





# **Akbarnama of Abu-I-Fazl**

**A history of the Reign of Akbar  
Including an Account of His Predecessors**

**(Part-2)**

**By**

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**Published by**

**Asiatic Society of Bengal**

**Calcutta**

**1912**





the army arrived at this boundary, a lofty fortress should be built. On this occasion the place which far-sighted men had chosen was approved of. On 15 Khurdād (near the end of May 1588) after the passing of two *pahars* two *gharīs* the foundation was laid by the holy hand in accordance with this name, just as in the extremity of the eastern provinces there is a fortress named Katak Benares. It was placed under the charge of Khwāja Shāmsu-d-dīn Khāfi, who had come from Bengal about this time. In a short time it was beautifully finished. There was a noble barrier<sup>1</sup> placed between Hindustan and Kābulistan, and it was made the material for enforcing the obedience of the turbulent of that border. The helpless obtained a means of subsistence, the seekers of traffic obtained confidence, and world-traversers had security.

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<sup>1</sup> *Barzakhe shigarf*.





## CHAPTER LXI.

## EXPEDITION TO KABUL.

When the army was encamped on the bank of the Indus, the design was to cross the river and proceed to Zābulistān. Most of the principal men in the army spoke in favour of abandoning this expedition. Some were influenced by ignorance, some by smallness of intellect, some by dread of a cold country, some by considerations of health and a love for India, some by the inconveniences of travelling. Some were influenced by good will towards the incompetent and ill-fated one, and being emboldened by the gentleness of the world's lord, they loosed the bridles of numbers of men (i.e. made them, slack). As the thread of acuteness and profundity was of double strength, the artifices of the tale-bearers were ineffectual. At this time an order was given to the writer of the noble volume to write down the views of the officers, and after having understood them, to represent them to H.M. I was astonished at their talk, but by God's help I was not deceived by it. I had not white hair and long beard, nor did an old, blue-stained cloak adorn a face of hypocrisy. When I did not accept their plausible speeches, they took to conspiring against me, but as I had the favour of the holy heart, apprehensions of this or that one did not touch the hem of my soul. The delay in the Shāhinshāh's carrying out his designs was wholly due to his hope that the Mīrzā would be aided by reason and do what was right. But he from foolishness and somnolence fell into evil thoughts, and his pride increased.

*Verse.*

Enemies become proud from your soft words,  
'Tis a time when fair speech does harm.

- 356      Though this was clear to his celestial mind, and he used constantly to say with his pearl-filled tongue, "The wise have an excellent rule, and it is a proper practice that whenever owing to the constitution's deviating from equability a member of it becomes evil, it





should be removed from the body so that it may not injure the other members. So also among men, if an individual cause a defect in the substance of auspiciousness, and create disaffection in others it is assuredly proper that the record of his existence should be erased from the book of the world." But his loving heart could in no way agree to this, and he put off the crossing of the river. He feared lest by the crossing of the army things would go beyond the prospect of peace, and the life of this careless young man come to an end.<sup>1</sup> When graciousness had gone beyond bounds, and dissimulation had ended in imposture, the world's lord was compelled to order a crossing on 31 Tīr (about<sup>2</sup> 11 July 1588). He encamped at the place where the Indus and the Kabul river meet. He left the main camp with an immense quantity of baggage on the banks of the Indus, and gave the command of that spot to Qāsim K. in order that he might subdue the refractory spirits there and construct a bridge. On 8 Amardād (about 19 July 1581) Hāji Ḥabīb Ullah did homage and reported the Mirzā's petition to H.M. Though he showed some shame and repentance, and confirmed his obedience by oaths, yet as he had not done what was ordered, his words did not bear the lustre of truth. Excuses are accepted when deeds accord with words. Otherwise word-spinners send the tongue in supplication and neglect performance. Many simpletons in old times have from inexperience accepted words as deeds, and have suffered heavy loss. It is proper for a peaceable being that if his deeds be not greater than his words, they be not less. Otherwise feline<sup>3</sup> tricks and deception are brought to the market. Accordingly the prudent sovereign did not accept the Mirzā's apologies and issued orders that the prince should advance

<sup>1</sup> In the Memorabilia at the end of the Ayīn J. II. 383 Akbar takes credit to himself for not consenting to a plot for assassinating M. Ḥakīm.

<sup>2</sup> About 12 July. The T.A. Elliot V. gives 15 Jamada-as-ṣānī, on 17 July 1581, as the day of crossing. Akbar arrived at the Indus in Rabī-as-ṣānī, May, and stayed on the east bank for more than 1½ months. Though he crossed in July, the main

army still remained on the other side, waiting for the completion of the bridge.

<sup>3</sup> So in text, viz. *garbāz*, but the I.O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have *gurezat* or *karezat*, which last means dotage, and harmonizes with the next word *ablaṭarāzī*, folly. Unless a gentle, peaceable person does at least as much as he says, he brings folly to market, i.e. he plays the fool.





from Bigrām,<sup>1</sup> and that he himself would also proceed in that direction. On the 9th (Amardād) the standards moved forward and stopped on the bank of the Kabul river. As the sea of graciousness was commoved he sent Khwāja Muhammad<sup>2</sup> 'Alī and a party of men. Perhaps one of these interviews might have effect, and the Mirzā might not fall into eternal ruin. Next day he encamped at Daulatābād. On this day he exalted M. Ghyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī of Qazwīn, who was the unique of the age for knowledge of history, and was also possessed of excellence and right-thinking, by the title of Naqib<sup>3</sup> K. He was presented with a splendid dress of honour, a special horse and abundant riches (*khwāsta*).<sup>4</sup> The idly-talking genealogists had their mouths shut, and the speakers of improper things had  
357 guidance. At this stage a courier brought a petition of the Mirzā. It expressed regret for the past and promised good service for the future. As it did not appear to be sincere, it made no impression on H.M. Inasmuch as choice meditation and the taking counsel are a praiseworthy habit of the Shāhīnshāh, he directed that the great officers to the number of twenty should hold a special meeting, and should give answers in accordance with acuteness and knowledge. He also ordered the writer to ascertain the opinion of each, and to report the result to him. The order was carried out, and every one spoke as he had hitherto done. As none of them wished to march, they all spoke in favour of pardoning the Mirzā and of returning, and they dressed up one idea in various fashions. The writer said: "When a large army under the command of such a fortunate and majestic chief has made a long journey and when the goal is not more than seven or eight marches off, and when the frequent pardoning of offences and the return of the august standards are

<sup>1</sup> The proper spelling appears to be Bigrām, from the Sanscrit Vi-grāma, the word meaning city. It is applied to three ancient sites near Kabul, Jalālabād and Peshawar. J. II. 371. Here it stands for Peshawar. A. F. mentions it as a district in the Sarkār of Swāt. J. II. 391, 392, 404, 411.

<sup>2</sup> B. 423? If so, he came from

Jām. The Iqbāl-nāma gives him the title of Khazāncī (Treasurer).

<sup>3</sup> See B. 447 and Elliot IV. 295. Naqib means a leader and also a genealogist. Perhaps this is why A. F. speaks of the prating genealogists (*naṣṭsāz*) having their mouths closed by his elevation.

<sup>4</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma says he got Rs. 1000. He is generally Mīr and not Mirzā.





linked with one of those four<sup>1</sup> conditions, how can retreat be proper in the absence of these, and solely because of the utterances of obscure envoys and of writings without the lustre of truth. Moreover, it is now the rainy season in India. How will it do to remain near the Indus till it is over, and if we march back now great damage will be done in this rainy weather to the war-material and the result will not be good. It is proper to finish the work which is nearly completed, and then to punish or forgive. "Owing to a mixture of interested motives they were angry, and consulted together (lit. put their heads down) with evil intentions. A cautious<sup>2</sup> man said to me from ignorance, but with friendly feelings (or it may be without understanding the laws of friendship), "Though I know that the degree of your knowledge is being revealed, and that truth-speaking is being displayed, yet in the troubled state of society it is indispensable that one should act along with one's contemporaries and especially with those who are powerful in the state." I replied: "It has been reckoned as one of the worst things to conceal what is fitting for the time, in a meeting for uttering confidences, and in the pure place of counsel, and to speak contrary to one's real sentiments. Such a course is destructive of realm and religion. Why should I for the sake of security in an outward world, which is soon to be destroyed, knowingly choose what is deadly injurious spiritually? Seeing that I have not spoken foolishly for the sake of applause I am in hopes that no dust will fall upon my skirt." It was suggested that every one should lay his opinion before H.M. and that no mention should be made of me unless he inquired. With this understanding we separated. On that day<sup>3</sup> I had headache and fever and was unable to pay my respects (*kornīsh*). Some evil-disposed

<sup>1</sup> I do not know what the four conditions are. It looks as if something had been omitted, but all the MSS. seem to agree. Perhaps the meaning is that before the return of the army M. Ḥakīm would have had to conform to the four degrees of faith, B. 191, by agreeing to surrender property, life, honour, and religion. It should be noted that the account of this incident in Add. 27,

247 is differently worded from the passage in text.

<sup>2</sup> *Salāmatravī*. In the dictionaries this is given as meaning an economist. Here it seems to mean a safe or politic person, or one who is an economist of the truth. It may however mean "an honest man."

<sup>3</sup> Probably this means next morning.



opportunists made a compact among themselves and resolved upon injuring me. They seduced many simple-minded and honest persons by improper language, and they represented to H.M. that all the officers were of opinion that M. Hakim should be forgiven and that the army should return. The Khedive of the world asked, "What is so and so's opinion, meaning the writer of the book of fortune." One of them, who was shameless, from audacity and plausibility **358** said: "He too agrees with this opinion." The short-sighted ones from envy and selfishness (*tandārī*) took this wrong course, and were firm in their evil imaginings. H. M. was indignant and said: "Such short-sighted views do not approve themselves to me. Apparently the officers are afraid of the cold of Afghanistan (Zābul); I'll leave them all behind, and go there with my disciples (*shāgirdpeṣha*)." Next day I had recovered, and without delay I went and saluted H. M. (*kornish sirbāland shul*). The marks of glory were shining on the holy forehead and there was a new splendour to the great assemblage. There was a deep deliberation and a profound inquiry. At this time the sublime sovereign called me near him, and made inquiries after my health, which were mingled with reproaches. He asked why I had changed the opinions which I always<sup>1</sup> used to entertain. It became clear that hostile persons and fabricators of words had played a trick and laid a plot. I fell into despondency, and came into a condition which may<sup>2</sup> no evil-doer fall into. The turbulence of youth, the exuberance of devotion, the intoxication of honesty, the hatred of life were aroused. Prudent counsel was nearly deserting me, and the revolutions of the spheres were almost over for this faster in Society's morning, that is, this new traveller<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> as *khilāfrāi-i-hama rūza bāz parsīd*. The expression "*hama rūza*" is not clear. I.O. MS. 23 has *hama rūzā*, or *rawīyat* (opinion), but the last word may also be *rūba*. Another MS. has *rūz* instead of *rūza*. Possibly the true reading is *rūbāzāi* "vulpine tricks." That is, Akbar asked why A.F. had been behaving in this foxy manner. *hama rūz* means all day long, but what *hama rūza* means here is not evident to

me. Possibly for *rūza* ۷۷, we should read *vazra* ۷۷, and then the meaning would be, he asked about the opposition of all the ministers.

<sup>2</sup> *hee badkāri rā marasād*. Apparently it was too terrible to be suffered even by evil-doers. Or perhaps the meaning is that no evil-doers could experience such feelings.

<sup>3</sup> The I.O. MSS. have a conjunction after traveller.





in the inexperience of the disposition of the Age. By virtue of my happy star, God's help lifted me up from the pit of irreflection. Right-thinking Reason cast the shadow of benignity over me. I emerged somewhat from my sorrow of heart and I petitioned H.M., saying, "Was what they allege me to have said spoken to one person's ear, or was it uttered in that meeting?" The audacious one chose to answer, "The latter was the case." The justice-living sovereign sent for them all and questioned them. Some who were in league took, one after another, the same road of impudent assertion. The jewel of wisdom was nearly destroyed, and I was almost consigning myself to the repose of non-existence. The far-seeing prince read on the tablet of my forehead the marks of honesty, and the confusion was being diminished, but things were altered <sup>1</sup> by the audacity of the wicked men, and he was believing their statement to be true. In this confused and hopeless condition one of the brave and truthful men, who was not afraid <sup>2</sup> about himself and did not regard the numbers of adversaries, and whom I in my <sup>3</sup> imperfect acquaintance with him did not believe to be truthful, said, "In that meeting a certain one (i.e. A.F.) was speaking against this set of men; perhaps the conversation (they rely upon) may have taken place elsewhere." The knot on my heart was loosed. In the abundance of his capacity H.M. folded up the roll (*tūmān*) of discussion. In gratitude <sup>4</sup> for this great boon from God, for the medicine for the crisis is not due to any one else, and by the hair-splitting acuteness of the world's lord, the real truth became impressed on far and near—I abandoned <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The sentence is obscure and I am not sure of the meaning of the expression *darust guzārī*. The Cawnpore ed. has *daṣṭ guzārī* "assistance." Possibly the sentence means "H.M. came to rightly understand the audacity of the evil-doers."

<sup>2</sup> Text *balarzād*, but this is corrected in the Errata, and both the I.O. MSS. have *nalarzād*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the meaning rather is, "From not knowing me, he did not believe me to be speaking the truth."

<sup>4</sup> There seems to be an anacoluthon in this sentence and it is not intelligible why everything should be referred to H. M.'s acuteness when it appears that it was the honest speaking of a stranger that saved A.F.

<sup>5</sup> In text there is no conjunction before *mūshikāfī*, and there is one in the same line before *azān khriyāl*, but both these mistakes are corrected in the Errata.



the idea of retirement and of sinking down. The rank of my service was increased. H.M. put aside the asking for advice and went on, stage by stage to Zābulistān. On the 14th he encamped near **359** Bigrām. He spent some time in Gorkhattī,<sup>1</sup> which is a shrine of the Jogis. There is a great cave in this place. Babblers say that no one knows how deep (long ?) it is. In the midst of it is the way to the secret chamber of the saints of old times. On account of the difficulty and darkness of the way, and its tortuousness, one cannot get there. As it was the prayer-spot of the great ones of God he entered it alone by the light of wisdom, and some of his servants, one after the other, also had this blessing. This least of men was one of them. The road was very long. It was necessary to sit down and to lie down and to trust to God. Many brave men had not the courage to do so, and turned back when half-way. After that he rested at the fort of Bigrām. This country is called Par-shāwar, and the general public call also the city by this name. The governorship of it was assigned to Yār 'Alī the Nāzir-i-Biyūtāt.

<sup>1</sup> *Gorkhattī* : in text *Kārkhattī* is in Peshawar and is now a caravan-serai and also the seat of public offices. I.G. XX. 125. It was once a Buddhist monastery. Bābur twice refers to it, Erskine's translation, 157 and 264. He visited it and says: "There are nowhere else in the whole world such narrow and dark hermits' cells as at this place." The monastery of Gorkhattī is said to have been built by Kanishka. Murray's Handbook to the Panjab, p. 277.

See also J. II. 404 where the translator has a long note about Kor or Gorkhattī which, it seems, means the grain-merchants' house. This derivation seems doubtful. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 80, says that no remains of the Stupa now exist. He does not seem to have known of the account in the A.N. I suppose it is near Gorkhattī that the remains of Buddha have lately been found.





## CHAPTER LXII.

## RAPID MARCH OF H.M. TO KABUL.

As the whole thought of H.M. was that the Mirzā might recognize the truth and advance from fair speech to right actions, he was marching slowly and in every stage he halted for some time. He also issued orders to the prince not to hurry. Perhaps the Mirzā might adopt proper views, and not endamage himself spiritually and materially. That unfortunate one, owing to the influence of apprehensions and the companionship of wicked flatterers could by no means bring himself to wait upon H.M. Though his sister wished to go to court, she could not obtain her wish. Khawāja Hasan perversely went off to Badakhshān. The Mirzā sent his family to strong places, and prepared for brigandage. When he learnt that H.M. had halted near Bigrām and that the army was advancing under the command of the Prince, he, at the foolish talking of ignorant persons, prepared for battle, and exerted himself to spill his own honour. When H.M. perceived this, he joined knowledge with prudence, and resolved to proceed on rapidly. On the 15th he left Prince Sulṭān Selīm in charge of the main camp, together with S'aid K., Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and many loyal servants. He issued orders that the camp should proceed on slowly, stage by stage. On that day, as it had become evening, the standards halted at Jamrūd. Next morning, at dawn, he went on rapidly. He passed through the difficult defile of the Khaibar, and rested for a while in the neighbourhood of Daka by the bank of the stream. At the end of the day, when the air was cooler he proceeded to make a night-march, and on that day halted at Lājūpūr.<sup>1</sup> In the morning he 360 reached Jalālābād. The landholders of that part obtained their wishes. For the repose of the troops he left Jān Darvesh K. and Shamsu-d-dīn Krorī. Next<sup>2</sup> day he reached Bāgh Ṣafā. The

<sup>1</sup> Variant Lājūpūr. It is not marked on the maps.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. M.S. Add. 27, 247 has on 19 Amardād—last day of Jamāda-al-



swift cavaliers of the army used to continually arrive, and give news of the evil thought of the Mirzā, and of the activity of the imperialists (those under Murād who were in advance). But at this station no one came, and the scouts too returned, saying that the road in front was held by the Afghans. Next day the standards halted at Gandamak. At the end of the day Hājī Muḥammad Aḥadī, who was one of the noted brave men, and who had been sent on purpose, returned after going half-way, and from misunderstanding brought news which was far from being correct. He reported that the victorious army had met with loss. H.M. observed that the news did not appear to be true, otherwise some men of the great army would have come in. From foresight, he held a council, and asked what was proper to be done. A number agreed that he should delay until the army which was with the prince (Selim) should come up. Some represented that if some thing untoward had happened, they were few in number, and that it was not safe to stand still, and that they should go back to the camp, and after that prepare for war. Some, who looked to the favour of God, and the daily-increasing fortune, represented that although they were few, how could they add to their numbers? H.M.'s men were all brave and experienced, and the proper thing was to go on. If by heaven's decree anything untoward had happened, the enemy would be terrified by the sound of the august retinue and would disperse. H.M. approved of this opinion, and proceeded onwards. On the way, some headmen came in, and uttered peaceable and affectionate words. The unique pearl of wisdom remarked that it was evident from their language that the report was not true, and on that day he halted at Surkhāb. From skill and foresight he drew up his troops in battle-array. H.M. was in the centre. Zain K. Kokaltāsh had command of the right wing, and Maṭṭalib K. commanded the left wing. Some Begs and Aḥadis were in the van. At the end of the day, when the heroes were ready for battle, news of victory arrived. But as the couriers were Afghans, and the report was from Karm-

**361** ullah Kambū, prudent persons did not put much faith in it. They thought it might be fabricated, as otherwise they would have had reports from the prince and the other leaders. H.M. inquired from ākhīrī (31 July 1581). Next day, which was Bahram the 20th and = 1 Rajab, he arrived at Gandamak.





some of the zamīndārs, and it appeared from their statements that a victory had been won. He observed to judicious persons that though they (the zamīndārs) did not, out of hypocrisy and evil nature, tell the real facts yet they had left off the original story. Next day he proceeded from Surkhab to Jagdalak. Some active<sup>1</sup> men came and brought reports from the Prince, and gave news of victory. Men were delighted, and thanks were returned to God by the tongue of action.

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<sup>1</sup> A B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 says that it was Khawāja M'uīn who brought the news about the Prince.





## CHAPTER LXIII.

VICTORY OF PRINCE SULṬĀN MURĀD, AND THE DISGRACEFUL  
DEFEAT OF M. ḤAKĪM.

(This chapter begins with twelve lines of turgid rhetoric. It then proceeds as follows.)

362 The Mirzā left the highway of obedience on account of the intrigues of wicked wretches who dig up the foundations of houses, and cast down the roof of palaces. At the time of the rebellion in the eastern provinces, he made the pleasant land of India full of the dust of opposition. From the day that he returned in an ashamed condition, sometimes he blamed his star, and sometimes he became aware of his own folly; at one time he censured his foolish companions, and blamed himself for having listened to them. In this state of bewilderment the sound of the coming of the august retinue still more disquieted him. He could not stay as he was, nor yet could he devise any plan. He had not the clearness of intellect to induce him to prostrate himself at the holy threshold, nor had his companions the sense to take his children to do homage. His sister and Khwāja Ḥasan from fear of the consequences of disobedience hastened off to Badakhshān. Faridūn and some others, who knew that they were the staple of disaffection, were afraid to come and kiss the threshold. Sometimes he thought of fortifying the ravine of the Khaibar, and sometimes he thought he would go via Bangash and stir up trouble in India. Sometimes he thought that he should fortify the citadel of Kabul and hide himself in the hills. On account of the majesty of the imperial army he could not carry out any of these things, and the inhabitants of Kabul could not bring themselves to defend the city or to fight. How can we, they said, contend with our benefactor? He was obliged to make over the keys of the fortress to the men of the city in order that they might deliver them to H.M. and to betake himself with some men to Qarābāgh. Every one removed his family to some distant place.





His (the Mirzā's) sole thought was that if the army of fortune pressed upon them he would go to Tūrān. Otherwise he would stay in the hills and deserts. Whoever has not wisdom from within, nor has from without a friend to speak bitter truths, becomes stained by failure. One day he was in a state of confusion on the bank of the Ghorband river, and held a council as to what should be done. Some said that the imperial army would not come beyond Peshāwar, and that there was not unanimity in it. By thousands of futile speeches they restrained him from his intention (of flying to Tūrān, etc.) and made him eager for war. Ignorant and foolish friends did the work of wise enemies. Farīdūn was sent off with a number of companions to Āqserai<sup>1</sup> to collect troops, and to look after the peasantry. The Mirzā himself followed him and sought for an engagement. As the imperial army had nearly approached, and his troops were somewhat disorganized, he resolved to remain in Sanjad-dārā until his soldiers were assembled. Farīdūn chose ambushes in order that he might, if possible, inflict some injury on the imperial army. Haidar<sup>2</sup> 'Alī was sent off with some troops to Kabul in order that he might put that place in a condition of security and then come to the battle-field. The ruined men waited for their opportunity in Banī-Badra<sup>3</sup> which is between the Dūāb and Butkhāk. The imperial army had marched from Bārikāb. That evil-disposed one (Farīdūn) had gone to Cinārtū (?) and was in a hollow.<sup>4</sup> When the victorious troops had passed that ambush, 363 Saiyid Hāmid Bokhārī, Makhsūs K., and a party of heroes, who were the rearguard, let fall the thread of circumspection and hastened on. No one remained behind except Saiyid Bahāū-d-dīn and a few others. On the 18th<sup>5</sup> Amardād (30 July 1581) the rascals fell upon the baggage and carried off some of it. At this time the brave men of the rearguard heard of this and hastened to

<sup>1</sup> N. Kabul and about half-way between it and Chārikār.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 has Haidar 'Alī Khwesh, i.e. "relation."

<sup>3</sup> Binī Padrāo in text, but the variant is supported by the Iqbāl-nāma and J. II. 406.

<sup>4</sup> عنجی which according to Vul-

lers is a bad reading for فضجی a hollow place, or a marsh, i.e. a low place where water collects.

<sup>5</sup> Add. 27, 247 has the day of Raghū 18 Amardād = 29 Jamāla al-ākhirī (31 July). Hāji Muḥ. Aḥadī's account occurs *supra*, p. 360 of text. Cf. Elliot, Hist., p. 425.



the fighting-place. The scoundrels were not successful and fled. Faridūn took refuge at Bādāmcashma,<sup>1</sup> and the others went off rapidly towards Qūraqsaī and 'Ulughpūr. Apparently what the Aḥādī saw when on that day he brought unpleasing news—as has already been related—was something that he had seen of this disturbance. S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār wished to go with a body of men by way of Cinārtū to the halting place (i.e. to Khurd Kabul) and to engage the enemy if he fell in with them. On the same day the Mirzā came to Cinārtū to find out the condition of Faridūn. Suddenly an army appeared in the distance, and it appeared that this was a portion of the imperial troops. The Mirzā<sup>2</sup> dispatched a number of daring men under the command of 'Alī Muḥammad Asp. The Shaikh (Jamāl) halted on the edge of a melon-field, a battle ensued, and while the fighting was going on, Faridūn came up from behind. The enemy thought this was a reinforcement for the imperialists, and stopped fighting and retired. By God's help the Shaikh recognized them (Faridūn's men) as hostile and turned his attack in that direction. A hot engagement took place, and the spectators were amazed. S. Daulat, Mathrū Dās and a number of brave men distinguished themselves. On the side of the enemy Bakht Beg, Ghaiūr Beg, Shādmān Parghalīq, Mullā Ghaiūri fought gallantly.<sup>3</sup> The imperial servants fought their way to Khurd Kabul, where the prince's camp was. Also on this day Shagūna Qarāwal (scout), who had gone to make inquiries, offered up his life. Aḥmad Beg, Bakht Beg, Zāhid and others, who had returned from plundering, came upon him, and he died like a brave man. Those who imagined a vain thing had their pride increased by this circumstance. Also Mir 'Abdullah<sup>4</sup> played away the coin of courage (i.e. behaved in a

<sup>1</sup> Between Little Kabul and Bārik-āb. J. II. 399.

<sup>2</sup> The troops which the Mirzā saw in the distance were S. Jamāl's. The text omits the word Mirzā as also does the Cawnpore ed., but the two I.O. MSS. have it.

<sup>3</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma says that Muḥammad Sharīf, a young man who was related to the Mir Khalīfa, was

unhorsed and made prisoner by the Afghans.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the correct reading is 'Abād Ullah as in the variant. One MS. has "in this year and month." Add. 27, 247 has 'Abdullah, and adds that he was the brother of Ḥājī Ḥabībullah. It is interesting to notice that 'Abd Ullah was the name of the ambassador whom





cowardly manner) in this year. A large sum of money had been sent with him for the troops. Sher Khwāja, Lāl Beg and a number of others met him, and from cowardice he was caught, and the money was plundered.

Hakīm M. came with a number of rebels to a height near the camp of fortune, but though the plundering and fighting encouraged the evil crew, yet he could not bring his heart to engage in a battle 364 by day. For a night and a day there was no engagement. Apparently they were collecting troops. Out of cheaterly he sent some letters by the hand of a doomed man to Qulij K., M. Yūsuf K., Naurang K., 'Alī Murād and some of the Caghatāi tribe. They contained proposals for acting in concert. M. Yūsuf K. in the excess of his anger tore up those letters in the assembly and put the bearer, 'Alī Murād, to death. It is an old custom<sup>1</sup> that tricksters send such letters at such times so that they may pervert people. Men of small capacity have injured the lives of devoted servants, and have believed in their disloyalty. Far-seeing persons of profound views have relied upon their fidelity and increased their favours to them. Those who favour the enemy do not know that the imperial servants have learnt wisdom at the threshold of fortune, and that the dust of double-heartedness is not raised by such evil schemes.

In fine the Kābulis were dumbfounded by the might of the victorious troops. They abandoned good courses and sometimes turned their thoughts to the making of a night-attack. Some thought of a battle by day. On the eve of the 20th they kindled fires on the top of the hill, and proceeded to acts of turbulence. Evil thoughts took possession of them. They sent off on the right hand, Qazzāq, Amīr K. Islām-abādi, Afzal Tūlakcī, and a number more; and on the left hand they sent Nūr Muḥammad Khwāja Khizri, and a number of Hazāra infantry, in the hopes that they might cause

Akbar sent to Goa in December, 1578, to procure the attendance of priests.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently A.F. is thinking of the time when Shāh Manṣūr was destroyed by the forgery of letters addressed to him. Considering the

way that Akbar accepted letters written to Manṣūr is proof against him, it was but natural that M. Yūsuf should tear up the letters from M. Hakīm and kill the messenger.





confusion in that dark night. The majestic dominion which is conjoined with eternity drew courage from seeing them. The heroes of the victorious army stood their ground and sought for battle. They regarded not these wiles and threatenings (*gāo-lāzī*). On 20 Amardād corresponding to Wednesday 1 Rajab, 1 August 1581, the Mirzā came out from the defiles and dressed the field of battle. The strenuous combatants of fortune set themselves with a bold heart and tranquil view to giving their lives.

*Verse.*

From the blare of the trumpets  
Trembling fell on hand and foot.  
The heat of combat waxed so hot  
That sparks came from the horses' hoofs.  
From the roarings of *most* elephants  
Knots formed<sup>1</sup> in the throats of lions.

By the celestial aids which are always allied to the servants of daily-increasing fortune, the time of fighting had not yet reached the whole of the vanguard, so that there is no need to mention the other corps. The Mirzā lost heart and took to flight. The imperial  
**365** servants rejoiced. Next morning Farīdūn with a body of men did not take account of what had happened, and stirred up the dust of battle. Of the officers of the vanguard, Naurang K. had come near the mouth of the ravine. The *Kābulis* attacked him, and gained some advantage. The victorious army was some distance behind. Nūram Beg and Tarsūn Beg Andijānī fell bravely. The Mirzā plucked up a little spirit and came out of the ravine to the plain. The brave men of the vanguard, such as Shah Beg Kūlābī, Rafī' Rustāqī, and Fath Mubārīk brought the jewel of courage to market, and then with the brightened face of a good name packed up the baggage of existence (died).

*Verse.*

Two rivers of blood came into commotion,  
The ground grew tulip-coloured from the fiery waves.

<sup>1</sup> The variant *shikast* "broke" is supported by the L.O. MSS. Appa-

rently the meaning is that the lions, i.e. the heroes, became speechless.





They came face to face for battle,  
Woes and calamities fell upon the heroes.  
What can I say of that engagement  
When I cannot tell one jot of it.

While the battle-field was adorned by the flashings of the mitars, the Zabuliyāns were nearly getting the best of it. At this time Rajah Mān Singh came forward with a rush. First, Mādhū Singh, Śūrat Singh and a number of brave men formed platoons (*tōp tōp*) and went into battle. They sent ahead the rank-breaking elephants. Ibrāhīm K. Faujdār was on the special elephant Ran Mohan, and Jajhār K. on the special elephant Jagat Rai. Muḥammad K. was on the special elephants Gaj Mangal (the elephant of Mars) and Cānd K. on Lakhmī Sundar. Though this last was not a special one, it showed its quality this day and was placed in the special Fīlkhāna (elephant-stables). Ḥusain K. was on the special elephant Mukut. The life-destroying guns which were on the elephants were discharged. When the vanguard, which was like so many iron walls, came into action, the Kābulis lost courage. 'Alī Muḥammad Asp and some well-wishers seized the Mīrzā's rein and took him to the desert of retreat. The breeze of victory blew on the rosebush of the hopes of the strenuous fighters. A watch and something more of the day had elapsed when the rays of fortune took possession of the earth. The fortunate prince, in spite of his youth, showed such courage and steadfastness that veterans remembered his firmness and his exertions. Many were of opinion that the Mīrzā would attack the army in the rear, and kept the other troops ready for 366 this contingency. For good reasons they did not pursue the foe. A great victory was gained. Many soldiers were killed in their flight. The ingrates and foolish talkers met with their deserts, and fell into the wide tract of ashamedness. The boasters and the impudent continually said to one another, "The Tūrānis and Persians who are in the imperial army will join us without fighting, and the brave Rajputs and gallant Afghans<sup>1</sup> will end their days. The other

<sup>1</sup> The use of the word Afghan here, as if they were on the side of Akbar, is curious. Perhaps it means that the fight would only be between the Afghans and Rajputs. B.M. MS.

Add. 27, 247 is worded differently. It says that Ḥakīm's people told him that the Qandahāris would come over to his side.



natives of India will be made prisoners." By these fictions they increased the *Mirzā's* hallucinations. No! No! Though that inexperienced youth knew nothing of the spiritual world, yet his amount of external knowledge was not such (i.e. little) that he should be led away by this incorrect language. Nor had the foolish and confused such a stock of infatuation as to suppose such things of the fidelity of the *Tūrānians* and *Persians*, which is known to the whole world. Nor were the great deeds of the *Rājputs* and the *Shaikh-zādas* of India unknown to them. Evidently they thought that by this prattling they would increase the courage of the *Zābulis* and would inspire terror into the victorious army.

On the day that *Mirzā* was leaving *Bigrām* one of the bare-footed men of enlightenment (i.e. a religious mendicant) told him that a battle with the victorious army would not be propitious to him. It would be best for him to draw rein and leave of this enterprise. From presumption and self-will he did not listen to him. The *Mirzā* now had his time of attacking and being defeated. Several of his intimates were reduced to ashes by the fire of the guns. *Qāsim Khwāja* after experiencing the might of the victorious army represented to the *Mirzā* the turning back of his men, and seizing his rein, wished to lead him away. The *Mirzā*, because he was a little confused, did not hearken to him and abused him. Meanwhile '*Alī Muḥammad Asp* came up to help him. The *Mirzā* became angry and threatened to kill him. That excellent man (lit. full of auspiciousness) said, "First send me to the abode of non-existence, and then fly." By this devotion and right-thinking, the *Mirzā* understood his object, and went off rapidly. In the neighbourhood of *Kotal Minār* some victorious soldiers arrived, and the *Mirzā* with great difficulty extricated himself. That day he rested at *Qarā Bāgh*, and then went on to *Istarghach* (N. Kabul). Many of his near relatives, and among them his eldest son *Kaiqobād*, joined him there. From thence he went off to *Ghorband*.

The fortunate prince went on the 21st (3 August) to the *jalgah* of *Siāh Sang*, and held an assembly. All sorts of men beheld the  
367 light of true rule, and rejoiced, and that ancient place, which is a delightful spot, was refreshed by the irrigation of justice. At the time<sup>1</sup> when the standards of fortune were moving from *Surkhāb* to

<sup>1</sup> A.F. here repeats what he had said at p. 361, end of previous chapter.





Jagdalak, swift messengers brought the news of victory, and the marvels of heaven-aided fortune were impressed anew on high and low. Supplications and thanksgivings were offered up anew. Next day he encamped at Bārikāb, and on 25th he halted at Butkhāk. The soldiers and the peasantry, male and female, of Zabulistan, flocked in from every side, and became the recipients of various favours. At this stage Kuar Mān Singh and many other officers did homage, and were exalted by the favour of the Shāhīnshāh. Next morning he marched. On the way the prince and other high officers paid their respects. He halted at Siāh Sang, which is known by men as Safed Sang, and there Turk and Tājik performed the *kornish*. He observed the precepts of the astrologers and halted there for some days. Then he went and visited the Shahrārā-garden<sup>1</sup> (Pride of the city) and other recreative spots in that blissful city. He remembered the places which he had seen in boyhood and described them by special marks, and when these were inquired into, his descriptions were found to be exactly correct. Fresh proof was given of his intelligence and memory. About this time Lashkar<sup>2</sup> K. of Baqlāna, who was famous for turbulence, was brought in chains by the husbandmen of that country, and was put to death in retribution for his crimes. As H.M.'s intention was to spend some time in this country, which is a garden, and a heart-delighting spot, in worshipping God, and in administering balm to the wounds of the inhabitants, he sent off his elephants to Jalālābād under the charge of Sayid Hāmid, Sayid Bahāu-d-dīn and others. At this time news came that the Mīrzā was bewildered and almost mad. On hearing the reverberation of the royal cavalcade he had gone off to Ghorband, and his idea was that if an army should come to look for him he would become like a Qalandar and go off to retirement in Tūrān. Out of abundant graciousness H.M. sent Laṭīf Khwāja and Qāzī 'Abdu-l-laṭīf to him with salutary counsels. His whole design was that he should be convinced of the royal clemency and come to court. In an auspicious hour, on the

<sup>1</sup> J. II. 404.

<sup>2</sup> This man does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere, and I do not know if Baqlāna here mentioned is

the Baglān in Nāsik described in an earlier page. But probably he was an Afghan. The Iqbāl-nāma seems to have Naghlānī (a strifemonger?).





29th (9 August 1581)<sup>1</sup> H.M. seated himself in the citadel of Kabul. Splendour took possession of that country, and a court was held **368** there and a great feast. Also during this year the weighment (of Akbar<sup>2</sup>) took place, and was made against choice articles. Mankind were filled with joy by the royal bounties.

<sup>1</sup>The T.A. Elliot, V. 425 says Akbar entered Kabul on Friday, 10 Rajab, and remained there for 20 days. If 10 Rajab is correct, then Akbar entered on 10 August 1581. Add, 27, 247 says he entered Kabul on the day of Isfandārmuz, 29 Amar-dād = Friday, 10 Rajab.

<sup>2</sup>This is the weighment which apparently took place a few days after the day of Akbar's birth according to the Hijra era; that took place on 5 Rajab 949, and Akbar entered the city of Kabul on 10 Rajab.





## CHAPTER LXIV.

FORGIVENESS OF THE OFFENCES OF M. HAKĪM, AND RETURN OF THE  
ARMY TO INDIA.

(The chapter begins with eleven lines of laudation of Akbar for his forgiving nature. It then proceeds as follows.)

It many times occurred to some loyal and devoted ones that some servant should form an ambush and put the Mirzā out of the way. From feelings of true affection he did not approve of this, in spite of the increase of his turbulence. With his pearl-loaded tongue he said, "Why should the sons of men employ their God-given strength in accomplishing the desires of the juggling sensual soul? And why should I for the sake of my own repose endeavour to take the life of a brother? or ungratefully allow a devoted follower to be slain? If he (the Mirzā) is going the wrong road, thinking it is right, he is doing a religious act, otherwise, he is suffering from the malady of ignorance. We ought not to trouble those who are suffering pains in the desert of unwisdom." At the time that the august retinue was in the pleasant place of Kabul, the Mirzā's roll of life was nearly being folded up.<sup>1</sup> In that dangerous state the envoys of the Caliphate brought the good news of forgiveness, and showed to that distracted and hopeless one the succour of daily-increasing favour. The Mirzā for a time thought it was a dream, and thinking that reproaches were intended did not believe the news. When he knew the truth, and saw that the court of acceptance of apologies was open he fell into weeping and lamentation, and told the story of his own want of wisdom, of his misfortunes, the infidelity of companions, and his shame, and said in reply, "I ought to have rubbed my forehead on the holy threshold before this, 369

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this refers to some illness of the Mirzā. Akbar refers to the proposal to kill Muḥammad

Hakīm in the conversations reported in the Ain. See Jarrett III. 383.



and to have made its dust the collyrium of my eyes and heart. Now that I have fallen upon this day, and the horror of my soul has increased, how can I have the heart or assurance to present myself before H.M. and what would such a coming evince, and what petition should I make? Owing to my misfortune I cannot bring my sister and Khwāja Ḥasan to make apologies for they have out of fear, and on seeing my evil day, gone to Badakhshān. But I have been comforted by the inspiring message. I am hopeful that on this occasion I shall be excused from coming to pay my respects. I am sending my son to do homage. When my mind has become a little eased, I shall gather eternal fortune by the bliss of the *kor-nishā*." To this effect did he send a petition along with 'Alī Muḥammad Asp.

On 1 Shahrīyūr Laṭīf Khwāja<sup>1</sup> and Qāzī 'Abdu-l-laṭīf came to H.M. and reported the confused condition of the Mirzā. H.M. was displeased, and he issued an order that some strenuous men should go, and bring that slumbrous-witted one to the path of good service. At this time, 'Alī Muḥammad Asp obtained, through the courtiers, the privilege of an audience. As he was one of the old servants of the sublime family, his supplications were accepted. The offences of the Mirzā were forgiven, and Zābulistān was conferred upon him anew. And as the presence of the royal standards was a cause of confusion to the Mirzā, H.M. proceeded next day towards India. He went in the first place to the cemetery<sup>2</sup> and the holy tomb of H.M. Firdūs Makānī (Bābur), and said his prayers. After that he enjoyed himself in the Shahr-ārā garden. At the end of the day he ordered the high officers in attendance on Prince Sultān Murād to proceed stage by stage, and he himself went on by relays to Jalālābād where the great camp was. Makhsūs K., S. Jamāl, and the writer of this noble volume and some others had the privilege of accompanying him. At the beginning of the night he rested for a while near Bigrām (the one near Kabul). When a watch of the

<sup>1</sup> B. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Gazargāh "A ferry or passage." But used here, I think, to mean a place of passing away, i.e. a cemetery. Or perhaps it is another form

of gāzur gāh, i.e. a bleaching ground, but which, according to Major Raverty, means a graveyard, as being a place where bones are bleached.





night had passed, he went on again and at midday rested at Bārīkāb. He went on on horseback again at lighting-up time, and next day at midday reached Jalālābād. The prince (Selīm) placed his head on the blessed feet and paid his respects, and the chaste ladies were filled with joy. The officers prostrated themselves and offered up thanksgiving. Babblers had told various lies about the Mirzā. And there was a report that the standards of victory were going towards Tūrān. The officers had been somewhat apprehensive of the strange country, and of ambushes on the part of the Kābulis, when all at once the cavalier of enlightenment's plain (Akbar) arrived. There was great rejoicing in the camp. On the 7th (Shahriyūr) he proceeded towards India, and encamped on the river-bank. H.M. and some of the ladies visited the Bāgh Ṣafā and at night came to the camp. Next day the prince (Murād) and the officers came up from behind. At this stage S. Farīd came from Bihar and did homage. He reported the failure of the enemy and the freedom of the province from rebels. On the 15th he passed through the Khaibar and halted at Jamrūd. 370

One of the occurrences was the pardoning of M'aṣūm K. Faran-khūdī. From the time that he had been disgraced in the engagement with Shahbāz K., and had escaped from the hands of the landholders as has already been described, he was wandering about in the jungles. Every day he tore the foot of exertion in the thornbrake, and by fresh griefs heaped up the punishment of his wickedness. In this state of misfortune and bewilderment he was joined by one of his servants named Maqṣūd who poured out to him his accumulations. Rebellious thoughts again made that evil-conditioned man mad. He increased his turbulence, and distressed the peasantry. In a short time a number of fly-like men who were slaves of gold assembled, and the city of Bahraich was plundered. Fakhr 'Alī (son of ?) Wazīr K. made a small fight and owing to his evil star, and the bad conduct of his companions, was unsuccessful. The city and its suburbs came into the possession of that evil doer. Wazīr K., Mihtar K., and the other fief-holders united together and by the might of daily-increasing fortune came to a fight with him. The battle began with the discharge of cannon and muskets with the river Sarū intervening. The rebel from fear of the new arrivals remained that day in camp and at night went off with a few compa-





nions. Soon the landholders took the side of the chosen servants, and their might increased. At night he left family and home and fled. The victorious troops pursued him to Kalyānpūr and then returned. M'aṣūm went off to Jālupāra, and stirred up strife there also. Many fly-like creatures joined him and the town of Muḥammadābād was plundered. There were fears that Jaunpūr would be sacked. Shāham K. came from Tirhut, Pahār K. from Ghāzīpūr, 371 and Qāsim K. from Cāndpūr to remedy matters. They were active, and that crooked one became distracted. His men dispersed and he abandoned his plunder and crossed the Sarū with a few men at the ferry of Haldī. When the victorious troops were chanting pæans on every side he dropped his strife-mongering somewhat, and proceeded to subterfuges. The Khān 'Āzīm M. Koka was in Hājīpūr. He sent him a letter of supplication and begged his pardon. The Khān 'Āzīm remembered old acquaintance and behaved with humanity. He helped him with money, goods and an estate. He also begged H.M. to forgive him. The forgiving sovereign in his acceptance of excuses and love made the Kokaltāsh hopeful of such a favour, and the world became like a blooming garden.

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

The penitent even in dreams won't listen to the word "Repentance,"

If he see the loving wiles of His forgiveness of sins.

One of the occurrences was the death of Saiyid Hāshim Bokhārī. In the beginning of this expedition the Mīr had been sent off to the government of Sirohī. Mīr Kalān, Kamālū-d-dīn Ḥusain Diwāna and some other strenuous ones accompanied him. When he had

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Maulavī 'Abdul Ḥaq for the explanation of this verse. It means that as sinners knew how eager Akbar was to forgive them, they would not, even in dreams, think of repenting. They would rather go on sinning in order to receive more forgiveness. The Maulavī quotes parallel passages

from Nizāmī's Sikandarnāma and from the poet Qudṣī. The latter says that on the day of judgment God will be there with the coin of forgiveness, while he (Qudṣī) will have the goods of his sins under his arm. That is, he will keep them hidden till a good price be offered for them by God.





taken up his quarters there, Sultān Deora,<sup>1</sup> a great landholder in that place, pretended to be obedient, and made the semblance of friendship; by plausible words he won over some wicked Rajputs to his side and lay in wait for an opportunity to do deadly mischief. At a time when the loyal were far off and the rebellious at hand, he attacked the negligent Saiyid. On 2 Amardād he and some others bravely fell, and played away in a proper manner the coin of life. A few who behaved in that battle in a cowardly manner were punished (by Akbar) and that crooked one received a severe chastisement.

On 16 Shahriyūr H.M. halted near Bigrām. News came that Qāsim K. had made an excellent bridge over the great and turbulent river Indus. Crowds of men crossed over and rejoiced.

One of the occurrences was S. Jamāl<sup>2</sup> Bakhtiyār's being seized with melancholy. When H.M. was emerging from the defile of the Khaibar he perceived that he had been drinking. He denied somewhat, and then made proper excuses. H.M. rebuked him and did not allow him to perform the *kornish*. From excess of madness he became light-headed and destroyed his property and became a beggar. H.M. from kindness and in order to teach him put him into confinement. S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm<sup>3</sup> of Lucknow and some others of his boon-companions were rebuked and excluded from Court.

On the 22nd H.M. crossed the Indus by the bridge, and glorified the land of India by his world-adorning footsteps. The guardianship of the Indus province was entrusted to the activity of Kuār Mān Singh. H.M. had some *qamargha* hunting in that neighbourhood, and enjoyed himself. Also at this time Rajah Todar Mal came and did homage. He had been with the army, and engaged in administering the eastern provinces. As much work did not remain to be done in Bihar, and the officers had not the privilege of going to Bengal, he had been sent for to take charge of the vizier-ship. Fresh life was given to him, and he entered into service. He took office in the beginning of Mihr. In this month H.M. left the banks of the Indus, and went hunting. On 20 Mihr he crossed the Bihat at Rasūlpūr by a bridge, and on the 25th he crossed by a

<sup>1</sup> According to B. the name is Sultān Deodah.

<sup>2</sup> B. 425.

<sup>3</sup> B. 470 and M'aāgīr, II. 564.



bridge the Cenāb in the neighbourhood of Hailān<sup>1</sup> at the ferry of Jugālī. On 5 Ābān he crossed the Rāvi, which was fordable, and encamped near the Serai of Daulat K. On this day he appointed Ṣadr,<sup>2</sup> and the garden of the hopes of the unsuccessful was irrigated. H.M. had regard to the number of tenure-holders (sayūr-ghaldārān) and to their convenience, and abolished the single office, and distributed the work among a number of honest and experienced men, so that applicants might not have the pain of delay, and also that there might not be room for fraud. The Ṣadārat of the provinces of Delhi, Malwa and Gujrat was made over to Ḥakīm Abu-l-fath, that of Agra, Kālpī, and Kālinjar to S. Abu-l-faiṣ faiṣī, that from Hājipūr to the Sarū to Ḥakīm Ḥamām, that of Bihar to Ḥakīm 'Alī, that of Bengal to Ḥakīm 'Ain-al-mulk, that of the Panjab to Qāzī 'Alī-Bakhshī.<sup>3</sup> Also, here and there, in large cities, he appointed an able and unbigoted man to be head of the Qāzīs of that quarter, so that he might look after that crew of large-turbaned and long-sleeved men. Also at this time Rajah Bhagwān Dās, the commander-in-chief of the Panjab, petitioned for a visit from the world's lord, and his request was granted. On the 8th H.M. cast the shadow of his favour over him, and he obtained everlasting happiness. On the 21st he crossed the Beās (Hyphasis) by a bridge and on the 28th the Sutlej, also by a bridge. Next day he halted at Sirhind, and enjoyed the gardens thereof. At this stage, Rajah Bhagwān Dās, Rāi Rāi Singh, Saiyid Ḥamid Bokhārī, Jagannāth, and other fief-holders of the Panjab were allowed to depart. At Pānīpat on 7 Āzar Shahbāz K. was exalted by doing homage. From the time when he had driven off M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī to the wilds, he had been in Fathpūr in charge of the orders of the Caliphate. When he heard of the return of H.M. he came away, and obtained

<sup>1</sup> S. Chīlānwāla. See B. 457 n. 1, and 360.

<sup>2</sup> B. 268, 270 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 304.

<sup>3</sup> The text has Badakhshī, but the variant Bakhshī is supported by the I.O. MSS. Qāzī 'Alī was a Bakhshī, but he is described as of Bagdad, not of Badakhshān. See

also Tūzuk J., p. 50, where it is mentioned that Aṣaf K. was made Mīr Bakhshī at Basāwal 28 years before 1016. This should be 989, not 988. The M'aāsir U. states that Aṣaf K. was made Bakhshī in the room of Qāzī 'Alī. The latter probably vacated the appointment on being appointed to the Panjab.





bliss. On the 10th<sup>1</sup> H.M. reached Delhi. He visited the tomb of H.M. Jannat Āshiyānī (Humāyūn), and distributed bounties to the guardians thereof. He also visited the abode of Hājī Begam (his stepmother) and paid his devotions. There was a joyful meeting, and desires were accomplished. At the end of the day he was informed that the litter of H.H. Miriam-makānī was near at hand. The world's lord treated her with great respect. Prince Sultān Daniel was in attendance on her and now did homage (to Akbar). Sultan Khawāja, Shāh Qālī K. Mahram, and many other loyal servants did homage. On the 17th he encamped near Mathura, and he went to that ancient place of pilgrimage and witnessed the spectacle of the benighted ones (lit. the slumbrous ones of the land of recognition). For a short time he at the request of Mathura Dās, who was one of the chosen servants, glorified his house by his advent.

<sup>1</sup> The T.A., Elliot V. 426, states that Akbar reached Lahore on the last day of the Ramṣān (October 28, 1581) and that he reached Delhi on

25 Shawāl (22 November). Badayūnī gives the date of arrival at the Indus as 12 Sh'abān (11 September).





## CHAPTER LXV.

## ARRIVAL OF THE ROYAL RETINUE AT FATHPŪR.

The just lord of the world by wisdom and foresight, and the guidance of daily-increasing fortune, led the great army of India to Zābulistān, and by skill and planning brought the work to a successful end. The dignity of counsel-giving was exalted, and a new jewel of humanity was displayed. Prudence and courage went shoulder to shoulder, and graciousness and magnanimity embraced each other. By wisdom he laid the foundations of war, and led a world into an open plain. He disregarded self, and showed the path of courage to a crooked foe. The retribution of the wicked was accomplished in an exquisite manner. A great expedition, such as had not occurred to the minds of the rulers of India, was effected in an admirable way. The jewels of endurance, wide capacity and knowledge of mysteries, were displayed to the four quarters of an astonished world. Though the rebels of the eastern provinces went the roadless way, and the officers requested that he would make an expedition in that direction, he took up the rebellion in the Panjab, and did not grant their prayer. Such calm and endurance were exhibited as to be extolled everywhere, and a splendid remedy was applied to the distractions of mankind. Appreciation and arrangement received fresh splendour, and he was made glorious by not permitting the chastisement of his ungrateful brother whom he looked upon as an elder child. By not leaving administration to the officers he strengthened the cords of discrimination. In spite of so many offences he granted to the Mīrzā his country, his property, his life and his honour. He fulfilled the obligations of battle and **374** banquet, rewarded the loyal servants, and punished the wicked. On 19 Āzar,<sup>1</sup> after ten months, he glorified the capital by his advent.

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<sup>1</sup> 5 Zilq'ada 989—1 December 1581. Elliot V. 426.





## Verse.

A breeze of joy comes from Fathpūr,  
For my King returns from a long journey.  
What bliss is his advent, for from every heart  
Thousands of rejoicings come forth.  
O Faiṣī, glorious be his arrival to a world.  
For a world comes into his presence.

On this day of joy the great officers, the loyal servants, and others were drawn up in two sides of the way for a distance of four *kos* from the city. The mountain-like elephants stood there in their majesty. The Khedive of the world proceeded on his way on a heaven-like elephant, attended by the "Avaunt" of the Divine Halo. The obedient princes moved on in their order. Many grandees proceeded in front of the mace-bearers (*yesāwalān*). The panoply<sup>1</sup> was there in its splendour and was followed by various officers. The noise of the drums and the melodies of the magician-like musicians gave forth news of joy. Crowds of men were gathered in astonishment on the roofs and at the doors. At the end of the day he sate in the lofty hall (*daulatkhāna*) on the throne of sovereignty. He dispensed justice by rewarding the loyal and punishing the hostile and made the increase of dominion and success a vehicle for worship and supplication.

One of the occurrences was the capital punishment of Bahādur. That evil man was the son of S'aid Badakhshī<sup>2</sup> and owing to wickedness of brains he distressed the peasantry. He showed conspicuous folly, as has been in some measure described. He made the hill-country of Tīrhūt the abode of turbulence, and emerging from there when opportunity offered, he opened the hand of plundering. As that quarter was in the *jāgīr* of Ghāzī K. Badakhshī, and the Khān 'Āzīm assisted him, and he joined skill to courage, Bahādur sustained heart-breaking defeats. His home and family were plundered and his children captured. Therefore he had recourse to wiles, and sued for mercy. He came and paid his respects to Ghāzī K. As the

<sup>1</sup> *Qūr*. B. 110.

<sup>2</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* and I.O. MS. 236 have *Safed*, and this seems correct for in the verse quoted by Badayūnī,

Lowe, 307, the name of Bahādur's father is given as *Isfed*, which is another form of *Safed*.



marks of sedition and turbulence were seen in his words and actions, Ghāzī K. arrested him and sent him to the Khān 'Āzim at Hājipūr. The latter sent him to court, at the time of H.M.'s arrival he was brought in with chains on his neck, and stocks (*kunda*) on his feet, and met with his deserts.<sup>1</sup>

**375** One of the occurrences was the arrival of Haidar<sup>2</sup> to do homage. H.M. asks nothing from the princes of the age beyond obedience, and when they render this he does not exert the might of sovereignty against them. Accordingly he had sent Šāliḥ 'Āqil to advise Yūsuf K. the prince of Kashmīr. He had the good fortune to accept such counsels and to send his third son to court along with the choice things of the country. He was distinguished by royal favours.

One of the occurrences was the placing of Shalbāz K. in the prison of schooling. It is indispensable that man should at the time of smiling fortune and of increase of wealth keep watch over himself. Instability<sup>3</sup> and too much of the coquetry of the world—which is the demon-land of success—soon unsettle one, and cast him into eternal ruin. As by the virtue of daily-increasing fortune, good service was performed by him, and he drank more of the world's wine than he could digest, he showed some self-will. At the time of inquiry he exhibited presumption and self-auctioneering. Inasmuch as the world's lord was relieved then from the stress of the administration of the world and was taking counsel (*jānqī*) with wise and disinterested men, he looked closely into the conduct of this

<sup>1</sup> The T.A., Elliot V. 426, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 307, seem to say that he was killed by the K. Āzim's servants, but probably Nizāmu-d-dīn only means that he was caught by them.

<sup>2</sup> He was the third son of Yūsuf Cak, B. 479, where he is wrongly described as son of Y'aqūb. Haidar Malik says, I.O. MS. 510, 182*b*, that M. Tāhir and Šāliḥ were sent as ambassadors, and he gives an abstract of Akbar's letter. In another

letter, p. 185*a*, Akbar reproached Yūsuf for sending first Haidar who was not fit for service, and then Y'aqūb who was somewhat mad.

<sup>3</sup> *Tangdastī*. I.O. MS. 236 has *tez-dastī*. The Iqbāl-nāmā says that Shalbāz had offended Miriam-makānī by behaving disrespectfully to her servants when he was in charge of the capital (Agra) and that sh had complained about this. See *adā-yūnī*, Lowe, 333.





narrow-souled, foul-tongued<sup>1</sup> man. On 24 Dai he went off to hunt in the direction of Nagarcin, and arrived there on 3 Bahman. On that day, in drawing<sup>2</sup> up the guards (*taslīm-i-caukī*) the Bakhshīs of the court of the Caliphate had placed him (*Shahbāz*) below M. Khān, who now has the lofty title of Khān-Khānān. He went wrong and did not obey the holy commands, and severed the links of gratitude and loyalty. Or rather he let go the thread of mercantile considerations. As his capacity was small, and the wine was strong, he was unable to keep quiet at the banquet of service. He came out of the cool abode of reason, and worshipped his idiosyncrasy. H.M. in order to instruct him made him over to Rai Sāl Darbārī, and placed him in the school of practical wisdom. Next morning he returned to the capital.

One of the occurrences was the death of the (Malika Jahān) Queen of the world, Hājī Begam. From the time that she<sup>3</sup> had returned from the Hījāz she had, in order to perform the duties, taken up her abode near the tomb of H.M. Jinnat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn) and had looked after it. She regarded this service as the material for gathering bliss in realm and religion. The poor of that spot gained their desires from the table of her bounty. Inasmuch as the world is not a place of permanence, and a commercial ferry (*guzargāh bāzargānī*<sup>4</sup>), not a spiritual resting-place, that secluded one packed up the goods of life from this treacherous inn on the 7th (about 17 January 1582) and turned away her face from the caravanserai. A world grieved, and Time became sorrowful. How **376** can I write about the condition of the loving throne-occupant. The capacity of mortals is not sufficient for this, and it does not fall into the mould of speech. And why should it not be so! The manage-

<sup>1</sup> Jahāngir, Price's translation, p. 35, calls him foul-mouthed and scurrilous.

<sup>2</sup> See 'Ain of 2nd Book, B. 257, where the word *taslīm* is used to describe the drawing up of the guards on the first day of the solar month.

<sup>3</sup> It appears that she returned in the beginning of 1580, for Aquaviva

and his companions met an escort going to fetch her from the coast when they were journeying to Fath-pūr in January—February 1580.

<sup>4</sup> *guzargāh bāzargānī*. *Guzargāh* means a ferry but possibly it means a cemetery, i.e. a place of passing away, or it may be meant for *gāzar-gāh* a bleaching ground.





ment of this material world is a great fact and the accomplishments thereof a great task (?).<sup>1</sup> Seeing that that fountain of gentleness is filled with grief whenever a human being dies who has had some goodness in him, an estimate may be made of what his feelings were at the severing of an existence so bound to his soul. This lady of the family of dominion was an ocean of goodnesses, and loved the sovereign from his earliest years. He also was wonderfully attached to her. The ladies of the harem wept and tore their hair on account of pain for which there was no medicine. Inasmuch as H.M. was primate of the spiritual world, and there is nothing extravagant there, and no wrinkle on the heart's brow, he refrained from impatience, and took up his station in the pure shrine of resignation, and administered balms to the wounded hearts.

The awakened and enlightened well know that three caravans move towards this three to five days' inn. The first is the spermal caravan which proceeds from the loins of fathers to the wombs of mothers, the second is the becoming a celestial soul and a body descending into clay, the third is the strange condition of the beings who in this variegated abode partake of joy and sorrow. Whiles man becomes fixed there, whiles his nature is restless in it. The enlightened heart moves on with firm foot in this turmoil, and endeavours to help both itself and others. He who does not understand gets confused and bewildered.

Out of abundant kindness he sent Qāsim 'Alī K. to Delhi in order that he might convey the graciousness of H.M. to the servants of that secluded one, and might restrain them from grief, and might console them. He was also to perform in a proper manner what was necessary for the lady on her journey (i.e. help her soul by almsgiving and prayers). May Almighty God cast a ray of His own eternity on the plane of the existence of this wisely-walking sove-

<sup>1</sup> *dastāfzārī*. The next clause is not quite intelligible to me. There are variants in the MSS. but they do not throw light on the passage. Possibly the meaning is that Akbar showed wonderful resignation, see what follows. Hājī Begam appears to have been a good woman. Even

Badayūnī has a good word for her. She commenced, if she did not finish, Hūmāyūn's tomb, and also made the Arab Sarai. See Keene's *Delhi* and the *Āgār Šanādid* of Saiyid Aḥmad, p. 32. She is said to have brought 300 Arabs from Mecca.





reign! And may mortals receive life from his glorious graciousness and equity.

*Quatrain.*

May his soul have an eternal mansion,  
May his threshold be life's sanctuary,  
May his beauty long glorify the world,  
May his nights be ascents heavenward, his days New Year days.

One of the occurrences was the coming of M'aṣūm K. Faran-  
khūdī to court. In the middle of Bahman that wanderer in ruin's  
wilderness came to Fathpūr. Inasmuch as his infatuation was not  
yet laid, he did not bring the face of supplication to the threshold of  
fortune, but chose a place outside the city near the shrine of the  
hidden saint (*Pirghaib*).<sup>1</sup> In spite of so many crimes his sole and 377  
evil idea was that the sovereign would notice him. If repentance  
had wholly possessed his soul, he would have come to the court and  
have stained his forehead with the dust of repentance so that the  
Incomparable Deity should have forgiven him, and he had attained  
the shade of graciousness.

The adventures of this young man of slumbrous intellect and  
fortune are as follows. When helplessness took possession of him  
he for a time sought protection with the Khān Āzīm M. Koka by  
means of fawning. The Mīrzā, from honesty and simplicity, believed  
his deceitful expressions to be sincere and assisted him. He helped  
him in various ways with money, goods, and a *jāgīr*. The territory  
of Mahīsa<sup>2</sup> which is on the skirt of the hills was part of the last.  
And he promised that when the royal standards returned to India,  
he would take him to court, and obtain favour for him. Inasmuch  
as he was bad at heart, and cherished evil thoughts, he took  
leave and went to his estate. Many shameless men gathered round

<sup>1</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* says that after some days he went to Miriam Makānī and got her to use her influence with her son. Probably M'aṣūm's living outside of Fathpūr made his assassination—which took place not long afterwards—of easier accomplish-

ment. I do not know where the "Pir Ghāib" is.

<sup>2</sup> I.O. MS. has Mahsī, and it is perhaps the Mahsī in Campārān J. II. 155 and Beames J.A.S.B. for 1885, p. 173.



him. The Mīrzā repented of having sent him, and set himself to remedy the situation. As M'aṣūm had not the strength for battle, he gave up the idea and went off, intending to go to court. His whole notion was that if an opportunity offered, he would raise the head of sedition. Otherwise he would go to court and have recourse to wheedling. The Mīrzā at the instigation of evil men allowed this strifemonger to go off without an escort of troops (?) and a great mistake was made in the matter of administration. He exerted himself in going astray and in stratagems, but as he had little means of fighting, and as there were many imperial servants on all sides of him, and his mother, sister and wife were in confinement, he could not stir up the dust of dissension, and was unable to hale himself to the corner of ruin. From helplessness he came to the city of abundance, and fell into the crapulousness of arrogance.

Also at this time Qāzī 'Abdu-s-samī'<sup>1</sup> was exalted to the position of Qāzī<sup>2</sup> of the army (*askar*). He was of a noble family in Andijān, and was one of the first of the age for the usual sciences, powers of exposition (*tanqīḥ-i-taqrīr*), and right thinking. Formerly Qāzī Jalāl<sup>3</sup> Multānī held that office. When it was discovered that worldly interests had depraved the intellect of that avaricious man, and that he had deviated from truth and rectitude, and also it became notorious that his son had embezzled treasury-money, he was removed from office and from trust, and the pen of supersession was written over the forehead of his circumstances. And in considera-

<sup>1</sup> B. 545, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 324. He is there called Miyānkālī, i.e. from Miyānkāl, tract between Samarkand and Bokhara. Perhaps, in saying that he belonged to the grandees (*ayān*) of Andijān, which is in Farghāna, A. F. merely means that his family originally belonged to that place.

<sup>2</sup> بقضای عسکر. Apparently 'askar "army" here means "realm," for the office is described by Badayūnī (text 210) as that of *qazāi mamālik*. See also B. 175.

<sup>3</sup> He was one of those who signed

the declaration about Akbar's being more than a Muṭtahid. Badayūnī has an account of him in vol. III. 78, and also in Lowe 213 and 323. Badayūnī gives him a high character, but says he had a dolt of a son who disgraced him by his embezzlements. The original of Lowe 323 does not say more than that a charge (*taqrīb*) of fraud was brought against Jalāl. He says one cause of his banishment was that he did not study the age and its rulers, i.e. he did not support Akbar in his religious innovations.





tion<sup>1</sup> of the circumstances that one who had been exalted by the King should not appear contemptible in the eyes of the public, he was exiled to the Deccan in order that he might go by that route to the Hījāz. The avaricious man remained in that quarter (Mecca) and died there. After that no one had been nominated to the **378** lofty post. As H.M. was impressed by the skill and disinterestedness of this excellent man, he exalted him to this high office. On the 24th the Khān Āzim came from Bihar and was received with royal favours.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Maulvi 'Abdul Haq for the explanation of this difficult passage. It means that one who had been honoured by the King should not be publicly disgraced, and so he was sent, nominally to the

Deccan, but in reality to Mecca. According to Badayūnī, Akbar sent him to the Deccan in hopes that the Shi'a rulers would torture him and kill him.





## CHAPTER LXVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 27TH DIVINE YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR KHURDĀD  
OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

At this time of the smiling of the spiritual and physical Spring, there was a tumult of joy in the kingdoms of nature. Each of them unfolded in a wondrous manner. It occurred to the ever-vernal mind of the decorator of fortune's garden to celebrate ancient festivals, and to knit together the external world. Although H.M. always revered that noble season (Spring), yet on account of the prevalence of custom and the general ignorance, his feelings were not manifested. As the eyes of the hearts of the enchained in bigotry were purblind, and sound reason had the rust of disuse, the truth-choosing Shāhīnshāh had regard to the disposition of his contemporaries, and did not bring forward his views from the closet of the soul to the hall of manifestation. The physicians of the world and enlightened rulers know that it is indispensable to refrain from forms of worship which cause disturbance among men, and they regard the soothing of the various sections of mankind as one of the greatest methods of piety to God. At this day, when reason was exalted, and small and great were searching for proofs, and when enlightened old men and felicitous young men and alert sages were implugging their hearts to demonstration and seeking for certitude, the holy thoughts of the Shāhīnshāh turned to ancient usages and preferred wisdom to custom.

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

Hail the carriage (*jambash*) of the guides of faith  
For they kindle the lamp of certitude:  
Hail to the cavaliers who traverse the horizons  
For they carry off the ball in realm and religion.  
Among those arena-adorning cavaliers there is one  
Of whom great praise is but little,

<sup>1</sup> Most of the lines have already been quoted. See p. 297.





Two words may sum up my adoration,  
He is Afzal<sup>1</sup> by quality, Akbar by name.

On account of the glory of piety in his soul linked with heaven he does not highly regard orators<sup>2</sup> (perhaps eulogists) nor does he attach much importance to writers.<sup>3</sup> However insignificant outwardly one may be, he receives honour if he utter words of choice wisdom, and however grand one may be outwardly, if his utterances do not accord therewith, the hand of rejection (*dast-i-radd*) is laid upon him. In his splendid equity, if some account of the ancients please him, he brings it into prominence, and does not take into consideration the charge of following others. He regards the orders of 379 Sultan Wisdom as the Divine commands, and is active in carrying them out. It is clear that awakedness does not learn from slumber, nor is light sought from darkness.

From this<sup>4</sup> year there was the commencement of New Year feasts and other ancient festivals, and they became current throughout the world. Fresh glory was given to the holy spirits of former times, and the great men of the Age obtained their desires both in spiritual and physical matters. The rising generation too which sought for enlightenment received a great boon. Divine worship assumed its place, and under the guise of appearances, spirituality developed. The season of the equability of tempers, and the periods of other feasts of the Persian months, which former sages had devised for the worship of God and the subjugation of hearts, became resplendent—as has been in some measure stated in the beginning of this palace of enlightenment (the Akbarnāma)—and in the last volume. When the New Year was approaching, H.M. gave orders that the able workmen of the Court should decorate<sup>5</sup> the great Daulat-Khāna (hall of audience) which is surrounded by 120

<sup>1</sup> The I.O. MSS. have "Āqil" "Wise." It is Afzal in the quotation at p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> *Goinda*. A word which has various meanings.

<sup>3</sup> *Nigāranda*. Possibly this means writers of panegyrics. It also can mean painters. We are told in the *Ain*. B. 548 that Akbar did not care for poets.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rodolfo Aquaviva's letter, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 57, where he speaks of the new institution of the *Mihrijān* or autumnal feast. He wrote in September 1582. See also *Badayūnī*, Lowe, 316, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Badayūnī*, Lowe, 310. The *daulat-khāna* was at *Fatḥpūr*.





stone verandahs (*aiwān*). The great officers and other blissful servants applied profound thought to the adornments thereof. Gold-embroidered stuffs of great price were used, and there were varieties of jewels. On Sunday 15 Šafr 990 of the lunar year, 11 March 1582, after the passing of 14 minutes, and 37 seconds, the sun conferred fresh glory on the Sign of Aries, and the flush of exuberance adorned Time. The beginning of the year *Khurdād* of the third cycle took place. The enlightened *Shāhīnshāh* mounted on the throne of fortune, and there was fresh splendour, outward and inward. The jewel of theology was displayed, and there was a new beginning for talent and love.<sup>1</sup> (*Verse.*) The lock was taken off the Treasury, and the coin of hope was scattered among mankind. It was arranged that every year from the time of transit (to Aries) to the time of culmination there should be a great festival and that each day an auspicious servant should have charge of the glorious banquet.

In this great assembly he announced, "On this day every one will do some special thing, and make the adornment of felicity." The first to speak was the world's lord who said with his pearl-filled tongue, "Lordship (*Khudāwīdī*) in truth is only applicable to the Incomparable Deity, and Service (*bandagī*) is appropriate to the man-born. What strength has this handful of weakness to take upon itself the name of Mastery (*šāhibī*) and to make slaves of the sons of men?" At the same time he set free many thousands of slaves and said, 380 "How can it be right to call those seized by force by this name, and to order them to serve." And he directed that this happy band should be distinguished by the name of *Celās*<sup>2</sup> (disciples).

H.M. had previously directed that the illuminated ones of the presence should submit their sentiments,<sup>3</sup> but owing to the brisk-

<sup>1</sup> Nizāmī-d-dīn under the date of the 28th year devotes several lines to the description of the New Year's feast. These are not translated in Elliot V. 427. The feasts lasted for eighteen days. Apparently Akbar was elated by the success of his expedition to Kabul. See also Badāyūnī, Lowe, 310, who has the year (the

27th) right. It seems that Akbar regarded the year 990 as the completion of 1000 years from the beginning of Muḥammad's mission.

<sup>2</sup> See B. 253.

<sup>3</sup> The sentence seems obscurely worded. It looks at first as if it was a reference to a request that Akbar should assume the position





ness of the market of dissimulation, and the want of justice on the part of the guardians of orders, this had not been carried into effect. Among these representations was that of Prince Sultān Selīm. He represented that marriage should not take place before the age of twelve, that much harm and little advantage accrued from the contrary practice. The Khān A'zim M. Koka represented that the governors of the imperial provinces should not have the boldness to cut the thread of life, and that until they had laid the matter before H.M. they should not stain their hands by destroying what God had built. Where could deep discernment and far-sightedness, both of which were rare, be found conjoined with absence of motive and of malevolence? M. Khān-Khānān said it would be good if fragments of life such as small birds and creeping things<sup>1</sup> were not taken, and if many lives were not destroyed for a small benefit. Rajah Todar Mal said, every day, charities should be distributed at the palace, and that it should be an order that the officers also should every week, month, or year have a care of the empty-handed. M. Yūsuf K. (No. 35 of B.) represented that a daily journal of events should be obtained from all the cities and towns. Rajah Bīrbar expressed a wish that some right-minded and energetic men should act as inspectors in various places, and should represent impartially the condition of oppressed people and seekers after justice, and report unavoidable calamities. Qāsim K.'s<sup>2</sup> suggestion was that serais (rest-houses) should be established on the routes throughout the empire so that travellers might obtain repose. S. Jamāl (No. 113 of B.) represented that some disinterested and experienced men should be appointed who should bring to court those who were in distress and want. S. Faizī begged that some experienced and sympathetic persons might be appointed in the cities and bazars who should fix

of a teacher, and have *celas* or disciples. But the beginning of the sentence about S. Selīm implies that the representations were the ideas of the officers as to what was expedient. Selīm (Jahāngīr) was born on 31 August 1569, and so was in his thirteenth year at this time.

<sup>1</sup> The text, probably from copying the Lucknow ed., has مائسی *mahī*, fish; but the I.O. MSS. have مای *mai*, reptiles and insects, and this I think must be correct. But perhaps tiny fish are meant.

<sup>2</sup> He was an engineer and architect.





the price of articles. Ḥakīm Abū-l-faṭḥ wished for the establishment of hospitals. The writer of the noble volume petitioned that the *dāroghas* of every city and town should record the householders thereof, name by name, and trade by trade, and should always keep a close eye on their income and expenditure, and should expel the do-nothings, the mischievous, and the bad. When they had made their suggestions to H.M. he accepted all their representations. The dejected world assumed a new face. The door was opened for the Divine bounty and a collyrium was applied to the eye of seeing. The earth rose up to give praise, and the heavens joyfully uttered thanksgiving. Every day one of the great officers had charge of the assembly. The world's lord cast the shadow of graciousness on that ornamented place and gave voice to bounteousness. Prayers to God were arranged according to excellent rules, and every one of the fortunate servants gave a little out of much as peshkash, and 381 heaped up eternal bliss. The delicate-minded *Shāhinshāh* received a small thing and made it the material of (conferring) great rank. When the time of the culmination (of the sun) drew near, the special hall of audience (*daulat khāna khāṣ*) was decorated. Wonder-working magician-like men performed marvels, and wisdom had a daily market. The souls of the sages of old times revived, and an excellent excuse (for liberality) was furnished to the bounty-loving *Shāhinshāh*.

In the beginning<sup>1</sup> of this auspicious year the world's Khedive gave some attention to the arrangements of the affairs of the empire, and bestowed new lustre on administrative and financial regulations. Before<sup>2</sup> this, the duties of the viziership had been entrusted to Rajah Todar Mal, but on account of the perils of the great enterprise, and the activity of double-faced, ten-tongued persons, he had not applied himself heartily to it. This far-sighted and incorruptible man, who understood the secrets of administra-

<sup>1</sup> See translation of this paragraph in Elliot VI. 61.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning is that Todar Mal had previously acted as Finance Minister, and had made settlements, but that he shrank from the task of revising the settlements of the

whole empire. In the 18th year he made the settlement of Gujarat and filed the papers thereof. (A. N. III. 17). He again settled Gujarat in the 22nd or 23rd year. See A. N. III. 207 and 213, and *Nizāmu-d-dīn*, Elliot V. 403, 405.





tion, was appointed to the lofty office of Head of the *Dīwān* (*ashraf-i-dīwān*), and virtually the position of *Vakīl* (Prime Minister) was conferred on him. Everything was referred to him, and a choice ordering of administrative and financial matters was the result. By the blessing of a happy fate he sullied not the skirt of wish, but regarded what was good for the State, and acquired an everlasting good name. With a stout heart he maintained the laws of the Caliphate, and had no fear of the powerful and crafty. From far-sightedness and knowledge of the world, he proposed several regulations (*faṣḥ*) so that the holy orders might be promulgated anew, and have fresh vigour. For better enlightenment I proceed to record them, and so present a boon to posterity.

First. The collectors (*ʿamalguzārān*) of the Crown-lands (*Khālṣa*) and the *jāgirdārs* should collect the rents<sup>1</sup> and taxes in accordance with the code (*dustūr-al-ʿamal*). If from wickedness and tyranny they took from the cultivators (more than the agreement, it was to be reckoned as the legitimate rent, and the oppressors were to be fined, and the amount entered in the monthly accounts. They should at every harvest inquire into the minutest<sup>2</sup> details and protect the subjects. The thread of the administration of justice was to be a double one, (that is) suppliants were to be reimbursed, and extortioners to be punished.

<sup>1</sup> *Māl u jihūt*. The text erroneously has an *izāfat* after *māl* as if the word were *wajūhāt*. *Jihūt* means taxes on manufactures: see J. II. 58. If the collector took more than the stipulated rent, such excess was to be regarded as part of the collections, for which he had to account, and he was also fined, and the fine was entered in the accounts. Presumably the cultivator was to get credit for the excess. It is not improbable that the word *māhīāna* here means wages, and that the order suggested is that the sums extorted should be deducted from the collectors' salaries. *māhīāna*

seems used in the sense of wages at p. 382, six lines from foot.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *jazū*, but some MSS. read *khavar*. Elliot translates, "At every harvest they were to carefully guard the rights of the lower classes." I have taken *jazū* to mean details. I am by no means sure that *faṣḥ* in this sentence means harvest. It seems possible that it is used here in the same sense as at line 13 of the same page, viz. to mean section or chapter of instructions. The collectors were to fully acquaint themselves with every section (*faṣḥ*). *Jazū* is used in *Ain*. III. 347 to mean subordinate or local,





2nd. The collectors of the crown-lands had two clerks (bitikcī)—a kār-kūn and a khāṣnavīš. Generally, both of these men were corrupt, and in collusion with the village-headman (kalāntarān), and they oppressed the peasantry. If in place of these two dishonest men, one<sup>1</sup> trustworthy and rightly-acting officer were appointed, the country would be developed, and the peasant would be at peace.

3rd. It appeared that in the crown-parganas the cultivated lands diminished year by year. If the cultivable land were measured once for all, the peasantry would cultivate more and more land in proportion to their ability and the arrangement of progressive payments should be made. They should give one another as securities and should execute documents. (Consideration should be shown in the  
382 exaction of dues. In the case of land which had lain<sup>2</sup> fallow for four years, only half of the stipulated rent should be taken for the first year, three-fourths in the second, and in the third the peasants should be responsible for the<sup>3</sup> full rent. For land which had been uncultivated for two years, one-fourth of the rent should be deducted for the first year. In the case of uncultivated lands they were to be allowed to keep back a small amount of grain so that their lands might become capable of yielding rent. If destitute cultivators were assisted (by advances), documents should be taken from known men, and recoveries made, partly at the spring-harvest, and partly at the autumn harvest so that the country might soon be cultivated, the peasantry satisfied, and the treasury replenished. When the collectors increased the (total) rental, demands should not be made (from them) about<sup>4</sup> deficiencies in some items. Every year reports about the collectors should be submitted to H.M. in order that good

*qānūngoyān jazū* "the local qānūngos."

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this reform was carried out, for only one bitikcī is spoken of in Jarrett II. 47.

<sup>2</sup> This is the *cacar* land described in J. II. 63, and 67. The arrangements there described are somewhat different from those in the text.

<sup>3</sup> *Mūdfiq dastūr*. Elliot has "they

were to pay according to established rule"; and perhaps there is a reference to the rule in J. II. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Kamī-i-b'azī mahāl*. Some of the MSS. have *kamīn*. The meaning seems to be that if the collectors showed an increase on the total rental, they should not be challenged on account of a deficiency in some items.





servants might be rewarded, and promoted, and those who were of another sort, punished.

4th. When the crops are standing, let several measuring parties<sup>1</sup> be appointed, in proportion to the amount of land, and let the measurement be started in an intelligent manner, and the kind and quality of the cultivation be noticed. The collector will choose a central<sup>2</sup> spot for himself, and carefully visit every part of the land and examine its condition.

When there has been an abundant rain<sup>3</sup> and the fields are lying in water, an amount of land up to two-and-a-half *biswas* should be left out of account, and in jungle and sandy tracts as much as three *biswas*. Abstract accounts (*siāhha i-zabṭa*) should be sent in weekly, and the daily journal of collections month by month to the head office.

5th. An imperial order should be issued that a list<sup>4</sup> of damaged lands should be sent to court so that orders might be passed concerning them.

6th. The dwellers in ravines, who are of a turbulent disposition, think the ruggedness of their country a protection and make long the arm of oppression. Orders should be issued to the Vicegerent (*ṣipahsālār*), the *faujdar*, the fief-holder and to the collector that /

<sup>1</sup> *Tanāb* measuring-rope, but here used for the survey-party.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the instructions to the collector, J. II. 43, where it is said that he should "establish himself where every one may have easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator."

<sup>3</sup> Elliot has, "In seasons when a sufficient quantity of rain fell, and the lands received adequate irrigation, two-and-a-half *biswas* (in the bigha) were to be left unassessed." The word for irrigation is *ābniṣṭhān* and I have thought this meant that the lands were covered with water and so could not be properly measured. A *biswa* is the 20th part of a bigha. Cf. J. II. 44 where *half*

a *biswa* is given as a perquisite to the headman. *Donim* which Elliot and myself have rendered 2½ may also mean *two halves*, or half and half. It seems to me that the passage about the rainfall is corrupt. I.O. M.S. 235 has *dādḷhivāh* instead of *dilḷhivāh*. The passage then may mean when there is a want of rain, or when the fields are flooded, that is in two contingencies a deduction was to be made.

<sup>4</sup> The text has *rāṣṭ kardā* "drawn up," or made correct, but the variant *ṭipkardā* has the support of most MSS. *Ṭip*, see Wilson's Glossary, means a note of hand, and also a register.



they should act together and remedy matters. First, they should admonish, and if this prove ineffectual, they should raise the flag of activity and chastise the malefactors, and devastate their crops (*ābādī*, perhaps, habitations). The *jāgīrdār* should get an exchange<sup>1</sup>, and the *mastaufī* should not make a demand on this account. If the soldiers should be<sup>2</sup> injured in these operations, a fine should be levied (*tāwān*). Further, the sums extorted from the peasantry are to be produced before the treasurer and he is to give credit for them in the ryots' receipts. The collectors should be paid their wages quarterly, the last payment being made when there are no arrears due from the ryots.

8th. The ryots<sup>3</sup> should be in such a state of obedience that they should bring their rents to the treasury without its being necessary to set guards over them. Sufficient security should be taken from the refractory, and if such cannot be found, watchmen should be set over the harvested grain and the rent be realized. An account of the rent to be collected from each person according to the amount of his cultivation should be prepared, and the date should neither be postponed nor anticipated. The *patwārī* of each village should allot these, name by name, among his subordinates. The collectors should send the cash along with the *patwārī*'s signature to  
383 the treasurer. They should be vigilant to put down oppression, and should make their words and their works accord.

9th. The Treasurer should receive *muhrs*, *rupis* and *dāms* which bear the august name (of Akbar) and make allowance for obsolete coins so that the collectors and the money-changers may reckon the old and new and ascertain the difference. The *L'al Jalālī*, of full weight and fineness, is worth 400 *dāms*, the square *rupi* is worth 40 *dāms*. The ordinary *ashrafi*, and the round *Akbarshāhī rupi* which has become worn, shall be rated as follows.

<sup>1</sup> *Iwar*. Elliot has "the land was to be granted to *jāgīrdārs*" but the meaning seems to be that the *jāgīrdār* was to get compensation for his damaged lands or crops either by damages, or by getting other lands or crops in exchange. The *mastaufī* is the deputy-dīwan. B. VI, n. 13.

<sup>2</sup> There is the variant *asāmī*, but *āsānī* seems right. I.O. MS. 235 has "*tan āsānī sipah ke pur ziyān zadagī kashad*." If the soldiers suffer by their repose being disturbed (?).

<sup>3</sup> A. F. records, J. II. 122, that the ryots of Bengal bring their rents to the Treasury eight times a year.





If the *ashrafī* be deficient by two grains of rice (*birinj*), but be of good quality, it should be valued at 360 *dāms*. If deficient by three grains up to one <sup>1</sup> *surkh* <sup>2</sup> its value should be 355 *dāms*. If deficient by 1½ to 2 *surkhs* its value is 350 *dāms*. A *rupi* deficient by one *surkh* of the full weight should be valued at 39 *dāms*. If deficient by 1½ to two *surkhs* it should be valued at 38 *dāms*. The *L'al Jalālī* of full weight and fineness, the *Jalālī* deficient from 1½ to 2 *surkhs* and *Sikka Sanwāt Akbarshāhī* deficient by 3 *birinj* up to one *surkh* were to be received at the treasury. If the deficiency were greater, the *tahwīldār* (cashier) should keep the coins separate and the accountant should enter them in the day-book and send an account of them daily to the head-office. The *jāgīrdārs*, treasurers, and *ṣarrāfs* (money-changers) were to act upon these rules.

10th. The officers of the *Khālṣa* and the *jāgīrdārs* should make correct reports about the well-conducted, and the ill conducted, the obedient, and the disobedient, in their estates so that recompense and retribution may be bestowed, and the thread of government be strengthened.

11th. Instead of the old <sup>3</sup> charges, one *dām* per *bīgha* of cultivation should be fixed. It is hoped that by this arrangement 24 *dāms* would be allowed to the measurement party. Their allowances would thus be—

15 sirs flour at the price of	...	...	7 <i>dāms</i>
1¼ <sup>4</sup> „ butter ( <i>roghan zard</i> , presumably <i>ghī</i> )	...	...	5 „
2½ „ grain (for animals)	...	...	4 „
Cash	...	...	8 „
			—
			24 „

<sup>1</sup> B. 32. It was a gold coin.

<sup>2</sup> The seed of the *Abrus precatorius*. B. 16n.

<sup>3</sup> The text has *pāsbānī* but the I.O. MSS. and Elliot show that the true reading is *pāstānī* or *bāstānī*.

<sup>4</sup> The text, following the Lucknow ed., erroneously has *do sir ya kam* "two sirs or less" instead of *do sir pāo kam*. Cf. J. II. 45 and

Ain. text I. 286. The translation is not quite accurate. The daily allowance is 13, not 16 *dāms*. There were only three *thānahdārs*, and they and the chainman only got eight sirs of flour among them. The daily allowance for the measurement-party was 13 *dāms* or 31 sirs. Apparently Todar Mal afterwards raised it to 24 *dāms*. For the word





Of this—

The <u>amin</u> would get	...	5 sirs flour
		$\frac{1}{2}$ sir butter
		7 sirs grain
		4 <i>dāms</i>
The writer	...	4 sirs flour
		$\frac{1}{2}$ sir butter
		$5\frac{1}{2}$ sirs grain
		2 <i>dāms</i>
Three servants	...	6 sirs flour
		$3\frac{1}{4}$ „ butter
		3 <i>dāms</i>

In the time of the *rābī'* crop when the days are long, not less than 250 bighas should be measured, and at the time of the *Kharif*, when the days are short, not less than 200 bighas.

H.M. examined these proposals with a profound eye, and accepted them.

One of the occurrences was the pardoning of *M'aṣūm K.* and *Niyābat<sup>1</sup> K.* The former, from the time when H.M. reached *Fath-pūr*, had had recourse to blandishments, and had also been in a state of confusion, and had by the help of some well-disposed persons come to H.H. *Miriam Makānī*. The latter evil-doer had from exhaustion (*wāmāndagi*) joined '*Aīn-al-mulk*,<sup>2</sup> and (then) had, owing to his slumbersome fortune, separated himself, and indulged in thoughts of turbulence. When he did not succeed, he too had come with entreaties to the same asylum of the world, and had come into the hands of the people of *Shahbāz K.* As he held in his hands the protecting letter (*zinhār-nāma*) of that great lady of the age it was **384** forwarded to the holy threshold, and forasmuch as the commands of that secluded one of fortune received acceptance, on 16 Farwardin

*thānahdār*, which seems out of place, there is the variant *thāpadār*, but possibly the true reading is *tanāb-dār* rope-holder.

<sup>1</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* says that *Niyābat* had married the daughter of *Adham K.*, and *Badayūnī*, *Lowe*, 308, says he was the nephew of *Shihābu-*

*dīn K.* He was sent to *Rantanbhor* as a prisoner and was executed in 997 (1589). *M'aṣūm* met with an earlier death, having been assassinated shortly after his pardon. See *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> This is *Hakīm 'Aīn-al-mulk*. B. 481.





(26th March 1582), these unforgivable ones took their repose in the shade of the Shāhinshāh, and a world blossomed forth.

One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khān A'zim M. Koka to subdue Bengal. When the joys of the New Year had come to pass, and devotions had been paid to God, H.M. turned his attention to administration. He laboured for the arrangements of the universe and taking compassion on the oppressed ones in Bengal appointed an army to go there. On the 27th the Kokaltāsh was sent off as the commander, and Tarson K., Shāham K., Shāh Quli K. Maḥram, S. Farid and many other officers were attached to the army. They received robes of honour, chosen horses, and salutary counsels. Orders were issued to Sādiq K., Muḥibb 'Alī K., and the soldiers generally of Bihar and Oudh, that they should make ready for war and join the victorious army. News came that the Bengal rebels had stirred up strife, and that Jabbārī, Khābīta,<sup>1</sup> Tarkhān Diwāna, and many other evil-doers had come to Bihar, and were oppressing the subjects. They had taken possession of Hājipūr and some other towns. Sādiq K. and Muḥibb 'Alī K. hastened to dispose of them. M'aṣūm K. Kabuli had also become active owing to the assistance of those rebels. Bahādur Kūrūh <sup>2</sup> (?) came with an army of Qutlū's Afghans to the neighbourhood of Tānda, and the rebel (M'aṣūm) turned back there to help him (?). The world's lord had already from foresight arranged for the work which was now to be accomplished, and men's eyes and hearts were invigorated by his forethought.

One of the occurrences was that Shamsunisā <sup>3</sup> Begam withdrew her face behind the veil (died). That nursling of the house-garden of the Caliphate was six months old, and the loving heart of the Shāhinshāh was illuminated by beholding her. Owing to the jugglery of fate her spirit fled on the 31st (Farwardīn, April 1582) from the straits of the bodily elements. She left this prison and

<sup>1</sup> B. 356n.

<sup>2</sup> See text *infra*, p. 407, where this name occurs again. Can this be the "Bourah" of another Bahādur K. mentioned by Ibn Batuta, and which Mr. Blochmann says is the Hindustani براہ "brownish"? J.A.S.B.

for 1874, p. 289, note. Or is Kūrūh a mistake for Kārfarmā? J.A.S.B. *id.*, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this was the child about whom S. Cānīdah made a mistaken prophecy. Badayūnī II, Lowe 294.





departed to the pleasant abode of heaven. Owing to this heart-smiting occurrence the ladies of the sacred harem were filled with sorrow, and an universe was plunged into the whirlpool of grief.

(*Verse.*)

Much grief accrued to the world's lord on account of his being the caravan leader of the world of association, and he withdrew his heart from everything. But inasmuch as he was primate of the spiritual world, he recovered himself, and the secluded ladies also, under his guidance, entered the garden of patience, and took repose in submission to the Divine will.

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## CHAPTER LXVII.

RETURN OF GULBADAN BEGAN AND OTHER CHASTE SECLUDED LADIES  
FROM THE JOURNEY TO THE HĪJĀZ.

Inasmuch as enlightenment, and action in accordance therewith, are the source of eternal dominion, and the adornment of eternal dominion, and as the fulfilment of great desires, the increase of outward dominion, and the exquisite service of the capable men of the earth lead many wise men to the dormitory of insouciance, but cause awakening in the incomparable personality of the vivid sovereign, he offered up various thanksgivings to God on receiving the news of the return of this noble caravan. When the litter of that chaste lady reached Ajmir, Prince Sultan Selīm, the pearl of the crown, was sent off to meet her. Every day one of the court-grandeess was sent to convey salutations, and when the neighbourhood of Khānwa<sup>1</sup> received the light of bliss by her auspicious advent, the world's lord met her on 2 Ardībihisht (about 13 April 1582). On the way Khwāja Yahiya arrived and did homage. He produced a petition from the dignitaries of the Hijāz together with a list of presents. H.M. encamped there. The loyal votaries attained joy and were comforted by graciousness and inquiries after their health. The sorrowful ones of the arid desert of separation were refreshed, and they produced various gifts before H.M. There were hospitalities, and that night they remained awake and in pleasing discourses. Next day there was a glorious return (to Fathpūr). The ladies had spent<sup>2</sup> three years and six months in that country. When the Khwāja Yahiya showed earnestly the Shāhinshāh's wish, they were obliged

<sup>1</sup> In Bhartpūr State. On the road from Agra to Ajmere, and 37 miles N. W. Fathpūr Sikrī where Akbar then was.

<sup>2</sup> Tawāṭṭan. I am not sure if the

reluctance to leave refers to the ladies, or to the Arabs whom K. Yahiya induced to emigrate to India. See Mrs. Beveridge's Gulbadan, Introduction, 74.



to give up their residence.<sup>1</sup> They embarked in the ship Tezrav (the Swift) while the Khwāja and the pilgrims took their places in the ship S'at<sup>2</sup> (effort?). Near Aden most of the boats were wrecked. They were in trouble there for seven months. The governor there did not behave properly, and when Sultān Murād,<sup>3</sup> the ruler of Turkey, heard of this he punished that ill-fated one. They arrived

<sup>1</sup> The ladies left Gujarat in October 1576. If they stayed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years at Mecca they should have left in March or April 1580, but they must have started earlier if they were at Aden in April 1580. Probably they left in February soon after the completion of the pilgrimage of Zil-hajja 987. The seven months' detention at Aden would take them to the end of the Muh. year 988 or to January 1581. As they did not reach Fathpūr till April 1582, they must have stayed a considerable time in Gujarat. Badayūnī, Lowe 216, seems to say that Gulbadan B. and Salima Sultān left Agra for the pilgrimage in 982 (1574-75) and arrived at Mecca in Sh'abān 983, November 1575, after having been detained a year in Gujarat. They performed the pilgrimage four times, viz. in ends of 983, 84, 85 and 86. Nizāmu-d-dīn under the 28th year says they performed several greater and lesser pilgrimages. On the return voyage they were detained for a year at Aden and returned in 990. But I think that there is some mistake and that Gulbadan did not leave Agra till 983, i.e. the 20th year, and that as she was detained for a year in Gujarat, she did not reach Mecca till 984. (See also Lowe, 320). The four pilgrimages then would be those of the last months of the years 984-87,

which would start her on her homeward journey in January-February 1580. Bāyāzīd found her in Aden in April 1580, but this must have been about the beginning of her stay. The seven months of A. F., or the one year of Badayūnī, would bring her to the end of 1580 or beginning of 1581; and the voyage to Surat, the detention in Gujarat, and the journey to Ajmere, where they performed a supplementary pilgrimage, and to Fathpūr, would occupy another year.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *jihāz-i s'at*, ship of effort? There is the variant *saiṭi*, and the I.O. MSS. seem to have *safī* سفی which may perhaps mean swift. B.M. MS. 27, 247 seems to have *Har do* for the ladies' ship, but possibly this is only an error for Tezrav. A. F. says *most* of the ships or boats were destroyed. Perhaps some went on to India, and it was these that the cavalcade was going to meet which Aquaviva and his party met on 8th February at Sanmarian between Ujjain and Sārangpūr. Murray's Discoveries *infra* II. 87.

It would seem from B.M. MS. 27, 247 that Miriam-makānī came (from Delhi or Agra) to welcome the pilgrims.

<sup>3</sup> Murad III who came to the throne in 1574.





at Gujarat when the standards of fortune had gone<sup>1</sup> off to Kabul, and on account of the rains and of H.M.'s being in Zabulistān, some delay occurred.

One of the occurrences was the pardoning the offences of **386** Khwājagī<sup>2</sup> Fath Ullah. He was one of the near servants of H.M. and gathered bliss in waiting upon him. From associating with evil-doers he departed far from daily-increasing dominion. From evil fate he became a vagabond in the desert of failure. When the world's lord disembarked from his boat and went off posthaste to Ajmere, he was sent off to bring Qutbu-d-dīn K., and an order was given that he should bring him by the way of Mālwa in order that he might send from there able envoys to give counsels to the ruler of Khāndes, and hold out promises and threats to him about sending (to Akbar) Moẓaffar Husain M. When they arrived there they (the ambassadors) obeyed the order and used eloquence in persuading (the ruler of Khāndes?). The Khwājagī also craftily went to Burhānpūr along with them. After completing this affair he went off to the Hījāz. Apparently on account of sloth and narrowness of capacity he did not like the burden of service, and from ignorance brought such great evils on himself. The wondrous sphere of fate inflicted retribution on him and he fell into thousands of calamities. But by the goodness of his disposition he became aware of the wickedness of his conduct, and reposed for a while in the shelter of the chaste ladies, who were returning from the Hījāz. Now by their intercession he was pardoned, and laid hold of the skirt of daily-increasing fortune.

One of the occurrences was the shamefaced arrival of S. 'Abdu-nabī and Mullā 'Abdullah Sultānpūrī. It has been mentioned that when H.M. proceeded to test the learned men, and when the gold-incrusted nature of the sellers of tales (the fraudulent) was revealed, the position of these men became difficult and they fell into confusion. They had not the vigour of intellect to bring to market the jewel of knowledge with suitable replies, nor had they the candour to com-

<sup>1</sup> Akbar left for the Panjab and Kabul on 6th February 1581 and returned on 1st December of that year.

<sup>2</sup> He was the son of Hājī Ḥabībullah, B. 499. Badayūnī, Lowe 323,

mentions that he was sent to the Deccan along with Qāzī Jalāl Mullānī. He was a Sh'ia. Apparently his offence was the going off to Mecca without leave.