a somnolent fortune, they went into disgrace. X The conferences were excellently arranged by the acuteness and keen quest of truth of the world's Khedive. Every time, eye and heart gained fresh lustre, and the lamp of vigils acquired new glory. The candle of investigation was

<sup>1</sup> Friday in text, but as B. explains this means Thursday. The account in the T.A. Elliot V, 391, shows that Thursday night is meant, for it goes on to say that the meetings sometimes lasted till past midday on Friday.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning is that Akbar was present at the discussions.

<sup>3</sup> End of September 1578. Add. 27, 247 has day of Bahrām 20 Mihr = Friday 1 Sh'abān (3 October 1578).

<sup>4</sup> For Yati, the clergy or ascetics

among the Jains. J. III, 205, and note.

<sup>5</sup> Sīūrā. A general name for the Jains. See translation I. 147 and note. B. 164 spells the word Sevrā.

<sup>6</sup> For Chārvāka. They are the Nāstiks or infidels of Hindu philosophy. A. F. is severe upon this sect in the Ain. J. III, 21. There is an account of them in the Dabistān.

<sup>7</sup> Šabīan. Also called the Christians of St. John. See D'Herbelot s. v.



lighted for those who loved darkness and sequacity. The families of the colleges and monasteries were tested. The handle of wealth and the material of sufficiency came into the grasp of the needy occupants of the summit of expectation. The fame of this faith-adorning method of world-bestowing made home bitter to inquirers and caused them to love exile. The Shāhīnshāh's court became the home of the inquirers of the seven climes, and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect. The veneer and the counterfeitness of all those who by feline tricks and stratagems had come forth in the garb of wisdom were revealed. A few irreverent and crafty spirits continued their old tactics after the appearance of Truth and its concomitant convictions, and indulged in brawling. Their idea was that as in the great assemblies of former rulers the purpose of science and the designs of wisdom had been but little explored owing to the crowd of men, the inattention of the governor of the feast, the briskness of the market of praters, etc., so perhaps in this august assemblage they might succeed by the length of their tongues, and a veil might be hung over the occiput (*farārū*) of truth. The Khedive of wisdom by the glory of his mind carried out the work to a conclusion deliberately and impartially, and in this praiseworthy fashion, which is seldom found in the saints of asceticism,—how then is it to be found in world-rulers?—tested the various coins of mortals. Many men became stained with shame and chose loss of fame, while some acquired wisdom and emerged from the hollow of obscurity to eminence. Reason was exalted, and the star of fortune shone for the acquirers of knowledge. The bigoted ‘Ulamā and the routine-lawyers, who reckoned themselves among the chiefs of philosophies and leaders of enlightenment, found their position difficult. The veil was removed from the face of many of them. The house of the evil-thinking coiners became the abode of a thousand suspicions and slanders. Though the

254 wicked and crooked-minded and disaffected were always speaking foolishly about the pious Khedive, yet at this time they had a new foundation for their calumnies, and descended into the pit of eternal ruin. Inasmuch as the warmth of the Shāhīnshāh's graciousness increases daily, and he was aware of the ignorance of those turbulent ones, he did not proceed against them with physical and spiritual vigour and with external and internal majesty. Rather, he re-



strained his heart and tongue from uttering his disgust, and did not allow the dust of chagrin to settle on the skirt of his soul. In a short space of time many of these fortunately fell into fatal evils and suffered losses and died, while some who were of a good sort became ashamed, and took up the work (of study) anew. From a long time it was the custom that the dull and superficial regarded the heartfelt words of holy souls as foolishness. They recognized wisdom nowhere but in the schools, and did not know that acquired knowledge is for the most part stained with doubts and suspicions. Insight is that which without schooling illuminates the pure temple of the heart. The inner soul receives rays from holy heaven. From eternity, the ocean of Divine bounties has been in motion, and the cup of those who are worthy of the world of creation is filled to the brim therefrom. Always have the magnates of Use and Wont in spite of their great knowledge sought the explanation of wisdom and ethics (*'ilm u 'amal*) from this company of the pure in heart, and have waited in the antechamber of the simple and beautiful<sup>1</sup> of soul, and have gathered bliss therefrom. Accordingly histories tell of this, and it transpires in biographies(?).<sup>2</sup> God be praised for that at this day the Lord of Lords of inspired (*ladunī*) wisdom is represented by the Holy Personality of the *Shāhīnshāh*. The difficulties of sect upon sect of mankind are made easy by the flashings of his sacred soul. The attainment of enlightenment is not the first<sup>3</sup> robe of honour which the eternal needle sews. He who knows the secrets of the past, and the reader of ancient stories, is well aware of this. Still more is it known to the awakened, the truth-choosing and the acute! May the Almighty God ever keep verdant and watered this tree which is rich in spiritual and material fruit!

*Verse.*

Lord, so long as the world hath glory and colour,  
 Heavens, motion, the earth, stability;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Akbar's remark J. III, 385, that the prophets were all illiterate, and his suggestion that therefore all believers should keep one of their sons uneducated.

<sup>2</sup> *Ba siyar*. But text is *basiyar*, many, and perhaps the meaning is only that there is much evidence of this in histories.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the meaning is that



Make the world the possession of this lord of conjunctions,  
Make the spheres friendly to this world-conqueror.

One night, the assembly in the 'Ibādatkhāna was increasing the light of truth. Padre Radīf,<sup>1</sup> one of the Nazarene sages, who was singular for his understanding and ability, was making points in that feast of intelligence. Some of the untruthful bigots came forward in a blundering way to answer him. Owing to the calmness of the august assembly, and the increasing light of justice, it

possessors of enlightenment came late, and perhaps also that awakened souls came late, and acute truth-choosers still later.

<sup>1</sup> Rodolfo Acquaviva. B. 168, n. 1, says that the word in the MSS. is ردف Rodolf, and not رديف, and that the letter *lām* has been mistaken for a *yā*. Cf. Elliot VI, 60, n. 2. The Bib. Ind. text has رديف, and gives the variant رواق Ravīq. The Lucknow and Cawnpore ed. want the passage, and so also does B.M. MS., Add. 27, 247. I.O. MS. 564 or 236, 321b, has ردف Rodolf, the points and the *sākin* being carefully marked. I.O. MS. 235 has رديف. B.M. Add. 1116, p. 153a, has رواق Rantaq.

The subject of the Jesuit missions to Akbar has been admirably treated by General Maclagan in a paper in J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 38 *et seq.* It appears from it, and from Bartoli (reprint of Del Majno, Piacenza 1819, p. 26) that Acquaviva did not arrive at Fatḥpūr Sikrī till February 1580 (on the 18th according to Maclagan, and the 27th according to Bartoli). There is then an anachronism in A. F.'s placing the event in the annals of the 23rd year, i.e. 986 or 1578. It is noteworthy that the account of Acquaviva

appears to be a subsequent addition to the Akbarnāma, as otherwise it would have appeared in the MSS. used for the Lucknow ed. The story about Acquaviva's proposal to submit to the ordeal of fire does not seem to be true. Badayūni, Lowe, 308, says S. Qutb-d-dīn of Jalesar, proposed the ordeal to the fathers and that they refused. This was in the end of 989 (B. 199), or A.D. 1581, and consequently at a time when Badayūni was at court. Bartoli also, p. 31, says it was a Muḥammadan who proposed the ordeal to Acquaviva. See also a pamphlet published at Bombay in 1894 called "The Blessed Martyrs of Cuncolim," p. 6, which however adds that Rudolfo did offer to throw himself into a fire. Bartoli adds that the Muḥammadan knew well that he would not have to undergo the ordeal, and probably this is true, for Qutb-d-dīn was a drunkard as well as an enthusiast, and according to A. F. III, 309, he was convicted of fraud and misrepresentation. According to B.M. Add. 27, 247, it was S. 'Abdu-Nabī who refused the challenge.

<sup>2</sup> There is no pronoun *ke* after Rudolfo in the I.O. MSS. though there is in the text.



became clear that each of these was weaving a circle of old acquisitions, and was not following the highway of proof, and that the explanation of the riddle of truth was not present to their thoughts. The veil was nearly being stripped, once for all, from their procedure. They were ashamed, and abandoned such discourse, and applied themselves to perverting the words of the Gospels. But they could not silence their antagonist by such arguments. The Padre quietly and with an air of conviction said, "Alas, that such things should be thought to be true! In fact, if this faction have such an opinion of our Book, and regard the *Furqān* (the Qoran) as the pure word of God, it is proper that a heaped fire be lighted. We shall take the Gospels in our hands, and the 'Ulamā of that faith shall take their book, and then let us enter that testing-place of truth. The escape of any one will be a sign of his truthfulness." The liverless and black-hearted fellows wavered, and in reply to the challenge had recourse to bigotry and wrangling. This cowardice and effrontery displeased his (Akbar's) equitable soul, and the banquet of enlightenment was made resplendent by acute observations. Continually, in those day-like nights, glorious subtleties and profound words dropped from his pearl-filled mouth. Among them was this: "Most persons, from intimacy with those who adorn their outside, but are inwardly bad, think that outward semblance, and the letter of Muhammadanism, profit without internal conviction. Hence we by fear and force compelled many believers in the Brahman (i.e. Hindu) religion to adopt the faith of our ancestors. Now that the light of truth has taken possession of our soul, it has become clear that in this distressful place of contrarities (the world), where darkness of comprehension and conceit are heaped up, fold upon fold, a single step cannot be taken without the torch of proof, and that that creed is profitable which is

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<sup>1</sup> *Beshtar*, but perhaps *peshtar* (which, however, I do not find in the MSS.) would be a better reading, as meaning that formerly he (Akbar) from association with conformists persecuted, etc. This passage may be compared with that in the *Ain*, J. III, 384, para. 3. There the word

*peshtar* is used, see *Ain*, text II, 231. It seems doubtful if by the phrase *Khud musulmān nāshud*, Akbar meant to avow that he was not a Muhammadan. Possibly it means, if a man is not of himself a Muhammadan, he should not be forced to be one.



adopted with the approval of wisdom. To repeat the creed, to remove a piece of skin (i.e. to become circumcised) and to place the end of one's bones on the ground (i.e. the head in adoration) from dread of the Sultan, is not seeking after God."

*Verse.*

Obedience is not the placing of your forehead in the dust.  
Produce<sup>1</sup> truth, for sincerity is not situated in the forehead.

The first<sup>2</sup> step in this perilous desert is with a high courage, and an exalted determination to rise up and do battle with the protean and presumptuous carnal soul, and by rigorous self-examination to make Anger and Lust the subjects of Sultan Reason, and to erase from the heart the marks of censurable sentiments. Mayhap the Sun of Proof will emerge from behind the veil of Error and make one a truth-worshipper, and afterward<sup>3</sup> he may by secret attraction draw to himself one of the inquirers after the Path. Such load-stones are produced from the mine of asceticism (*riyāzat*). Or it may be that by virtue of talisman and the might of fascination he may bring him into his circle.<sup>4</sup> Should the latter go astray and fall into the pit of not doing God's will, yet shall he not be stained with the dust of blame. He also said, "We blame ourselves for what we did in accordance with old rules and before the truth about faith had shed its rays on our heart."

The fortunate and auspicious, on hearing these enlightening words, hastened to the abode of the light of search and set themselves to amend their ways, while the somnolent and perverse were full of disturbance. Inasmuch as the fierce winds of indiscrimination had laid hold of the four corners of the world, he mentioned the rules of

<sup>1</sup> There is a play on the words *pesh ār* 'produce' and *peshānī* 'forehead.'

<sup>2</sup> cf. J. III, 384, "The first step in this long road is not to give the rein to desire and anger, but to take a measured rule and align one's actions thereon." Also, *ibid.*, "Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it

Islām. As I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame. Not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such. What constancy is to be expected from proselytes on compulsion."

<sup>3</sup> Both the I.O. MSS. have *āngah* "afterwards" here.

<sup>4</sup> *girāu* in text, but apparently *gird* in I.O., 236.



various religions, and described their various excellencies. The acute sovereign gave no weight to common talk, and praised whatever was good in any religion. He often adorned the tablet of his tongue by saying "He is a man who makes Justice the guide of the path of inquiry, and takes from every sect what is consonant to reason. Perhaps in this way the lock, whose key has been lost, may be opened." In this connexion, he praised the truth-seeking of the natives of India, and eloquently described the companionship of the men of that country in the day of disaster, and how they played away for the sake of Fidelity (lit. in the shadow of), Property, Life, Reputation, and Religion, which are reckoned as comprising the four goods of the world's market. He also dwelt upon the wonderful way in which the women of that country become ashes whenever the day of calamity arrives. 256

This bliss-collecting class has several divisions. Some protagonists of the path of righteousness<sup>2</sup> yield up their lives merely on hearing of the inevitable lot of their husbands. Many sensualists<sup>3</sup> of old times were, from ignorance and irreflection, unable to read such exquisite creatures by the lines of the forehead, or the record of their behaviour, and entered with loss the ravine of experiment, and cast away recklessly the priceless jewel! Some deliberately and with open brow enter the flames along with their husband's corpse, or with some token of him who hath gone to the land of annihilation.

<sup>1</sup> It is *duniya*, "the world," in text, but the I.O. MSS. have *dīnī*, "belonging to faith." See Badayūnī, Lowe 209, for a reference to the four degrees of devotion.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāh-i nekāndeshī*, "the path of right-thinking." But the I.O. MSS. have *ikāndeshī* "oneness of thought."

<sup>3</sup> The meaning is that some husbands were so gross-minded as not to believe in their wives' virtue, and so tried them by causing them to receive false reports of their death, thereby losing the priceless jewel of a virtuous wife. This meaning is made clear by B.M. MS., Add. 27, 247, which has the words *khābar-i-*

*guzaštān khudra badarogh rasanīda* "spread a false report of their own death." The same MS., says 'Abdul Hai Feringhi, spoke of the Christians practising monogamy. There are some remarks on *satī* by Akbar in the collection of his sayings at the end of the *Ain*, J. III, 398, and at p. 322 of the same work we have the statement that Hindu women may be divided into five classes with regard to their methods of expressing grief for the death of their husbands. The first class is of those who die as soon as they hear the news, and so have to be burnt by the relatives (after death).



*Verse.*

Being saturated with love, they burn together,  
 Like two wicks caught by one flame.

Some whom sacrifice of life and fellowship do not make happy, yet, from fear of men's reproach, observe the letter of love, and descend into the mouth of the fire.

He said<sup>1</sup> to the learned Christians, "Since you reckon the reverencing of women as part of your religion, and allow not more than one wife to a man, it would not be wonderful if such fidelity and life-sacrifice were found among your women. The extraordinary thing is that it occurs among those of the Brahman (i.e. the Hindu) religion. There are numerous concubines, and many of them are neglected and unappreciated and spend their days unfruitfully in the privy chamber of chastity, yet in spite of such bitterness of life they are flaming torches of love and fellowship." On hearing such noble recitals those present remained silent in the hall of reply, and their tongues reddened with surprise. The Divine message filled with joy all the seekers after wisdom in the august assemblage.

One of the occurrences was the division of his time. Though H.M. watches over his being and cherishes his time, nor spends any portion of it idly or uselessly, yet at this auspicious period he discussed the subject for the guidance of the fortunate, and by apportioning day and night gave a lesson to mankind. Though in every act of movement or repose he is cognisant of the Almighty, and assiduous in doing His will, as befits obedience to Sultan Wisdom, yet when he arises from sleep he withdraws his attention from everything else, and makes his outward accord with his inward conditions and practises devotions, and makes his heart a memorial of the Creator. He returns  
**257** thanks for his existence and commences his good works. In this holy employment he spends not less than five gharis, i.e. two astronomical hours, and he regards it as the key of the gate of successes (*muqāṣid*)

<sup>1</sup> B.M., Add. 27, 247, p. 299a, makes the remark about Christians having only one wife as having come from 'Abdu-l-Ḥai Feringhī. It also gives here Akbar's opinion about the difference between Manṣūr (Hallāj)

and Pharoah. See Jarrett III, 394. 'Abdu-l-Ḥai Feringhī is casually mentioned by Jahangir in his Memoirs, p. 324, S. Aḥmad, ed. annals of 15th year.





Inasmuch as God has made us complex, it is fitting that some attention should be paid to the body. He therefore pays some regard to the clothing thereof and to his toilet. Not more than three *gharis* are spent on this occupation. After that he opens the gates of justice and holds open Court. In the investigation into the cases of the oppressed, he places no reliance on testimony or on oaths, which are the resource of the crafty, but draws his conclusion from the contradictions in the narratives, the physiognomy, and from sublime researches, and noble conjectures. Truth takes her place in this centre. In this work he spends not less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *pahars*. As it is the social state, it is indispensable that he devote some time to food, and to offices of decency. He does not spend more than two *gharis* in these things. As rulers are bound to make lofty the hall of justice, and to seek enlightenment from the tongue of the dumb and helpless, they must necessarily spend some time with elephants, horses, camels and mules and the like. So he takes note of their food and forage, and pays attention to the grooming of this homely crowd. He sets four *gharis* apart for this work. He also spends two *pahars* in the female apartments in the affairs of his secluded wives, and of the other chaste ladies who make petitions to him. It is necessary that he give his mind to these matters that there may be equality in his treatment of them (the women), and that equity be preserved. As the foundation of the house of bones rests upon sleep he from motives of health, which is bound up with thanksgiving, spends  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *pahars*<sup>1</sup> in sweet slumbers. From this account those who have the honour of attending the court will reap bliss, and receive into their hands the laws of good fortune.

One of the occurrences was the sending of truth-speaking, acute persons to examine the treasuries. Some interested, evil-minded persons represented to H.M. that the treasurers of the capital had become dishonest and had opened the hand of fraud. Inasmuch as the management of the minutiae of administration, what need then to speak of the generalities, rests on the genius of just

<sup>1</sup> The total of these spaces of time comes to six *pahars* and 14 *gharis*. There are 8 *pahars* or watches in the 24 hours, but the number of *gharis* in a *pahar* varies from 9 to 6. J. III,

16. If we take 7 as the average the 8 *pahars* are accounted for. The account here given of Akbar's distribution of his time may be compared with that in the Ain B. 153.





rulers, H.M. nominated Mozaffar K., Khwāja Shah Maṣṣūr, Qāsim K., and some other experienced and intelligent persons to examine into the matter. They in a short space of time inspected the money in the treasury and tested its amount and quality. The mischievous storytellers met with their deserts.

One of the occurrences was the commencement of the opening of the treasury of the Anupālāo. Already an order had been given for filling it with various kinds of coin. When by the labours of energetic and honest workers it had been filled to the brim, the  
258 bounteous sovereign on 23 Mihr, Divine month (beginning of October 1578), established his divan on the bank and began his gifts. He commenced by supplications to the gracious and incomparable Deity. After that he lifted out one by one a mohar, a rupee, and a dām. A similar amount was given to several of those who were admitted to the presence. The writer of this noble volume also participated in this favour. After that, crowds of men received gifts, handful by handful, and skirt by skirt. He addressed the first set and said with a mystery revealing tongue that each one should out of loyalty regard the royal gift as an amulet of Reason's arm, and should for the sake of the stability of the dominion (Akbar's),<sup>1</sup> and the attainment of desires, make a vow to the effect that he would bestow a specific portion of whatever of the world's goods he amassed on the poor and needy, so that he might in a short time attain eternal joy. The fortunate and auspicious regarded this speech as a Divine message and succeeded in opening the knot of their desires. The evil and blackhearted regarded it as fiction and broke (i.e. bent or left it in) the thorn of failure in the foot of fortune. The inquiring heart brought a close scrutiny to bear on men's careers and continued searching for a sign of the wonders of miraculous<sup>2</sup> aid. In a short space of time those who hearkened to the Divine message reached the lofty position of Amirs, and those who from somnolent fortune did not regard it did not attain such a position. What do I

<sup>1</sup> I adopt the reading *pāibandagī* of the I.O. MSS. in preference to the *yābandagī* of the text.

<sup>2</sup> *damgīrā*. This word is not explained in the dictionaries, but means help, especially of a miraculous kind.

See its use in this sense in the 'Ain, text, II, 216, where in the account of Jalāl-d-dīn Tabrizī we are told that he was saved from the effects of an accusation, by the *damgīrāi* of S. Bahāu-d-dīn.





say! They then lost the position they had, and were spiritually and materially ruined. The exposition of this wonderful circumstance is a long story. Whom shall I eulogize, and from whom shall I strip the veil? I shall write a brief account of what happened to myself, and this will help to make the matter comprehensible. I set myself out of loyalty to preserve the gift, and by the blessing thereof I became a flower-gatherer in fortune's garden. Inasmuch as good fortunes repose in time's ambushes and seek for assistance, and as the wonder-workers of destiny conduct the new travellers in the land of assiduity and application into narrow defiles in the beginning of their career, so was I at the first stage of the long road of social life brought into a bitter country. By dint of a right intention and the strength of an awakened fortune, I went on with an open brow and a determined step. By the guidance of celestial aids I closed the tongue of desire, and confiding my ear to the pleasant abode of content I made the threshold of the world's lord my resting-place, and gathered bliss. The vicissitudes of Time cast no dust of instability into that pure temple, and the narrow path of guidance became a wide plain of joy. My fellow-travellers dispersed on account of the darkness of fortune's face and the difficulties of maintenance, but some of them from fidelity and nobleness bravely footed the path along with me. They got expansion by my expansion. One day they were empty-handed and in difficulty, and endeavoured to spend that capital of fortune (the Anūptalāo gift). The reply from my nature's antechamber was, "It will not be sufficient for two days, practise now whatever remedy you would employ (after the two days), and be patient. If this (the gift) be a surety for eternal life, refrain from folly and let not go the skirt of the vow." As fate was propitious, they accepted the celestial counsel, and there was no stirring of the dust of distress. In a similar manner from the ascent and descent of the spheres the multiform, presumptuous spirit rose up several times to contend and was defeated. In a short space of time, by the blessing of the holy spirit (Akbar's), Fortune's door opened, and without the labour of search or the recommendation of man, the Shāhinshāh's favour raised this obscure sitter in the dust to celestial dignity. Silver or gold had no weight or value in thought's balance. Many great men of the age fell into the thorn-brake of envy. I hope that by gaining the spiritual kingdom my



countenance may be made joyful, and that the little of the impulses or desires which remain may disappear. Do you suppose I am writing a panegyric? I am only recording in a thanksgiving manner something about favours that have been received. The glorious qualities of God's chosen One are more than the capacity of the vulgar of the age can comprehend. The abundant kindnesses which I have enjoyed prompts me to impress on the hearts of the exoteric something of my own adventures. May it be eyes to the blind, and a collyrium to the seeing, and may they continually garner bliss in the palace of Truth!

Among the occurrences was the arrival of a report from Khān Jahān. When by the glory of activity and skill the delightful country of Bengal had been cleared of the weeds and rubbish of the ingrates, Ibrāhīm Naral<sup>1</sup> and Karīmād Mūsāzai waited for an opportunity of making a disturbance in the country of Bhātī.<sup>2</sup> Īsā<sup>3</sup> the zamindar of that country spent his time in dissimulation. Shāh Bardī also, the admiral (*mīr nawāra*), raised the head of presumption. The able servant (Khān Jahān) led an army thither. In the neighbourhood of the town (*qaṣba*) of Gwās,<sup>4</sup> Naulaka<sup>5</sup> the mother of Dāūd, and her dependants, and also Mahmūd K. Khāshkhal, commonly known as Matī, and many disaffected Afghans presented themselves with offers of submission. Much property was obtained and choice collections were made. A dispute arose between Naulaka and Matī. Khān Jahān who wanted to send him to annihilation, put him to death, ostensibly in order that he might be punished for the charge of fraud which was brought against him, but also that the properties seized might remain concealed. Shāh Bardī, who was a vagabond<sup>6</sup> in the desert of insubordination, accepted good counsels and became

<sup>1</sup> Variant, Taral, and this is supported by Iqbāl-nāma MS.

<sup>2</sup> See B. 342, n. 1, and J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 226. J. II, 116, and n. 3. The word seems connected with the Bengali *bhātā*, ebb-tide.

<sup>3</sup> J. II, 117, and B. 342, and n., A.N. III, 482.

<sup>4</sup> Khāṣ in J. II, 137, and in text of Ain, but in Index this is corrected

to Ghās. It is properly Gawas, or Gwās as in A.N. It is in Murshidabad district, and is a very large and well-known pargana.

<sup>5</sup> Meaning apparently "Nine lacs." I.O 236 has Lonā.

<sup>6</sup> *āwāra*. A. F. apparently uses this word because it jingles with Shāh Bardī's title of Mīr Nawāra.



loyal. When the town of Bhāwāl<sup>1</sup> became the station of the army, Ibrāhīm Naral, Karīmdād and other Afghans of that country brought forward propositions of obedience and used the language of harmony. 'Isā however sate in the ravine of disobedience, and was presumptuous. A large force was sent against him under Shāh Bardī and Muḥammad Qulī. It proceeded by the river Kiyāra<sup>2</sup> Sundar, and a hot engagement took place on the borders of Kastal?<sup>3</sup> 'Isā was defeated and fled, and much valuable booty fell into the hands of the warriors for dominion. Inasmuch as pride increases the blindness of the heart and eyes, Majlis Dilāwar and Majlis Pratāp,<sup>4</sup> who were landholders in that part of the country, suddenly brought out a crowd<sup>5</sup> of boats from the rivers and channels and kindled the flames of contention. The warriors of the victorious army lost courage and turned to flee, and in that encounter some of the voyagers left their boats and fled. Muḥamād<sup>6</sup> Qulī in his activity and courage threw himself upon the enemy's boats and carried on the fight. He contended as much as he could and then was made prisoner. One of the wonderful results of daily-increasing fortune was that when the army was retreating, Tila Ghāzī, a landholder, came and opened the hand of courage so that in despair's midday the lights of victory revealed themselves to the imperial servants. Together with abundant booty they gained their object. The black-hearted foe fell into the billows of despair. Just then Ibrāhīm Naral sent his son with choice products of the country and

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<sup>1</sup> This is Bhāwāl or Ran Bhāwāl in the Dacca district. It was in Sarkār Bāzūhā. J. III, 137.

<sup>2</sup> Kināra in text, but both the I.O. MSS. have Kiyāra, or Giyāra. In the Ain, Kiyāra Sundar is mentioned as a large reservoir in Sonārgāon. J. II, 124, and Ain text I, 390. Jarrett remarks that Gladwin adopts the variant of Katara, and the Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn has Kathora Sundar. Possibly the river meant is one near Egara Sunda or thana Nikli in the Maimansingh district.

<sup>3</sup> Variant Kaithal. I cannot identify it.

<sup>4</sup> Can this be the Rajah Pratāp-ditya of Jessore?

<sup>5</sup> Kundilān. This is the same word that is used in A.N. II, 39, two lines from foot. I take it to be the *kundala* of the Burhān Qāṭī and Vullers. In the Newal Kishore lith. of the B.Q. the word is wrongly printed kundana, but the description says there is a lām in the word. It means gathered together, congested.

<sup>6</sup> Identified in Index with the M. Qulī of pp. 433, 585, etc. Perhaps the M. Qulī Toqbai of B. 434, and the Maasir III, 204.



asked for protection. The general (*Khān Jahān*) accepted his excuses and returned. He proceeded to *Shihāt-pūr* which he had founded in the neighbourhood of *Tānda*, and then reported the celestial aids to the august court.

At this time of joy a musician named *Gadai* was brought before H.M., and it appeared that he had twenty-five children from one wife. Apropos of this H.M. said, "A *Bilūci* had twenty children from one wife and he came to the court and petitioned saying, and people say this chaste matron has become forbidden to me (*ḥarām*) on account of the numerous births. 'What remedy have I, and what cure is there for my wretchedness?' We bade him be comforted and observed that such a saying had not the appearance of truth. Wicked story-tellers must have invented it. If any matrimony (*keṣh*) produced such a good result (as so large a progeny) it was an honour to the parties, and not a case for abstension (*hurmat*). Let him then go on to display his own virility, and the fertility of his spouse." H.M. told this lively story, and the hearts of the auditors had a fresh entertainment.

One of the occurrences was the flashing of the light of truth from his sacred soul. Though H.M. from his wide capacity and splendid genius knows that multiplicity is the veil of unity, and keeps such ward and watch that every one of the enlightened men of the world and (also) of the swift-goers of the spiritual court regards that royal cavalier of insight as his own leader, yet as the thoughts of solitude have been kneaded into his constitution, the threads of the exquisite veil become occasionally broken. Accordingly, at this time, *Bakhshū Qawwāl*<sup>1</sup> recited before him two heart-ravishing stanzas in a pleasing manner. That Syllabus of the roll of recognition (of God) displayed a countenance flashing with Divine lights. Those whose vision did not extend beyond the plain outward appearance received spiritual delight (from the singing). Much more  
 261 then was the state of the internally farsighted! When H.M. returned from that wonderful condition, he gave thanksgivings to God, and filled the hope-skirt of the songster with rich coin.

<sup>1</sup> *Qawwāl* means a story-teller, a singer, or improvisatore. The name is apparently *Bahjūi* in I.O. MS. 236. There is the variant *Bachlūi*. Perhaps he is the famous minstrel of

*Bahādur Shāh* of Gujarat, whose singing had such a wonderful effect on *Humāyūn*. Bayley's Gujarat, p. 388 et seq.





One of the occurrences was the emerging of M. 'Aziz Kokaltash from the narrows of exclusion. From association with ignorant flatterers, and the tumultuousness of youth, he had fallen into the thornbrake of evil desires. The justice-loving sovereign had from his abundant kindness and wisdom excluded him from the bliss of doing homage, and sent him to school for increase in sense. When there appeared signs of repentance on his forehead, and the light of service revealed itself, H.M. brought him on 12 Ābān, Divine month, out of the gloomy abode of melancholy, and bestowed various favours on him, and he proceeded to redeem past times by the performance of service.

One of the occurrences was the coming of Rajah Madhukar to court. It has already<sup>1</sup> been mentioned that he had stirred up the dust of battle and been stained by defeat. After that he had felt ashamed, and was spending his days in distressed circumstances. Šadiq K. wisely took up his quarters in the country. When the Rajah fell into difficulties on account of the pressure of the gallant troops he was compelled to have recourse to humility, and made his former good services his testimonials. He came forward with a thousand fawnings and excuses. The officers answered that if preparations for war had not been made his supplications might have been listened to. The matter would now be referred to H.M. He also should send an able man and impress his wretchedness on the minds of the courtiers. Perhaps the billows of kindness might seize him and cast him from the whirlpool of despair upon the shore of attainment of desire. Accordingly he sent his brother's son Som Cand with presents to court. The envoys were received at Bhera, and as H.M. is merciful he had pity upon him and showed him kindness. When the news of the forgiveness of his offence arrived, he proceeded to court along with the officers. On 21 Ābān, Divine month, Šadiq K. and the other officers came and did homage, and the presumptuous one (the Rajah) gathered bliss by prostrating himself. The world's lord kept his promise and exalted him by various favours.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Moẓaffar Husain M. at Court in chains. It has been mentioned that at the instigation of

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<sup>1</sup> See ante p. 228 of text. He is the Bundela chief of Orcha.



evil-disposed persons he had, in Gujarat, turned away from the court of fortune and been rebellious, and now he had become a vagabond and gone to Khāndesh. Out of kindness and sympathy Maqṣūd<sup>1</sup> 262 Damba was sent to bring him to court, along with the presents. The ruler of the country made delays in surrendering him, and proposed extravagant conditions. Apparently he had fallen into improper thoughts on account of the royal standards having proceeded towards the Panjab. Qutbu-d-din K. sent Khawājā Fath Ullah and communicated counsels (to the ruler). The report of the return of H.M. towards the capital illuminated the world. Of necessity he abandoned his unbecoming thoughts and sent him off along with the servants of the Court. Muttalib K. and some soldiers from Malwa were dispatched to accompany him. On 27 Āzar, Divine month, that wanderer in the wilderness of unsuccess was brought to court. H.M. from kindness and circumspection made him over to a keeper so that he might learn wisdom. In a short space of time there appeared signs of auspiciousness in his behaviour, the pen of forgiveness was drawn over his offences, and he was distinguished<sup>2</sup> by the favour of the Shadow of God. Next day, Qutbu-d-din K. came from Gujarat and did homage, and was exalted by various favours from the Shāhinshāh. Also about this time Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl, Jagmal Panwār and some other strenuous ones were sent off to the Panjab. Each of these received weighty advices, a noble steed, and a robe of honour. An order was issued that they should exert themselves in service, and not depart from the counsels of S'aid K., and should not slumber in administering the province and in maintaining their own preparedness.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K. to Ajmere. When it became known that the Rānā had raised the head of turbu-

<sup>1</sup> The I.A. Elliot V, 410, and Bada-yūnī, Lowe 274, calls him Maqṣūd Jauharī, i.e. lapidary, so perhaps he was the engraver. B. 499, Maqṣūd of Herat of B. 27. The T. A. Elliot V, 408, says Rajah 'Alī was directed to send his son along with Mozaffar H. On looking at the original and the

statement in Khāfi K. I. 184, that Gulrukh B. was sent to Akbar along with her son, it appears to me likely that the word *mādar* "mother" has slipped out of the T.A.

<sup>2</sup> Akbar married him to his eldest daughter Sultan Khānim. B. 464.



lence there, Ghāzī K. Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Taimur Badakhshī, Mirzāda 'Alī K. and many others were sent off on 4 Dai under his command in order that the Rānā and others might be guided to good service. Otherwise they were to be destroyed by the flaming sword. Much treasure was sent along with them. In a short space of time that blackthoughted one was disgraced, and the general public enjoyed repose, and returned thanks.

One of the occurrences<sup>1</sup> was the laying the foundation of poor-houses. From abundant graciousness and kindness an order was given to the workmen that they should erect sarais in the various quarters of the capital, and make them over to benevolent and generous persons so that the poor and needy of the world might have a home without having to look for it, or to endure the pain of waiting. 263 In a short space of time the orders were admirably carried out, and those without resources enjoyed the comforts of a home in a foreign land.

One of the occurrences was the death of Khān Jahān. When he returned successful from Bhātī he took up his abode at Sīḥat-pūr. The sincerity of his soul had become somewhat clouded by the sense-robbing wine of self-love. Fortunately,<sup>2</sup> the veil of honour was not rent. In a short space of time he fell upon the bed of pain. The heat of fever ended in constipation (?).<sup>3</sup> The Indian physicians did not understand the case and gave him heating medicines, and the thread of his life was snapped. He suffered pains in his belly for 1½ months, and died on the night of Dibādīn 8 Dai, December 1578.<sup>4</sup> H.M. was much grieved and prayed for the forgiveness of his soul, but in accordance with the rule of the spiritual kingdom he submitted to destiny and was patient.

<sup>1</sup> See B. 266 and 200, but according to Badayūnī the poor houses he speaks of were not built till 991.

<sup>2</sup> It is this passage which has led B. to say, p. 331, that A. F. remarks that Khān Jahān's death was opportune, inasmuch as the immense plunder of Bengal had led him to the verge of rebellion. But A. F. does not, I think, anywhere say that Khān Jahān was inclined to be a rebel.

<sup>3</sup> *Shikam-bastagī*. Presumably this is the same as *shikam giriftagī* and means constipation. But perhaps indigestion or dyspepsia is meant.

<sup>4</sup> B. gives the date 19 Shawwāl 986, which is 19 December 1578 and corresponds with the 8 Dai of the text.



One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Sultān Khwāja.<sup>1</sup> When he was appointed to the office of the command of the Hāj he went off there, taking with him large presents from the Shāhīnshāh for high and low, and made the natives and the strangers of that country attainers of their desires. He transacted the important business he had there and then returned with a large caravan. On the 11th (Dai) H.M. went off to enjoy the pleasure of hunting, and Sultān Khwājah presented himself there. He produced Arab horses and other rarities, and each of his companions enjoyed the bounty of the Shahīnshāh according to his degree. The Khwāja related many instances of the propitious assistances given by M., and so delighted the hearts and ears of men.

Among them was this, that during the voyage a youth fell one night from the ship's deck into deep water. The faster the ship moved on, the nearer sounded his cries, and they reached the ears of those on board. The Khwāja made a vow to the world's lord and sent off a boat (sumbuk) with sailors in it and waited in expectation of the Divine power. The crew thought this out-of-place searching to be absurd, and a long time elapsed. The tongues of the fault-finders grew long, and the good man was sunk in sorrow. In the midnight of despair those who had been sent brought safely him who had fallen into the water. The ring of devotedness was fastened in the spiritual ear of the general public. In a short time the good services of the Khwāja bestowed a new lustre on him. He was made a Tarkhān<sup>2</sup> and was appointed to the office of Sadr. At the same time an order was given that Mīr Faqīru-d-dīn of Mashhad, who had the title of

264 Naqīb K., should proceed from Ujjain to the government of Patan. When he arrived there, Tarsūn K., who was governor there, came to court.

<sup>1</sup> B. 423, A.N. 436, and Badayūni, Lowe 351.

<sup>2</sup> An old Moghul title conveying certain privileges, and among others that of not being punished till the commission of nine offences. See B. 364 and A.N. III. 635, where A. F. has a long note. Nūru-d-dīn also had this title. See Badayūni III, 198. B.M. Add. 27, 247, contains some

sentences about Sultān Khwāja which are not in the Bib. Ind. text. One is that he brought greetings *taḥiyāt* from the Begams, that is, from Gulbadan Begam and Selima Begam, and the other is that he stated as a wonderful fact that the Begam's ship and his ship had kept together from the time they left Surat till their arrival at Jeddah.



One of the occurrences was the sending of a Mir Haj. The sole object of the sovereign is that the empty-handed and deserving poor of every country may obtain their desires. As it was manifest that on hearing the report of the distribution of money, needy persons from Asia Minor and Syria assembled in the Arab peninsula, and as the tale of the delight and the thanksgiving of the natives and foreigners in that country was reported to H.M., the ocean of his benevolence was commoved, and an order was given to the officers of the Caliphate that a generous and active-minded person should be appointed to this office, and that twice as much (money) as was sent formerly should be sent. Khwāja Yahyā was represented as worthy of this post, and he was accepted. On 26 Dai he went off with a large caravan, to deliver the great gifts. He was the great grandson<sup>1</sup> of Khwāja Ahrār, and was one remove from Khwāja ‘Abdullah, whom the Turanians call Khwājagān Khwāja. Though he had not much trod the arena of contemplation and piety (*nuzr u ta‘ulluh*), yet he knew something of medicine and had read somewhat about Sufism.<sup>2</sup> He was also one of the first of the age for truth and uprightness. At this time also Qulij K. was sent to Gujarat in order that he might help the officers there in looking after the peasantry and the soldiers, and also that he might look after his own properties. Hājī Ibrāhīm was made Šadr of the province. But he did not understand the nature of this kind of education and showed the baseness of his nature and his folly, and received punishment<sup>3</sup> accordingly, as will be mentioned in its proper place. Also at this time Khwāja Ghiāṣn-d-dīn ‘Alī Aṣaf K. was sent to Malwa<sup>4</sup> and Gujarat. Inasmuch as it is indispensable that a ruler should send

<sup>1</sup> Nabīra pisarī. See Badayūnī III, 99, who says he was three removes from K. Ahrār. Apparently by "one remove" A. F. means that he was grandson, for the Khwājagān Khwāja was Kh. Ahrār's eldest son.

<sup>2</sup> A. F. describes Sultan Khwāja in nearly similar terms, A.N. III, 436. Badayūnī II, 261, says four lacs of rupees were made over to K. Yahyā and that the latter left Ajmere for Mecca in Shawāl 986. 'Abdu-n-nabī

and Makh-dām-al mulkh were sent to Mecca with this caravan.

<sup>3</sup> See text 409. He was imprisoned in Ranthambhor and tried to escape, but the rope broke and he was killed. See D.A. 702, 703, and Badayūnī, Lowe II, 286, who hints that it was a murder and not a suicide. He died in 994.

<sup>4</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma says he was sent there as bakhshī.





everywhere able men so that the condition of the army may be known, that skilful and eloquent man was sent off on 20 Bahman to carry out the branding regulation in Malwa, and then to proceed to Gujarat. He was to improve the army in accordance with the advice of Shihāb-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and Qulij K.





## CHAPTER XLVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 24TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO  
WIT, THE YEAR ISFANDĀRMAZ OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

At this season, when the wise throne-occupant in his ample vision and with arrangements for the quest of Truth inaugurated the 265 feast of a spiritual Spring, the material Spring also spread out the banquet of joy.

*Verse.*

Grace the assembly at this season, for with joyous leaves  
The rose adorns the plot, and the Shāhīnshāh the world ;  
The Alexander-like prince Akbar at attainment's feast  
Like Elias drained the cup from wisdom's fountain.

On Wednesday 12 Muḥarram 987, 11 March ~~1580~~ 1579, after the passing of six hours forty seven minutes, the brightener of the temporal and spiritual world, the unveiler of wisdom and perception, the assayer of the jewels of creation, the watchman of the visible and the invisible, cast his rays on the mansion of Aries. Hearts felt the stirring of Truth, and forms received spiritual purity. The reasoning powers were refreshed by the waters of wisdom, the capital of the brains was enlarged, the flashes of light gave glory to inward and outward things, the skirt and the pocket of the Age were filled with the flowers of wish. Thousands of enchanting pictures robbed the critical and acute of steadiness. The world's lord sate on the *divan* of success, and opened the treasures of abundance. Crowds upon crowds of men attained their desires and gathered collyrium for the eyes, medicine for the heart, and the capital of life. May the Incomparable Deity keep the lord of horizons in joy in the deep shade of His permanence together with treasure-showing wisdom and a jewel-scattering disposition!

*Verse.*

For ever, so long as day follows yesterday,  
For ever, so long as the current year follows the passed one.



May he abide, may his heart be green, and the world at his beck,

Heaven help him, dominion support him, God be his friend.

In the beginning of the year Mozaffar K. obtained leave to go to the government of Bengal, and H.M. bade him wipe away the grief of the oppressed in that land. The first duty of just rulers is to make over countries, where tribes of mankind and various animals abound, to farsighted and just officers of wide capacity, so that the jewel of humanity may be polished and be weighed in the balance of equity, and the administration of justice and the augmentation of dominion may have their proper place.

(Some three lines of rhetoric.)

When Khān Jahān was dying, Mozaffar K., who had an abundant share of choice qualities, was nominated to the government of Bengal and departed thither on 8 Farwardīn, 14 March 1579, after being loaded with salutary counsels. Rizavī K. was made bakhshi. The civil business (Diwānī) was entrusted to Mīr Adham and Rai  
**266** Patr<sup>1</sup> Dās, while hakīm Abul<sup>2</sup> Faṭḥ was made Ṣadr and Amin. M. Nijābat K., Mīr Jamālu-d-din<sup>3</sup> Ḥusain Anjū and many others accompanied them, and they were all presented with robes of honour and select horses. An order was issued to Ism'ail<sup>4</sup> Qulī K. that he should make over the government to the new officer, and should himself repair to court so that the pain of his grief might be assuaged by the balsam of favour, and his disturbed heart be tranquillised. Orders were also issued to Qiyā K., Bābā K., and Jabbārī and others that they should continue to look after the army. At this time also H.M. erased the record of Mozaffar Ḥusain M.'s offences and was gracious to him. He regarded his sedition in Gujarat as not having occurred. Though the world's lord shrinks from taking life, and always applies the remedy of kindness to the wicked, yet,

<sup>1</sup> B. 469.

<sup>2</sup> B. 424.

<sup>3</sup> Author of the Persian Dictionary the *Farhang-Jahangirī*. The text has Anju, but B. has Inju which he says is part of Shiraz. J. III. 423 n.

has Ij. The *Maaṣir* III. 358, says the "Injuwiya are Saiyids of Shiraz."

<sup>4</sup> B. 360. He was K. Jahān's younger brother and probably expected to succeed him.





with regard to this great benefaction, it appeared to him that the simple soul (of Mozaffar H.) was not the source of wickedness, and that he had been led into strife by seditious and shortsighted persons. At this time M. 'Aziz Kokaltash retired into the defiles of obscurity on account of excessive imaginings and for some days was excluded from court. He had made over Mir 'Alāud-dīn collector<sup>1</sup> ('amīlguzār) to his servant on suspicion<sup>2</sup> of his dishonesty. The latter had a grudge against him and tortured him so that he died. The Mīrzā in his extreme justice capitally punished the daring wretch who had taken advantage of his opportunity. And this act of justice he performed, not at the request of anybody, but from piety to God. The Mīr's father came from Persia to ask for redress, and brought the oppression that had been exercised over the Mīr to the august notice. H.M., who in his court makes no difference between relative and stranger, and no distinction between a chief of chiefs (beglar-begī) and a tangled-haired beggar, ordered that the officers of justice should inquire into the matter and report the result without glozing over it. That delicately nurtured one suspected that he had lost favour and went into retirement, and won over the father by large sums of money.

<sup>1</sup> J. II. 43.

<sup>2</sup> The variant *ba kamāl nā durustī*, "On account of complete dishonesty," is supported by I.O. MS. 236.

The story does not occur in the Lucknow edition. In the *Iqbāl-nāma* it is entered under the 25th year. The story told there is that when the Khān 'Azīm was governor of Gujarat he, on suspicion of dishonesty, made over 'Alāū-d-dīn Yazdī his diwan to his servant named Tālib who beat 'Alāū-d-dīn so severely that he died. Though the Khān 'Azīm capitally punished his slave by way of retaliation, yet 'Alāū-d-dīn's father came from Yazd and complained to Akbar who made over the investigation of the case to Qāzī Jalāl, the army Qāzī (Judge-Advocate). As the Khān

'Azīm had punished his servant, he looked upon this revival of the charge as a proof that Akbar was displeased with him. He paid a large sum to the father and so satisfied him, and then retired again to his garden in Agra. The account of this affair in B.M. Add. 27, 247, differs from that in the text. In the first place it says apparently that M. Koka's conduct was the result of drinking. *Fazūnī khumār hāl* are the words used. Secondly, it calls Mīr 'Alāū-d-dīn Taraftī (?) and Mīr Koka's Vizier, and says that as he had embezzled much money, the Mīrzā made him over to Tālib who was one of his own slaves, and that Tālib on account of a private enmity beat 'Alāū-d-dīn so that he died. It does not say any-



One of the occurrences was the departure of the ambassador of 'Ādil<sup>1</sup> K. of Bijāpūr. Though out of somnolent fortune he did not obey orders in a proper manner, yet like the other rulers of the Deccan he always sent prudent men and choice presents and kept himself known to the august court. On this occasion also he had sent an able<sup>2</sup> and plausible man along with the rarities of the country. H.M. granted the desires of the ambassador and gave him leave to depart. He sent Ḥakim<sup>3</sup> 'Alī along with him, as the bearer of salutary advices, and to warn him ('Ādil K.) that if he did not hearken to them, he would be made war upon.

One of the events was the putting to school of Sultan Murād. Now that he had arrived at the age of eight, and had recovered from successive ailments, H.M. desired that he should learn his letters. It was signified to S. Abul-Faiz Faizī, who is singular for knowledge and practice, and who is renowned by his title of *maliku-s-sh'arā*, that he should instruct the prince. In a short time H.M.'s desire was accomplished, and the spiritual and physical window was opened.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Mir Nizām. It has already been stated that 'Abdullah<sup>4</sup> K. and 'Ābdī Khwāja had been sent off along with the ambassadors of Badakhshān. M. Shāhrukh regarded their arrival as the stock of eternal bliss. As the Khānim was ill, and the star of her life was near its setting, she sent off her daughter Mihmān B., and the Mir aforesaid who was her son-in-law (i.e. was married to Mihmān B.), to the holy court along with the rarities of the country, in order that she might bind herself anew to the saddlestraps of fortune. Several of the courtiers met them and conducted them with honour, and on 21 Urdibihist they paid their respects. On 16 Khirdād Wazīr K. did homage,

thing about the Kokah punishing Tālib. The father complained and Akbar made over the case to the Qāzī.

<sup>1</sup> Usually called 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. Also called Abul Muzaḥfar, murdered 10 April 1580. He reigned for about 22 years. He was the husband of Chānd Bibī.

<sup>2</sup> The T.A., Elliot V, 411, gives his name as Khwāja 'Abdullah, and says that he and his son Shāhī Beg received presents from Akbar.

<sup>3</sup> A physician and engineer, B. 466. He came from Gīlān.

<sup>4</sup> Vide supra, text, p. 245.





and was well received. As the government of Gujarat had been entrusted to Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad K., he (Wazīr) had been ordered to Īdar. In a short time the Rai of that country submitted and fell to supplications. The country was given to him (the Rai) and he came to do homage. Shahbāz K. also arrived at this time. He had **268** settled the affairs of Ajmīr, and reduced the recalcitrant ones to obedience. He did homage on the 27th of the month.

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## CHAPTER XLVII.

THE ACCEPTANCE BY ALL THE WISE MEN OF THE AGE OF THE SPIRITUAL  
PRIMACY (*ijtihād*<sup>1</sup>) OF THE WORLD'S LORD.

The profound and judicious had perceived, from the dawning of the Shāhinshāh's personality, that he was the epitome of the volumes of perfection and had recognized him as akin to the spirit of holiness and as a gatherer of wisdom of the Divine school. From the beginning of the flashings of his intelligence up to his being seated on the throne of the Caliphate, and from the commencement of his daily-increasing fortune, those who could read the forehead of circumstance and were acquainted with mysteries, received fresh consolation; and, while congratulating themselves on their perspicacity, they redoubled their supplications and thanksgivings. Inasmuch as the increase of temporal duties had thrown a veil over his world-illuminating spiritual beauty, it was not every one who could bring far-sighted intelligence to the point of understanding His Majesty, and there was a brisk market of inappreciation. Especially this was so with paper-worshipping scholiasts, sunk in the mire of routine, and recognizing no knowledge except the garnering of old materials and market-worn beads of small value and writings in black and white on ancient folios which had been fabricated by servile decorators.

Without indulging in the excessive panegyrics of professional encomiasts, verbal lapidaries<sup>2</sup> who sell words at the rate of precious stones, whoever casts a glance at the great diurnal of events, or looks with honest eyes into this jewelled volume, knows that those

<sup>1</sup> See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, s.v. *Ijtihād*.

<sup>2</sup> *lafẓtarāshān-i-khamāhan farosh*, lit. word-cutters who sell agates. For *khamāhan* see Vullers s.v. It is an exceptionally hard stone and

according to some is agate. Being so hard it is presumably difficult and costly to cut, and apparently rhetoricians or word-cutters are represented as selling their words as if they were precious stones.





glorious works (Akbar's) are above human comprehension, and that they furnish a splendid<sup>1</sup> spectacle to readers of the lines of the forehead. From the time that chooser of one-ness, adorer of multiplicity, turned his attention to scientific subjects, and to the varied pursuits of mankind, and when, by removing some of his veils, he allowed his profundity and farsightedness to deck the bridal chamber of manifestation, he scattered from his ocean heart such sublime words concerning the mysteries of vision and piety, and the apices of theory and practice, that the scorched hearts of instruction's furnace fell into amazement, and the crew of the schools sank into the abode of astonishment. It is not the case (dāstān) with revelation and vision that holy thoughts, lofty genius, sublime energy acquire by learning and experience clearness of heart, step by step. Such is the case<sup>2</sup> with the erudite and eloquent. To them these things come not without the alloy of effort. But those who by happy fortune obtain in the Academy of God the marks of things Divine and human without any intermediary, peruse the documents of Primary Reason and the Astrolabe of the heaven of holiness. It was fitting that 269 formalists who dwell within the four walls of routine should enter the defiles of amazement, and that the mental foot of the superficial and short-sighted should stumble, that the wide space of ignorance and little vision should be filled, and that the dustbin of their inward darkness should discharge black waters. Those who did not understand the case imagined that the whole life-time of the sovereign had been spent in study, while many in their blackheartedness and perversity plunged into the saline waste of envy, and were spiritually and physically ruined. A few, by a happy star and auspicious disposition, were guided to the forum of enlightenment and satisfied their eyes

<sup>1</sup> *Ābādserāī*. But the reading seems doubtful, for if Akbar's deeds were incomprehensible by the human intellect, they could not be a splendid spectacle to the readers of his forehead. I.O. 235 has *bādserai* "cloud-land," or something invisible or non-existent, and this seems a preferable reading. The Lucknow ed. omits many lines here. But *ābādserāī*

may mean place of purity, and there may be a reference here to the *Ābād-iāns* who were a sect of the Parsis. See *Dabistān*, Calcutta ed. of 1809, p. 11, where the word *abādī* is defined as a place of purity (*jāīpāk*).

<sup>2</sup> *Guftugoī*. Perhaps "Such is the remark of the learned 'Without labour no learning.'"



and their ears. Some open-eyed<sup>1</sup> ones who for many years had painfully striven in the quest of knowledge, and were now watching in justice's portico held a meeting to expound<sup>2</sup> the mystery, and after exchanging many extraordinary experiences, they all joined in saying, "It is the glory of the holy spirit which has come to the kindling point. On this day the light of saintship is casting a ray on his inner soul. It is from the right thinking of the world's lord that this great rank has been bestowed on him. Or has he in the pure temple of privacy kept burning the lamp of study, and now by the goodness of God is he exhibiting it? Or is it the result of magic and enchantment that the drum of enlightenment beats high and that the wondrous workings have shown themselves?"

Those who have by dint of auspiciousness and a happy star abandoned the following of routine, and opened the eyes of vision, and kindled the lamp of understanding, recognized the unique one of horizons as the leader (*peshwā*) of the spiritual world, and rubbed off the rust of astonishment. Nay, a set stained with the dust of routine (*taqlīd*) received a whisper of just appreciation by virtue of ancient records<sup>3</sup> and took the road of right thinking. "When the matted-haired of the desert of vagabondage, and the heavy-footed<sup>4</sup> ones of the abode of vertigo, obtain such high rank in fortune's *divan*, why should we be astonished at the success of a just and right-thinking king?" By the guidance of an open-browed fortune they became believers and made an active market for the new institutions (*Āin*).

*Verse.*

Those cognisant of the final result of things  
 Made a new prayer about the sovereign :

<sup>1</sup> *Zāhirniḡāhān*, which generally means superficialists, but seems here to have a good sense.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *shāḡh goī* زاز گوئی "foolish talking," but both the I.O. MSS. have *rāz goī* راز گوئی "discourse about secrets," and this seems a preferable reading.

<sup>3</sup> I presume the reference is to some old prophecies which pointed

to the coming of Akbar. See Lowe 295, where reference is made to a pamphlet by the *Sharīfs* of Mecca. Perhaps too the reference is to the accounts of former kings having preached.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the reference is to stationary ascetics such as Simeon Stylites. But the I.O. MSS. have for *diwār deosār* "demon haunted."





“So long as the revolving sphere be full of stars,<sup>1</sup>  
And matter be composed of those two things,  
May the Shāh’s personality be the world’s lamp,  
May his cheek be brighter than the moon!”

When the sublime meetings were brightened by the lights of the Unique one of Truth’s banquet and of intellectual power, and the luminary of recognition shone for the distant as for the near, the acute and awakened of heart, and the wisdom-choosing seekers after knowledge, who were stayed in various religions and divers paths<sup>2</sup> of the ancients, and in the winding-back alleys and ruined bye-paths, and were seeking for relief from their confusion,<sup>3</sup> held a conference<sup>4</sup> with the blissfully wise and the right-thinking. (They said), “Assuredly if the rank of ‘Ijtihād,’ which is lower than the dignity of a pure soul (*nafs-i qadsī*), be a dispeller of the darkness of doubts, a wise sovereign shall by choice institutions become the pacifier of disturbed hearts. But<sup>5</sup> every one does not know the latter, while **270** every one is familiar with the first. It is fitting then that the happy hivers of wisdom should come together and refer the old, heart-gnawing pain to this new physician. The medicine suitable for the age is to address the king by the style of ‘Ijtihād,’ and then to represent to him the confusion of religions and creeds and to beg him to untie the knot.”

When their ideas were brought to the sacred hearing, the world’s lord for a while, from his love for a veil, did not accept the proposal, and the enlightened body had to have recourse to entreaty. Inasmuch as the granting of desires forms a part of the laudable character of that circumspect Seer (Akbar) and his profession is

<sup>1</sup> Stars and space. Apparently the meaning is that substance (*gohar*) owes its existence to the stars and space.

<sup>2</sup> I.O. MSS. have the conjunction *wa* here.

<sup>3</sup> Both the I.O. MSS. insert the word *hairat* “astonishment” here.

<sup>4</sup> *Jirga*. But the I.O. MSS. have *jabīr* “an assembly of men convened for some important purpose.”

<sup>5</sup> The meaning is that every one knows the powers of an *Ijtihād*, but every one does not know the powers of a just king or of one of a holy spirit. B.M. Add. 27, 247 says that some right thinkers who had studied the *Muzāhīb Khamsa* (the five religions?) said that the rank of a *Nafs qadsī* was higher than that of the office of *Ijtihād*, but that he first was not generally known.



that of a Healer, it flashed upon the vision-portico of the farsighted one, the understander of beginnings, the attainer of ends, that to come forth from the position of commander-in-chief of the spiritual world to this office and to apply his mind to it, was, in reality, an adorning of the veil and a choosing of a screen. He therefore rejoiced them by fulfilling their desire. On 20 Shahriyūr,<sup>1</sup> Divine month, there was an assemblage of the enlightened, and the thoughts of the wise unanimously agreed upon this, "The world's lord is the Imām of the Time, and the Mujtahid<sup>2</sup> of the age." When the rest of mankind accept whatever he selects from out of the contradictions of the ancients, and from the sects upon sects of eloquent truth-

<sup>1</sup> Shahriyūr is the 6th month, and corresponds here nearly to 12 August to 12 September 1579. Thus the 20th would be about 1 September 1579. Add. 27, 247, has 20 Shahriyūr, Wednesday 10 Rajab (987). This would make the date 2 September 1579. In the T.A. and in Badayūnī the date of the declaration is given as Rajab 987, i.e. between 24 August and 23 September 1579. But it must have been before 16 Rajab for on that day Akbar started for Ajmere, and as that corresponds to 8 September, the latest date for the declaration is the 7th id. As the meetings in the 'Ibādatkhāna took place on Thursdays the document was probably on the first or second Thursday of Rajab, i.e. the 4th or 11th Rajab corresponding to 29 August or 3 September 1579. From the chapter which describes Akbar's visit to Ajmere we learn that he left his capital on 26 Shahriyūr, and this therefore must correspond to 16 Rajab, the date mentioned by Nizām-d-dīn and Badayūnī, consequently 20 Shahriyūr, the day of the declaration, must correspond to

10 Rajab—2 September 1579. From what the MS. Add. 27, 247, states it appears that the document was executed one day before the meeting, viz. on a Wednesday. The document has been translated by Blochmann, 186. It will also be found in Lowe 279 (same translation), and in Persian in the T.A. Curiously enough, this important paper is not translated in Elliot V, 413, where there is merely the entry "A legal discussion." It will be seen also that the T.A. puts into this year (the 25th according to the calculation there) the embassy of M. Fulād which A. F. puts into 22nd year, unless indeed the T.A.'s is a second embassy. The reference in Elliot V. 418 seems wrong. The letter sent with Fulād does not appear in the Inshā. I am not sure if Lowe's translation, 278, of the corresponding passage in Badayūnī is right. It rather looks as if the meaning was that 'Abdullah in this year sent back M. Fulād and Khwāja Khafīz with him. See text 270.

<sup>2</sup> See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, s.v. Ijtihād and Mujtahid.





seekers, they will gather the Divine favour." To this statement they attached their seals, and a record of enlightenment was executed. Manlānā 'Abdallāh Sultān-pūrī, who had the lofty title of *Makhdūm-al-mulk* (served by the country), *Shāikh* Abdu-n-nabī the Ṣadr, who was celebrated as the *Shāikh-al-islām*, Ghāzī K. Badakhshī, Ḥakīm-almulk, and other great sages signed<sup>1</sup> and sealed it. Those who were giddy and straying in the desert of doubts, put the bridle of fixity on the neck of discipleship, and the sitters in darkness received the light of certitude. The lamp of knowledge lighted up the interior of ignorance, and distracted hearts received new comfort.

Also at this time the *pulpit* was honoured by the sky-touching feet of the *Shāhīnshāh*, and the palace of wisdom received a fresh exaltation and a new heaven was revealed to the age. Inasmuch as the endeavour of H.M. is to carry out proper actions where possible, and various good things were accomplished by the exertions of that unique one of the banquet of enlightenment, every choice act which represented itself to his mind, or which he heard of as having been performed by God-worshippers in old times, was regarded by him

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that A. F. does not mention his father Mubārak as one of those who signed. According to Badayūnī, Mubārak was the chief contriver of the affair, and the one who drafted the declaration. Nizāmu-d-dīn also mentions Mubārak as one of the subscribers. It evidently was the result of a compromise, and is a document capable of various interpretations. It declared that a just Sultān (Sultān-i-'ādil) was higher in rank than a Mujtahid, that Akbar was the Sultān-al-islām, *Kahf al anām* (the Sultān of Islām and the Refuge of mankind), and a just prince, etc., and that whichever of the conflicting views of Mujtahids he selected, should be received by men, and that also he might issue new orders, provided they were not

contrary to the Qoran, and were for the good of the people; and that opposition thereto would involve ruin in this world and damnation in the next. But the saving clause that his orders were not to be contrary to the Qoran and be for the good of the people gave a loop-hole for opposition. Badayūnī seems to have copied the document from the T.A., but he has some original remarks on its scope and effect. Apparently his allusion to Hairatī and A. F. means that they became fire-worshippers and so it might be said that A. F. preferred fire (or hell) to ruin. The cold disposition attributed to the people of Transoxians is a playful allusion to the meaning of the expression *Mā-wārā-an-nahr* (beyond the river).



as a means of pleasing God, and was carried into effect. As at this time it came to his hearing that the guiding Imāms and legitimate Caliphs did not leave worship to others, but took this weighty matter on their own shoulders, he resolved to imitate them in this, and to reap the reward thereof. As the administration of the world and the dispensation of justice are great occupations, he did not indulge in long discourses, but was contented with what was necessary.

271 Several times he distributed enlightenment in the chief mosque of the capital (Fatḥpūr) and the audiences gathered bliss. One of the discourses (*Khutba*) which my most excellent of brothers, S. Abu-l-Faiẓ Faiẓī, put by his orders into verse was as follows:—

*Verse.<sup>1</sup>*

In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty,  
 Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm,  
 Who guided us in equity and justice,  
 Who put away from our heart aught but equity;  
 His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts,  
 Exalted be His Majesty, Allah Akbar.

Inasmuch as his thoughts were pure, he by heart-enlightening words made an impression on the good, and communicated Divine aid to them. There were wonderful awakenings. And since saline soil depraves good seed, the hearts of the entirely bad were made yet more puckered, and the dark mirror of the disordered in brain and blackguards in action was made yet more distorted.<sup>2</sup> As it is an old custom that the stupid denizens of the demon-haunted<sup>3</sup> land of ignorance indulge in foolish talk about the pious servants of God, and that they term potsherd's valuable jewels, and reckon a broken

<sup>1</sup> cf. Lowe 277, Elliot V, 412, and B. 185. A. F.'s version is slightly different from Nizāmu-d-dīn, and Badayūnī says that Akbar broke down in his first attempt to preach. A. F. represents him as having often officiated (*bārḥā*). The date given in the T.A. and Badayūnī is Friday, Jamāda-al-awal 987, 26 June 1579. Consequently Akbar's appearance in

the pulpit preceded by about two months the promulgation of the declaration, though A. F. mentions the latter first. Mr. Keene has given a paraphrase of Faiẓī's verses in his Guide to Agra, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Text, *nābtar*, i.e. clearer, but I.O. MSS. have *tābtar*.

<sup>3</sup> Text *devlākh*, but both the I.O. MSS. have *deoaār*.



stone as a mirror of Divinity and a night-gleaming radiancy, every faction went about in the streets of ignorance and the back-lanes of wickedness speaking foolishly and spreading calumnies. On every side there arose the dust of commotion and the black smoke of darkness. Assemblages of wickedness congregated together. One set of those base ones who are nocturnal animals and blind feelers with their feet (*pāi kobān*) in the day charged that Unique of God's servants, who is the glory of his race, with claiming the Godhead, and by such improper talk they fell into the pit of external ruin. Apparently this God-displeasing crew were led into error by the circumstances that some of the leading unionists<sup>1</sup> who were of the school of Nosair<sup>2</sup> and had the enthusiasm of Ḥusain<sup>3</sup> b. Maṣṣūr recognized and spoke of the Khedive of spirituality as the "Witness of God" (*Muḥḥir-i-Ḥaqq*). The throne-occupant of Fortune on account of his principle of "Peace with all" did not severely rebuke the idle talkers<sup>4</sup> and distracted ones. The foolish ones lost the footing of bliss, and fell into the mire of futile ideas. There was a market-day for the liars and falsifiers. Some of the heated fanatics of the desert of destruction said that the Prince of the Age wished to claim to be the prophet of the incomparable Deity. The proof of this imagination of the strife-mongers was that the *Shāhinshāh* was continually introducing noble laws, and making verdant the parterres of realm

<sup>1</sup> *Pesh qadamān-i-īkjahati*, "Fore-runners of concord."

<sup>2</sup> Nosair is said to have been the name of the father of an adherent of 'Alī who regarded him as a divinity. According to another account Nosair was 'Alī's freedman. See D'Herbelot s.v. Nossuirioun, and also Hist. et Rel. des Noasairis by René Dussand, Paris 1900, p. 9, etc. The Nosairis are a Syrian sect and still exist. They resemble the Ism'ā'ilis. See Reclus Asie Antérieure, p. 748. Possibly, however, by Nosair A. F. means Nāsir Khusrau. See Schefer, "Voyage de Nassiri Khorran," p. ii. note.

<sup>3</sup> A famous mystic put to death at

Bagdad, 309 A.H. (922 A.D.). See J. III, 354, n. 2, the *Safīna-al-auliya* and D'Herbelot, s.v. Hallaje. Akbar's remark at J. III, 394, foot of page, is explained by the account in D'Herbelot, s.v. Faraoun, taken from S. 'Alāu-al-daulah, of why Pharaoh and Ḥusain b. Maṣṣūr were differently treated by God. B.M. MS., Add. 27, 247, has some different readings in this passage.

<sup>4</sup> It is not clear whether the idle talkers here referred to are the Nosairis or their opponents. But MS. Add. 27, 247, seems to show clearly that the persons meant are Akbar's injudicious friends and not his enemies.



272 and religion, and pointing out the discrepancies in the doubtful expressions of the ancients. Bewildered hearts and short-sighted persons indulged in these thoughts, and the spectacle of his reciting the *Khuṭba* contrary to custom and his mounting the pulpit for the guidance of mankind helped the delusion. Many from acceptance<sup>1</sup> of hearsay and belief in idle words came to believe this. Thus there was a splendid market for strife-mongering and fabrication.

When the fact of the foolish talk of the wicked came to H.M.'s hearing, he, from his wide capacity and his contemplation of the wonders of creation, did not believe it, and said often "Good God." "How could it enter into the narrow thoughts of the ignorant that recent creatures belonging to a dependent existence and of feeble intellect should ascribe to themselves a share in Divinity? And have the leaders of humanity who have by thousands of miracles expounded the prophetic office come into the world, and have cycles elapsed, that an opinion like this should be cherished and increase, and that the dust of unbelief be not yet laid? How could such a notion come into my mind? Why does such an evil thought bewilder the superficial and the worshippers of externals? Inasmuch as censure and reproach give a fresh lustre to hearts which are pure, it would be improper to reprove those black-thoughted ones who cause an increase of light." A set of evil-thoughted, shameless ones imagined that the Prince of horizons regarded with disfavour the Muhammadan religion (*dīn-i-Aḥmadī*). The sole evidence which those wrong-headed wicked ones, whose understanding was rusted, had for this was that the wise sovereign out of his tolerant disposition and general benevolence, and extensive overshadowing, received all classes of mankind with affection. Especially did he search for evidence in religious matters from the sages of every religion and the ascetics of all faiths. Nor did he accept the replies of the headstrong and uninquiring. Above all, at this time Christian philosophers assailed the orthodox (*matafiqqān*, those in agreement) of the day in the sublime assemblies, and learned discussions were carried on. The calumniators<sup>2</sup> of the enlightened who by pretences

<sup>1</sup> *Gosh* bandagi, but Lucknow ed. has *kostandagi*, and explains the phrase as meaning obedience to or acceptance of hints. Perhaps *kos* is

right and the meaning is "following the drum," i.e., sequacity.

<sup>2</sup> *Badnāmkanān*. All the MSS. seem to have a conjunction before





had claimed for themselves a learning that did not exist, made a clamour in the court of sovereignty. They were put to shame in the daily market of justice and the heyday of discrimination, and lowered their heads into the folds of ignorance, but in the privy chambers of darkness they joined their confederates in the cry that they were mourning the loss of Faith, and that the king of the Age had, out of partiality, not accepted their replies. In their wickedness they cast suspicion upon that choice one of truth and that inwardly enlightened one. In their black-heartedness and shamelessness, they gave no heed to the fact that the honour and respect which this appreciative throne-occupant used to show to the family of the prophet had been rarely exhibited by other monarchs. Many good Saiyyids had been raised to dignities and high offices by the favour of H.M., and from time to time they were still farther promoted and the garden of their wishes kept watered and verdant. Nor did he permit that any member of this family should lay his head on the holy feet,<sup>1</sup> or rub the forehead on the threshold of fortune. A set of squint-eyed, wicked people taxed him with Sh'iism; and so led astray simple-minded Sunnis. The cause of the stumbling of this set was that in the sublime assemblies the proofs of those two sects, like those of other sects, were discussed, and that the Shāhinshāh from equity selected what was preferable.

273

*Verse.*

When a statement is strong in argument,  
It is unfortunate if you do not listen to it.

His likes or dislikes,<sup>2</sup> the greater or lesser numbers of the disputants, their being acquaintances or strangers, raised no dust of difference. The short-sighted and irreflecting on seeing his fondness for discussion indulged in idle talk. The favour shown to Persians,

this word. Perhaps the meaning is "Those who by their conduct brought a disgrace on the party of the enlightened."

<sup>1</sup> cf. B. 159. It appears from this passage that Akbar exempted Saiyyids from the ceremony of prostra-

tion. Perhaps this was why he withdrew his foot when Badayūnī wished to kiss it before going to the holy war. But the translation is not complete (Lowe, 234) or correct.

<sup>2</sup> *Nafrat-i-zamīr*. The Lucknow ed. has *taqarrab-i-zamīr*.



most of whom belonged to that sect (the Sh'ia), increased the evil thoughts of the turbulent. Out of ignorance, and worship of routine, they did not remember the precept about accepting the explanation that was conformable to reason.<sup>1</sup> And either the promotion of Turanians was hidden from the bigoted eyes of this set, or they wilfully remained ignorant of it and sought for pretexts. An impure faction reproached the caravan-leader of God-knowers with being of the Hindu (Brahman) religion. The ground for this improper notion was that the prince out of his wide tolerance received Hindu sages into his intimacy, and increased for administrative reasons the rank of Hindus, and for the good of the country showed them kindness. Three things supported the evil-minded gossips. First—The sages of different religions assembled at court, and as every religion has some good in it, each received some praise. From a spirit of justice, the badness of any sect could not weave a veil over its merits. Second—The season of "Peace with all" was honoured at the court of the Caliphate, and various tribes of mankind of various natures obtained spiritual and material success. Third—The evil nature and crooked ways of the base ones of the age.

By the right-thinking and truthful conduct of the world's lord, they were soon put to shame for their ignorance, and set about endeavouring to amend the days of their ignorance, but many as a retribution for their evil deeds descended into the tortures of failure.

<sup>1</sup> *Dāstān-i-bar giriftan i-muwāfiq*  
 "accepting the simplest explana-

tions? or is it to accept a congruous statement.





## CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE HONOUR DONE TO QUTBU-D-DĪN KHĀN BY HIS BEING APPOINTED  
TO BE ATĀLIQ TO PRINCE SULTĀN SELĪM.

(This chapter begins with some general remarks on humanity, and then launches out into a panegyric of Akbar and his son Sultān Selīm. After more than a page of this stuff it proceeds to relate how Qutbu-d-dīn K. was on 22 *Shahrīyūr* (beginning of September 1579) appointed *Atāliq*, or tutor, of the prince, and received the robe of honour called a *dāqū* (see *supra* II, 121, 1. 7; it is the *daq* of the dictionaries, B. 333 spells it *dāqū*) "which holds a high rank in the holy family" and the title *Beglarbegi*).

(Translation resumed). He (Qutbu-d-dīn in gratitude for this **275** great gift resolved upon holding a splendid banquet, and begged for H.M.'s presence at it. H.M. granted his wish, and the house of the faithful became the envy of the spheres by the arrival of the sacred feet. On this occasion eternal bliss was conferred (on Qutbu-d-dīn) by the noble prince's being placed on his shoulder.<sup>1</sup> There was rejoicing and there was scattering of largesse.

*Verse.*

There was a heaven-illuminating banquet-hall  
Such as the stars seldom see in dreams  
The spectators were fascinated by beholding it  
Wisdom lost its tongue, and the tongue became ear.

<sup>1</sup> cf. Lowe 278, and Elliot V. 413, where for "young prince, etc." read "the king and the princes honoured him with their presence"; and for "back" read "shoulder." Apparently Akbar himself put Selīm on Qutbu-d-dīn's shoulder. Badayūnī 282 says Akbar tried to convert Qutbu-d-dīn and failed. A. F. does not

mention two things which occurred about this time, viz. a great fire at *Fatḥpūr Sikrī*, and the deaths of 80 women and children in consequence of overcrowding at a distribution of alms. *Ferishta* and *Khāfi K.* mention the fire, and T. A., Elliot V. 413, and Badayūnī, Lowe 272, the deaths from overcrowding.





## CHAPTER XLIX.

## EXPEDITION OF H. H. TO AJMERE.

The glorious sovereign from exceeding quest of truth, and an enlightened mind, pays no regard to himself and continually fares forward. From time to time he performs the part of a watchman and bestows a fresh market day on the world's market place, and irrigates the garden of faith. He looks out everything from head to foot and makes progresses in order to keep up his acquaintance (with people and places). Out of good thinking and for the acquisition of bliss he circumambulates the shrines of saints—a thing which even lofty-viewed collectors of truth little attend to. He thereby lights up the countenance of truth-worship, and  
**276** furnishes means of rejoicing to the superficial and the worshippers of externals. Varied delight too comes to the esoteric. At this time, when the lights of knowledge of Divine things had obtained manifestation, and the beauteous forms (of truths) were enlightening modes of life, it flashed upon his august mind that these good old customs (of pilgrimages) were not religious exercises except under certain conditions, and that royal expeditions were not meritorious if undertaken without consideration of the public weal. He made inquiries to find out if such conditions were absent and if he might, in contradiction to former years, put off his visit to Ajmere. When<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was the last visit Akbar paid to Ajmere. In the following year he sent his son Daniel, but gave up his own visit. See text 316-17. Badayūnī, writing in about 1594, says, Lowe, p. 280, that Akbar had not been to the shrine for fourteen years. He adds that on this occasion Akbar traversed the last ten miles on foot, and that sensible people smiled and said it was pass-

ing strange that H.M. should exhibit such devotion to the Ajmere Khwāja when he denied the real root, from every corner of which hundreds of thousands of thousands of saints as perfect as the Khwāja had sprung. It will be observed that this year Akbar did not visit the shrine on the anniversary-day, as was his custom. It looks therefore as if the visit was an after-



it appeared that an expedition in that direction would be a means of calming the public and enhance the submission of the recalcitrant, he, on 26 Shahriyūr, Divine month, 8 September 1579, placed the foot of fortune in the stirrup of world conquest and set off thither. In accordance with excellent customs he enjoyed, stage by stage, the pleasure of hunting. He conferred new lustre on the administrators of justice. Crowds upon crowds of men obtained their desires and rejoiced. For some, worldly affairs and outward businesses were arranged, while many had their spiritual desires, and their wishes appertaining to the inner world, gratified. That cavalier of the field of enlightenment remained in communion with the Incomparable Deity, and adorned the external world. While involved in various employments he moved along with a free soul. From the time that the question (dāstān) of Society and Solitude made its appearance in the world, and the thread of the observance of the vestiges of one's predecessors acquired consistency, there have been few instances of such full co-existence of these two opposites in one worshipper of God. The acute of every sect on beholding the marvels of this Unique One sank their head in the folds of astonishment in such a manner as cannot be described, and does not come within the domain of audition. Every sect was convinced that the whole energies of the world's lord were expended on their special rules, and that his proficiency in them was the result of his long study of them. By God's aid, just as wondrous works appeared in the matter of calming worldly agitators, and as the glory of them reached the near and the distant, so still more abundant were his marvellous transactions in the wide sphere of the spiritual kingdom. The lamp of guidance for the seekers after auspiciousness shone brilliantly. A fresh instance, and one which adorns the pen, is the tale of the obedience of the tiger.

On 26 Mihr (about 6 October 1579) the glorious standards cast their rays on the tank<sup>1</sup> of Khwās Khān. The landowners (*būmīān*) of that neighbourhood rubbed the forehead of supplication, and related as follows: "A traveller was passing through a dreadful

thought devised to quiet the people. The visit was paid in Ābān and near Akbar's birthday.

<sup>1</sup> Five kos from Ajmere. Akbar

arrived there on 19 Shābān, which seems to correspond to 11 October 1579 (Nizāmu-d-dīn, Lucknow lith. ed., p. 344).



forest in this vicinity, and a fasting<sup>1</sup> beast of prey rose up to destroy his life, but a remedy was found by the strong-souled, happy-hearted man. He immediately drew a line round himself and called upon the name of the world's lord (Akbar). On hearing the honoured name the beast stood still, and the man escaped from his mortal danger."<sup>2</sup> The awakened men of the country placed anew the neck of auspiciousness in the noose of sincerity. There was a clapping of the hands on the part of those who had found their goal, and there was an increase of devotion. When H.M. heard of this wondrous working of fortune he, from the greatness of his genius, and from his keeping behind the veil, set no store by it, but said, "If the tale be true I shall never hunt this animal again, nor seek to take his life." The wondrous miracles of this Unique of the Age are higher than that the swift cavaliers of the plain of enlightenment can reach that tract, and the lofty rank of that unity-chooser, multiplicity-adorned, is too far off for the highflyers of soaring spirit to be able to spread their pinions in the atmosphere of the recognition thereof.

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

We, when we contemplate him,  
 Are the astonished ones of Creation,  
 What know we of his perfect substance?  
 We are the know-nothings of Creation.

<sup>1</sup> Text بِصِيَامٍ "Unknowing or a stranger," but I.O. MS. 236 has بِصِيَامٍ "fasting," and this seems to be the true reading.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the tiger is told at somewhat greater length in the T.A. at the end of the 25th year, but is not translated in Elliot. Nizāmu-d-dīn says that there are many tigers between Ranthambhūr and Ajmere, and that the subject of the incident was coming to the latter place when he fell in with the tiger. He adds that the teller of the story swore to Akbar that he had seen the man and heard the tale from him. The

T. A. adds that *Khwaṣ Khān's* tank is five *kos* from Ajmere, that Akbar arrived there on 19 *Shabān*, and that on Friday the 24th id., 16 October 1579, he walked the five *kos* into Ajmere. The text of the Newal Kishore edition is imperfect in the account of the tiger-story.

<sup>3</sup> The Lucknow edition has a different reading in first line, and if *gah* is for *gāh*, place, it is unusual to find it standing alone. Perhaps *ā gah* means time here, and the translation should be "When he came to contemplate him." Possibly we should read *bā bīm-gah* "at the fearful place."





On 8 Ābān (about 14 October 1579), Divine month, he cast his august shadow on that city. He performed his devotions and paid his visit to the shrine. The ministers thereof and the other wishful expectants reaped various joys from his liberality.

One of the occurrences was the sending of S. 'Abdu-n-nabī and Mullā 'Abdullah Sultānpūrī to the Hījāz. The treasure-like disposition of the Shāhinshāh desired that the empty-handed ones of the seven worlds, and the well-meaning ones of every country, might carry away an abundant provision from the table of his bounty. And he was ever sending for well-intentioned, active and skilful and honest men who would disburse his gifts in foreign parts, and would make the distribution without being sharers in oppression, and without partiality for their friends. He continually chose from among travellers every one who was distinguished for truth and righteousness, and put large sums into their charge, so that the largesse of the Shadow of God might be comprehensive, and that his gratitude for his lofty fortunes might brighten the face of dominion. As the multitude of the needy ones in the peninsula of the Hījāz, and the numbers of anchorites in that region, had impressed his mind, he every year sent off loads (*kharwār*) of gold under the escort of able and good men. His idea was that the ocean of his bounty should always be in motion. But as he became aware that the pushing and avaricious men of those shrines stirred up the dust of turbulence and did not make a proper division, and that no share came to the modest poor, or they only got a smaller portion, while the wicked and noisy took away large quantities by oppression, he resolved that in future his great bounties should not be proclaimed, and that the poor of that country should, like those of every other country, receive their boons in secret. Perhaps such canvassing of hearts, and such giving of joy to the melancholy, would be accepted (by God). At this time, when wisdom had obtained a high position, and there was a daily market for investigation, the veil over the deeds of S. 'Abdu-n-nabī and Mullā 'Abdullah Sultānpūrī was withdrawn. They in consequence of fictions and phenakisms, and the backing of simpletons who did not know the facts, had taken their seats on the *masnad* of priority and were actively employed in ministering to their own desires, and in self-gratification. It was perceived that they had acquired nothing beyond the first elements of routine such as those



on the lowest forms collect, and that they knew nothing of science and had nothing but a long tongue and a vending of stories (*naql faroshī*) as is the rule with the ignorant and the prating. With all this empty-handedness they had but a small portion of piety and of search for truth, and regarded pride and presumption as their greatness. The tolerant and benevolent prince did not, on account of his reverence and modesty, desire that this crew should be still more exposed in the assay-room of knowledge and perception for their ignorance and injustice, or that they should be disgraced and be pointed at with the finger of scorn of high and low. He allotted to them the office of Mīr Hāj (charge of pilgrims) and ordered them to look after the necessitous of that territory. In this way he expelled them from his empire, and he directed that they should remain perpetually at that place of worship. They were to improve themselves there and preserve their self-respect, and conduct themselves properly.

As they were slaves of money they did not appreciate this mystery and propounded a thousand objections and reasons for delay. Their base minds were set upon heaping up *dirhams* and *dīnārs*, and not on acquiring a name and reputation. But the wise world's Khedive, like a loving physician who makes ignorant patients, willing or unwilling, swallow bitter drugs, sent them away and insisted upon administering the remedy to them. Many of the empty-handed and necessitous received means for the journey.<sup>1</sup>

On 17 'Abān, Divine month, he commenced his return to the capital from the blissful city (Ajmere) by way of Mewāt. Meadows and mountains assumed the verdure of spring. Though in appearance he was enjoying himself in hunting, in reality he was worshipping God and cherishing his subjects. On the 29th in the neighbourhood of Sāmbhar<sup>2</sup> Shahbāz K. was sent off with some victorious troops in order that he might guard the laws of sovereignty in that

<sup>1</sup> They both returned. Makhdūm-al-mulk died at Ahmadabad, and 'Abdu-n-nabī died a violent death in the capital. The author of the Iqbāl-nāma states that Abūl Faẓl, in whose charge 'Abdu-n-nabī was, put

him to death at Akbar's orders. See their biographies in Badayūnī's 3rd vol. and in the D.A.

<sup>2</sup> The salt lake in Jaipūr and Jodhpūr.





province, and might exert himself in keeping the peace and in civilizing the country.

One of the occurrences was the happening of an injury to Zain K. Kokaltāsh. On 23 'Azar (about 3 December) H.M. was in Thirah<sup>1</sup> and performing his devotions in private.<sup>2</sup> In front of the hall (*daulatkhāna*) a great tumult arose and then subsided. Bhūpat Cohān had from inverted fortune turned away his head for some time from obedience and gone off to Bengal. When that country was conquered, he of necessity took shelter at the august court. Since a bad habit with difficulty leaves a man's constitution, and especially does it not depart, if it be not regarded by him as blame-worthy, that wicked one went again to his home in Etawah and took to robbery and oppression of the peasantry. As that town belonged to the fief of the Kokaltāsh, he obtained leave of absence in order that he might guide him and other arrogant ones in the right path by wise advices. Whoever did not listen was to have 279 his arrogance enlightened by the brilliancy of the Indian scimitar. When they arrived at that place the wicked inhabitants took upon their shoulders the burden of obedience, and all the headstrong had, under the guidance of the Kokaltāsh, the bliss of performing the *kornish*. That turbulent-brained one would not choose to accompany them, and an order was given that the land-holders there should arrest him; but out of terror he came to the camp of fortune and sought protection from Raja Tōdar Mal and Raja Bīrbar. He professed to bring forward the question of forgiving his offences and expressed a wish to serve H.M. But he was lying in wait for the Kokaltāsh and was meditating mischief. The Kokaltāsh reported his evil designs to Court, and in accordance with orders, S. Ibrāhīm<sup>3</sup> summoned him in order that he might be fully won over and might be appointed to some duty after the taking of security. He and some daring Rajpūts came forward about this time and petitioned,

<sup>1</sup> Text Bhera, which seems certainly wrong; the variant Muttra is more likely. I adopt Thirah as this is what is written in the I.O. MSS. I do not know the place.

<sup>2</sup> At this time Akbar seems to have been very devout. Nizāmu-d-

dīn, Lucknow ed., 344, mentions that on his way back from Ajmere he had a lofty tent (*bārgāh*) erected and furnished with *mīhrābs* or prayer niches, etc., and that he prayed there in the congregation five times a day.

<sup>3</sup> B. 402.



saying that if the Kokaltāsh would admit him to terms and S. Ibrāhīm promise to favour him, he would come to court. Otherwise he was prepared to sacrifice his life. The Shaiḡh, in agreement with the Koka, soothed the ignorant by sweet words and wished to bring him before H.M. As the palace-ushers (*cāūshān*) do not admit armed men without orders, they in good faith put hands on his dagger and stopped him. The passionate man thought there was a trick and drew out his dagger and fought. The Koka bravely joined in the fray and was wounded. Some servants seized Bhūpat and sent him to the abode of non-existence. The Khedive, who possesses the Messiah's breath, went next day to the Kokaltāsh's quarters, and by his gracious words, etc., put balm on the wounds. By his attentions the dangerous wound was healed, and thanksgivings were offered. On the 29th<sup>1</sup> he alighted at Faṭhpūr.

One of the occurrences was that Yūsuf<sup>2</sup> K. of Kashmīr received protection at court. His father 'Alī K. Cak was ruler of Kashmīr. He was killed while playing polo (*caugān*) by a hurt from the pommel of his saddle, and the grandees chose him (Yūsuf). His paternal uncle Abdāl aimed at the throne and meditated wickedness;  
**280** Yūsuf acted with promptitude and surrounded his house. In the struggle and confusion he (Abdāl) was killed by a bullet. Things

<sup>1</sup> Shawāl, Elliot V. 413, 11 December, 1579.

<sup>2</sup> See J. II, 380, where he is called Yūsuf Shāh and is stated to have reigned on the first occasion one year and twenty days, and on the second five years and three months. The facts mentioned in the text are detailed at greater length in Haidar Malik's history of Kashmīr. 'Alī K.'s death is described there, and the contest between Yūsuf and his father's younger brother Abdāl. Yūsuf certainly acted with promptitude for he left his father unburied and went off to contend with Abdāl. Yūsuf Shāh, the son of 'Alī Cak, is of course a different man from Yūsuf K., the son of Husain Shāh

(or Cak), but who was Yūsuf Shāh's brother-in-law and cousin. It was Yūsuf Khān and not Yūsuf Shāh that Haidar Malik accompanied to India. According to Haidar, though he was wounded by a bullet, he still kept his seat on horseback, but was eventually killed by Saiyid Mubarak. Yūsuf was afterwards driven out by Saiyid Mubarak. He returned, and Haidar says a slight engagement took place in the village of Bartal in pargana Deosar. But as stated in text, those who had invited him did not support him, and he again fled. This time he went to Akbar's court. The text says he went by the route of Qirmiz (?). Haidar does not mention this name.





had not quieted down when Saiyid Mubārak, Abu-l-m'aālī his son, 'Alī K., Haidar Cak, 'Alī Malik and a number of others agreed that Yūsuf the son of Husain K., who was his (Yūsuf Shah's) cousin and had the title of Khān-Khānān, should be made king. He out of foresight declined. The strife-mongers raised up Saiyid Mubārak and kindled the flames of sedition. A fight took place in the plain of the 'Idgāh. Yūsuf K. prepared a force and proceeded to an engagement. Muḥammad K., who was in the vanguard, was killed after much fighting, and Yūsuf K. fled without coming on the field. He came through the pass of Pīrpanjāl and took breath in the neighbourhood of Thāna. The evil-doers sent fraudulent letters and brought him back. At Marrāj Saiyid<sup>1</sup> Mubārak came forward to give battle. The double-faced triflers did not advance one step to carry their words (i.e. their letter) into effect. He prudently went by the route of Qirmiz (B.M.S. Add. 27, 247, adds here "which is in Jammū"), and sought protection from Rajah Mān Singh and M. Yūsuf K. They received him and brought him by the Panjab to Court. On 21 Dai (January 1580) he performed the prostration. The hand of the kindness of the world's lord raised him from the dust, and distinguished him by various favours.

Also at this time Peshrān K. arrived from the south. He had been<sup>2</sup> sent to convey counsels to the Nizāmu-l-mulk of the Deccan. He had performed his mission in a proper manner and had impressed many wise words on the Nizām. Although the brain of the latter was oppressed by melancholy (*saudā*) and he refrained from society and spent his time in solitude, yet he came a little to his senses, and sent Āsaf K., who was one of his confidants, along with the rarities of the country. He was well received.

One of the occurrences was the appointing an army to capture the European ports.<sup>3</sup> Inasmuch as conquest is the great rule of princes, and by the observance of this glory-increasing practice, the distraction of plurality<sup>3</sup> places its foot in the peacefulness of unity, and the harassed world composes her countenance, the officers of the

<sup>1</sup> J. II. 368 where it is Marrāj. See his note 1. Tatta, the place where Yūsuf took refuge, seems a mistake for Thāna.

<sup>2</sup> He held the appointment of darogha of the farāshkhāna.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning that one ruler is substituted for many.