

provinces of Gujarat and Mālwa were appointed<sup>1</sup> to this service under the leadership of Qutbu-d-dīn Khān on 18 Bahman, Divine month (February 1580). The rulers of the Deccan were also informed that the troops had been sent in that direction in order to remove the

281 Faringīs who were a stumbling-block in the way of the pilgrims to the Hījāz. They were bidden to regard this news as an opportunity for showing their loyalty, and directed to join the army with suitable equipments so that the protests of service which they were always making by their envoys might be fulfilled, and also in order that the peasantry of the southern districts might be preserved from the shock of the imperial forces.

At this time the Sarkār of Ghāzīpūr was granted to M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdi, while the delightful tract (khitta) of Jaunpūr was taken from him and given to Tarson Muḥammad K. The latter was sent off to that quarter and Maulānā Muḥammad Yezdī<sup>2</sup> was sent along with him as Ṣadr of the province. Orissa was assigned to M'aṣūm K. Kābuli. Subhān Qulī Turk was dispatched to proceed rapidly in order to convoy him from Bihar to Orissa and to bring Qiyā K. Gang (or Kank) to Bihar.

One of the occurrences was the return of Mīr Ābū Turāb from the Hījāz. It has been stated that he had been appointed to the high office of leader of the pilgrims. At this time news came that he had completed his journey and was bringing an impression of the Prophet's foot; may the Peace of God be upon him and on his family<sup>3</sup>! He represented that this impression was the fellow (ham-

<sup>1</sup> We do not hear anything more of this expedition. Evidently it failed of its object. The last sentence of the paragraph seems to imply that Qutbu-d-dīn was not to advance into the Deccan if the rulers there did their duty. In a letter to 'Abdullah K., Akbar explains why he did not succeed in extirpating the Portuguese. The Portuguese records, Danvers II, 42, describe an unsuccessful attack on Damān by Calichan (Qulij K. Andijānī who was made governor of Gujarat in the 23rd year)

and a single combat between him and Fernando da Miranda. Mr. Whiteway informs me that the date of the fight was Easterday 1582 = 10 April O.S.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently this is the man who, though at first a bigoted Shiah (see Badayūnī, Lowe 214 and 267), afterwards advised that rebellion against Akbar was lawful, see B. 189. Akbar had him arrested and drowned.

<sup>3</sup> This prayer so usual among Muḥammadan writers when mentioning the name of Muḥammad or

dast) of that which Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī<sup>1</sup> brought to Delhi in the reign of Sultan Firūz. Although the Asylum of the Faith (Dinpanāh) knew that the thing was not genuine—and acute experts have shown its falsity—yet from profound observance of the veil he regarded the respect due to that nobleman<sup>2</sup> of lofty lineage, and gloriously exhibited his administration of justice. An order was issued that the caravan should halt four *kos* from the capital. The court artificers prepared a delightful dwelling (for Akbar), and the Shāhīnshāh came there with the great officers (*mujān*) and the men of learning, and

other prophet does not occur in the Lucknow edition nor in the two I. O. MSS. and has perhaps been inserted by the piety of the Bib. Ind. editors.

<sup>1</sup> I am not sure if the meaning is that Akbar acted out of respect to Abū Turāb, or that he paid respect to Muḥammad.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Jalāl who is known as Makhdūm Jahānīān Jahāngasht and whom A. F. calls in the Āin Shāikh Jalāl. He is buried at Uch. Apparently it is his grandfather who is more properly styled Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī, but, however, Ferishta calls him Makhdūm Jahānīān Saiyid Jalāl-u-d-dīn Ḥusain Bokhārī. He gives a long biography of him, but does not mention the stone. From Saiyid Aḥmad's Aḡār Sanādīd, p. 92, it appears that the stone is, or was, over the tomb of Faṭḥ K., the son of Firūz Shāh, and who, according to Keene's Delhi, died in 1374. Saiyid Jalāl died in 1383. See also Beale s. v. Shāikh Jalāl and B. 507 and Lowe 320. Badayūnī's verse appears to refer to Faṭḥ K.'s tomb. B. 198 following Badayūnī, Lowe 320 puts the bringing of the stone into the 27th year, 990. Badayūnī apparently follows Nizāmu-d-dīn though the latter puts the occur-

rence even one year later, viz. the 28th year, 991. However A. F. is probably correct in assigning it the 24th year, 987, for it seems that Abū Turāb and 'Tīmād returned in that year from Mecca. There is an account of the stone in the Mirāt Aḥmadī, lith. ed., p. 146, which gives some additional particulars. It says that Abū Turāb reported from Surat the arrival of the stone, that Akbar passed orders about its being met one stage from Faṭhpūr, that he wrapped the stone in a special mantle and carried it on his own shoulder for one hundred paces. It also speaks of the stone's having been originally in the Ka'ba and of Abū Turāb's having wrapped it in a cover belonging to the Muqām-i-Ibrāhīm (house of Abraham). The stone was deposited near the Khāṣ Maḥal (palace) at Faṭhpūr and was there for a year. Then when Abū Turāb returned to Gujarat, he begged to be allowed to take it with him. This was granted, and Abū Turāb brought it to Asāwal near Aḥmadabad and it was there for six years. Afterwards it was removed into the city of Aḥmadābād, and the writer of the Mirāt Aḥmadī says he visited it there.



he laid that piece of stone on his sky-touching shoulder and carried it for some paces. The stages were arranged, and the officers placed the stone on the head of reverence and conveyed it in turn to the capital. In accordance with instructions they placed it in the Mīr's house. All this honour was done out of abundant perceptiveness, respect and appreciation, and wide toleration, in order that the reverence due to that simple-minded Saiyid might not be spilt on the ground, and that jovial critics might not break out into smiles. Immediately the cup of the fancy of the short-thoughted was filled with dust, and the wicked and seditious sank into the pit of shame. The vain thinkers and ill-conditioned ones who had been agitated on account of the inquiries into the proofs of prophecy, and the passing of nights (in discussion), and the doubts—of which books of theology (kalāmi kutub) are full—were at once made infamous in the market of ashamedness, while those who had spoken idly and foolishly of the semblance of religion and piety in the spiritual and temporal pontiff, became ruined in realm and religion. The agitation of that day casts no cloud on the inner mind of that banquet-adorned  
282 of world-knowledge, nor has he any delight to-day from the fact of that crew's having sunk their heads in the collar of shame! The plant of the power of such a whole-hearted one increases from day to day, and from time to time fresh fortune brings the news of success. Profundity of thought always prevails, and the wonders of fortune increase watchfulness.

*Verse.*

Ever march along the road of nobleness,  
Ever cheerfully imprint the page of Time,  
Casting a frank glance on the horizons,  
Regarding as a spectacle the ways of the world.

What cares the right-thinking God-fearing man for joy or sorrow? But the sincere disciples of a new devotion acquired strength, and provision for the road was furnished to the general public.

One of the occurrences<sup>1</sup> was the division of the wide tract of

<sup>1</sup> A list of the twelve Subahs or provinces is given in J. II, 113. They were Agra, Ahmadābād (Gujarat), Ajmere, Allahābād, Ondh, Bengal (including Orissa), Behar, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Malwa, and Multan.

India into twelve portions. It was unavoidable that the sovereign of lofty genius and protector of the weak should favour them by gifts and appointments (*bakhshish* u *bakhshāish*), and that he should reform the wicked and stiff-necked by the glory of counsels and the flashings of the scimitar. He distributed the territories according to suitable limits and laid out the garden of creation by appropriate methods. And he made it over to liberal and righteous guardians. He irrigated the world-parterres from the founts of knowledge. In this way did he make fitting division of the wide and fertile land of India, and in every province he appointed a viceroy (*sipah-sālār*), a Diwān, a Bakhshī, a Mīr 'Aḍal, a Ṣadr, a Kotwāl, a Mīr Baḥr (admiral) and a Recorder (*Wāq'anavis*).

One of the occurrences was the fixing of the revenue for ten years. Inasmuch as Time produces, season after season, a new foundation for rates, and there are great increases and decreases, there was a regulation that every year some experienced and honest men should send in details of the rates from all parts of the country. Every year a general ordinance (*dastūr-al-'amal*) was framed with respect to the payment of dues. When the imperial domains became extensive, and the territories of many great rulers came under the shadow of the world-lord's justice, these reports arrived late and at different times. The soldiers and the peasantry suffered loss, and there were disturbances about arrears and about excess demands. It was also rumoured that some recorders of rates had gone aside from the path of rectitude. The officers at headquarters were harassed, and were unable to find a remedy. The wise sovereign gave relief to multitudes by introducing the new system of payment of dues. The gist<sup>2</sup> of the invention was that the condition of every pargana

When Ahmadnagar, Berār and Khāndesh were conquered, the number was raised to fifteen. In Shāh Jahān's time the number of provinces was twenty-two. The number given in Bābar's rent roll, see Erskine's Bābar and Humayūn I, App. D., is thirty, but they were smaller in extent than Akbar's.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this refers to Timur's regulation that the pay of soldiers

should vary according to the current price of grain. See his Institutes, White and Davey, p. 363 and note. It does not appear from the Āin that sepoys got bātā or compensation for dearth of provisions.

<sup>2</sup> The ten years' Settlement is explained in J. II. 88. The years chosen were those from the 15th to the 24th, i.e. apparently from the beginning of the 15th year to the



during ten years, according to degree of cultivation and the price of produce, was ascertained, and that one tenth thereof was fixed as the revenue of each year. / This has been explained at length in the concluding volume of this great work. Though the carrying  
**832** out of this great design was committed to Rajah Todar Mal and Khwājah Shāh Maṣūr, the Rajah was sent off to the eastern provinces, and it was the Khwājah who by dint of his sagacity comprehended the sublime instructions and arranged the exquisite plan.

end of the 24th, though A.F. here puts the settlement into the 24th. Accurate figures were only obtainable for the last five years. In J. II.

69, etc., we have tables of prices for 19 years, but they are for provinces only and seem to have been superseded by the ten years' tables.





## CHAPTER L.

REBELLION OF THE BIHAR OFFICERS, AND THE APPOINTMENT OF  
WORLD-CONQUERING ARMIES TO PUNISH THOSE INGRATES.

How shall the extraordinary events of the protean world be described, and by what power shall its marvels be narrated? One of its evil qualities is that it exerts itself to cherish the evil and sedition-mongering, and in furthering the prosperity of the vain-thoughted, while it increases the grief of the right-thinking and auspicious, and uses a thousand stratagems for ruining the wise and honest! The far-sighted and sage do not extend the hand of courage to unveil the countenance of this strange picture, and keep their lips closed. They plant not their foot on the coverlet of enlightenment, and open not the tongue of "Why and Wherefore." As that mystery-knower and awakened of heart sings

- Verse.

I had many thoughts about the past and future,  
There is no road for any one to understand His designs,  
In this garden it is proper to garner up the tongue,  
Silence and bewilderment are to have the first place.

Though there are few events<sup>1</sup> which do not give a ray<sup>2</sup> of light to the minds of the acute seers of understanding, yet they are sunk in the contemplation of the Divine power, and owing to the non-

<sup>1</sup> Text *dārūi* (medicine). But it is not clear how medicine can cast a ray of light. I therefore adopt *wāride* "events," which is the reading of the two I.O. MSS. In Persian writing there is very little difference between *داروی* and *واردی*. Perhaps, however, "medicine" is right and the meaning is it only needs a little

application of drugs, i.e. enlightenment, to explain. That *dārūi* is right seems probable from what follows where the metaphor from physic is continued.

<sup>2</sup> I.O. MS. 236 has apparently *babakhshid*, but the text *nabakhshid* agrees with I.O. MS. 235, and seems preferable.

procurement of just-minded listeners they give themselves out to the world as ignorant. They choose the sleep of repose instead of the turmoil of instructing those whose ears are stuffed with the quicksilver of neglect. Abul Fazl, into whose heart the distress of the age has entered, and to whom a power of understanding has been given, why dost thou not remove the lid of the box, and why dost thou not open the casket of truth?

*Verse.*

Thou hast a heart which weighs the niceties of knowledge,  
 Pour out the treasure from the ocean of wisdom;  
 The key of the door of science is in thy pocket,  
 'Tis thy fault if thou dost not open it for humanity.

Evidently, the unloosing the knot of this riddle is difficult when the spectators of events are shortsighted and of small capacity. Their eyes do not grasp the whole of the circumstances (lit. the heights and hollows). They think the thorn in their foot to be the calamity of a world, and they regard an individual grievance as the evil of the universe. Otherwise it is clear to the acute and truth-discerning that just as in the vegetable kingdom, poisons and antidotes (or panaceas) take growth and development, and among animals there is the production of the affectionate, and the murderous, so among men there is the appearance and the disappearance of the good and the bad. And just as in medicines for the body both kinds (i.e. poisons and panaceas) are of use, so in spiritual remedies both classes of men are beneficial. To the physicians of the age it is clear that the (eventual) success of the good and noble and happy starred, and the evil thoughts of the wicked, increase the glory of existence, and give finality to the methods of retribution. Also that the exaltation of those who disturb the world's repose is with the object of casting them headlong into the

284 pit of destruction.

*Verse.*

The wine which the world holds forth  
 Contains one revel and a hundred headaches,  
 If it raise thee from dejection,  
 Beware, for 'tis deceiving thee.



There are many instances of the furnishing the garden of humanity with thorns,<sup>1</sup> and of the conferring increased refreshment on the young plants of auspiciousness. The wise man of the world recognizes that the success of the good is the ornament of God's beautiful attributes (*jamāl*), and that the advance of the wicked is the ornament of His terrible attributes (*jalāl*). And he who is acquainted with the privy-chamber of solitude is assured that the graciousness of God and the Divine Beauty display herein wonderful illustrations. It is possible<sup>2</sup> that the fires of the terrible attributes may not utterly consume, and that they make futile somnolence impossible.

I now leave this wondrous discourse about mysteries, and relate the circumstances of this instructive story. Though the occupant of the throne of fortune in his noble graciousness, abundant justice, and adornment of universal peace was most liberal and forgiving and like beneficent clouds rained kindness upon the fields of humanity, yet all of a sudden many of the Bihar officers—who had been reared in this dominion which is conjoined with eternity—nay, the garden of whose ancestors had been watered and refreshed by the streams of the *Shāhinshāh*'s bounty—fell into the bitter land of rebel lion, and took the path of pride and presumption.

Time smiled<sup>3</sup> grimly and encouraged each one to bring forward short-enduring wishes!

The brief account of this long affair is that in the beginning of

<sup>1</sup> *Khārpīrāi*. It is somewhat difficult to understand this passage. I.O. MS. 235 strikes out the *khār* and leaves in only the *pīrāi*, probably because the copyist did not understand the meaning. A. F. is trying to account for the affliction of the good and the prosperity of the bad, and so he says that the presence of thorns in the lot of the good, that is, their adversities, often benefits them, as a hedge of thorns helps a garden.

<sup>2</sup> I have only guessed at the meaning. The Cawnpore ed. has a note to

the effect that the meaning is that the wicked cannot stand before the good, though they may be temporarily successful.

<sup>3</sup> *Zahr khandī namūda*, lit. "Showing a poisonous smile." See translation, vol. I, 394, and note, where the word is used with regard to M. 'Askari's bearing towards the child Akbar. The Age (or the world) smiled grimly as knowing what the result would be. Cf. native proverb about God's giving the white-ants wings when He designs to destroy them.

this year H.M. sent Rai Purakhotam, Maulānā Ṭayib, S. Mujdu-d-din,<sup>1</sup> and the eunuch Shamsher K., to Bihar in order that they might display their abilities in managing the province, and exert themselves in developing the country, in conciliating the soldiers, and in sympathising with the oppressed. Those base and narrow-minded men ignorantly fixed themselves at Patna and plunged into the wide expanse of cupidity. In the matters of reviews and drills and of branding, they exhibited harshness and malignity, and in their blindness neglected tact and the acceptance of excuses—without which the administration of the world cannot be carried on—and lost sight of prudence. One or two (of the soldiers and others) who were wont to repair to the pure temple of loyalty were saved from the narrowness of self-love by the wide expanse of the world of loyalty, and some who were leaders in the market of affairs made former favours counterbalance present disappointments and so did not convert the field of their souls into a thorn-brake of haughtiness. Other traders swallowed the saline water of toil and did not leave a stain on their garments. But many whose evil natures were only veneered (lit. gold-coated) raised the head of disturbance. They turned away from the king of realm and religion, and elevated the neck of opposition. There was no glory of loyalty in their secret  
285 chamber, no distinction between loss and gain in their transactions, no right-thinking reason, no clearness of intellect, no noble courage which is the comrade of a wise heart. M'aṣūm K. Kābulī, who held Patna in fief, S'aīd Beg Badakhshī,<sup>2</sup> and 'Arab, the *jāgīrdars* of Sasserām, S'aādat 'Alī, who held pargana Tamodāin<sup>3</sup> (?), Ḥājī Kolābī and some others whose fiefs were in Dilwāra,<sup>4</sup> S'aīd Badakhshī

<sup>1</sup> Text. Najm, but the I.O. MSS. and Elliot V. 469, Badayūnī, Lowe, 274, show that the name is Mujdu or Mujdī. Badayūnī says he came from Sirhind and that he had been the warrant-writer of Islām Shāh. He also says that Mulla Ṭayib came from Kaithal (in Sirhind).

<sup>2</sup> The text has Bakhshī but the variant Badakhshī is supported by the I.O. MSS.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot find the place. The I.O. MSS. have Tamodī or Tamwadi. Tamūdī means Turanian or Turkish and perhaps the meaning here is "parganas belonging to the Turanian leaders." There is the variant *nomūdāin*, and this may mean "conspicuous, noted."

<sup>4</sup> There is the variant Diwāra. There is a Dilwāra in Rajputāna but this can hardly be meant here.

and his son Bahādur, and Darvish 'Alī Shakhṛū,<sup>1</sup> who sat at the table of bounty in Tirhut, and its neighbourhood, and other unmanly men (*mardam-i nāmardam*) were made rebellious by the harshnesses of the officers of the province, and they led away from the path, by plausible speeches and flatteries, many men of the second<sup>2</sup> class, such as Shāham K. jāgirdār of Hājipūr, Mir M'ūzzu-l-mulk, Mir 'Alī Akbar, and Samānjī K., who held Arrah and its neighbourhood, and so made a disturbance. On account of an evil nature, and under the guidance of a wayward and crooked understanding, they fell headlong from the portico of fidelity because their skirt<sup>3</sup> did not come up to the test of honest merchants. And so they fell unto an abyss of wickedness and ignorance and did not have fellowship<sup>4</sup> with a party who recognised nothing but a complete coparceny (*mushār-akatjinsi*). If a person fall from a wall on to the ground he falls flat. What happens then if he fall from a hillock or a hill? Who can imagine the reduction to dust of the madman who falls from highest heaven upon the lowest stratum of earth? How then can we describe the ruin of those headlong dispositions which fall from the sky of fidelity to the dusty abode of disloyalty? O searcher after enlightenment, dogs and cats and the like, who are co-partners in vileness display affection and mutual help, and for human beings they have such affection and companionship that a wise man can only attain to the same degree by great effort. And the mutual affection of neighbouring nations, such as Persians, Turanians, Turks (*Rāmī*) and Indians is too well known to be described. Hence an acute man can understand what should be the feelings of acquaintances, of dwellers in one place and of those who are bound by various favours! Who can observe such degrees except a prudent and far-seeing man!

<sup>1</sup> Text, Sanjar. The variant Shakhṛū is supported by I.O. MS. 236.

<sup>2</sup> The second class has not been previously specified. It seems to mean those who were led away by others. A little lower down two classes are mentioned, viz. 1st, Those who took money and failed to provide soldiers and bribed the officials; and

2nd, those who did their duty, but were distressed by the exactions of the officials.

<sup>3</sup> *Dāman* in text, but a MS. of my own has *darja* "quality," which seems a better reading.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of *nisbatī namānd* the Lucknow seems to have *pūshṭī namānd*. There remained no resting-place.



Now that I have said something of mines of fidelity, and of fountains of purity, hear (reader) the misconduct of the ingrates of that country, who were shaped like men! When those avaricious and ignorant creatures (the collectors) came to the province they opened the door of desire and became hard upon the common soldiery. Those who from being slaves to gold gathered it instead of soldiers, laid out money in bribes and failed in providing<sup>1</sup> horses, while those who did spend money for military things, were driven to distraction by having to conciliate and satisfy the cravings of the greedy officials. Both groups of men got a pre-  
286 text for discontent, and plunged into thoughts of sedition. Muḥibb 'Alī K. who had an ample share of loyalty and understanding, regarded obedience as the bliss of realm and religion, and exerted himself to carry out the work. He transferred those men from Patna to Muḥibb'alipūr near Rohtās, and commenced the business of branding. He laboured to satisfy that bad lot of men. The other officers behaved with obstinacy and blindness. Whilst Muḥibb 'Alī K. was strenuously carrying on the work of the *dāgh* (branding), a large caravan<sup>2</sup> arrived from Bengal and the evil nature of the wicked crew now revealed itself. Mozaffar K. had dispatched to court the accumulations (i.e. his goods and his revenue collections) of Khān Jahān, including his choice elephants. He had also sent Naulakā, the mother of Dāūd with other ladies (*aghūrū*), and the whole was under the charge of Faṭḥ Chand Mankli. Many soldiers and many traders, bringing with them large possessions, accompanied the caravan. The ungrateful opportunists were lying in wait to plunder it, and were engaged in making arrangements for standing by one another. On becoming aware of this, Muḥibb 'Alī K. hastened to give them good advice: "Let not the veil of your honour be rent, and do not from ignorance and shortsightedness become dishonoured and disgraced in the retribution-halls of justice." He joined the arrivals from the eastern provinces (the convoy) at Arrah, and it appeared that the rioters had not had the courage to

<sup>1</sup> The text has only *sāmān*, but the two I.O. MSS. correct this by giving *ba sāmān*. What A. F. says is that the avaricious spent money on bribes and neglected to provide horses.

<sup>2</sup> This is the convoy which the T.A., Elliot v. 412, describes as arriving at Court in the 25th year, See also *infra*, pp. 296, 297.



act from not having been able to carry out the scheme of a general conspiracy. As the general body of the travellers was perturbed by the activity of the sedition-mongers, Muḥibb 'Alī sent them to his own quarters (*yūrt*) under the charge of Ḥabsh K. Meanwhile, the evil-doers cast off the veil of shame and plundered the city of Patna. Their wicked designs thus became manifest. Muḥibb 'Alī hastened off to Rohtās along with Tayīb and Majdu d-dīn in order to look after the fortress. Rai Purokhotam went off to Ghāzipūr with the idea that he might bring M'aṣūm K. Faran-khūdi to a battle,<sup>1</sup> and Shamsheer K. went off to Benares with the idea that he would collect Rajah Todar Mal's soldiers and give battle. Meanwhile the contentious 'Arab ('*arab* 'arbadajūi) went rapidly in pursuit of the caravan. The journeyers to the true K'aaba had under God's protection crossed the Causā ferry and nothing fell into his hand except some belated elephants. Ḥabsh K. did good service in that man-testing field and was made prisoner. That tumultuous-brained one ('Arab) sought to get at Muḥibb 'Alī to join him by means of vulpine tricks on the part of Ḥabsh K. The latter replied, wisely and judiciously, that he could not manage to deceive him (Muḥibb) by plausible speeches, and that under no circumstances would Muḥibb 'Alī join him. "But," he continued, "every one knows that I dislike his company, and that I have long meditated separating from him. If you will make faithful promises to me and accept my wishes I shall go to Rohtās and win over all the garrison. The cup of the life of that governor (Muḥibb) will easily run over (i.e. he will be easily killed), a fortress which is like the heavens will come into your possession, and you will have a shelter in case of misfortunes." That friend under the guise of an enemy by his plausible words and stratagems extricated himself from his dangerous position. He reported his scheme to his master (Muḥibb) and made the jewel of his fidelity be appreciated by the experts of the world's markets. At this time the unavoidable catastrophe of Rai Purokhotam took place, and disturbed weak souls who did not understand matters. When he hastened to Ghāzipūr, M'aṣūm K. Faran-khūdi came forward with craft and deceit,

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<sup>1</sup> From what subsequently occurred it looks as if he wanted to conciliate Māsūm, but *kārsār* means a

battle, and Nizāmu-d-dīn says Purokhotam's object was to fight M'aṣūm.

and got rid of him by his promising him that he would join him near the Causā ferry. The simple-minded man was deceived and went off in that direction, and engaged at Baksar in collecting soldiers of that part. Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Sīstānī, Saiyid Ḥasan, Dūdraj and some other fief-holders in that neighbourhood joined him. One day he was engaged at the bank of the Ganges in his ablutions and Divine worship when suddenly 'Arab came there with a number of wicked men. Seizing his opportunity he pushed forward. The cowardly men who had joined Purokhotam withdrew on the pretence that they were going to prepare themselves, while he stood his ground and fought bravely. By heaven's decree he was wounded and cast upon the earth. His companions put him into a boat and conveyed him to Ghāzīpur. There, after two days, he yielded up with honour this transitory existence, and his days ended auspiciously and loyally. When Muḥibb 'Alī K. heard of this he marched against 'Arab and fought a battle with him. Ḥabsh K. drank the wholesome sherbet of life-sacrifice, and 'Arab was stained with the dust of failure and went off to the wilderness of defeat.

In the middle of the month of Isfandārmuz, Divine month, these events were reported to H.M., and on the 23rd an order was issued to Rajah Todar Mal, S. Farid Bakhshī, Mihr 'Alī K. Sildāz, Rajah Askaran, Rai Lonkaran, Naqīb K. Qamar-K., Shāh Khwāja Abu-l-Qāsim, Abū-l-m'aālī, Bāqir Safarcī<sup>1</sup> and others that they should hasten to that country and inflict chastisement on the evildoers. An order was also issued to Tarson K., M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, Ghāzī K. Badakhshī, Rai Surjan, and other *jāgīrdārs* of the provinces of Allahabad<sup>2</sup> and Oudh that when the victorious troops came there they should join them with their proper equipment and should act with concord and harmony, and not deviate from the instructions of Tarson K. and the Rajah. An order was also given that Ṣādiq K. Bāqī K. Ulngh K. Ḥabshī, Ṭaiyib K. and Mir Abūl Muẓaffar should proceed rapidly from the neighbourhood of Chanderī and Narwar to the same spot. Although the world's lord kept an eye upon the guardianship of the material world, and made the time of retribution glorious, yet by virtue of his generalship, *isbahādī*, over the

<sup>1</sup> Probably this should be Bāqī.  
See B. 534.

<sup>2</sup> The variant Hahabās is supported by the I.O. MSS. 236.

spiritual world, he maintained a tranquil countenance with regard to the loss and gain of the day, and from time to time gathered the flower of joy from the garden of resignation and calm. Also during this time Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī, who was one of the singular<sup>1</sup> of the age for moderation and skill, was appointed to the high office of Bakhshī.

One of the occurrences was the appointing of an army to march to Badakhshān, and the recalling of it. It has been recorded that M. Sulaimān had from slenderness of reason, and the sway of imagination, taken leave to the Hijāz. Those who could read the forehead of his disposition and who could recognize the truth had perceived that he was taking the road of pretence, and that his design was to get into the hill-country, and gain his ends by force or craft, and glut his vengeance on Shāhrukh. And so it turned out. He went rapidly from the place of pilgrimage to 'Irāq 'Ajam (Persia) in order that he might gain his ends by the help of the king of Persia. Shāh Ism'ail, the son of Shāh Tahmāsp, who was governing the country in a violent manner, had regard to the nobility of his family and received him with honour. He gave him some soldiers to assist him and sent him away. In Herat the news came that the Shāh was dead. He (Sulaimān) read the inscription of despair on the forehead of fortune and went to Qandahar, and formed a relationship with Moẓaffar<sup>2</sup> Husain M. As his affairs did not prosper there either, he went on to Kabul. M. Hakīm received him warmly. That ingrate's idea was that under the guidance of this old and experienced man he might go to Bangash<sup>3</sup> and cause a disturbance in India. The Mirzā (Sulaimān) who had seen the might of the Shāhīnshāh in India restrained him from such evil notions. On 10 Ābān, Divine month, 987 (20 October, 1579) in the midst of rain and snow they set out (for Badakhshān). When news came to H.M.'s court of this event, he resolved to assist Shāhrukh M. as he had allied himself to eternal dominion. S'aīd K., Rajah Bhagwant Dās,

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<sup>1</sup> Badayūni gives a different character of him. See Lowe 296, and also 282.

<sup>2</sup> B. 313. He was grandson, not son, of Bahram M. See Maasir III, 296. Sulaimān gave him his daughter in marriage.

<sup>3</sup> J. II. 407. This cannot refer, except by an anachronism, to Shāhrukh's marriage with Akbar's daughter Shukru-nisā, for that did not take place till 1002 (1594). See A.N. III. 644.

Mān Singh, M. Yūsuf K. and other officers of the Panjab and Multan provinces were ordered to proceed to that country. They were preparing to march when a report came that the ruler of Kabul had stopped and gone back. They represented this and stayed their departure. The brief account of this is that the Mīrzās had a battle in the neighbourhood of Tāliqān. Though Shāhrukh M. stood his ground bravely, yet, owing to the chatter of double-faced ones, the want of concord, and his inexperience, he was not successful. Idle talkers suggested that Mir 'Imād, who was the head of his officers, was on good terms with M. Sulaimān and wished to seize M. Shāhrukh in the heat of the engagement and make him over. They stained the skirt of the loyal with suspicions. A party of the Badakhshīs also joined their old ruler and so increased his (Shāhrukh's) suspicions. Before a decisive battle had taken place (?) Shāhrukh turned his rein and hastened to Qundūz. The army of Zabulistan (Kabul) which was apprehensive and in the thorn-brake of hopes and fears was delighted at this desertion and pursued him for some steps. The Mīrzā strengthened the fort of Qundūz and then went on to Kūlāb. He took Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī from the straits of 289 a prison and made him his minister (*vakīl*). The Mīrzās halted twenty days in the neighbourhood of Tāliqān. When they ascertained the condition of Shāhrukh M., they came to Rustaq by way of Qila' Zafar. Muḥammad Qulī craftily proposed an agreement. He joined with Faridūn<sup>1</sup> and made a compact, and from foresight and vigilance M. Shāhrukh did not come to pay his respects to Sulaimān. By the wise arrangement of right-thinking and pacific persons the country from Tāliqān to the Hindu Koh, which had been the fief of M. Ibrāhīm, was assigned to M. Sulaimān.<sup>2</sup> He (Sulaimān) agreed

<sup>1</sup> Maternal uncle of M. Ḥakīm.

<sup>2</sup> It seems to be Sulaimān in all the MSS., but I am inclined to think that either A. F. or his copyists have made a slip here and that we should read Shāhrukh for Sulaimān. It was natural that Shāhrukh should get his father's fief, and it seems strange that Sulaimān, who presumably claimed the kingdom and was

Shāhrukh's grandfather, should be content with Ibrāhīm's fief. Moreover why should Sulaimān go off to Kūlāb, which is in northern Badakhshan and not in Ibrāhīm's fief, which extended south from Talikān to the Hindu Koh? That it was Sulaimān who went to Kūlāb and not Shāhrukh appears from the grammatical construction and from the mention at



to these terms and went off to Kūlāb. M. Ḥakīm waited for some time at Khwāja Cārṭāq<sup>1</sup> near Qundūz in order to complete the arrangements. When talk assumed the aspect of action he returned to Kabul.

p. 441, second last line, of Sulaimān's going to Kūlāb. Moreover, we find Sulaimān asking, at p. 442, that Tālikān and its neighbourhood should be added to his share, whereas

the passage now under consideration, p. 289, seems to include them in the share already allotted to him.

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the Chahardāk of the maps, a little west of Qundūz.



## CHAPTER LI.

THE WONDERFUL GOOD FORTUNE OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH AT THE TIME OF  
THE REBELLION OF THE BENGAL OFFICERS, AND THEIR PUNISHMENT.

Certainly, Fortune rises up to assist every one whose dominion is helped by Divine aid, and whose prestige is furthered by the stewards of Fate. She addresses herself to the doing of two things: 1st—To remove the veil from off those base and evil ones who, with vulpine craft, pose as the good; 2nd—To cleanse the garden of empire from weeds and rubbish and to exalt the virtuous and truthful who, by the unpropitiousness of the times and the vogue of the wicked, are obscured by the dust of irrecognition, and to make them joyous and successful. She develops the rosarium of dominion by watering it with the streams of appreciation. In general, Fortune works by making men prosperous and by heaping on them the materials of pleasure, and by granting them disastrous advancement, and (then) plunging them into the torments of evil. Thus she completes what she has begun. He in whom a right understanding is united with propriety of conduct is not misled by her malice (*tal<sup>h</sup>khām*), or removed from the pleasant abode of calm to the troublous home of discontent, nor is his wakefulness injured by abundant wealth and glory. Rather in these two seasons of trial he places the diploma of obedience and service on his head, and rejoices, and puts to silence by truthful speeches the spirit of foolish prattle. Whoever is radically wicked and of slumbrous fortune eats no fruit of the grove of knowledge. Or if he does become a partaker thereof, no breeze comes to him from the rose-garden of deeds. In the time of prosperity he exposes the lamp of wisdom to the draughts of the wind, and becomes infatuated, and in the day of adversity he turns aside from the highway of bliss, and takes the path of immoderation. The story of the Bengal officers illustrates this. The instructive tale is the inscription on the portico of enlightenment.

From success, (the development of fiefs and increase of wealth, )



the night-gleaming jewel of vision became gradually darkened. 290 From ignorance and crookedness they thought what was their loss was their gain, and gathered gold, while they neglected the army. Evil thoughts found their way to their hearts, and they opened their eyes to lie in wait for a disturbance. At the time when Mozaffar K. established himself, he did not recognize the measure of greatness, and did not exert himself to manage the country and the army. He gave up finance—which was his strong point—and always had the forehead of his heart full of wrinkles. Why then need I say that the brow of his head was full of knots? Nay he also blackened the tablet of his tongue with calumnies and rudenesses! When he was exalted to the government of Bengal, H.M. had, out of abundant graciousness, appointed a Diwan, a Bakhshī, and an Amīn to assist him. He from short-sightedness regarded them as partners and was displeased, and withdrew his head from business, and assumed grand airs. He left affairs to them and withheld himself from conciliating the soldiers and the peasantry. In private or in public he did not return thanks for favours received, but made complaints. That ruined intellect did not know that in administrative work the more one is helped and helps, the better is the work accomplished. Apparently, inward cupidity carried him to the house of trouble, and from darkness of heart he did not perceive what was proper for the time. I admit that there was loss in his profits, and that the rank of his glory was diminished. How was such a mode of life suitable in such a hotbed of strife, and how could he arrive at his goal if he put on the garb of practical life and yet did not take the path of forbearance.<sup>1</sup>

The country of Bengal is a land where, owing to the climate's favouring the base, the dust of dissension is always rising. From the wickedness of men families have decayed, and dominions been ruined. Hence in old writings it was called a Bulghākkhāna<sup>2</sup> (house of turbulence). The Commander of the forces (Mozaffar) was haughty and did not conciliate friends and strangers. The other

<sup>1</sup> The meaning seems to be: "I admit that Mozaffar lost profit and position by having co-partners assigned to him, but when he had entered upon practical life, literally

'when he had assumed the scarf of association,' how could he expect to succeed if he did not take the path of self-suppression and compromise?"

<sup>2</sup> See B. 331 n.

officials were greedy, and passing from gathering presents they had recourse to violence. Would that in their cupidity—on their heads be dust cast—they had not entirely departed from the path of shame and that they had been so far moderate as not to break the thread of practical wisdom! Whoever destroys the house of the weak and makes it the material for adorning his own abode soon loses respect and destroys the foundation of his life! Tactless officials began the disturbances by making inquiries into the accumulations of Khān Jahān. Ism‘īl Qūlī K. and the other Turkamāns rose up in arms. But as he<sup>1</sup> had a share of skill and loyalty they endured disagreeables and chose the remedy of satisfying the hungry craving of those avaricious men. A wolf's peace (i.e. an insincere peace) was made, and they proceeded to court. Afterwards, the officials vigorously set themselves, after the manner of the Bihar officers, to demand gold from all the Turkamāns in the country and to use severity towards them. Accordingly the head of the malcontents, Bābā Khān, frequently expressed his griefs by saying, “Up to now I've spent Rs. 70,000 in  
291 presents, and not one hundred horsemen have had the branding effected, and the condition of the other fief-holders of this province is still worse.” When the heartless officials opened the halls of demand, and from blackness of soul set themselves to procure their own enrichment and the loss of other people, the turbulent and mercenary, who felt themselves aggrieved, turned away their necks from obedience. On 8 Bahman, about 19 January 1580, they crossed the Ganges<sup>2</sup> near Tānda the capital, and separated themselves. On the 17th, which was the ‘Id Qorbān (10 Zī l-hajja—28 January 1580), they brought out their inward wickedness and stirred up the dust of strife. I admit<sup>3</sup> that the constitution of the world is grievous to the soul, and that the noble mind is trained by it, but why did they play away the coin of fortitude? Why were the obligation for favours

<sup>1</sup> Lit. “They chose to breakfast the greedy stomachs of that crew.” When they had gone, the officers proceeded to pillage the Turkamāns in general.

<sup>2</sup> This was apparently the old bed of the Ganges which flowed between Tānda and Gaur. It is known as the Bhāgīrathī.

<sup>3</sup> This is an obscure sentence, but apparently the meaning is that the rebels had grievances, but why did they not practice patience and remember former benefits? Perhaps for *farmān rawāi-ālam*, “the rule of the universe,” we should read *farmān rawāi ‘āmil*, “the rule of collectors.”

received forgotten, and fidelity left out of sight? Why should a sore injury conduct the sincere to annihilation? From what wine did prudence, which teaches self-interest, choose infatuation? The heavens had for some revolutions stretched, for various designs, a veil over these wicked men and had kept some well-intentioned and loyal men under the dust of irrecognition. When the time came that by the glorious dispositions of the world's lord, the darknesses of the temporal and spiritual world should be illuminated, the managers of the halls of creation withdrew the veil from the inwardly darkened ones, and made the lord of their earthly elements, that is, right-thinking reason which loves honour, a despised ruin, while making it a source of favour to many who were unknown, but were honest. The ringleaders of the Bengal rebellion were Bābā K. Jabbāri and Wazīr Jamīl, but S'aid Toqbāi, M. Hājī Lang, 'Arab' Bakhshī, Sālḥ, Mirakī K. Martāza Qulī Turkamān and Farrakh Irghalīq<sup>2</sup> nourished the flame. Qiyā K. in Orissa, Murād K. in Fathābād, and Shāh Bardī in Sonargāon, spoke about concord, but had not the grace of doing good service. They did not vigorously bring the jewel of effort to the market.

The first cause of the defection was crookedness of reasoning. This led to extending the foot immoderately and to thinking that what was loss was gain. The second was innate wickedness which increased the darkness of the heart, and took no light from the lamp of beauty. The third was increase of wealth which lowers the tone of the wise and good, so what cannot it effect with the foolish and bad? Fourth, the misbehaviour of Razavī<sup>3</sup> K. in Jaunpūr. He had stayed there to make up the accounts of the exchequer-lands (*Khālqāt*) which were for some time in his charge. Before he rejoined (headquarters) the affair of the branding had been started. When the title of Bakhshī was conferred on this wicked man, his beggar-like disposition was stirred up. Instead of revising the former settlement, he made a new one. Things became more difficult for the mercenary, and they fell into bewilderment. Fifth, the retirement and sitting in obscurity of right-thinking men who could have by

<sup>1</sup> The variant Bakhī is supported by the I.O. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> There is the variant *pūr-i-ghalīq*, i.e. son of Ghalīq. The name is

spelt Farrakh Yrghalīq at p. 20. Here it is written Yūrghalīgh.

<sup>3</sup> B. 439. He was also called Mirzā Mirak.

ability and good ideas suppressed the disturbance. No such person appeared in that market of discussion. Nor did the slumbrous and avaricious search for such a jewel. The active-brained seekers after knowledge cannot do without such leaders. Man's nature does not always receive wisdom. An independent counsellor is required who, without consideration of his own interest, will represent in private chambers what is proper for the time without any mixture of flattery. How will other men be desirous of undertaking this task? Happy-constituted, fortunate men are indispensable, who by virtue of right-thinking and magnanimity will not swerve from their principles, and who shall withdraw the foot of search from the college and the monastery, and exert themselves in the occasions of society, and meetings of daily life. They will also enquire among the matted-haired, bare-footed ones of the fields and of the street. Mayhap they may meet with a stranger who is a friend and there may be thus good results. They will also choose one or two of their servants and acquaintances in order that the matter may be completed, and that they may remind them of the things proper to be done, and make suggestions in proportion to their knowledge. Their correct suggestions should be well rewarded. At critical times remedies should be chosen earnestly and with an open brow. Skilful alchemists by such means bring out brilliant jewels from the unregarded dust, and in the year of scarcity of truth heap up joy, and are sheltered from the evils and injuries of the Age.

The sixth cause was the dishonouring of Khāldīn K. Jalesar<sup>1</sup> was assigned to Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Husain Ānjū and taken from his fief. As Khāldīn had collected a sum of money from it, Mozaffar K. broke the thread of moderation—on which the management of the social state depends—and tortured him by having him hung up by one arm. All lovers of money were terrified. They formed long plans

<sup>1</sup> Jaleswar or Jellapore. A Sarkār which comprised Midnapur. I.G. XIV, p. 27, Elliot V. 414. It was the rent for the autumnal crop, i.e. the Khari that Khāldīn took. The T.A. says he was scourged and bastinadoed. The Iqbāl-nāmā says that M. Najāt, the son-in-law of Mozaffar, in-

sulted and ill-treated Khāldīn. Stewart in his history of Bengal remarks with justice that the historians of Akbar's reign have endeavoured to throw the blame of the rebellion upon the governor, who, in fact, appears merely to have obeyed the orders of his court.

for cultivating their fiefs and suppressing<sup>1</sup> their soldiers. Also at the time of Khān Jahān's death Ism'ail Qulī K.'s fief had been increased without H.M.'s order, for the purpose of conciliating the base and wicked. Mozaffar K. demanded restitution in both cases. From somnolency of intellect he did not take note of the circumstances of the time. The seventh cause was the capital punishment of Roshan<sup>2</sup> Beg. He was one of the collectors of the exchequer-lands. He embezzled and fled to Kabul. At the instigation of strifemongers he came from there to Bengal, and engaged in increasing the disturbance and in giving evil counsel. When this came to the august hearing, an order was issued that he should be put to death. Mozaffar K. did not understand the times and thought that by putting him to death at the beginning of the rebellion he would induce men to be submissive. But it only enhanced their turbulence. From love of money and the instinct of self-preservation they set about taking vengeance. The eighth cause was the injudicious increase of the revenue by the Diwān Khawāja Shāh Manṣūr. When 293 Bihar and Bengal had been conquered by the might of the Shāhin-shāh's fortune, the discipliner of mortals (Albar) from knowledge and foresight, because that country is by its climate inimical to horses, and some parts of it also are injurious to men, had ordered for the encouragement of the army that the pay of the soldiers should be increased by 100 per cent. in Bengal, and 50 per cent. in Bihar. The Khawāja did not understand the situation and took upon himself the responsibility (*jawāb girifta*) of issuing an order to the effect that in Bengal the increase should be 50 per cent. and in Bihar 20 per cent. Mozaffar K. was bound by the order and made out the accounts from the beginning<sup>3</sup> of the year, and so instituted heavy demands.

<sup>1</sup> Text *gam namūdāin*, but perhaps *kam namūdān* "to reduce the number" as in the Lucknow ed., and also perhaps in the I.O. MSS., is correct.

<sup>2</sup> T.A. says the order was that Roshan Beg should be put to death, and his head sent to court. Mozaffar had him publicly executed "at the head of divan," says Badayūnī, and it was apparently in mourning for

Roshan that the soldiers shaved their heads. Mozaffar admittedly only obeyed orders here, but perhaps A. F. means that he should have had Roshan secretly assassinated after the manner that M'aṣūm Farankhādī was got rid of.

<sup>3</sup> Manṣūr reduced the pay, and apparently Mozaffar made the reduction take effect from the beginning of the year and so demanded

The avaricious and seditious got a pretext for wickedness. But if they had had a little sense of justice, they would have done nothing except petition the Shāhinshāh. What cause was there for ingratitude and rebellion? The ninth cause was the establishment of the principle of universal toleration (Ṣaḥ-i-kul). It has been mentioned that the throne-occupant of fortune from his abundant quest of truth, brought together the sages of different religions and tested them. By the irrigation of insight, that comprehensive genius and profound observer watered the four-square garden of concord. Base-minded people cast suspicions on the unique one of creation and fabricated materials for disturbance. They, out of cupidity and avarice, framed a pretext and ruined themselves for ever.

When the veil of reverence had been torn and they had become turbulent, Mozaffar K. sent against them Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, Razavī K., Timūr K., Rāi Patr Dās, Mīr Adham, Ḥusain Beg 'Itrāt<sup>1</sup> Alī, Ḥakīm Abu-l-faṭḥ, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Jāfar Beg, Muḥammad Qulī Turkamān, Qāsim 'Alī Sistāni, 'Iwaz Bahādur, Zalf 'Alī Yezdī Yaka-āwez (attacking singly), Saiyid Abū Isāhaq Ṣafavī, Mozaffar Beg, Ḥusain Beg Gurd and others to the bank of the Ganges with the design of giving battle. Nijāt<sup>2</sup> K., in spite of his relationship, failed, from cowardice, to join them. Wazīr Jamīl did join them, but played a double-faced part. The rebels were now in a measure aware of the injury they had done themselves and proposed a reconciliation. The imperial servants did not trust them and paid no attention to the proposal. The rebels were in expectation that some well-intentioned servant would represent to H.M. their embarrassments and convey a gracious order. Inasmuch as in the court of the Caliphate an intermediary (wasila) is not required before the forgiveness of offences, but pretexts for the

repayment of the excess. The Maasir<sup>1</sup> 655 understands the passage to mean that Mansūr ordered that the reduction should take effect from the beginning of the year, and that Mozaffar had no resource but to obey. But surely no one would try to get back from sepoys what had already been paid to them.

<sup>1</sup> Ghatraghali in text. But the proper reading is of the family of 'Alī. Lane, p. 1946, col. b.

<sup>2</sup> H. was Mozaffar K.'s son-in-law (Iqbāl-nāma). See also B. 439. Nijāt and Ḥusain K. were brothers. The latter was killed in this year.



acceptance of apologies are sought<sup>1</sup> for, an order,<sup>2</sup> was issued, censuring Mozaffar K. and making joyful those who had gone astray by the news of forgiveness. In the heat of the contest Qāsim Naula<sup>3</sup> arrived by post horses. The imperial servants had their eyes opened, and they set themselves to use soothing language and to accept apologies, while those who had gone astray got fresh life from the royal order and held a feast. As they had deviated from the right path they expressed the wish that Mozaffar K. would, through the intervention of some officers of the army, confirm the promise of giving their case favourable consideration so that they might be freed from apprehensions and might return to service. In the first place Mir<sup>4</sup> Abū Isāḥaq was sent to see what their intentions were. As he saw signs of repentance in their demeanour, next day Rāzavī K., Rai Patar Dās, Saiyid Abū Isāḥaq, Mir Aḥmad Munshī were sent to comfort the ashamed wanderers. Their leaders prepared in a submissive manner the privy chamber of supplication and spoke about fixing the foundations of concord. Inasmuch as the Divine decree was against their wishes, and the time was evil, the friendly meeting became contaminated, and the dust of dissension sprang up. It occurred to Narain Dās Ghelot<sup>5</sup> and some Rajputs belonging to Rai Patar Dās that there could not be a better opportunity for getting the upper hand, and that the proper thing to do was to put the handful of ingrates to death. One of them whispered<sup>6</sup> this to the

<sup>1</sup> The text has a negative *namī-jūnd* "did not seek," but the I.O. MSS. make it an affirmative. The clause refers to Akbar and not to the rebels, and the meaning is that he was so gracious that he needed no intercessor before pardoning, but ultroneously sought out excuses for forgiveness.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Iqbāl-nāma*, two orders were sent, one to Mozaffar censuring him, and telling him that the Qāqshāls were old servants, and should be confirmed in their *jāgīrs*, and the other to Bābā K. and the other Qāqshāls, containing gracious expressions. It seems singular that

Akbar should have written direct to the rebels. He cannot have known how far they had gone.

<sup>3</sup> Variant Nauja, Naula means a young man.

<sup>4</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* calls him the son of Mir Rafī. See B. 523 and *supra*, p. 245.

<sup>5</sup> Text Khilote. The Ghelots are a Rajput tribe living in Gujarat. See J. II, 247 and 268.

<sup>6</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* says nothing about this plot. It throws the blame of the failure of the conference on the Qāqshāls, and so do the T.A. and Badāyūnī.

Rai, and he from simplicity and inexperience of mankind communicated this to Razavī K. That wicked coward conveyed by hints and signs the proposals of the devoted followers to the perturbed brains (of the Qāqshāls). In a short space of time every one of them made an excuse for leaving the meeting of peace, and commenced a disturbance. Razavī<sup>1</sup> K. and Saiyid Abū Isāḥaq were admitted to quarter, and that ignorant renderer of the veil (Razavī K.) was imprisoned. Upright men who loved honour fought bravely and drank the last draught. On every side there was a fire of sedition, and the dust of strife rose high. The alert and wakeful of heart will draw from this story the moral that the breaking of promises, cowardice, disobedience, and the failure to recognize the proper place for telling secrets, build a house of evil and heap up the materials of ruin. Apparently the time had come for tearing away the veil over the double-faced, and for cleansing the earth of the dust of the lives of the wicked! When the news came to court, those who had the right of audience represented, and the opinion of the loyal and well-wishing was, that the royal standards should proceed thither. That far-seeing diviner of mysteries said to some of the courtiers, "It flashes upon our soul that the dust of rebellion will, in a short time, be laid by the good services of our loyal officers, and that every one of the rebels will meet with his deserts, and that these futile people will not be honoured by the movement<sup>2</sup> of our retinue. It is clear that the audacity of the rebels is being backed up by the ruler<sup>3</sup> of Kabul. It is not unlikely that flatterers may bring that light-headed, evil-thinking one into India. If the royal standards be transferred to the eastern provinces what will be the condition of the generality of my subjects? It is right that we remain at the centre of the Caliphate and address ourselves to supplicating the incomparable Creator. We shall make justice and equity our secret army and contemplate the spectacle of fortune. Our sagacity will be impressed 295 on mortals, and our sentinelship will be conspicuous." In a short

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the I.O. MSS. that the conjunction has been omitted in text. But I am now inclined to think the text is correct.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning that it would not be

necessary for Akbar to take the field in person.

<sup>3</sup> The rebels afterwards proclaimed M. Ḥakīm emperor. See *infra*, §05.



time what he had said was proved, and a collyrium was applied to the eyes of the short-sighted.

*Verse.*

In this centre of hopes and fears  
They kept watch with awakened hearts.



## CHAPTER LII.

BEGINNING OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR FARWARDĪN  
OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

Praise be to God that the second cycle has been gloriously completed, and that the third cycle has begun. It is an occasion when I should raise a hymn of supplication to the World-Adorner and Giver of life, and should indulge in praise to the extent of my abilities. But what strength or courage has a clown from the country of contingent existence to strut like a peacock in this ever-verdant house-garden, or to advance the foot of recognition whilst receiving the kicks<sup>1</sup> of confusion in front, and the buffetings of ignorance from behind.

*Verse.*

In that place where there is meditation concerning God  
Our supplications have no substance,  
O heart, refrain from words as far as possible  
Thy foot is on an eminence, be careful, be careful.

On the night of Friday (i.e. Thursday), 24 Muharram 988, 11 March 1581, after 37 minutes had passed, the sun cast his rays upon Aries. There was a New Year's day for joy and delight. The rosebush of equity blossomed with the flower of fortune. Heaven became gracious to earth, and earth put on the grandeur of heaven.

*Verse.*

There was a new ornament to the Spring of Reason,  
Understanding was assured of existence,  
The world had a period of growth,  
The earth gave substance to the sky,  
The mode of youth was renewed for the world,  
Happiness returned to many lives.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the last line of the verse at p. 6 of translation, vol. 1.



Inasmuch as awakened hearts and active brains read the writings of the stars on the forehead of the beginning and perceived the beautiful conclusion from the preamble, the lights of the daily-increasing dominion of the august cycle brightened hearts and eyes. They (the astrologers) conveyed the news of the ruin of the seditious, and of the suppression of the rebellion.

One of the occurrences was the remission of the taxes (*bāj u tamghā*). Though in the beginning of the reign an order had been given for this great boon, yet, as the world's lord remained behind the veil, and from the avarice of the guardians of the commands of the Caliphate it did not come into effect, for a long and dangerous disease is not cured without great exertions of the physician. Especially is this so if there be an element of avarice and cupidity, and if the spiritual physician be under a veil. At this time, by virtue of his mighty energy the order was issued anew, and he set himself to have it carried out. Though the wrath of the Ruler, and the Majesty of world-sway had reduced the rebellious to submission and supplication, and no one had the courage to transgress the sacred orders, yet, from abundant graciousness he treated and cured the long-standing disease by gentle words and said, "Ancient rulers and former pontentates exacted those dues in order to procure the materials of world-conquest and for administrative purposes. Now that the Incomparable Creator has put under my control the territories of so many great princes, and has made me the keeper of such vast treasures, how can this demand be right, or how can it be weighed in the scales of justice? Truth-gathering Reason had allowed the impost as the guerdon<sup>1</sup> of world-wardenship. Now that owing to the glory of right-thinking, great treasures are in my hands and that there is no need of this, it would assuredly be a deviation from the highway of obedience to Sultan Wisdom to demand it, and would be treading the path of cupidity with the foot of ingratitude." In accordance with this well-founded idea, a general order was issued from the

<sup>1</sup> Text *nuzl-i-jahānbānī*. The variant *baḡl* is probably right. I.O. MS. 236 has *baḡl-i-jahānyetāqī*. The reward of world-watching. Akbar's regulation does not seem to have been very effectual for

Jahāngir takes credit to himself. Price 5, for remitting three taxes, one of which was the *tamgha*, and which yielded his father a large revenue. See also Rogers' translation of Jahāngir's Memoirs, p. 7.

abode of graciousness of the effect that *Bāj*<sup>1</sup> and *Tamghā*—which yielded more than the revenues of climes—were remitted, and that the arm of demand should be shortened and should not reach the hem of traders.

Hail to the strong heart and capacious genius which rayed for the generousities beyond the comprehensions of this Age, and made worlds upon worlds of men eternally grateful. Where are Hātim<sup>2</sup> Tāi and M'aan, the son of Zāida, and other illustrious scatterers of gold, that they may learn something of the degrees of generosity and rub the foreheads of bliss on the prostration-court of ashamedness?

*Verse.*

For wondrous products it was Spring coming with Autumn,  
For donations of treasure it was Autumn dressing Spring.

Assuredly the parterre-adorners of Fate give development from time to time to the nurslings of the dominion of a bright-starred

<sup>1</sup> *Bāj u Tamghā* were taxes on merchandise, but it would appear from Badayūnī, Lowe, 284, that the Jizyah was also included. According to A.F. the Jizyah was abolished in the beginning of the 9th year. See Elliot VI. 29 and A.N. II. 253. The decree abolishing the *Bāj-u-Tamghā*, then called Zakāt, is given in the first book of A. F.'s letters and also in the *Mirāt Aḥmādī*. In both copies the date given is the seventh year of the 2nd Qarn. The author of the *Mirāt Aḥmādī* makes this the year 999 A.H., i.e. 1591, and the commentator on the Letters, Nawal Kishore ed., gives a similar date, viz. the 37th year from the Accession. But Nigāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 413, puts the remission into the 26th year, and A. F. and apparently Badayūnī put it into the 25th. I think, therefore, that the *Mirāt Aḥmādī* is mistaken, and that

the Qarn meant is not the Qarn from the Accession, though the decree seems to say so, but the Qarn from Akbar's birth. We know that Akbar ordered the second Qarn or period of 30 years to be calculated from his birth (see A.N., vol. III. 3). The 1st Qarn according to this calculation ended in the 17th year of the reign, and so the 7th year of the 2nd Qarn would correspond to the 24th or 25th year, i.e. the year mentioned in the text. Seven articles, chiefly live-stock, were excluded from the remission.

<sup>2</sup> Hātim Tāi is well known. See D'Herbelot and the *Bāgh u Bahār* etc. M'an or M'aan was also a celebrated Arab. He was an officer in the service of Ommayad Caliphs, and afterwards served the Abbasides. There is an account of him in D'Herbelot s.v. Man which gives an anecdote preserved by Mīr Khwānd.



seeker after power, the clouds of whose bounty pour out in this manner. The keys which open the world fall into his hand, and the treasures of the Age direct their countenances towards his threshold. The arrival at the court of the Caliphate of the revenue of Bengal is a new proof of this. It has been mentioned that Mozaffar K. sent the collections made by Khān Jahān, together with many rarities of that country, to court along with Fath Cand, and how they emerged in safety from the whirlpool of the base wretches of Bihār. They were now conveyed to the Treasury under the guard of celestial watchmen. A hundred and seventy-one noted 297 elephants took their places in the royal stables. There was a murmuring of joy upon the perusal of the writing of daily-increasing dominion on the frontispiece of the Age.

One of the events was the appointment of M. Khān, the son of Bairām K., to the high office of Mir 'Arz'.<sup>1</sup> Though on each day of the week one of the principal servants was promoted to this weighty service, yet on account of the number of suitors, the increase of work, the brisk bazaar of cupidity, and the augmented stateliness of the august court, it occurred to H.M. that a choice, high-born officer of high ability who possessed profound insight, disinterestedness and honesty should illustrate this great employment. By the glory of his being at peace with all, he was to make no distinction between acquaintance and stranger, friend and foe, but to lay before H.M. all proper requests, and at a fitting time to receive the replies to them. (If by the accident of fortune — which is inevitable in the world's tavern — he did not receive a gracious (*pasandīda*) reply, he should not allow himself to become melancholy, but should have the courage to repeat the request at another time. For in this world, which is full of evil, most things are not done wisely (*bamaghkār*), and if they are so done, yet many things which ought to be said do not emerge from the defiles of the bosom on account of fear, cupidity (*andokhtanipāra*) and a non-observance of a fitting time, whilst many futilities are brought forward. The wise sovereign perceived the notes of praiseworthy qualities in that loyalist and advanced him by this great office. Every auspicious one who by wisdom and right-thinking has erased the marks of cupidity and hypocrisy, and by far-sightedness and judiciousness is not contented

<sup>1</sup> B. 257.

with his own knowledge, and always seeks for good principles, and commits the affairs of the people to good men, will ever have the stream of fortune full, and the garden of his fortune will be ever verdant.

*Verse.*

Hail to the cavaliers who traverse the horizons,  
 Who bear away the ball in realm and religion,  
 In this land there is one of those cavaliers  
 For whom much praise is little.  
 Two words sum up the praise I give,  
 By qualities, Āfzal (most excellent), by name, Akbar.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassadors of Qutbu-ul-mulk. Though the rulers of the Deccan were not happy in their manner of service and obedience, yet they always, by sending petitions and presents, considered themselves to be bound to the saddle-straps of dominion. At this time the ruler<sup>1</sup> of Golconda showed fawning and submissiveness, and sent a petition along with the rarities of that country. Inasmuch as it was the age of increasing love and of acceptance of apologies, the ambassadors were well-  
 298 received and frightened hearts were soothed.

Also at this time there came the news that 'Ādil K. of Bijāpūr had prepared a collection of the rarities of his country and wished to send<sup>2</sup> it when Ḥakīm 'Alī, who had gone there on an embassy, should depart. Suddenly the cup of his life was spilled. The brief account of this is that this man of rusted<sup>3</sup> intellect and corrupt nature did not properly obey commands and was ever guarding himself by vulpine tricks from the onset of the armies of fortune. From self-indulgence he quitted the road of auspiciousness and chose impurity, and conducted himself in ways displeasing to God. He continually was staining the skirt of his chastity. Inasmuch as it has held good from old times that whoever lets the night-gleaming jewel of wisdom be fouled in the dustbin of carnality, works his

<sup>1</sup> That is, Qutbu-l-mulk just mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the verb is wanting in the original.

<sup>3</sup> *Ān rangīn khirad*. The Luck-

now edition has *rangīn* "elegant," but the context shows that *rangīn* is right, though it is not in the dictionaries.



destruction by his own efforts, that ignoble creature by great endeavours procured from Malik<sup>1</sup> Barid—one of the rulers of the Deccan—two eunuchs who had the reputation of being of fair countenance. When the object of his desires approached, he became possessed with immodesty and baseness, and in the darkness of a private chamber stretched forth the arm of improper lust against one of them. That pure jewel of propriety, from purity and a love of honour, did not yield his body, and killed him with a dagger which he had the foresight to bring with him. Ibrāhīm his brother's son was made his successor by the exertions of Amīr Fath Ullah<sup>2</sup> of Shīrāz—that compendium of former sages—and the leading men of the country.

One occurrence was the imprisonment of M. 'Alī 'Alamshāhī<sup>3</sup> and some others. Some wicked men of perverted fortune such as Mīrakī, 'Idī Kor, Shihāb Badakhshī and Kocak K. Yesāwal had conspired together and, in forgetfulness of the favours they had received, were engaged in gathering together scoundrels and strifemongers. Their intention was to take a favourable opportunity for performing

<sup>1</sup> Ruler of Bīdar. He is called by Ferishta, 'Alī Barid. An account of the circumstances of 'Ādil Shāh's death is given by Ferishta in his history of the Bijāpūr dynasty, and also of the rulers of Bīdar. See also the Māgīr I, 569, where it is pointed out that according to Ferishta Hakīm 'Alī Gilāni had left before the murder and that it was Hakīm 'Aīn-al-mulk who was there then. The date of 'Ādil Shāh's death is given by Ferishta as Thursday eve (Wednesday), 22 Šafr 988, 10 April 1580. I regret to say that this 'Ādil Shāh was the husband of the heroic Chānd Bībī. The Iqbāl-nāma says that the eunuch was put to death, and that next day Ibrāhīm was appointed 'Ādil's successor.

<sup>2</sup> B. 33n. and Māgīr I, 100. See

also Badayūnī, Lowe, 325, who says that Akbar married him to the younger daughter of Mozaffar K. and also gave him the pargana of Basāwar (Badayūnī's birth-place) with an exemption from the branding regulation. The expression *tazkira hukamāi pishin* تذکرة حکماء پیشین is explained by A. E.'s remark, A. N. III, 401, that Fath Ullah's learning was so great that if the works of former philosophers were destroyed, he would be able to start science anew. The text wrongly puts *tazkira* after *hukamāi*, but this is corrected in the Errata.

<sup>3</sup> B. 482. It seems to be Qalmshāhī in Iqbāl-nāma. From the account there it appears that the plot was to kill Akbar and then join the Bengal rebels.

some exploit and then to proceed to the malcontents in the eastern provinces. Alert and truthful men discovered their evil intentions and brought them to notice before they had been carried into effect. The matter was first inquired into by far-sighted persons, and then it was investigated by the Shāhīnshāh. As H.M. regards the body as having been built by God, he is not ready to dissolve the connection between it and the soul, and so he sent to prison this crew who were worthy of annihilation. But as the marks of incorrigibility were perceived in the forehead-lines of Miraki—who was the foundation of the conspiracy—he was capitally punished. This was a lesson to many of the turbulent.

299 One of the occurrences was the death of Mozaffar K. As the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune of the world's lord shows itself in the victories of the imperial servants, so also does it sometimes show itself in their defeats. It has been mentioned how the executants of the royal commands had opened the divān of cupidity in Bengal, and how from presumption and ignorance their intellects had slumbered, and how the fief-holders had left the highway of submission. When there had been on the banks of the Ganges an interchange of shots, and when the malcontents, in spite of their numbers, had met with the shame of failure, and the avaricious officials had acquired fresh courage, it occurred to the confused minds of the rebels that they should send a force to Tānda<sup>1</sup> the capital, and so trouble the minds of the imperialists. With this evil idea M. Beg Qāqshāl and Hamzabān crossed the river at a distance from the imperial army, and stirred up strife in the direction of that city. Mozaffar K. sent off Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Mir Rafī'u-d-dīn of Nishāpūr, Qāsim 'Alī Sistānī, Husain Beg Gurd, and others to remedy this evil. They bravely hastened there and defeated the enemy, sending many of them to annihilation. All at once the generality of the malcontents lost patience and they turned towards entreaties. But at this time when apologies should have been accepted, the obstinacy of the officials increased, and the supplica-

<sup>1</sup> See an article by translator, "Notes of a Holiday Trip to Maldah and Bihar" in *Calcutta Review*.

Tānda is locally called Tārrah and

was washed away some forty years ago. It was west of the Bhagirathī. See Rennel's Mem. quoted by Stewart. Hist. of Bengal, 149n.

tions had no effect. Though they heard of the troubles in Bihar, they did not take them into account, nor reflect on the contingency of the rebels of that quarter joining with those of Bengal. As the drunkenness of arrogance is followed by the crapulousness of failure, these rebels did join the malcontents of Bengal and troubles began afresh. The haughty by their own action ruined the country. When there was a report of the coming of the imperial army to Bihar, the wicked wretches fell into the abyss of confusion. They could neither think of fighting nor of flying. While in this state, they became aware of the disobedience of the Bengal officers, and of the confusion of affairs in that province. By means of emissaries an agreement was come to between them, and they hastened to Bengal. When this became fully known, the good advisers of Moẓaffar K. induced him by thousands of expostulations to send off Timar K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, J'aafar Beg and others in order that they might protect Garhī, which is the gate of that country. But the rebels took possession of the place one day before this party arrived. Though it gave battle, yet Timar K. and most of his 300 companions behaved with cowardice. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and some others who loved their honour distinguished themselves and returned wounded. At this time Babā K. Qāqshāl and a number of evil doers crossed the Ganges at Akmaḥal (Rājmaḥal), and joined the Bihar malcontents. Moẓaffar K. sent Ḥusain Beg, 'Itrāt 'Alī and a number of brave men to take possession of the head of the cutting<sup>1</sup> from the Ganges and to stop the passage of the rebels. This cutting is a channel which the ancients had cut from the river. The loyalists were stationed there, when one night, when there was rain and tempest, and the sentinels were asleep, the rebels crossed the canal (*jūibār*), and made a disturbance. The other rebels, who were facing Moẓaffar K., joined them, and the imperial servants destroyed (*barhamzada*) the entrenchments on that side, and returned to their own side. Every day there were gallant fights, and there were hot struggles. Lives were lost in guarding honour, and the jewel of courage received fresh lustre.

<sup>1</sup> *Sir-i-ḥāṛī*. *Khāṛī* is a Hindu-stāni word meaning a creek, but apparently the true reading is sir-i-

kātī. Presumably the cutting meant was an inlet from the old Ganges or Bhagirathī, and leading to Tānda.

*Verse.*

The ocean of war grew tumultuous,  
 The combatants raised shouts,  
 Swords from the blood were like wine cups,  
 They made the earth drunken from quaffing these.  
 The birds of the bow flew swiftly,  
 They opened their beaks to drink blood,  
 The blood of the swords strained brains,  
 They cast the heads of head-men under foot.

One day a party of the rebels crossed the river and attacked 'Itrāt 'Alī.) Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn with some brave men gave new lustre to the battlefield. By the might of daily-increasing fortune the hand of conquest prevailed. Though in this engagement Husain Beg was slain, yet the enemy was stained with the dust of defeat. For nineteen days fighting went on between the two forces, and every time defeat fell upon the rebels. They were distressed by disaster upon disaster. They were also troubled by the news of the approach of the imperial troops. They held futile and dispirited councils and said: "The heaven-aided troops have not yet arrived, and we are in this condition! When the world-conquering armies shall have joined together, what will be our position? We must of necessity proceed to the Ganges by this stream (rūd) and take shelter in the direction of Orissa. But if we get a chance we shall lay the hand of daring upon the entrenchments." On the night of the 20th they set off with this evil design. Qāsim 'Alī Sīstānī and a body of men who were in the farthest entrenchment regarded this movement as desertion (wairānī) and quickly seized some boats. On getting the news Mozaffar K. beat high the drums of joy, but 301 prudently stood ready for battle lest perchance the rebels were practising some stratagem. In the morning the predominance of the enemy overcame the endurance of high and low, and the retribution<sup>1</sup> of cupidity and presumption was complete!

The brief account of this warning story is that when the scoundrels were in confusion and had raised their anchors, the Qaqshāls and many other rebels came by the said channel to the

<sup>1</sup> The meaning seems to be that the government officers were pun-

ished for their greed and obstinacy.

Ganges, and some boats were plundered. This gave rise to negligence. When M'asūm came there and, on account of the understanding he had with the rebels, began to fire cannon at the imperialists in the entrenchment, the latter lost courage and became stained with the dust of defeat, without a contest. Zulf 'Alī Badakhshī, and Kocak Qundūzī, who were leaders, and many other base wretches, cast the dust of disloyalty on their heads and joined the enemy. The ingrates gathered together and rejoiced. On receiving this news, Moẓaffar K. lost the thread of counsel and became foolish, from suspiciousness and want of heart. He had neither the guidance of reason, nor the power of listening to advice. Though right-thinking and experienced men represented, saying: "What loss have you sustained<sup>2</sup> from the departure (wairānī) of that handful of short-sighted men, and what good will the enemy get from this success? The proper thing is not to give way to discouragement, and for the army to fight according to proper methods." Their sound advice was of no use, and his perturbation increased.

Owing to his wrong ideas, the slipping away of his reason and misplaced fancies, irreognition of enemies and love of life, his actions became disordered. He neither would himself arrange the troops nor would give permission to engage to the officers who were everywhere ready for service. After much talk he allowed some soldiers to go under the command of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn in order that they might hasten to the spot, and render assistance and bring news of the state of affairs. Many, from thought of their families, and some from cowardice, had not the bliss of accompanying them. Many out of a wicked disposition took the road of dishonour. When the heart of the commander does not remain steady, what firmness can there be among the commanded?

The Khwāja related: "When I had gone a little way, I saw that men were going over to the enemy from every side, and that from

<sup>1</sup> *Mūrcal*, but the Lucknow ed. and MS. No. 238 have būdāl بودال which is given in P. de Courteille's Dict. as meaning a place. The Lucknow ed. says it is the name of an officer. *Mūrcal* occurs in the Iqbāl-nāma. MS. No. 235 omits the word.

<sup>2</sup> *Qah tarf barbandad*. Perhaps the

meaning is "what advantage have you gained from the capture of a few boats?" or it may mean "what harm has happened to you by this handful of men joining the rebels, and what gain have the latter obtained from their success?"



time to time my companions were leaving me. In a short while no one remained except Muttalib<sup>1</sup> (who had ties of association with him). It was evident that the warnings of God were administering kicks in front and buffets from behind to the arrogant, self-seeking crew, and that humility and entreaties only encouraged the wicked. Of necessity I became disgusted with life and set my face towards  
302 fighting in company with that loyal hero.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, that unique one of the arena of valour received several wounds and fell on the ground, and sold his life for honour. Meanwhile, Muḥammad 'Alī Arlāt (who had friendly relations with him) came up. I thought that he would help me, but the faithless and contemptible fellow hit me with a spear, and I fell and was nearly dead. Suddenly, M. Muḥammad, from whom I had no hopes, received me kindly and took me to M'āṣūm K. who encouraged me and made me over to the Qāzizāda.<sup>3</sup> In that field of instruction, when I was on an elephant where they had fastened me, I was a spectator of the marvels of the unveilers of fate, and was listening to the flattering speeches of fortune, and was gathering instruction. Though there was no contest, and their success was increasing from time to time, the wicked rebels were in a state of great dismay. Suddenly, a large force appeared, and they were nearly dispersing, when it appeared that it was Wazīr Jamil who was coming with friendly intentions. Their courage returned, and there was a murmur of joy." This ten-tongued, two-faced man on this night which was pregnant with evil, took selected men along with him and, under guise of combating, became an idle talker. He spent the time of action in futile declamation, and confused many hearts that had been tranquillized. At last he became full of the dust of dishonour and displayed his real nature. He placed long-standing obligations on the shelf of forgetfulness, and joined the enemy. In spite of this the enemy was in trepidation and did not know how the affair would end, and how they would carry on the war with Moẓaffar K. Meanwhile, that commander took refuge in the fort,

<sup>1</sup> The Cawnpore ed. and the Iqbāl-nāma have Muttalib Ḥajālātī or Khajālātī. I.O. MSS. 236 has Khajakatī and I.O. 235 has Khajālātī which, however, has a line across

it. The Bib. Ind. has the variant *hajām* "barber."

<sup>2</sup> Tabamtan, a name of Rustam.

<sup>3</sup> He was killed in the 28th year. See below p. 400.



and gave away his opportunity in seeking what he ought to do. He was in such a state of dull-heartedness that no one stayed with him except Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Injū, Ḥakīm Abu-l-fath, J'aafar Beg, Bāqir 'Anṣārī, Tardī Beg Yekkāwez, 'Isā Turkaman and some of his servants and comrades. At last, from evil fortune he preferred a wretched life to selling it boldly, and entered with the persons abovenamed inside the walls of Tānda. He now began to scatter his accumulations. What profit comes of good nature and liberality at an improper time: and what advantage is there in scattering gold and the distribution of goods unseasonably? The enlightened and prudent have, in the time of misfortune, conquered the hearts of tigerlike men by gifts and kindness, and have found a remedy for life-threatening evils by foreseeing them. The ungrateful cowards regarded his being shut up as something excellent and raised the palace of success. They took the path of courage and proceeded to besiege him. They represented to him that if he took compassion on himself and should join them, they would give him a high position, otherwise they would let him go and allow him to proceed to the Hijāz. As he had not the courage to sacrifice his life, he replied that ingratitude and evil-doing were destructive of realm and religion. Let them preserve his honour and make him a voyager so that 303 he might go to the holy shrine and rub off the blackness of neglect, and atone for his faults. They replied by promising that they would let him keep one-third of his goods. As he had no reliance on their words, and the defence of the fort was beyond his power, he secretly sent some of his confidants to M'aṣūm K. and reminded him of old times when he had assisted him. He also sent him 20,000 ashrafis, and begged his protection. He represented, "It was not the part of wise and enlightened men to blaspheme at the Divine decree (meaning what had happened to himself), and that he now begged that in return (for the 20,000 ashrafis) he would take upon himself the preservation of his honour so that no misfortune might happen to his household: in the confusion of plundering there would be no opportunity for grasping the collar of petition." M'aṣūm accepted his entreaties and replied by promising him protection. During a night which was pregnant with disturbance, M. Sharfu-d-dīn Ḥusain fled from



the fort and came to M'aṣūm K.'s quarters. H. M.<sup>1</sup> had in the middle of the previous year released that man who was worthy of death and sent him by river with the instruction that if he showed marks of penitence he should receive a fief in that country, otherwise he was to be dispatched to the Hijāz. No signs of contrition were seen in the Khwāja's son. On the contrary he was continually engaged in strife-mongering, and was evil-thoughted to the extent of madness. Moẓaffar K. put him in prison and was waiting for the season for sailing when this typhoon of evils broke. On the second day, he intrigued with some of his guards and descended from the fort. A number saw this and discharged arrows, and he joined the enemy in a wounded condition. He informed the besiegers of the terror of the garrison and increased their courage. At dawn the wretches forgot their compact and proceeded to make disturbance. The Qāqshāls were foremost and stirred up the dust of plunder. Each set hastened to the fort and plundered it. M'aṣūm K. observed his promise and went quietly to Moẓaffar K.'s quarters so that the rioters might not dishonour him, and that the bulk of the property might come into his own hands. Moẓaffar K. stood with some of his slaves. They were all armed, but could think neither of fighting, nor of fleeing. M'aṣūm K. came with one or two of them and showed the zeal of double-faced people. Just then a noise in the female apartments robbed Moẓaffar of patience. He gave away such an opportunity<sup>2</sup> and hastened in that direction. That chief of strife-mongers and slumbrous-witted one (M'aṣūm) became awake to his situation and escaped with his life. He always blamed himself for his temerity. Though the empty-handed and shameless ones had their pockets filled, and they seized the accumulations of the servants of God,<sup>3</sup> yet it was M. Sharafu-d-dīn who by good luck got abundance of gold. In the time of confusion Moẓaffar K. sank

<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī II. 282 says he had been in the custody of Qāsim 'Alī K. Baqqāl, governor of Kālpi (not Kabul as in Lowe 290).

<sup>2</sup> The month is not mentioned. Perhaps it is Rabi' I, but more probably it is Ardibihisht. Or it may

be the second day after Moẓaffar took refuge in the fort.

<sup>3</sup> Of killing M'aṣūm.

<sup>4</sup> This expression is often used for Muḥammadans, but comes in curiously here. I.O. MS. 235 has khudāi-gīr.

80,000 rupees in a tank that they might be of use at the time of welfare. Sharafu-d-dīn came to know of this and got possession of the treasure. He filled the chests with stones and put them into deep water. He used the treasure as a help to rebellion. During the plundering Mozaffar K. was kept under observation in his house. Some persons were bound and sent to prison. Many from wickedness took refuge with the enemy. Hakīm Abūl fath<sup>1</sup> and Rai Patr Dās by courage and skill obtained their release. Khawāja Shamsu-d-dīn was protected by Sāid Beg on account of acquaintanceship. He saved his life, but was tortured in order to the production of money. Jāfar Beg by cleverness and plausibility was released<sup>2</sup> from such demands. The manner in which he had been sent to that country also contributed to his escape.

On 8 Ardibihisht<sup>3</sup> Mozaffar K. was put to death, and then appointments and territories were distributed, and the Khutba was recited in the name of M. Hakīm. On the first Khurdād the arrangements were made. The tent (bārgāh)<sup>4</sup> of Khān Jahān, which had been prepared for the receipt of presents (peshkash), was erected, and it was adorned by awnings and carpets of various colours. They began by distributing honours and territories. There were disputes, but these were settled by ingenuity. Every one got something and was satisfied. The distribution of titles was as follows: M'aṣūm K. was made Vakil and chose the title of Khān Daurān; Bābāi Qāqshāl was styled Khān Khānān and was appointed to the government of Bengal; Jabbārī was styled Khān Jahān and made a commander of 10,000; Wazīr Jamīl was styled Khān Zamān and appointed to the office of Tūzak Begī; Khāl-dīn became A'zim Khān, Jān Muh. Bahsūdī became Khān 'Ālam;

<sup>1</sup> His brother Nūru-d-dīn who was a poet and known as Qarārī was less fortunate and killed. Badayūnī II. 290 and III. (text) 312.

<sup>2</sup> B. 411. He is Āṣaf K. No. 3. The Iqbāl-nāma explains that his having been sent to Akbar to Bengal as a punishment was in his favour. It would also go to show that he

had no money. See Maṣṣir I. 107, 103. He was a poet. See extracts B. 572.

<sup>3</sup> About 19 April 1580. It was Rabī' I. 988. Badayūnī says Mozaffar was tortured.

<sup>4</sup> See description of a bārgāh in B. 53.

'Abdu-l-Bāqī, Khudāwand K., and M. Beg, Bahādur K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was made Lashkar K., and Jāfar Beg Āṣaf K. Those two adroitly postponed their acceptance to another time. 'Arab was, in his absence (*ghaibāna*), made Shujā'at K., S'aid K. Toqbaī was made Khān and a commander of 1,500. To every one there were granted a jāgir, a standard and a drum. M. Hājī Lang, Farrukh Irgāhliq Farfūdūn, Taimūr Tāsh, 'Azīz Dastam Beg, Muḥammad Toqbaī, Muḥammad Qulī Turkaman, Ḥamza Beg Turkaman, 'Abdullah Beg Badakhshī, 'Alī Qāsim Barlās, Maṣqūd 'Alī Kor, 'Iwaz-Bahādur, Mīrzā 'Arab, Dost Muḥammad Tolakchī, Murād Qāqshāl, Tāsh Beg, Zulf 'Alī Lang, Khuda-bardī, Ghazanfar Beg, were made commanders of one thousand and received the title of Khān, as well as  
**305** a flag. Mīr Kalān, Wafā Beg, M. Kīcak, Yār Beg Muḥammad, Sheram Bahādur, Laṭīf Husain, Ilān Caq, Bābā Dost Muḥammad, Mīhr 'Alī, Muḥammad Beg, Qorbān Beg, were made Khāns and received flags and a command of 500. Several other vagabonds got the title of Sultan. It occurred to these lost ones, who had neither head nor foot, that they could, by heaping up money and by audacity, attain the dignity of Amīrs. They forgot that grandeur befits not the bad, and that designs cannot be carried out without the aid of the executors of fate.

*Verse.*

Khāqānī, those who follow in your footsteps  
 Are crows, and crows desire the gait of the partridge.  
 I admit that asparagus<sup>1</sup> is shaped like a snake,  
 One is poison for foes; the other an antidote for friends.

When the talk of appointments and fiefs had come to an end, they considered that they would recite the Khuṭba in the name of M. Hākīm, and would then spend their days in pleasure. The wonder-working of the Shāhinshāh's fortune became glorious. A storm arose, and the clouds poured cataracts. The "Avaunt" of the

<sup>1</sup> *Mārchoba*, asparagus. Its shape resembles a snake (hence the name which means "snake-stick"), and it is supposed to be an antidote to snake-poison. Perhaps the meaning of the last two lines is 'There is a likeness between asparagus and a snake,

for the latter poisons foes, and the former is an antidote (or bezoar) for friends.' That is, both do good. The allusion in last line seems also to be to rain-drops falling into the ocean, which are said to produce pearls in one month and snakes in another.



Divine wrath rose on every side, and the structure of the grand tent, the canopies, the carpets, were scattered and cast into the mire. Each one of the wretches crept away to a corner. The auspicious and profound of sight read the failure of the wicked ones in the writings of the celestial aids, and raised the song of joy.

*Verse.*

At this time there was a great rumour of the coming of the victorious troops. They left off adorning<sup>1</sup> the pulpit (of M. Hakīm) and fell into a long cogitation. From being drunk with gold, and from evil thoughts, they marched out from that country to fight. In appearance M. Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain was the leader, but in reality the leaders were Māṣūm and Bābā K. They left many of the scoundrels in that cultivated country.

Having brought the story so far, I proceed to describe the events in Bihar up to the arrival of the victorious army. At the same time that the evil-doers in this part were stirring up the dust of strife, Bahādur was separately and earnestly prosecuting a course of ingratitude. He was the son of S'aid Badakhshī. That black-hearted one (the father) had on account of his wickedness come out of his home, and had by feline tricks expatiated in the wide territory of India. At this time he was collector (*'amilguzār*) of Tirhut. 306 When the Bihar officers raised the head of ingratitude, he left his son there, and joined the rebels, and exerted himself to help them. Meanwhile, folly took possession of the brain of Bahādur, and he used the exchequer property in conciliating the fly-like scoundrels. He raised a disturbance and assumed<sup>2</sup> a great name to himself. When M'asūm Khan heard of this, he sent S'aid Badakhshī to him in order that he might give him fatherly advice and lead him to act in unison (with the other rebels). The wretch did not accept the advice and sent his own father into prison! In a short space of time

<sup>1</sup> I.O. MS. 236 has *ālāyish* instead of *ārāish*, as if meaning that the pulpit was contaminated by the proclaiming of M. Hakīm.

<sup>2</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* states that he assumed independence and had the *Khutba* read and coins struck in

his own name. He gave himself the title of Bahādur Shāh. See Badayūni, *Lowe* 307, where the verse composed for his signet is given. He adds that he was afterwards killed by Azim K.'s servants. The *Iqbāl-nāma* also gives the quatrain.

he, from ignorance and cowardice, became still more arrogant. During this confusion the report of the coming of the imperial army became prevalent, and M'asūm K. with many of the disaffected hastened off to Bengal. He left 'Arab and some scoundrels in Patna, in order that he might exercise sway in that province, and might set about plundering. Shāham K., from innate auspiciousness, broke his promise<sup>1</sup> and hoisted the standard of loyalty in Hājipūr. In order to prove his feelings to the imperial servants he sent a force against Bahādur, but it was defeated and returned. Bahādur's presumption was increased, but afterwards Shāham K. led a force in person and was victorious, and S'aid (Badakhsi) was killed. Muhibb 'Alī K. prevailed over 'Arab who had come out of Patna. When he was defeated and came back, Sa'adat 'Alī K., whom he had evilly instructed and had left in charge of his household, had the auspiciousness to turn away from him. That slumbrous-fortuned one went to his camp and made a fight, but was wounded and had to fly. About this time Muhibb 'Alī K. took possession of that city. The troops spent some days in preparations, and then set out. Within the confines of Jaunpūr, Tarsūn K., Sādiq K., Ghāzī K., Ulugh K. and many other officers joined the army. At a distance of two kos from Ghāzīpūr M'asūm K. Farunkhūdi joined the camp. As his babbling and futility were known to all, it was decided that he should go one or two stages in front as a vanguard so that they might be free from his molestation and might come to understand him. On the banks of the Ganges they heard of the catastrophe of Mozaffar K., and fools opened the mouth of

307 folly. Though some were disheartened, the acute and comprehending understood the depths of his (Mozaffar's) misconduct and read in the writing of the age the rolling up of that carpet of presumption, and perceiving the breeze of victory to be blowing from the four portions of the earth, they raised the pæan of joy. Also near here Muhibb 'Alī K., Shāham K., Samānji K. and Bāqī Kolābī joined the army. There was an assemblage in the vicinity of Patna, and the grandees made vows of concord and harmony. When their minds had been set at rest by this, they discussed the plan of action. Each one recognized his proper place. In the centre

<sup>1</sup> See text 285. Shāham had at first joined the rebels.



were Tarsūn K., Rajah Todar Mal, Rai Surjan, Rajah Askaran, Mih-tar K. and others. In the right wing were Muḥibb 'Alī K., Shāham K., Mir Abu-l-Mozaffar and others. In the left wing were Ṣādiq K., Ulugh K., Naqīb K., Qamar K. and others. In the vanguard were M'asūm K. Farankhudī, S. Farīd Bokharī, Saiyid Abu-l-qāsim, Saiyid Abu-l-m'aālī, Saiyid 'Abdul Waḥid, Saiyid 'Abdul Hādī and others. As some of the chief officers were faint-hearted and some were inclined to brigandage, so it was arranged that from this stage they should march armed, and prepared for battle. When 'Arab and Ḥabīb, and the other rebels who were stirring up the dust of strife in that neighbourhood, heard of the coming of the army, they retired. The traitors in the great camps—of whom the imperial servants were suspicious—did not get their opportunity. On 7 Khurdād the army encamped at Monghyr. M'asūm K. Farankhudī, who had long cherished evil thoughts, meditated the killing of Rajah Todar Mal, so that obedience might lose its head, and that he himself might advance some steps to his goal. He equipped a number of vagabonds for the purpose of a review,<sup>1</sup> and expressed the wish that the Rajah should come to inspect them. That auspicious one was apprized of the plot and made excuses, and did not tear away the veil over his (M'asūm's) conduct.

At this time the ill-fated and wicked ones of Bengal passed on from Garhī with the intention of fighting, and there was an engagement between some of the scouts of the victorious army and the advanced party of the enemy. Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'ūd, Jai Tawacī-bashī and some others distinguished themselves. Rajah Todar Mal held a council to deliberate on what should be done. Many brave men said that they should trust in God, and give battle. Some 308 prudent and profound observers represented that a storm of sedition had arisen on every side, and that fidelity and singleness of heart could not be distinguished from double-facedness, and that they were not satisfied about M'asūm K. Farankhudī, who had received various kindnesses from H.M. It was proper that they should fortify themselves and be on their guard. Some persons who had of necessity joined the rebels, now came to the camp, and gave infor-

<sup>1</sup> The text has *ba āīn shāyān*, but the variant *ba āīn sām* (i.e., review) is supported by the I.O. MSS.

mation about the circumstances of their companions. From skilfulness and caution the last-mentioned opinion was approved of. On the 16th entrenchments were made, and the officers exerted themselves in raising a wall and digging a moat. In a short time four high and broad walls were constructed, and the fortress of the city became a citadel. On the 24th the rebels raised the dust of disturbance round about the place. The imperialists replied by cannon and muskets. The brave men on both sides continually engaged in combats, and there were great deeds done. During these struggles many of the besieged threw the dust of disloyalty on their heads by joining the enemy. The ring-leaders were Tarkhān Diwāna and Humāyūn Qūlī and Shāh Diwāna.<sup>1</sup> By celestial aid the dust of destruction was soon laid, and crowds of the rebels came and made submission.

One of the occurrences was the favouring of M. Koka, and the sending of him to the eastern provinces. When H.M. heard from his confidants in the harem that the Kokaltāsh was ashamed and repentant, he accepted his apologies and increased his dignity. He conferred on him the high rank of a commander of 5000. At this time the report of the zealous servants arrived. The fortifying of themselves, the evil conduct of their companions, the predominance of the foe, and requests for assistance were mentioned. H.M. gave his attention to the management of the army, and the Kokaltāsh begged for this service. "Perchance he might do good service and redeem his faults." His wish was granted, and on the 29th he was exalted by the title of Khān A'zīm, and given leave to depart. Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Qāsim K., Mīrzāda 'Alī K., Ishqī K., Mukhtār Beg, Yūnān Beg, Sikandar Caknī, Haidar Dost, Qādir 'Alī, Ustā Zakariya, Qambar Sahāri and others went with him. They were honoured by receiving khilats and horses. An order was issued that when the Kokaltāsh should join the army, the officers should act according to his advice.

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Also at this time Hakīm Abu-l-fath came to court and represented in eloquent terms the confusion in Bengal, and the disaffection of the soldiers there. He also related how he had thrown himself out of the fort (of Tanda?) and had travelled with blistered feet,

<sup>1</sup> See Badayūni, Lowe. The *Iqbāl-nāma* has Humāyūn Qūlī and Shāh Muhammad Diwāna.

and had arrived at safety by the help of the holy influence (Akbar's). He represented that though Mir M'uzzu-l-mulk had at first, from wickedness, joined the rebels, yet he had afterwards, out of foresight, separated from them. The strange thing was that at this time, when the predominance of the rebels was being broken, and the lights of fortune were increasing, this turbulent man was talking foolishly in Jaunpūr and was collecting the evilly-disposed. Maulānā Muḥammad Yezdī<sup>1</sup> was acting, shoulder to shoulder, with him in foolish talk and in strife-mongering. An order was given that Asad K. Turkamān<sup>2</sup> should hasten thither from Mānikpūr and bring the wicked ones to court. That loyal servant obeyed the order and arrested these men who were worthy of death. In the confines of Etawah the boat carrying the wicked men sank in the waves<sup>3</sup> of the Jumna, and the world was cleansed somewhat from the stain of the evil and crookedly-walking ones. An order was sent by Rām Cand, to the Khan A'zim that Mu'izzu-l-mulk's younger brother Mir 'Alī Akbar should be sent to court in chains from Zamāniya. Though he had not joined the rebels, yet he continually, by messages and foolish utterances, fomented the rebellion. He behaved with disobedience and tricks to the Kokaltāsh. As the latter was acute and experienced, his (Mir 'Alī's) wiles were not successful. Rām Cand and Ḥaidar Dost brought him to court. The king's kindness made him withhold his hand from capital punishment, and so he sent him to prison.<sup>4</sup>

One of the occurrences was the tearing away the mantle of deception of S. Qutb.<sup>5</sup> In Jalesar, which is a dependency of Agra,

<sup>1</sup> Tabrizī in text, but Yezdī, the variant, is right, and has the support of the I.O. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently this is the Asad Beg of Elliot VI, 150. He was in the service of Abul Faḡl. Asad K. was jāgīrdār of Mānikpūr, B. 382.

<sup>3</sup> A. F. seems to represent the affair as an accident, and in this he is followed by the Iqbāl-nāma. But Badayūnī roundly asserts, Lowe 285, that they were drowned by Akbar's orders near Fīrūzabād (24 m. E.

Agra) in the Jumna. He says they were put into an old boat by themselves, i.e., separated from their guards, and that the boatmen were told to drown them. He adds that Qāzī Y'aqūb met with the same fate shortly afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> Maāḡir III. 231. B. 383 says he was imprisoned for life, but this does not appear from the text.

<sup>5</sup> Evidently this is the S. Qutb-d-dīn of Badayūnī, Lowe 308. Both he and Jamāl belonged to Jalesar.

he had a hermitage of hypocrisy. He took advantage of the simple and spent his days in comfort. Suddenly, S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār fell into his snare. He thought his tricks were miracles and reported them at court. Inasmuch as H. M. is a seeker after excellence in man, he wished to see him. As the Incomparable Deity is his guardian, it occurred to him to send in the first instance some acute persons who could judge of the inner mind from outward actions, and could read hidden secrets on the tablet of the forehead. If the report was favourable he would visit his cell. If not, a large number  
**310** of men would be converted (from credulity); M. Khān and Ḥakīm Abul-fath were appointed to this service. They ascertained that he was bad within and without, and reported to this effect. The world's lord tried him in a strict balance and sent him to prison that he might abstain from deceiving men, and that truth might not be associated with folly; S. Jamāl returned thanks and became circumspect again. That empty-handed one and seller of deceits became ashamed of his actions and set himself to amend his ways.

God be praised for that by virtue of H. M.'s knowledge of spiritual and physical mysteries many of the tricksters of the age and employers of fraud left off their evil ways, and became travellers to the pure inn of auspiciousness. They turned their faces from the prayer mat of hypocrisy to the dust of supplication, and departed from egotism to worship of the Truth. The great men of former times exerted themselves chiefly in cultivating the false and superficial; on account of the difficulty of the task, and their inability, they paid less attention to the patronizing of the spiritual smiters of lies. At the present day, by the glorious Divine knowledge of the Lord of enlightenment this difficult task also approaches to completion. The wise and just man knows that the spiritual and material

Badayūnī 299 calls him a *majzūbī ḥarābī* and B. takes the latter epithet to mean that he was a wicked man. Mr. Lowe, however, thinks it means that he was intoxicated with Divine love. Most probably B. is right, and the words seem best translated by a drunken enthusiast. If the maxim 'noscitur a

sociis' be correct he was a drunkard, for his friend and fellow-townsmen Jamāl was a noted toper. Quṭb-d-dīn was the man who challenged the Padres to enter the fire, knowing, it is said by the Jesuits, that his offer would not be accepted. Badayūnī says Akbar sent him, out of jealousy, to Bakkar.



adornment, and the inward and outward cultivation of so many crowds upon crowds did not suggest themselves to any man in former times, and that the various classes of men did not emerge from the arid desert of imitation to the city of inquiry. Formerly, speech came forth from the privy-chamber to the court of publicity in proportion to the intelligence of the person addressed (*mukhaṭab*). At the present day it appears in proportion to the understanding of the speaker. How admirably has my noble brother sung in his description of that world-seeing one !

*Verse.*

(He is) A light-handed bearer of the flagon,  
A breaker of the goblets of infatuated rivals,  
A cambist who tests the forgers,  
An assayer of the hearts of the alloyed.  
In wisdom and vision swift as the spheres,  
Testing the Ka'aba and the church,  
Seated on the masnad of greatness,  
Breaking hundreds of idol-temples of hypocrisy.  
Closer of the stalls of deception,  
"Opener of the veil over earth, and elixir (i.e., the philosopher's stone).  
On the throne he is content with poverty,  
He joins silk to the blanket (of the dervish),  
O'er the crown he spreads the sleeves (of the dervish),  
On the throne he practises the Quadragesima.

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## CHAPTER LII.

### THE APPOINTMENT OF SHARĪF K. TO BE GUARDIAN OF PRINCE SULTĀN MURĀD, ETC.

(The first two pages of this chapter are taken up with a disquisition about education. There is nothing valuable or interesting in it beyond the use at p. 312, l. 4, of the curious word "*Babrīān*" which has been supposed to refer to Bābur, but which is really a Turkish word, properly spelt Bāirīān, and meaning "old servants." Sharif K. received his appointment on 8 Amardād, 18 July 1580. See B. 383. He was a brother of Shāmsu-d-dīn Atgah K.)

**313** One of the occurrences was the death of Shujā'at K.<sup>1</sup> At the time when the wicked men of the eastern districts were making disturbance, some loyal servants and experienced men were summoned from distant provinces, and an order was issued that the officers of Gujarat and Malwa should give up the expedition to the Deccan, and prepare themselves for service. Wajahī<sup>2</sup> (?) Yasāwal set off to bring Shujā'at K., and he set out in the beginning of Tīr from Sārangpur to do homage. At the first stage the cup of his life was spilled, and the star of stability descended into the hollow of annihilation. Iwaz Beg Barlās, Muḥammad Qāsim, Hazāra Beg, Khusrū, Khudā Qulī, and many shameless and ungrateful servants plotted together, and made Hājī Shihābu-d-dīn their leader. They gave him a high-sounding name, and lay in ambush. At the end of the night most of the people started with their families and goods, and some marched on more quickly. The evil-doers made a disturbance, and there was a great outcry. His son Qawīm K. went out in search of news, and was killed. Shujā'at K. came out, and began to lament. He found that he himself was made a target and had to fly to his tent. On the way he received several wounds. There was

<sup>1</sup> B 371. Lowe 292.

<sup>2</sup> The name is doubtful. Elliot V. 418 has Hasan Tawācī bāghī, but a MS. T. A. has Jai Tawācī bāghī.

This is probably right (see text III. 307), the *wa* being a conjunction and not part of the name.

still a breath of life in him when his faithful servants put him into a *haudah* (*amārī*) and set off to *Sarangpur*. From prudence and tact they travelled in such a way that many thought he was alive, and some, from this idea, marched along with them. In a short time these rightly-acting persons took refuge in the fortress of the town. They gave out the good news of deliverance and beat high the drum of joy. The wicked went off into retirement. More wonderful still, in that unprotected plain, they did not lay hands on his family and household, and they reached the place of safety without molestation. Many of the ungrateful slaves of gold had thought that the affair was completed and had stretched out their hands for rapine. When the news of his being alive came, some took steps to protect property. The wicked grew frightened and took the road of obscurity. In a short time they were seized by the wrath of justice and received various kinds of punishment. The chief cause of the disturbance was the evil conduct of the servants (*quluqciān*) and the harshness and unworthiness of the master. He withheld the payment<sup>1</sup> of the soldiers' wages without reason, and abused them in bad language. He did not show loyalty and right-thinking. How could the heart not be alienated under such circumstances, and the 314 rosebush of gratitude not lose its leaves?

When the news came to court, *H.M.* craved forgiveness for this traveller to the holy land, and set himself to arrange the province. He dispatched *Sharif K.* to gather together the dispersed ones, and issued an order that his son *Bāz Bahādūr* should come from Gujarat and assist, and directed that the other fief-holders should not depart from his counsels.

Also at this time *Shahbāz K.* came to court. He had been sent to chastise the presumptuous ones in the province of Ajmere. Owing to his energy and good service *Rānā Pertāb* became a desert-vagabond, and fell upon evil days. He thought every morning would be his last day, and blistered his feet with running about in

<sup>1</sup> *Sirbāri mūājib bāz dāshla*. "He withheld the extra pay (of the soldiers)." An obscure passage in *Badayūnī*, text II. 285 top line, seems to refer to his rejection of a soldier's request. Probably *sirbāri* here

means "extra pay" (*batta*?). It means an additional load, and is so used in text III. 273, l. 8, where *sirbāri-i-badgumānī* means "increase of suspicion."

terror. He (Shāhbāz K.) also made a successful attack on the abode of Tejmal Sesodiah. Many of the wicked were slain, and his houses were plundered. That neighbourhood was cleansed of wicked persons and made a military station. Great fear of him fell upon the ill-fated ones. When the dust of dissension rose high in the eastern districts, he was sent for in order that he might be dispatched thither. On 7 Tir he did homage, and gathered material and spiritual advantages. About this time there came representations from the eastern army to the effect that in the absence of H.M. the settlement of the disturbances would take a long time. Though the prescient mind knew that this raw rebellion had not the leaven of stability, and that it did not require another army, and still less the presence of the royal standards, yet, to soothe the imperial servants, and from motives of caution, he ordered the dispatch of reinforcements. These left on the 15th. Bābū Mankalī, Selīm K. Sarmūr, Qāsim Badakhshī, S. Adam, Naṣīb Turkamān, S. Kabir, Ḥakīm Moẓaffar, ‘Abdu-l-Qaddūs, Bahādūr ‘Alī and many others accompanied them and took with them large supplies of money.

315 One of the occurrences was the falling of the enemies’ fleet into the hands of the brave men of the eastern army. The presumption of the enemy had increased on account of their numbers, of the fewness of the imperial soldiers, of their being shut up in a fort, and of the double-dealing of some of them. As the food for the besieged came by land and water, M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain and M’aṣūm K. went by way of Patna and seized the land-route. They also fitted out their fleet and meditated closing the other means of access. When news came that the boats were nine kos away from the evil crew, Ṣādiq K., Ulugh K., Naqīb K., Bāqir Safarcī and many other brave men hastened by land, while Rai Patr Dās was sent with some brave men by water. Mihtar K. and a body of men were taken across the river in order that they might march rapidly on that side. The skilful and active men moved rapidly, and got possession of nearly 300 boats full of the munitions of war. There was a great accession of strength to the imperialists, while the enemy had their heads knocked against the stone of destruction.

Also at this time Khawāja-Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfi escaped from the rebels. When Moẓaffar K. was killed, M’aṣūm K. took the Khawāja into his own keeping on the suspicion that he had money. When