

## CHAPTER CXIX.

BEGINNING OF THE 39TH YEAR, VIZ. THE YEAR KHURDĀD OF THE  
4TH CYCLE.

On the eve of Monday 28 Jamāda-al-ākhirī, 1002 H. (10 or 11 March, 1594) after the passing of 9h. 44m. 22s., the world-illuminating sun lighted up his mansion of exaltation, and the third year of the 4th cycle began. The earth rose up with grace, and the heavens set themselves to rejoicings.

*Verse.*

By the might of delineation, the moon became like the Gallery  
of Mānī.

The parterre became by skill like the mind of Avicenna.

In the tray of the buds the morning was like the musk of  
Khallakh (a city in Turkistan).

In the mortar of tulips the air became like the powdered amber-  
gris of Sārā.<sup>1</sup>

H.M. celebrated entrancing feasts up to the day of exaltation, and Divine worship assumed a higher form. On 7 Farwardīn 10,000 cavalry were assigned to the Prince-Royal. Five thousand (of them) received *jāgīrs* in Bengal. Among them were Jagat Singh, Darjan Singh, Sakat Singh, Bāqir Safarcī, M. Muḥammad, Bāqir Anṣārī, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Y'aqūb Kashmīrī,<sup>2</sup> Sharīf Sarmadī. Four thousand (received *jāgīrs*) near Lahore the capital. Among them were Takhta Beg, Rai Manūhar, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Ṣalāḥa-d-dīn Bāngā, S. Khūbū, Mīr Murād Sarmast, Muqīm K., Khwāja Muḥibb  
650 'Alī Khāfī, S. Kabīr, Ḥakīm Mozaffar. One thousand<sup>3</sup> Aḥadis were appointed who received pay monthly from the (imperial)

<sup>1</sup> A place on the 'Omām coast, famous for ambergris.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this is Y'aqūb Chak the son of Yūsuf, the former ruler of

Kashmīr. A Kashmīrī chronicle quoted in Rieu I. 300a says, Y'aqūb was poisoned by Akbar!

<sup>3</sup> This is a detail of the 10,000





treasury. Sultān Khusrū, who though small<sup>1</sup> (khurd) in years was great in wisdom (khird), was raised to the manṣab of 5,000. Rajah Rām Cand, Himmat Singh, Bahāu Singh, Sher K., Bahādur Kūrūh, Salim K. Lohānī, Sultān Sūr, Allahdād Lohānī, Isā K. Maswānī, Nūram Koka, S'aid K. Mandūri, Naṣir K. Miāna, Manū K. Lohānī, Tāj K. Lohānī, Sajāwal K. Jilam, Ulagh K. Lohānī, and some others were assigned to that new fruit of dominion. The territory of Orissa was given to him in fief. Rajah Mān Singh, whose ability and loyalty were conspicuous, was made Atāliq, and his maintenance-jāgīr was allotted<sup>2</sup> to him in Bengal, which country was made over to his charge. S'aid K. became the warden of the province of Bihar. On this day M. Rustum obtained a flag and a drum, and was exalted by great favours. On the 8th the feast of the lunar weightment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a daily market of liberality, and all sorts of men attained their desires.

At this time Mozaffar Husain came forward with apologies. When it became bruited abroad that the victorious troops intended to capture Qandahar, and Rustum M. arrived at the threshold of fortune, he turned his rein somewhat from wickedness, and fell into consternation. From a happy star he sent his mother with his eldest son Bahrām M. and begged for quarter. On the 9th the visitors obtained an audience, and the petition was granted. Qarā Beg<sup>3</sup>—who had been long connected with that family—and M. Beg Qadīmī were sent to convey to the Mirzā the news of forgiveness and to bring him to court. Shāh Beg was appointed to watch over that country. On the day of exaltation (sharf) Khawāja Daulat Nāzīr was promoted on account of his good service and received the high dignity of Khanship. On this day Mir Haidar M'aammāi (riddle-

assigned to Jabāngīr. The Aḥadīs were to get their pay from the imperial treasury.

<sup>1</sup> He was only six.

<sup>2</sup> Text, *tan shud*. Tan is a contraction for *tandhwāl*. See Irvine's Moghul Army, p. 39, and also the Cawnpore Akbarnama editor's note on the passage in text.

<sup>3</sup> See Mas̄ir III. 299, which calls him Qarā Beg Kūrjāi and says he was an old servant of Sultān Husain but had run away from Mozaffar Akbar made him *faragh begī*.

<sup>4</sup> B. 593. He is Rafī of Kāshān. Badayūnī III. 232.





maker) came from Persia, and had an audience, and was gratified by princely favours. On the 20th Shiroyah the son of Sherāfgan (B. 455) received the title of Khān, and that good servant's wishes were gratified. On the 30th, Jabbārī the son of Majnūn K. Qāqshāl was released and treated with favour. From associating with wicked men, he had rebelled in Bengal. When he was arrested, he was sent to the school of the prison. Signs of repentance were read on his forehead, and he was released. On 1 Arđibihisht (11 or 12 April, 1594) Mullā Sālah Bokhārī came from Tūrān, and had the bliss of kissing the threshold. He was acquainted with the current sciences, and was to some extent free from bigotry. At this time Hakīm 'Alī Gīlānī made a wonderful tank.<sup>1</sup> There was a passage in it to a room (kāshāna), and a wonderful thing was that the water of the tank did not enter it. Men who went down into it to find the entrance had much trouble, and many returned from half-way. On the 5th H.M. went to inspect it, and personally went down. He did not listen to the warnings of men and entered the place, and **651** stayed for some time. The spectators<sup>2</sup> nearly died (of terror), but came to themselves on hearing of his welfare. I lost my senses on seeing this misplaced courage, but submitted to fate and remained silent. On 1 Khurdād Hājī Habīb Ullah died. He was one of the good men of the world, and enjoyed H.M.'s favour. On this day Sharīf Wuqūfī<sup>3</sup> died. On the 13th Samānjī K. was summoned from Oudh, and was exalted by doing homage. Next morning Qāsim K. was sent off to Kabul, and Shāh Beg K. was sent to his fiefs in Khūshāb and Bangash, and an order was issued that he should prepare for an expedition, and march to Qandahar whenever the officers going there should summon him. In this year the Jām came to Prince

<sup>1</sup> B. 466 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 273. See also Māagir I. 570, whose account seems taken partly from the Iqbāl-nāma, Part 2. It is said there that the water was kept out of the chamber by means of air. See also the quotation from the Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh. Elliot VI. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Bīnandagārrā, but the variant bandagānrā has the support of the

I.O. MSS. The next sentence is obscure, but apparently the bejā dilerī refers to Akbar, and A. F. intimates that he did not approve of it. See note in Cawnpore ed. Perhaps A. F. means that he followed Akbar into the chamber, but if so, he would probably have described it.

<sup>3</sup> A poet. See B. 591 and Badayūnī III. 378.





Sultān Murād, and enjoyed eternal bliss. On this day Naurang K. died of diarrhoea near Jūnagarh. His survivors were cared for by H.M.

At this time the thorn-brake of falsehood was uprooted and a world had repose. The collectors of the Khālṣa, the fief-holders and the assayers (*ṣairafī*) of the mint were summoned, and a proper test and just weight were assigned to the coins. On the 15th the charge of this work was given to Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn. His disinterestedness and laboriousness remedied in the course of two months the old disease of the gold and silver. The embezzlers retired into obscurity. Also on this day Ism'ail Qulī K. was deputed to Kūlpī in order that he might develop the *jāgīr*, and make himself ready for service. On the 20th, 'Abdu-r-razzāq M'amūrī arrived from Gujarat, and had an audience. Next morning Muḥammad Yār, the daughter's son of Gulbadan Begam, from illfatedness, went off to the hills with some companions. He hurried off with rebellious designs. Silhadi and Danmandās and others were sent after them. Khair Ullah Kotwāl went a little ahead and contrived to detain them by words, so that the others came up. Some were killed and he and seven others were made prisoners. Fourteen rubies, a chaplet of choice pearls, some embroidered jewels (*marazz'aāl*) and much property were taken from him. On the 24th Rajah Mān Singh was sent off to Bengal after receiving weighty counsels, in order that he might carry out the royal regulations. On the 30th a ship was completed on the banks of the Rāvi. The length of the keel (*cobī*), which formed the foundation of this wooden house, was 35 Ilāhī yards. 2936 large planks (*shahtīr*) of *sāl* and pine (*nāgā*),<sup>1</sup> and 468 *mans* two *sīrs* of iron, were used in building it, and 240 carpenters and blacksmiths 652 and others were employed. H.M. went to see the spectacle. A thousand persons struggled to drag it along. In ten days it was brought from the dry land to the water, and sent to Bandar Laharī. There was much difficulty on account of deficiency of water. On 20 Tīr Miyān Karm Ullah died of illness in Saronj. His children were provided for by H.M. On 7 Amardād Durjan Kachwāha, who was one of the confidential servants, died.

One of the occurrences was the death of Qāsim K. and the punishment of Muḥammad Zamān. It has been mentioned that a

<sup>1</sup> Text has wrongly *nākhūd*. See about ships. B. 280.





native of Andijān gave himself out as the son of M. Shāhrukh, and that ignorant people accepted him. As he had attached himself to eternal dominion, he had some success. When by baseness he dropped that thread from his hand, he sank into the abyss of failure. The hill-men became disgusted with him on account of his misconduct, and the soldiers of Tūrān prevailed over him. When he failed, he formed a friendship with the Hazārahs of Afghanistan, thinking that with their help he might make a disturbance in that country. When Qāsim K. went to court, he (M. Zamān) came to this tribe with a hundred followers. He represented to the road-patrols that he was going to court, and they believed this and informed Hāshim K., the son of Qāsim K. He sent 'Alī Sher Makrī, Selim Beg and Allah Dost with 500 men to escort him. That villain, when he passed Panjsher, hurried off to the houses of the Hazāra. When Hāshim K. heard this, he quickly went there in person, and encountered M. Zamān near Maidān. There was a slight engagement, and Qarā Beg Bahādur, Jahāngir Beg and some others of the victorious troops were killed. M. Zamān was defeated and made prisoner and brought to Kabul. When Qāsim K. came there, he, out of simplicity, gave M. Zamān a place near himself, and but slightly guarded him. He took his companions into service, and in accordance with commands set about arranging for sending him to court. He appointed Hāshim Beg as his conductor. The villain conspired with 500 Badakhshīs and watched for an opportunity of assassination. The leaders of the plot were Mīr Shamas K., 'Āqil Qāzizāda Baqlānī, and Gadā Beg Hīṣārī. Some suggested that Hāshim K. should be killed on the road, and some proposed that father and son should be put to death in the city. They would get abundant plunder, and obtain possession of a cultivated country. On 12 Amardād the villain sent a message to Hāshim Beg, and represented his dulness and begged him to come and have a game at dice (*nardbāzī*). His sole idea was to get rid of both father and son at one time. Hāshim was preparing for his journey, and did not come. At midday Qāsim K. finished his food and went to sleep. There was no one near him except some servants. The rebels appointed some to go to Hāshim K.'s house, and went off to attack Qāsim K. He bravely gave up his life, and they cut off his head and set it on a spear. Khwāja Arbāb and Khudādād Khāsakhel lost their lives in good service.





Hāshim K. came out to quell the disturbance. Active men were sent to close the gates of the fort; soon the state of affairs was known. Hāshim then went to the citadel. The shutting of the gates helped the conclusion of the matter, for many of the rebels could not get in. When he came there, he broke the bolts and there was a hot engagement, and several were killed. Some active men got upon the wall and discharged bullets and arrows. Many of the rebels were killed, but some got into the wardrobe-room (*toshakh khāna*) which formerly was the arsenal. Their idea was that they would get shelter and get materials for fighting. Brave men watched the door and whoever came out was killed. They opened the roof and threw fire inside. The rebels were bewildered and threw themselves into the warm-bathroom, which was close by. They were compelled to come out, one by one, and were killed. Things went on in this manner from midday till the end of the night. At dawn eighty men came out together, and lost their lives. Meanwhile the ringleader (*M. Zamān*) was killed. The fight went on till another midday, and there was a glorious victory. As he was doomed, foresight deserted Qāsim K., and though well-wishers informed him of the rebellion that was meditated, it was of no avail. Though all the soldiers and artizans (*shāgird pasha*) put their hands to the work, M. Ahmadi, Mīr Momin, Mīr 'Abdullah, Allah Dost and Maḥabbat K. made great efforts side by side with Hāshim K. His courage and skill were conspicuous. No one lost his life. At the end of the day there was again some disturbance. Hāshim Beg and other brave men armed themselves. Five men who were breathing their last breath in the bathroom came out, thinking that it was night and that they might escape. They were soon killed. Next day Hāshim Beg seized every Badakhshī that he could hear of and killed him, and some injustice was done. He reported that on the first day he, on account of the little help he received, and the number of the enemy, had thought of killing himself. The comforting warcry of the Shāh was heard by many and gave strength to the despairing. Malik Moẓaffar Mas'ūdābādī used to say, "On the day of the disturbance I was coming to the city of Kabul and on the way I encountered some noble figures on horseback. When I looked closely at them, I discerned among them the king. He had a dark tiara on his head, and a cloak round his breast. I supplicated him, and was greatly as-





tonished. He said, 'Tell no one, for I have a work in hand.'

654 Mādhū Das reported, "On the night that was pregnant with this adventure, I saw my *Pir* in a dream, and I asked him why he came. He replied that the *Shāhinshāh* had come there for a purpose, and that many imperial servants were in attendance on him." Some reported, "When we set out, we were very few in number, but from every side soldiers gathered together in troops, and fought." There is nothing in this to wonder at. The great ones of horizons do such things. What difficulty there is then about chosen spirits! On the 23rd *Hājī* Muḥammad Maṣḥadī, and Yūsuf the brother of 'Alī Dād Kashmīrī conveyed the rebel's head to court. H.M. was somewhat grieved at the death of so able an Amīr, but returned thanks to God for the glorious victory, and royally rewarded the good servants. He sent Mīrak and Qarā Aḥadī with a gracious message, a choice *khilāt*, a sword, and an embroidered belt. The charge of Kabulistan was given to Qulij K., and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was made *Dīwān-i-Kul* in his room. Jaunpūr, which was the *jāgīr* of Qulij K., was made the fief of M. Yūsuf K. Kashmīr was given to Aḥmad Beg,<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Qulī Beg, Hamza Beg, Ḥasan Beg Gurd, Ḥasan 'Alī 'Arab, and Muḥammad Beg Aimāq of Badakhshān. Sharif K. was sent off to guard Ghaznīn, and thus an old desire of his was gratified. On 2 *Shahriyūr* Āṣaf K. was sent to Kashmīr in order that he might make a new and proper division among the *jāgīrdārs*, and that the saffron and the game might become crown-property. On the 11th Qulij K. received weighty advices and went to Kabul. He was favoured with a choice *khilāt* and a special horse. On the 30th news came that M. Koka had returned to Gujarat. He arrived at the same harbour as he had set out from. He desired to kiss the threshold and was busy with preparations for the journey. The gracious sovereign sent him choice *khilāts* and numerous swift horses and camels.

One of the occurrences was the sending of troops to the northern hills (i.e. the Siwaliks). Though the Rajahs and chiefs of that hill-country did not cast away the thread of submission, yet their shortness of view and the strength of their country carried them somewhat out of the road (of obedience). At this time the demon of

<sup>1</sup> Aḥmed Beg Kabuli, B. 465, and the Maṣḥūr L.





arrogance took possession of them, and they behaved improperly. On 1 Mihr S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī, Husain Beg Shaikh 'Umari, 'Alī<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Darbārī, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Aḥmad Qāsim, Muḥammad K. Turkamān, Naṣīr K., Junaid Mural, Ulugh Beg Kulābi, Abdūl Sīāh Gosh, Dost Muḥammad Barwatī, and many others, were sent off in order that if the Rajahs did not take advice, their rust might be cleared off by the shining sword. On 12 Mihr, 22 September 1594, the writer of the noble volume went to the resting place of his honoured father and mother, and in obedience to (their) orders sent off the bodies of both these chosen ones of God to Agra the capital, and buried them in the old home.

655

On 2 Ābān the feast of the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles, and crowds of necessitous persons had their wishes gratified. On the 4th he crossed the Rāvi for the purpose of hunting beasts of prey. Next morning he alighted at Faḏlābād, which was a house which the writer of the book of fortune had built on the roadside. By this, eternal glory was conferred (on A.F.). On the 14th Khwāja<sup>2</sup> Nizām-d-din Aḥmad Bakhshī became very ill near Shāham 'Alī from a high fever. His sons obtained leave and conveyed him to Lahore. He died on the bank of the Rāvi. H.M.'s discerning heart was somewhat grieved, and he begged forgiveness for him at the court of God. Strangers and acquaintances mourned, and honesty (*rāstī*) indulged in grief. It is to be hoped that his right-thinking will be a provision for him on his long journey. On the 21st, after the passing of 8 hours and 28 minutes, a sister to Sulṭān Parvīz was born. It is the rule that H.M. promptly gives names to the children and grandchildren. Though the inner servants expressed a wish that he would do this, he did not accept the proposition. Suddenly that newly-born one descended into non-existence, and H.M.'s knowledge of hidden things was anew displayed! On the 28th he reached Lahore, and high and low rejoiced. He went to Ḥāfiẓābād and then returned. On the

<sup>1</sup> Faizī S. says he is commonly known as 'Alī Muhammad Asp. See B. 492. He was at one time in M. Ḥakīm's service. For his long account of this expedition see Elliot VI. 125.

<sup>2</sup> The historian. He was an universal favourite and an excellent man. See Badayūnī. Lowe, 411. He died on 23 Safr 1003 = 28 October, 1594.





6th Āzar he sent Qāzī Ḥasan to the northern mountains. As S. Farīd had done much work in that quarter, it was ordered that he should be recalled, and that the envoy (Qāzī Ḥasan) should finish the task with the help of Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umārī. On this day Shīroza K. was sent to Ajmere in order that he might become acquainted with the soldiers and peasantry, and might promote happiness by the administration of justice. On the 13th M. Koka had the bliss of an audience. When he glorified his forehead by prostration, H.M. raised his head by the hand of graciousness, and embraced him. From exceeding love, tears fell from his eyes, and he called his (the Mirzā's) mother into the presence and relieved her of her dangerous sorrow. He was favoured by being made a Panjhazārī (5,000), and was named the Khān 'Ā'zam. It was left to his choice as to whether he should take his jagīrs in Gujarat, or in the Panjāb, Bihar, etc. He chose Bihar. His sons also received manṣabs and fiefs. The idea of great and small had been, that he would not return to this country (India). One morning, at the hunting-ground of Suṭānpūr, H.M. said, "M. Koka will soon repent and convey the face of apology to court." In a short space of time his heart emerged from darkness, but he remained in a state of bewilderment. He had not the effrontery to return, and he could not think of staying. Suddenly, he became aware again of H.M.'s graciousness, and giving up all other ideas he set out on the ocean. In twenty-four days he came back from the port of Balāiwal, and gathered eternal bliss by paying his devotions (to Akbar). A new aspect was given to submission. On this day 'Alī Muḥammad Asp brought to  
656 court Bahabū the zamindār of Jasrota. When S. Farīd went to the northern mountains, he adroitly came and paid his respects. As his craftiness was proved, he was seized and sent to court. On the 16th S'ādat Yār Koka died. His elementary constituents were dissolved by excessive drinking. H.M. implored mercy for him. He graciously went to the house of his sister Ḥājī<sup>1</sup> Koka and administered consolation. He also showed suitable kindness to his children.

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the Maasīru-l-Umarā that she lived into Jahāngīr's reign, and was superintendent of the Harem (Ṣadr-anās). See Tāzūk J.

21 and translation, p. 46, where it is stated that Jahāngīr employed her to present the women who were worthy to receive money and land.





One of the occurrences was the return of the Persian ambassador. A long time ago Yādgār Sultān Shāmlū had brought a supplicatory letter from the ruler of that country along with presents. On the 23rd he received a gracious *firmān* and permission to depart. Ziyā-al-Mulk was sent with him as ambassador and Abū Nāṣir as custodian of the presents. An order was given that they should go by the Rāvi to Bandar Lāharī, and from thence to Persia by way of Ormuz. A weighty letter from the court of the Caliphate was written which might be of use to the acute, and an arm-amulet of fortune.

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## CHAPTER CXX.

LETTER OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO PERSIA, ACCOUNT OF THE  
OTTOMAN DYNASTY.

Allah Akbar. Praise and supplication of the sublime threshold of the Unity—Glory be to the Name—are such that if all the niceties of Reason, and all the Categories of Intellect together with the armies of the Intelligences, and hosts of the Sciences, were gathered together, they would not amount to one letter of that book or to one ray of that sun, though, in the eyes of truth, all the motes of existence are a fountain-head of Divine praise, which with a tongueless tongue come forth and moisten the parched lips and burnt-up throats of non-existence with true praise! It is better then to shorten the lasso of thought before the pinnacle of eternal glory—to which the pure spirits (the angels) cling—and to apply oneself to the laudation of the glorious company of the prophets and apostles—on whom be benediction and peace! Let us proclaim in the pulpits of publicity; firstly, their glorious conditions, and secondly, the beautiful gifts whereby they have led mankind from the defiles of error into the highway of favour and guidance, and let us tell of the bounties and noble qualities of the “members of the household” (*Ahl-i-bait*) who are confidants of the great secrets, and unveilers of the mysteries of the prophets, and let us, relying thereupon, implore new mercy! But inasmuch as on a just view it appears that the praises<sup>1</sup> of those shewers forth of things Divine and human, and that the greatness of that assemblage of spirits who have been consumed in the search for truth and who are transitory in the midst of permanency, are a shadow of the praises of Omnipotence, it is fitting that we abstain from this likewise, and place on the preamble of our statement some points from the current performances of the masters of wisdom, with whose practical science the administration of mundane affairs is associated. For assuredly, in this way do the zealous travel-

<sup>1</sup> There is a difference of reading here.





lers on the paths of faith, and those who slake themselves at the fountains of truth—who have set before themselves the refreshing of the categories of the visible and invisible—become affused with auspiciousness! 657

Glory be to God the great and holy! The beholding of the pure and honoured letter which was sent along with Yādgar Sultān Shāmlū in the midst of spring and at the time of the equability of night and day made our loving soul to exult. The joyous breeze of the tulips and fragrant flowers became insinuated into the convolutions of the brain, for this nosegay of love and friendship conveyed the perfume of unanimity. What you have written about the delay in writing letters of affection is very appropriate. In truth, spiritual relationships require that there should not be such delays. But you must have heard from coners and goers what great affairs, and continued wars, have occurred to us against the princes of India, which has been reckoned by geometricians as four-sixths of the seven climes. During this long period, this vast country which was shared among so many independent chiefs and martial rulers has by the Divine aid been conquered by the imperial servants. From the mountains of the Hindu Koh to the shores of the ocean all the rebels and stiff-necked ones of three directions—strongfisted<sup>1</sup> rulers and arrogant rajahs, shortsighted Afghan mountaineers, swiftly-careering, desert-dwelling Balūcis and other fortress-dwellers and land-owners—have, one and all, come into the shade of obedience, and the tribes of mankind have enjoyed equability in concord. By the Divine aid that which was revolving in our truth-choosing soul has become accomplished fact. When the Panjab had become the seat of sovereignty it was our secret design to send an able ambassador, but some undertakings intervened. The chief of these was the deliverance of the inhabitants of the heart-rejoicing country of Kashmir from the hands of villanous tyrants. In spite of the strength of the country, and the long marches, the lofty mountains, the dense forests, the numerous ravines—which can with difficulty be crossed by the forces of the imagination—were by grasping the strong cable of Divine aid by the support of the spirits of the holy Imāms—May Peace be upon them—traversed by the sublime army in an excellent

<sup>1</sup> Text has wrongly *zerdast* instead of *zabardast*. See Errata.





fashion. Several thousand active stone-cutters went on, stage by stage, in advance, and put forth the hand of ability in eradicating  
858 rocks and in cutting down forests and in making roads. Accordingly, that delightful country was conquered in a short time, and the standards of justice waved over the inhabitants in general. When that splendid country—which is lauded by all spectators who approve of beauty—was granted to us by the Divine favour, we ourselves went there and offered up our thanksgivings. We journeyed on to the hill-country of Tibet and then proceeded by the route of Paklī and Damtaur—which is a very difficult route—to Kabul and Ghaznīn. We chastised the carnivorous Afghans, the brigands who in the country of Swād, Bajaur and Bangash, are a stone of stumbling to travellers to Tūrān, and we punished the wicked Balūcis, and other desert-dwellers who are of a bestial nature, and are deceitful foxes, and who are a thorn in the path of Persian travellers. There were incidents, but the root of the delay (in writing) was the confusion in Persia and the distracted state of that country after the inevitable event (of the death) of H.M. the Shāh (Muḥammad Khudābanda)—May God make his proof clear. At the time when the ambassador arrived with an auspicious message, it became known that the confusion was diminishing. Assuredly, our anxious heart was comforted on hearing this news. It was infused into our soul based upon truth that at this time it was not consonant to humanity and liberality merely to make inquiries. The consolation which it occurred to us was to give every assistance that could be desired. But the affairs of Qandahār intervened, for the Mīrzās there showed slackness in assisting the sublime family (that of the Safavī dynasty), and on the occurrence of accidents and misfortunes—which is the time for testing the jewel of fidelity—they did not at all show marks of concord and unanimity. Nor did they repair to our sublime asylum, which is the native land of the masters of delight and ease. It therefore occurred to us that we should in the first place make over Qandahar to our own people. Should the Mīrzās come to comprehend the nature of our daily-increasing dominion and repent of their past deeds, and render service to the representative of the flower of the pure and holy, our victorious troops would join with them and perform every act of assistance that that darling of the Sultanate (Shāh ‘Abbās) might desire. But as the Mīrzās had ancient





connections with our holy family and as the sending of our victorious hosts without making previous inquiry would appear, to the short-sighted general public, to be a breaking of ties, we abstained from it. Meanwhile Rustum M. arrived, and the province of Multan—which is several times larger than Qandahar—was conferred on him. And Mozaffar Husain M. on hearing of our benignities sent his mother and his eldest son, and meditated coming in person. After his arrival the victorious army will proceed to Qandahār and will easily perform every kind of help. As in the rules of sovereignty and the religion of humanity, concord is preferable to opposition and peace better than war, and especially as it has been our disposition from the beginning of our attaining discretion to this day not to pay attention to differences of religion and variety of manners and to regard 659 the tribes of mankind as the servants of God, we have endeavoured to regulate mankind in general. The blessings of this lofty principle—which is in accord with magnanimity—have once and again showed themselves. At this time when the Panjab was the seat of government our firm intention had been to uprear the sublime standards towards Transoxiana which was the country of our ancestors, so that both might that country come into the possession of the imperial servants, and also that the family of the prophets (the Safavī family) might be assisted in a suitable manner. Meanwhile the asylum of benevolence ‘Abdullah K. the ruler of Tūrān sent, time after time, loving letters referring to ancient relationships, and confirmatory of affection, by the instrumentality of skilful ambassadors, and thereby set in motion the chain of concord and devotion and laid the foundation of affection. As to go to war with one who is disposed to be peaceable is contrary to the Divine decrees and is disapproved of in the balance of lofty reason, our head turned away from this project. Stranger still: As yet nothing which could be completely relied upon has been heard from persons arriving from that country about the reformation of the disorders of Persia and the Persians, nor has any truthful exposition been obtained about the fundamental character of that scion of purity (Shāh ‘Abbās). We hope that knowing that our loving heart is disposed towards every kind of subject and enterprise, you will tread the beautiful path of correspondence and cause the arrival of truthful, diurnal reports. At the present day, when there are very few wise and acute men who look to the future





in Persia, it behoves that cream of lofty ancestors (S. 'Abbās) to exert himself greatly in the management of the country and in the conciliation of all the inhabitants. In every undertaking he must regard caution and have a thought of the final result, and he must not let his heart be perplexed by the fictions of interested people and the lies of intriguing weavers of tales. He must practise endurance of burdens and the ignoring of the mistakes of hereditary servants and new employés, and advance the sincere, and by the light of graciousness cleanse the rust of darkness from off the hypocritical. He must also exercise supreme caution before putting any one to death and destroying what is an edifice of God. Many life-friends have been removed from their near position by the craft of self-interested enemies and have drunk the blood of death, and many enemies and seeming friends have donned the garb of loyalty and engaged in destroying the foundations of dominion. Ample thought must be exercised in studying the hearts and secrets of those men. The lent fortune of this transitory state must be made submissive to the Divine pleasure. The sections of mankind, who are a Divine deposit and treasure, must be regarded with the glance of affection, and efforts must be made to conciliate their hearts. It must be considered that the Divine mercy attaches itself to every form of creed, and supreme exertions must be made to bring oneself into the ever vernal flower-garden of "Peace with all." The increase of one's good fortune must always be kept in full view, for the eternal God is bounteous to all souls and conditions of men. Hence it is fitting that kings, who are the shadow of Divinity, should not cast away this principle. For, the Creator has given this sublime order (that of kings) for the discipline and guardianship of all mankind, so that they may watch over the honour and reputation of every class. Men do not knowingly and intentionally make mistakes in worldly affairs, which are unsubstantial and pass away, why then should they be negligent in the affairs of faith and religion, which are permanent and everlasting? In fine, the position of every sect comes under one of two categories. Either it is in possession of Truth, and in that case one should seek direction from it and accept its views. Or it is in the wrong, and then it is unfortunate and suffering from the disease of ignorance, and is a subject for pitying kindness, and not for harshness and reproach. One must exercise wide toleration and knock at the door of inspec-





tion, for in this way will the veil be removed from the wide extent of spiritualities and temporalities, and there will be ample life and fortune. One of the advantages of this method is that at a time of want of leisure and of the predominance of wrath, friends will not be destroyed under the idea that they are enemies, and that enemies masquerading as friends will not have an opportunity for deceit. One must strenuously adhere to one's word, for this is a pillar of rule. Patience and endurance must ever be one's companions, for the maintenance of permanent dominion depends thereon. Let it not be concealed that it was our intention to dispatch one of our chosen confidants along with Yādgūr Sultān in order that he might learn the real facts about Persia and report to us. Meanwhile a number of rebels and strife-mongers rose up in Kashmīr. We were in the hunting-ground with a few intimates when the news of this arrived. A Divine inspiration made us proceed thither rapidly, and we had not reached Kashmīr when gallant heroes—who out of necessity had become the companions of this rebellious crew—got their opportunity and brought the head of the ringleader to us. When that territory had become, by the blessing of our advent, a site of peace and tranquillity, we returned and came to Lahore. At this time the ruler of Siwistān, Tattah and Sind—which are on the route to Persia—had the temerity and ill fortune to engage in war with the troops who are associated with victory, and the route to 'Irāq and Khurāsān became closed. Hence there has been delay in sending an ambassador. Now, that our holy heart is free from all cares, and that Siwistān and Tattah have been incorporated in the empire, and that M. Jānī Beg the ruler thereof has appeared at our court and done homage, and that we have read on his forehead the marks of repentance and devotion, we have restored that country to him. The route to 'Irāq has thus become shorter and safer than before, and we have given him his dismissal (to Tattah). We send Ziyā-al-Mulk<sup>1</sup> who is the 661 essence of trustworthiness and devotion, and have confided to him some loving expressions which he will communicate to you in private. He will also ascertain the state of affairs in Persia and report to us. Some rarities of this country have been entrusted to Khwāja Abū Nāṣir. We hope that you will consider this abode of dominion

<sup>1</sup> B. 497, where he is styled "of Kāshān."





as your own house and pursue a line of conduct contrary to that of former times, and will consider the despatch of letters—which are a spiritual conversation—as appertaining to the rules of concord. May God Almighty ever preserve that cream of a chosen family from deceits and wiles and succour him by secret aids !

On 24 Āzar Āṣaf K. arrived in three days from Kashmīr, and reported the revenue of the country to be, according to the settlement of Qāzī ‘Alī, 31 lakhs of *kharwārs*, each of 24 *dāms*. He had pacified the soldiers and the peasantry and distributed the fiefs in a proper manner. On the 26th, ‘Imād-ul-Mulk sent an excellent royal falcon to court. The connoisseurs were much astonished, and H.M. said that in the year in which he conquered Surat such a falcon<sup>1</sup> had been sent to him, and that he had sent it to Munīm K. by the hands of Subhān Qulī Turk.

On 1st Dai the “king of poets” S. Abū Faiṣ Faizī presented the poem of Nal Daman, and was much commended. In the thirtieth Divine year that cavalier of the plain of eloquence conceived the idea of making the *khamṣa* (Nizāmī’s Pentad) the arena of his heaven-embracing genius. He composed the Markaz-i-adwār after the model of the Makhzan-i-asrār in 3,000 verses, the Sulaimān and Bilqīs after the model of the Khusrū and Shīrīn, and the Nal Daman—which is one of the old stories of this country—after the model of the Laila and Majnūn. The last two consisted, each, of 4,000 verses. He also composed the Haft Kishwar in 5,000 verses after the style of the Haft Paikar, and arranged the Akbarnāma according to the metre of the Sikandarnāma. In the same style (as Nizāmī?) he made in verse a catalogue of the glories of the Shāhinshāh. At that period (the 30th year) he commenced the first poem. Inasmuch as genius is attached to the antechamber of intelligence, his soul in no way grew cold, and he continually, by virtue of his inspiration and delightsomeness, produced new work. In a short time he executed the preambles of all five works together with several tales which increased the understanding of the enlightened and

<sup>1</sup> Text توغان. A note explains that a white falcon is so called. It appears from P. de Courteille’s Dict. that the proper spelling is توغن.

*Tūrgūn*. Apparently the bird was sent from Gujarāt. ‘Imād-al-Mulk was a Gujarātī title.





critical. As the foundation of poetry has been placed on fancy and fiction, H.M. pays less regard to it. Still that unique one of the banquet of appreciation on the appearance of a choice poem expressed a wish to discourse about it. He (Faizī) out of proper devotion and auspiciousness withdrew himself from the troop of futile rhymesters. He preserved silence and studied deeply philosophical works. He revered great spirits and exercised himself in praise of the Deity. Though his intimates urged him to build up these five palaces, he did not assent. The whole design of spiritual conquests is to erase the marks of existence; not to adorn the antechamber of renown. At length,<sup>1</sup> in this year, the wise throne-occupant sent for that knower of spiritual and physical mysteries and bade him complete that *Panjnāma* (pentad). He also indicated that he should begin by putting the tale of Nal Damah into the balance of words. In four months, four thousand verses were completed in a variegated and decorated manner.

On the 4th S. Farid Bakhshī Begī returned from the northern hills, and was exalted by doing homage. On the 6th, Ādat Dās Kashmīrī died. He was singular in that country for his knowledge and rectitude, and by his fortunate star he was admitted to the august society (of Akbar). On the 8th M. Yūsuf K. was made *dārogha* of the Artillery, and Shāh Beg Qandahārī was made the *Dīwān* of that department. On this day the Mota Rajah arrived from his estate of Jodhpūr and had an audience. At this time—when the vines in Hindustan did not bear—a grape was produced in Ḥasan Abdāl which was called ox-eye (*dīda-i-gāo*), and Mīr Ḥusain showed it to H.M. Next morning Hāshim Beg came from Kabul and did homage, and was exalted by princely favours. On the 24th, after the passing of 3½ hours, a daughter was born in the harem of Prince Sulṭān Selīm by the daughter of ‘Abdullah Bilūc. It is hoped that she may become a source of increased fortune. In the end of this month Sulṭān Murād, the ruler of Turkey, died. Twelve days afterwards, when his son Sulṭān Muḥammad was brought out

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 410. In the preface to his translation of Ayeen Akberī Gladwin speaks of a poem by Faizī in six hundred couplets in particular commendation of every

person who held even the smallest office at Court. This poem I have never been able to find. It does not occur in any copy of the Ain that I have seen.





of the fortress, he was buried, and Sultān Muḥammad, from somnolence of understanding and stony-heartedness, put to death his nineteen brothers, the eldest of whom was twenty years old. On hearing of this, H.M. said, "It is very strange that the river of sovereignty has remained full in his house. If some prosperity attends this malicious and selfish man, it apparently must be as a means of retribution for mankind. He who seeks to follow wisdom does not (try to) comprehend the marvels of destiny."

*Verse.*

Faiẓī, open the ear of the heart and the eye of the mind.  
Dedicate those eyes and ears to the work of the world.  
Behold the wonders of the Age and close your lips.  
Listen to the tale of the epoch and close your eye.

663 Sultan Malik Shāh Seljūqī took Syria<sup>1</sup> from the Christians<sup>1</sup> and made it over to his connexions and servants. When the dominion of the Seljūq family in Irāq and Khurāsān came to an end, the Seljūqs in Turkey somewhat increased in prosperity. The first (of the Seljūqs of Turkey) was Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Qulij Arslān, then came his son Sultān Raknu-d-dīn, then Sultān Ghānu-d-dīn, then 'Azza-u-dīn Kaikāūs, and then Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Kaiqubād. Many reckon 'Azza-u-dīn as the last of this dynasty, others add two other descendants of 'Alāu-d-dīn. Seljūq was descended by twenty-four generations from Afrāsiyāb. He had four sons: Michael, Israil,<sup>2</sup> Mūsā, and Yūnas. In 375 A.H., 985-86 A.D., they came from the defiles of Turkīstan to Transoxiana, and from there to Khurāsān. Then the sons of Michael,

<sup>1</sup> *Nāqūsparastān* "the worshippers of the *nāqūs*," the wooden gong of the Eastern Christians. But the text seems corrupt. The MSS. I have seen have not the words *nāqūsparastān*, and this seems an absurd name for Christians. The MSS. vary, but I.O. MS. 236 has *Armān-ūš tarsā* "Armenian Christians (?) and I.O. MS. 3296, No. 259 of Ethé, has *az nāmūs tarsā* "Christian leaders."

All the MSS. have Rūmīstān, i.e. Turkey, instead of the Ardistan of the text, which is a town in Persia. Perhaps what A.F. wrote was Anthakīe, i.e. Antioch. D'Herbelot says Malik Shāh's conquests extended to that city. Gibbon may be consulted about the Turks and Seljuks.

<sup>2</sup> Isrāfil in text. The *Ḥabību-s-siyar*, etc., says there were 34 generations between Seljūq and Afrāsiyāb.





viz. Toghril and J'aafir Beg, became great. Their dynasty ended after 117<sup>1</sup> years. Then the prosperity of the Qarāmān Begs (of Caramania) began. This too came to an end after 173 years in the time of Ibrāhīm Beg. The Oṣmān (Ottoman) dynasty began in 688 A.H., and the Oṣmān year and month are counted from him (?). It is said he was born in 648.<sup>2</sup> Various accounts are given of his success. He reigned 37 or 39 years. In some ancient histories he is said to be descended from Aghuz K. (His genealogy is) Oṣmān s. Toghril s. Sulaimān, s. Qiyālat, s. Qazil Būqā, s. Payindar, s. Ajūl Ṣafī Āqā, s. Tughān, s. Qandasūn, s. Māitwaqūn, s. Bāqī Āqā, s. Sūncaq Āqā, s. Bakhtamūr, s. Būsāqī, s. Lak 'Alī (Kok Alp K.), s. Aghuz, s. Qarā K. They say that Oṣmān's grandfather Sulaimān Shāh possessed the city of Mahān (in Khurāsān). When the Moghuls disturbed the world, he proceeded with his family to Rūmistān. On account of difference of religion, he attacked and plundered the country. He fought battles at Amāsīa,<sup>3</sup> and from there went on towards Aleppo. He lost his life in crossing the Euphrates. Ūr Khān (Orkhān) his (Oṣmān's) son succeeded him, and died after administering justice for 55 or 32 years. His son Ghāzī Murād succeeded him, and conquered numerous territories. He became known as Murād K. With him began the practice of taking one-fifth of the captives<sup>4</sup> as the share of government. He also instituted the corps of the janissaries.<sup>5</sup> While he was hunting, Christian troops arrived and he fought bravely with them and was victorious. Suddenly some men in ambush came out of a cave and killed him. He died after 47 or 32 years of rule. He was succeeded by his son İldarim Bāyazid. He conquered Persia and Qirmān and attained high dignity. The accumulation of treasure, the keeping of accounts, and the drinking of wine in this country became current from him. He 684 fought a battle with Şāhib Qarānī (Timur) near Angora and was

<sup>1</sup> The variant 170 is supported by B.M. 22,247.

<sup>2</sup> In 656 or 1258 according to Stanley Lane-Poole.

<sup>3</sup> Abāsia in text. Birthplace of Strabo, and old capital of Pontus. Spelt Amāsyah in Ayīn, J. III 101. For genealogy of Uṣmān see the

Shajrāt-ul Atrak, Miles's translation, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Bandīyān. See Gibbon cap. 65 where he speaks of the "royal fifth of the captives."

<sup>5</sup> Nekcerī in text. Properly yenī cerī.





made prisoner. For 14 or 16 years he was successful. He had six sons. Mustāfa Calabī was missing after that battle. Sulaiman, who was called Calabī, took some country. He sent presents to the court of Sāhib Qarānī, and was submissive. Some land was left to him. Mūsā, who was an attendant on the stirrup, obtained some of the land of Rūm. The brothers fought with one another. One day Sulaimān was drinking wine in his hot bath. Mūsā attacked him. He came out alone and took shelter in a village, and the villagers killed him. He reigned 7 years. Mūsā became sole ruler and indulged in arrogance. From excessive suspiciousness and deficiency of wisdom he degraded the great, and raised up the slaves of gold. Sultān Muḥammad his brother rose up to contend with him and there were several battles. While he was flying, his horse stuck in the mud and the lamp of his life was extinguished.<sup>1</sup> He reigned either six or three years. Sultān Muḥammad upreared the banners of sovereignty. One Mustāfa claimed to be a prophet. The Sultān fought with him and killed him. He reigned for 5 or for 2 years. When the pains of death came upon him, he summoned his son Sultān Murād from Roumelia, but died before he arrived. He arrived after forty days. They proclaimed his (S. Muḥammad's) death and committed the body to the earth. Some soldiers rebelled. An obscure man claimed to be Mustāfa Calabī the son of İldarim Bāyazīd, and many believed on him. He took the country of Roumelia, and made an expedition against Anatolia.<sup>2</sup> The Sultān by the advice of some persons went to a saint, who was called Amīr J'aafirī,<sup>3</sup> and who lived a prayerful life in the city of Bursā (Brusa) which is the cemetery of the rulers of Turkey. The dervish inspired him, and in a short while the sedition-monger was seized and put to death. In the heat of success his heart grew cold to the world and he went into retirement, making his son Sultān Muḥammad his representative. He could not manage properly, and the violence of the Franks<sup>4</sup> somewhat disturbed the country. By entreaties, the leaders of the army induced that hermit to adorn again the throne. He quelled the disturbance and again retired into solitude. He left the administration to

<sup>1</sup> See D'Herbelot for accounts of Sulaimān, Mūsā and Muḥammad.

<sup>2</sup> Text Ābādānī.

<sup>3</sup> I.O. MS. 236 has Jafiratī, which is also given as a variant.

<sup>4</sup> See Errata where *karda* is changed to *giroh*.





the same son. After some time the janissaries became unmanageable and conspired to kill Khādim Pāsha the chief councillor. He fled and took shelter in the Sultān's place of retirement. By endurance of burdens, planning and increase of pay, the mutiny was quelled. Able men by much supplication again brought the hermit to the palace, and victories showed their countenance. The whole time of his rule was 27 or 30 years. When he went to the privy-chamber of non-existence, Sultān Muḥammad, after sixteen days, sate on the throne. Fortune rose up to do him homage. Apparently it was by her order that the tiara of rule did not show its glory during the lifetime of his father. He took Constantinople, which is famous as Istambūl, and made it the capital and chose it for his place of burial. He reigned for 31 years. On his death, his son Sultān Bāyazīd put the imperial crown on his head. The Egyptians prevailed against him, and some unfaithful soldiers joined his son Sultān Selīm. That turbulent one contended with his visible god (i.e. his father). And by the jugglery of the heavens he was victorious. He ended his (father's) life by poison<sup>1</sup> and acquired eternal abhorrence. Bāyazīd reigned thirty years. Afterwards the parricide obtained the sovereignty and fought a battle with Shāh Ismāil Ṣ'afavī in the plain of Khāldārān between Diārbikr and Azarbaijān. He defeated him and proceeded to attack the Egyptians. Sultān Qānsūi (Qānsūh Ghūrī) the ruler of that country was killed, and the dynasty of the Circassians came to an end.<sup>2</sup> Malik Ṣalīh, who was the last prince of the Ayūb family, died at Cairo in 648. His clan and his slaves raised his mother<sup>3</sup> to the power, and 'Izzau-d-dīn who belonged to the family was made commander-in-chief. When some time elapsed base and mercenary people raised 'Izzau-d-dīn to the sovereignty, and he is the first of the Circassian dynasty. From that time the power in Egypt and Syria fell into the hands of low slaves (the Mamlūks). The dominion of the Banī<sup>4</sup> 'Abbās—which was only nominal—also

<sup>1</sup> D'Herbelot says s. v. Selīm Khān that it is only the Christians who charge Selīm with parricide.

<sup>2</sup> This was in 922 (1516). After this A.F. turns backward and gives the history of the Circassian or Mamlūk princes.

<sup>3</sup> This is Shajar-al-durr, but she was Ṣalīh's widow, not his mother. The text has 348 but the variant 648 is right.

<sup>4</sup> The 'Abbasid Caliphs of Egypt. They had only spiritual authority.





came to an end. He (Selīm) reigned for ten or for seven<sup>1</sup> years and was succeeded by his son Sultān Sulaimān. Shāh Ism'ail sent choice presents and condolences and congratulations. He (Sulaiman) wrote "reply unnecessary<sup>2</sup>" and put his seal on the front of the letter (of Ism'ail) and made Ism'ail exceeding sorrowful. Sulaimān took Cyprus<sup>3</sup> and many countries from the Christians. He reigned for 48 years. Then his son Sultān Selīm (II) succeeded him. His brother Sultān Bāyazīd took shelter with his four sons with Shāh Tahmāsp the ruler of Persia, and lost his life. Sultān Selīm reigned seven or sixteen<sup>4</sup> years, and was succeeded by his son Sultān Murād. Though his empire became extensive the janissaries prevailed over him. They took the grand Vizier (buzurg dastūr) Muḥammad Pāshā (Sokolli) forcibly out of the palace and put him to a shameful death. He reigned for 25 years. In order to water my discourse I have gone somewhat out of my way to speak of this dynasty, and have provided a collyrium for the eyes. I return to the narrative of eternal dominion, which is my objective.

666 On 9 Bahman M. Yūsuf K. obtained leave to go to Jaunpūr in order that he might bring it into some degree of order and then return. On the 15th Shīdā Beg died. He was *taḥwīldār* of the Wardrobe.

<sup>1</sup> For 8 years 8 months according to D'Herbelot.

<sup>2</sup> *Beniyāsāna pāsālḥ nigāshṭa muḥur barū kard*. I think that *beniyāsāna pāsālḥ* must be what Sulaiman wrote on the envelope. The text has *barū* "on it," but I.O. MS. 236, B.M. MS. 27,247 and the Cawnpore ed. have *bar rū* "on the face." Perhaps the sting of this consisted in his not opening the letter and merely putting his seal on the face of it. But from Dorn's Hist. of the Afghans, p. 124, it appears that to put a seal on a letter was an affront, at least if the person doing so was of inferior rank. The following passage occurs there. "In short the governors of Mālwa, obeying Sher K.'s commands, sent letters of allegiance and loyalty,

with the only exception of Melloo K. who, from excessive folly and a wish to show his royal dignity, impressed his signet upon the letter, and notwithstanding the entreaties his well-wishers made to dissuade him, sent it off so. Sher K. on beholding the letter tore off the seal and preserved it, observing that the punishment for the impertinence would one day overtake him." Naturally, Sulaiman would despise Ism'ail as a Shīa, and it is rather strange that the latter should have gone out of his way to express grief at the death of Selīm his conqueror.

<sup>3</sup> Text *فارس* Persia.

<sup>4</sup> So in text and in I.O. MS. 236, but 16 is probably a mistake for 8.





From self-indulgence and drinking he seldom appeared on parade (*ba kashk*). H.M. became angry and on one occasion had him stripped and soured<sup>1</sup> with cold water. He died of the cold. It appeared that he had laid presumptuous hands on the private dresses. H.M. said, "God has punished him with nakedness for having donned stolen garments." At this time a supplicatory letter came from Khān Aḥmad Gilāni. On account of long prosperity, the strength of his country, and bad company, he had been insolent to Shāh Tahmāsp the ruler of Persia, and had been sent to the school of the prison. Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda released him, and sent him back to the government of Gilān. Envious tale-bearers incited Shāh 'Abbās against him. Out of ill-fatedness he set himself to fight (with 'Abbās). He was defeated and took refuge in Turkey. He was not appreciated there and not treated with favour. On the 23rd his envoy had an audience and presented a petition. It stated that he had long desired to have recourse to the sublime court, but could not accomplish his desire on account of the distance and the insecurity. At present he was passing his time in distress in Baghdad, and his old desire was occupying the skirt of his heart. The envoy was favourably received and made hopeful of royal favours. On 1 Isfandārmaz, after ten hours, a daughter<sup>2</sup> was born to Sultān Daniel by the daughter of Qulij K. It is hoped that her advent may increase prosperity.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Sīwi (Sibi).<sup>3</sup> It is a strong fort near Qandahār, and in old times was held by the ruler of Bhakkar. For a long time the Afghans had held it. Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn Bokhārī the fiefholder of Ūc, and Bakhtiyār Beg the fiefholder of Sīwistān, and Mīr Abū-l-Qāsim Tamkīn the *jāgirdār* of Bhakkar, and Mīr M'aṣūm and other soldiers of the province of Multan, received orders to proceed thither and to make advice the material of conquest. If they did not listen, they were to be punished. On 23 Dai they went out with this intention. The zamīndārs of

<sup>1</sup> This was in the month of Bahman which corresponds to January.

<sup>2</sup> Bālāqī Begam A.N. III. 837. Afterwards married to M. Walī Tūzuk, J. p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> In Baluchistan. The district is

now British. See I. G. XXII. 336. The town is S.E. Quetta and on the Sind-Pishān railway. See J. II. 328 n. and B. 362, and Elliot I. 237. It is a long way from Qandahar.





Ganjāba<sup>1</sup> and the other chiefs there—such as Daryā K. and Dāūd—submitted. On 3 Isfandārmaz they arrived at the fort. 5,000 men came out to fight, and after a short engagement they were defeated and retired into the fort. After investing it and preparing to take it, the garrison came to terms and gave up the keys. By this victory the country up to Qandahār, Kac<sup>2</sup> and Mekrān was included in the empire. The soldiers were distressed in that desert<sup>3</sup> from want of water. They made the world's lord the Divine instrument of worship and prayed for water. By the Divine favour in a short space of time, the dry bed of a turrent became full of water, and there came occasion for thanksgiving.

**667** On the 27th<sup>4</sup> the festival of the lunar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against eight articles, and the world sate down in the light of success.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot I. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Text Kīc. Cf. J. II. 336. It is Cutch.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. II. 328 where it is said that there is a vast desert between Sīwī and Bhakkar.

<sup>4</sup> The solar month was Isfandar-

maz, the last of the solar year. The birthday was on 5 Rajab, and in this year, 1003, Rajab began on 2 March. The last clause of the sentence refers, apparently, to the charities that were bestowed on the anniversary.





## CHAPTER CXXI.

BEGINNING OF THE 40TH YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR TIR OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On Tuesday, 9 Rajab 1003, after 3 hours, 33 minutes, the world-lighting sun illuminated the sign of Aries, and the fourth year of the fourth cycle conveyed the news of eternal dominion. The world's Commander returned fresh thanks to God, and adorned nineteen days with varied celebrations. The dejected of heart became exhilarated, the savage became sociable.

*Verse.*

Allah Akbar! What eternal bliss is this!  
Allah Akbar! What a lamp of truth is this!  
No particle do I see void of light.  
Allah Akbar! What sunlight is this!

On 5 Farwardīn, Husain Beg S. Umrī came with some men from the northern mountains, and brought with him Rāja Bāsū and some zamīndārs. Each received suitable favours. At this time the conquest of Busnah took place. It is a strong fort, and a populous country is connected with it. When Rāja Mān Singh came to Tānda, the capital of Bengal, he sent off troops in all directions. One body was sent under the command of Himmat Singh (the Rāja's son) to that quarter. On the 19th it prevailed, and a faction was chastised. When the world's lord had performed the thanksgivings of the New Year, he crossed the Rāvi and went to the Dilāmez garden, which had lately been made. From there he went with some ladies in retirement to Rāmbārī. Night and day he gathered the flowers of joy, and at the same time his enlightenment increased.

One of the occurrences was the death of Burhān Nizām-ul-Mulk. Whoever neglects goodness and practises ingratitude, soon, by his own efforts, reaps his retribution. Fresh evidence of this is afforded by the story of this base one. The royal favours he received, his





coming to power, his ingratitude, and his non-acceptance of counsels, and the appointment of an army against him, have been described. On account of the distance and of slackness in making preparations, the army had not been gathered together when he died. He delighted in obstinacy, and flattery made him arrogant. He stretched out his hands against men's property and lives, and destroyed the honour of families. He made no distinction between friend and foe, relative and stranger. He raised an army to attack Ādil K. and returned unsuccessful. Thinking that he would take the fort of Rewadanda,<sup>1</sup> which adjoins Caul, from the Christians, he sent Farhād K. and Asad K. Rūmī with a large force to that quarter, and then lasciviously defiled Farhād K.'s wife. Farhād felt ashamed and made terms with the Christians. Many Deccanis lost their lives, and Asad K. was made prisoner. In order to increase his virility Burhān used mercurial<sup>2</sup> medicines, and made himself ill by listening to quacks, so that he became hopeless of life. He brought his son Ibrāhīm Beg

<sup>1</sup> I.G. X. 184 and XXI. 273. Rewadanda is also called Lower Caul. The two towns are in the Kolaba district and about 30 m. S. Bombay. There is an account of Burhān's attack on Rewadanda in Noer's Akbar II. p. 309 of translation. The siege began in April 1594.

<sup>2</sup> *Shangarf*, Cinnabar. The Iqbāl-nāma has *sīmāb kushta*, ashes of quicksilver. For *kushta*, quicksilver, see B. 563, n. 1.

The story about Farhād's wife does not appear to be correct. Danvers in his "The Portuguese in India," II. 90, says that Farhād and his wife and daughter were captured at Chaul in 1592 (should be 1594), and that the wife was ransomed, while Farhād and his daughter became Catholics and went to Portugal. Faria Y. Sousa, however, says that Farhād died of his wounds after he had been baptized and showed signs

of conversion, and that only the daughter went to Portugal (III. Part I, c. 8). Ferihta says nothing about Farhād's wife's having been outraged, though he says that Burhān ordered every beautiful woman to be brought to his palace. Among others, he sent for Shujā't's wife, but dismissed her unharmed. However her husband was so affected by the disgrace that he committed suicide. He also says that Burhān's licentiousness made his officers reluctant to serve him, and so led to the triumph of the Portuguese. (Newal Kishore's ed., 3rd vol., p. 155). The Portuguese victory occurred on 16 Zīl-hajja 1002 (September 1594). Akbar seems to have been highly pleased at the defeat of Burhān and expressed to Xavier his admiration of the feat of the Portuguese in taking the Morro at Chaul (J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 109).





out of prison, and made him his successor. *Ikh̄lās* K. Abyssinian and some others did not agree to this and endeavoured to raise up *Ism'ail*, another son, and who had formerly ruled. When he had recovered somewhat, he got into a litter and set out to fight. Three *kos* from *Ahmadnagar* he fought and was victorious.<sup>1</sup> The strife-mongers had to go into retirement. This success made him more mad, and increased his arrogance. When he returned, he used more medicine, and increased his illness. On the 25th<sup>2</sup> (*Farwardīn*) he died. Many said that his sister *Cānd Bibī* poisoned him. The acute beheld in it the retribution of his ingratitude. The army-leaders raised *Ibrāhīm* to power, and he from shortsightedness first blinded his brother and afterwards put him to death.

<sup>1</sup> The battle was fought near *Humāyūnpūr*, which was a place founded by *Burhān*'s mother.

<sup>2</sup> 5 or 6 April, 1595. According to *Ferishta*, *Burhān* died on 13 *Shābān* 1003 = 18 April 1595: A. F.'s account of *Burhān* may be compared with the more detailed one by *Ferishta*. *Ferishta* says nothing about the alleged poisoning by *Cānd Bibī*.

*Badayūnī*, *Lowe*, 416, also speaks of reports that *Burhān* was put to death. According to *Ferishta* *Burhān* died at *Ahmadnagar* in consequence of fatigues of his campaign against *Ikh̄lās* K. According to *Ferishta* it was *Burhān* and not *Ibrāhīm* who put *Ism'ail* to death. *Burhān* did this partly because *Ism'ail* belonged to the *Mahdī* religion.





## CHAPTER CXXII.

ARRIVAL OF THE VICTORIOUS TROOPS AT QANDAHAR, AND THE TRAN-  
QUILLISATION OF THAT COUNTRY.

When Qarā Beg and M. Beg—who had gone to bring Mozaffar Husain M.—approached, the Mirzā received them and rejoiced over the royal order. He expressed submissiveness and showed a desire to proceed towards the court from there. As Shāh Beg K. had not arrived, he turned back at the instance<sup>1</sup> of the above-named persons, and for a time had other thoughts, in consequence of the foolish talk of wicked persons. Owing to his auspicious disposition he looked deeply into the matter and frankly surrendered the fort and came out. On the 28th, silver and gold were illuminated by the Shāhinshāh's stamp, and the pulpits were exalted by his honoured name. Shāh Beg K. encouraged the Mirzā in various ways and sent him off with his family and 2,000<sup>2</sup> Qizilbāshes. A populous country **669** came into possession without a battle, and a noble family was delivered from confusion. The Uzbegs turned aside their rein from that country for a while, and the peasantry had some repose. The tribes of the Hazāra and Afghans and other presumptuous landholders received chastisement. At this time the great office of Vakīl was conferred on the Khān Ā'azam M. Koka. As ability and disinterestedness were seen in his forehead, he was, on 9 Ardibihisht, exalted by that great favour. Though the talents of the world's lord needed no help, and he accomplished everything by his own wide capacity, yet he, from wisdom and a knowledge of the world, entrusted business to an able officer. The thread of watchfulness was thereby doubled.

On the 19th<sup>3</sup> (Ardibihisht) a large caravan laden with choice

<sup>1</sup> Apparently they suggested his return, as owing to the non-arrival of Shāh Beg things were not ripe for his departure. See the Maasir. III. 299-300.

<sup>2</sup> Chalmers and the Iqbāl-nāma have 1,000.

<sup>3</sup> Or 29th April, 1595. The Pādris were Jerome Xavier, Benedict of Goes, and Emmanuel Pinheiro, and





goods arrived from the port of Goa. In it were several learned Christian ascetics—known by the name of “Padre.” By the favours of the Shāhinshāh their heart-desires were gratified.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Zamīn Dāwar and the country of Garmsir (the hot country). These two populous tracts belong to Qandahar. The Uzbegs had taken them from the Mīrzās. When the report of the approach of the victorious troops became current, the headmen of those places gathered together and were victorious. The Uzbegs retired after failure. At this time Sultān Muḥammad Oghlān, Tengrī Bardī, Murād K., and some others (of the Uzbegs) rose up to take revenge, and surrounded the fort. When Shāh Beg K. came, the inhabitants begged for redress. He was doubtful about helping them in the absence of orders. By good fortune some of that crew extended the hand of plunder to near Qandahar, and M. 'Iwaz took by force the fortress of Terī.<sup>1</sup> When he would not listen to advice, Shāh Beg K. proceeded to give him battle. He (M. 'Iwaz) made Terī strong and came out to fight and was soon made prisoner. The fort was taken. Then Shāh Beg crossed the Helmand and attacked Zamīn Dāwar. The enemy was disconcerted and hastened to the fort of Darghor<sup>2</sup> (?). When they were pursued, they fled without fighting towards Herat. The victorious troops returned and came to Zamīn Dāwar, and Garmsir was also, without a contest, included in the empire. The Tūrānī soldiers had their eyes opened somewhat, and Qul Bābā, the Commander-in-chief of Khurāsān, became anxious about protecting it. Out of foresight he behaved in a friendly manner to the troops. On 28 Tīr the news came, and every one was rewarded in a suitable manner. On the 30th (Tīr), 10th July, 1595, the Mota<sup>3</sup> Rajah died from inability

the date given for their arrival in Lahore is stated by MacLagan, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 68, as 5th May, 1595. I presume that the difference between 29th April and 5th May is due to the missionaries using the Gregorian calendar. Jerome Xavier was the nephew of St. Francis Xavier.

<sup>1</sup> Text Hari, i.e. Herat, but immediately afterwards Tīrī is mentioned,

and this is the reading in I.O. MS. 276. It is the Tarīn of J. II. 398 and the Terī of the I. G. XXIII. 281. It is in the Kohāt district.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps dar ghor, i.e. in Ghor. The Iqbāl-nāma has “the fort of Ghor,” B.M. MS. 27,247 has “from the fort hastened into Ghor,” and this is probably right.

<sup>3</sup> The Mota, i.e. the fat Rajah, is





to breathe (*nafas tangi*), and four wives freely gave their bodies to the flames. H.M. went there by water to teach<sup>1</sup> the truth, and led some to fortitude by showing the unimportance of life.

One of the occurrences was the death of Ibrāhīm Nizām-ul-  
**670** Mulk. From the time that H.M. turned away the eye of favour from the Deccan, fresh evils occurred from time to time in that country, and retribution for ingratitude occurred. When Burhān died, and Ibrāhīm succeeded him, improprieties increased. An army came from Bijāpūr to punish him. On 16 Amardād, 40 kos from Ahmednagar, there was a battle, and suddenly an arrow reached<sup>2</sup> Ibrāhīm, and he was killed.

The Bijāpūrians returned successful, and the Nizām-al-Mulkians came home in a bewildered state. Many made Aḥmad the son<sup>3</sup> of Khudābanda their chief, and some chose Moti,<sup>4</sup> the son of Qāsim. Burhan Nizām-al-Mulk, the 1st, had six sons, Qāsim, 'Abdu l-Qādir, Ḥusain, Khudābanda, Shāh 'Alī, Muḥammad Bāqir.\* When he died, the succession fell to Ḥusain,<sup>5</sup> and when the latter died his eldest son Martaḥa became Nizām-ul-Mulk.

Udai Singh s. Rai Mādeo of Jodhpār. B. 429. Apparently his corpulence caused his death. Tod has an extraordinary story about his having died in consequence of a Brahman's curse. Apparently he died in or near Lahore. His daughter was the mother of Shāh Jahān. The last clause is obscure, but I think that the meaning is that Akbar was present at the satīs or arrived shortly afterwards and took the opportunity to encourage his followers to despise death by showing how little value the widows put upon their lives. Compare his remark, J. III. 398. "The women of Hindustan rate their dear lives at a slender price."

<sup>1</sup> *Bahāqīqatāmōzī*. Perhaps the meaning is to learn the truth.

<sup>2</sup> The Lucknow *Ferishta* says he was killed by a spear. But a MS. says it was an arrow that killed him. He met his death on 20 Zī-l-ḥajja 1003, or 16th August, 1595.

<sup>3</sup> The alleged son. Apparently he was really the son of Shāh Tāhir. See *Ferishta's* account of the Aḥmad-nagar dynasty. Aḥmad was made king on 10 Zī-l-ḥajji 1003, 6th August, 1595, but was soon deposed in favour of Bahādur, the infant son of Ibrāhīm. Miyān Manjā however supported him for a time and called in Prince Murād to help him.

<sup>4</sup> Mūsā in text, but Motī in I.O. MS. 236 and in B.M. 27,247.

<sup>5</sup> Text *nahastin* "the first," but the true reading is "Ḥusain" as in the I.O. MSS. Aḥmad said to be the son of Khudābanda was apparently





On the 31st, twelve dīwāns were appointed. Though the vizier-ship was prosperously conducted by the truthfulness and industry of Khawāja Shamsu-d-din Khāfi, yet on account of excess of business and of farsightedness, a vizier was appointed to every province, and former wishes became fact. Husain Beg was appointed to Allahabad, Bhārtī Cand to Ajmere, Rai Rām Dās to Aḥmadābād, Kahnūr to Oudh, Kishu Dās to Bengal, Rām Dās to Bihar, Rām Rai to Delhi, Khawāja Ghīās Beg to Kabul, Mathurā Dās to Lahore, Khawāja Muḥibb 'Alī to Mālwa, Kēsū Das to Agra, Khawāja Muqīm to Multan. An order was given that every one should report his proceedings to H.M. in accordance with the advice of the Khawāja.

One of the occurrences was the victory of Bajranath.<sup>1</sup> At the royal feast he wrestled with Balbhadr—who was at the head of the wrestlers (*Mals*). The spectators were astonished to see that H.M. had commanded that slenderly-made man to contend with that powerful frame. In a short time by dint of courage it appeared that that strong one would be thrown. In order to preserve his reputation, they were separated as being equal.

At this time it became known that some persons exacted tolls at the ferries. H.M.'s justice was moved, and an order was issued everywhere that every exertion should be made to punish such conduct. From Lahore to the Hindu Koh this work was entrusted to Zain K. Kokaltāsh; from Lahore to Lower Bengal to Daulat K.; from Lahore to Gujarat to Rām Dās Kachwāha, to Zamīn Dāwar, to Daulat Khurd; and from Delhi to Oudh, to Mīyān Khānū.

the son of one Tāhir who claimed falsely to be Khudābanda's son. Aḥmad reigned for a short time, and then was succeeded by Ibrahim's son Bahādur. The history of Aḥmad-nagar at this time may be studied

in the 2nd volume of Noer's Akbar, Mrs. Beveridge's translation.

<sup>1</sup> B. 253, where both Bajranāth and Balbhadr are mentioned. It is there said that the *Mals* came from Gujarat.





## CHAPTER CXXIII.

MOZAFFAR HUSAIN M. GLORIFIES HIS FOREHEAD BY PROSTRATING  
HIMSELF AT THE HOLY THRESHOLD.

Whoever is exalted by fortune and whose star raises him from a humble position, enjoys prosperity, and has happy days without  
671 exertion. The condition of the Mīrzā<sup>1</sup> is an instance of this, and is a collyrium for the eyes. Out of dissatisfaction with the ruler of Persia, and from fear of his life, he did not submit to the Shāh, and from the turbulence of youth and bad companionship he did not attach himself to the sublime Court. Suddenly the Uzbegs prevailed over Khurāsān, and the position of the Mīrzās became difficult. They were disconcerted by the appointment of the victorious army. Owing to his happy star, Rustum M. bound himself to eternal dominion, and this increased the distracted condition of Mozaffar. By the guidance of his star he sent his mother and his eldest son to make his excuses. They were kindly received and a comforting order was sent to him. He emerged from his disturbed state, and prepared to do service. When Shāh Beg K. arrived he made over the country and set out. The officers and guardians of the passes showed, under H.M. orders, great respect to this nobly born one. Every week, one of the courtiers arrived with choice goods. When he was three stages off, M. Jāni Beg, S. Farid Bakhshī Begī, Husain Beg S. 'Umri and others were sent off (to him). When he was three kos away, Khān A'zam, the M. Koka, Zain K. Kokaltāsh and many others (met him). On 5 Shahriyūr the Mīrzā glorified his forehead by performing the prostration, and the rank of his auspiciousness was exalted. He presented one hundred 'Irāq horses and other things. Among them was a wonderful shell<sup>2</sup> which when rubbed on a snake-bite sucked out the poison, and caused a recovery. The

<sup>1</sup> B. 313.<sup>2</sup> *Mahra*. Perhaps here it only means an antidote.





Mirzā was made a Panj hazārī, and Sarkār Sambal,<sup>1</sup> which is larger than Qandahar, was given to him as a fief. He was made happy by much money and many goods. His four sons, Bahrām M., Haidar M., Alqās M., Tahmāsp.<sup>2</sup> M., and his companions, received great presents.

In this year the officers (*mansabdārān*) were divided into three classes. 1st, those who had horsemen equal in number to their office; 2nd, those who had half and upwards; 3rd, those who had less. The pay of each was fixed<sup>3</sup> (accordingly?). An account of this is in the last volume (the Āin). On this day Tāsh Beg. K. was sent off to chastise the 'Isā Khel, but as he fell ill, he could not accomplish the work properly. On the 6th a daughter was born in the harem of the Prince Royal by the daughter of Ibrāhīm Husain M. It is hoped that she may become a great lady of the Age. On the 9th S'aid K. came from the Eastern districts, and received varied favours. He had long cherished the desire to come, and when he reached Bihar, he proceeded very rapidly. He presented 100 elephants and other articles. On the 11th<sup>4</sup> Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk died in Hindia. The appreciative sovereign begged forgiveness for him, and bestowed favours on his children. He was one of the good men of this world. He exerted himself very much in helping men. On the 16th S'aid K. presented the *peshkash* of 'Isā K. the landholder of Bhātī. It was accepted. In the beginning of Mihr, food was sent to Qandahar. There was somewhat of a scarcity in that country and the soldiers were in distress. Able men sent every kind of grain from Multan, several times, and soon there was plenty. Qul Bābā the C. in C. of Khurāsān became very anxious and strengthened his friendship with the officers in that quarter. On this day Bāqir<sup>5</sup> K. Safarī died in Bengal. H M. freed his children from

1595 X

672

<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe 416, says, Sambhal was taken away from A. F. and given to the Mirzā.

<sup>2</sup> The Maasir and I.O. 236 have Tahmās.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. B. 238, l. 6, and also the Table, p. 248. At p. 241 B. remarks, "The three classes differ very slightly (in emoluments), and cannot refer to p. 238, l. 7. Here, I think, he for-

gets that the salaries were monthly. A difference of Rs. 1,000 a month is considerable, especially when we remember that the contingent of the 2nd class was one half and upwards. See Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 417.

<sup>5</sup> He is called Bāqī K. in B. 408 and 534. He was s. Tāhir K. Mir





grief by his kindness. At this time a different scale (*barāward*<sup>1</sup>) of pay (estimate) was made. On 11 Mihr an order was passed that Moghuls, Afghans and Indians who had three horses should get 1,000 *dāms*, those who had two horses 800, and those who had one horse, 600 *dāms*. Rājapūts of the first class got 800, and those of the middle class 600. ]

One of the occurrences was the illumination of the jewel of Truth. One of the foolish talkers brought a charge of impropriety against a chaste personality (a woman?). H.M.<sup>2</sup> sate to inquire into the matter. He said, "I have heard from persons of understanding<sup>3</sup> that when an inquiry was made and the facts could not be ascertained, recourse was had to the ordeal of fire.<sup>4</sup> The truth came out, the accuser was put to shame, and a world was astonished." One of the Hindu ordeals is this: They heat a piece of iron in the fire and then placing leaves of the *pīpal* (*ficus indica*) on the hand (of the accused) they put the burning metal on the top thereof. If no burning takes place, they accept the statement (of the accused) as true. On this occasion the accused did not employ any leaves, but took a piece of fire in the (her?) hand, held it for a time and then slowly put it down.<sup>5</sup> No harm ensued (to the accused) though

Farāghat who again was s. Mir Khurd the guardian of Hindāl. See Gulbadan Begam trans. 106 and n.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *barāward* has a technical meaning. A. F. says, B. 231, that poor troopers who have not their horses branded are called *Barāwardī*. The rates there are Rs. 25, 20 and 15, corresponding to 1000, 800, 600 *dāms*. It is curious that the three horsemen get only 200 more *dāms* than the two horse troopers. Also that a distinction should be made between Hindi or Indian horsemen and Rājapāts. I.O. MS. 236 has Sindi for Hindi.

<sup>2</sup> Dād Khudā "The gift of God." One of A. F.'s names for Akbar. See below, p. 698, line 5.

<sup>3</sup> The text has *beḡār* "a farrier." This is obviously wrong, but the right reading is not clear. Most MSS. have *dark nazzāra* "spectators of intelligence," and this I have adopted. But perhaps the true reading is *behār* the Hindi form of *vyavahara* "the administration of justice," which is the heading of a chapter in the *Āin*. See J. III. 261.

<sup>4</sup> The word is *saugand* "an oath." Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 368.

<sup>5</sup> Text has the word *andākht* "threw," but most MSS. have *farūd award* "brought down," and this seems more appropriate as it agrees with the word "slowly."





the ground was burnt by the heat of the thing. The truth-seeking of the ruler of the age produced these wonderful results !

On the 16th the sacred seal was made over to the *Khān A'zam* and his dignity received a fresh increase. *Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad*, at the orders of H.M., engraved the names of H.M.'s ancestors up to the time of *Sāhib Qirānī* and produced a masterpiece. An order was given that all the confirmatory <sup>1</sup> *sanads* and some of the secret orders (*bayāzī manshūr*) should bear this adornment.

On this day the envoy of the Viceroy <sup>2</sup> of Ormuz had the bliss of kissing the threshold. He brought two ostriches very remarkable in their shape and behaviour. They treated pieces of stone as if they were fruits. All forms of existence are full of wonderment, but much seeing has put many men to sleep, and they marvel at nothing except what they see rarely.

One of the occurrences was that the veil fell from off the face of the condition of the writer of the book of fortune. After divers fallings and risings, and after traversing many heights and hollows, the idea of "Peace with All" came to me and for a while I was rooted in contentment. I perceived that there was somewhat of the glory of being in every form of creation, and so I breathed the breath of 673 Love. I thought for a while that the calm spot of resignation was my abode and was in a state of wishlessness ! Suddenly, the basin tumbled from the roof (a proverb),<sup>3</sup> and cruelty and sorrow were impressed on the hearts of high and low !

*Verse.*

I made 2,000 vows that I'd not go crazy.

For you my vows were shattered, for you my resolve failed !

<sup>1</sup> *Sabṭī asnād* = *firmān-i-sabṭī*, for which see B. 260. They were issued for three purposes. *Biṣyāzī manshūr* = *farmān-i-biṣyāzī*, i.e. "Blank orders," for which see B. 264. They were called *biṣyāzī* or blank, because they were folded and sealed in such a manner that their contents could not be seen.

<sup>2</sup> The text, and all the MSS. apparently, have *wazīr*, "vizier." But the word should probably be *ṣarḥ*

*wazīr* representing the Portuguese *viserei* "Viceroy." See A. N. translation I. 323. It is the Portuguese Viceroy of Ormuz who is meant, and he must have procured the ostriches from Africa. As Tatta and Sind were in Akbar's possession, the Portuguese would be anxious to conciliate him.

<sup>3</sup> The conjunction is wanting in the MSS.





On 21 Mihr,<sup>1</sup> Saturday, 10 Šafr 1004 (5 October 1595), the order came to the king of Poets, Sh. Faizī, my elder brother, and that free-souled and enlightened one on receipt of the call for the last journey proceeded with open brow to the holy city!

*Verse.*

A Joseph was lost to his brethren.

Nay, not to us, but to the whole world was he lost.

In Love's game our hands are empty,

He who has departed held the ring.<sup>2</sup>

The venerable and eloquent sate in sorrow, and crowds and crowds of men were grieved. The heart of the appreciative King was contracted because a veil had covered the seeker after wisdom, the maker of eulogies, and because the cup of the life of the chief guest at the banquet of loyalty had overflowed. The noble princes sate in sorrow because the wise-hearted teacher, and the imparter of wisdom and eloquence, had become silent. The great officers' nosegay of joy withered because the loving cup of the chief of the confidant of the banquet and the battle had become full. The spirits of those immersed in business were broken because the solver of the difficulties of the age had died. The travellers in the desert of exile were pained in their hearts and had a lump in their throats because the adorer of the stage of comfort had withdrawn his heart from mankind. Those who traversed the world of search sate with sad hearts and erased from their minds the thought of travel, because the fountain of the life of the eloquent exponent of truth had been choked. The thorns of failure increased in the feet of the empty-handed and the necessitous, because the unsolicited wish-granter had withdrawn from the world of society. Every section had its special lament, and drank the new and intoxicating wine of affliction. The tale of this stroke of lightning does not come within the mould of language. One cannot write with a wooden-legged pen. When such were the feelings of mere contemporaries, who can understand the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 420.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is to a game which consists in hiding a ring in the hand of one of the players. See Vullers,

s. v. *kacha*; and also Bahār-i-'Ajam. The text has *kujja*, a hockey-stick. This does not agree with the MSS. and seems wrong.





sorrow of me who loved him, body and soul? How can my mental agitation and my bodily benumbment be described? I who am of sewn-up lips, wept like a child, and a tempest of lamentation arose. Patience, wisdom's first-born, expired in weeping, and that light-giver sate in a day of darkness! Blind feelings became dominant and light-headed fancies prevailed. I regarded his leaving the house of bones as death, and his choice of life eternal as annihilation! Life became a heart-calamity and a burden to the soul. Sleep and sustenance (*khwāb u khūr*) took the path of estrangement. My elemental ties were nearly being loosed, and I was nearly casting the burden of life from off my shoulder. Sometimes I strove, like a crazy person, with heaven, and sometimes I opened my lips to abuse Fate. The material removal of a brother wrought this effect on me, and the separation in spirit from a beloved solver of entanglements made me mad. Except him, this privacy-admirer, publicity-practiser, had no confidant. He it was who applied the balm to the inward sore. I felt compelled to go into retirement and to sit down in affliction and in expectation of the end. I tore my heart, and squeezed out my liver. The exhortations and endeavours of the *Shāhīnshāh* led me back with blistered feet to the valley of patience. His life-giving encouragements and endeavours were my palisade. Departed reason returned, and slumbering understanding awoke. This came from his truthful lips, "The incomparable Almighty calls His servants to Himself by means of Liberation (*wārastagī*) and Restraint (*dilbastagī*). By these two opposed methods He confers upon them the desire of their hearts. If death be a reality, nothing befits the good friends of the departed save submission and resignation, and if life eternal be the lot of all men, then the friends of wisdom should wear an open brow and a cheerful visage, especially in this Caravanserai where there is nought which endures. If in future you adopt your present course (of excessive grief), the bonds of hearts will be loosed, and the city will cease to prosper. God shall be displeased, and harm shall be caused to realm and religion. If grief did not touch the hem of one who had a share of spirituality, and if he were not affected by it, his man's nature would be called brutish, and his humanity be termed bestiality. Hail to the domesticities (*shahrbandī*) which in this world cause every one's foot of wisdom to strike upon stones and which make the thread of self-control to fall from our hands and compel us to





yield to various forms of sorrow! That impatience which you displayed was a necessary adjunct of the state of Limitation (*wābastagī*).<sup>1</sup> By<sup>1</sup> many cordial counsels did that spiritual physician administer remedies to me.

For two days that journey-chooser (Faizī) withdrew his heart from us all, and turned to the incomparable Deity. There was no sign of consciousness. Suddenly the world's commander, the lover of wisdom, came to his pillow. He opened his eyes and testified his veneration. The mighty sovereign yielded him to the gracious Deity and retired, and at the same moment my brother went to heaven. In his jewelled writings he has thus spoken of the final journey.

Verse.

Fayyāzī,<sup>2</sup> cease from this strain.

Thy bird<sup>3</sup> is moving (?), put him in the cage.

<sup>1</sup> Akbar's exhortation is obscurely worded, and it is impossible to believe that he ever uttered it. It bears the impress of A. F. himself. The MSS.—of which I have consulted many—differ, and the text is probably corrupt. I find it difficult to understand the meaning of the phrase *nekūwān-i-nakḥastīnrā* at line 8 of page 674. Perhaps *nakḥastīn* means here those who have died first, and is opposed to *pasīn* later on. But some MSS. do not seem to have *pasīn*. I.O. MS. 3257 has *nekūwān nakḥ*. In line 9 the text has *lehīrd dostān* "lovers of wisdom, philosophers," but nearly all the MSS. have *jis dostdārān-i-inān* (or *inānrā*), i.e. "except their friends." But this does not seem intelligible unless we read with I.O. MS. 3288 *nabāshand* for *bāshand*. The meaning then might be, "If there is immortality then no one should rejoice at the death of their friends except when the latter were good, the allusion being to the doctrine of transmigration—in which Akbar was a

believer. At line 10 the text has *agar pasīn in taras peshgīrad*," which I do not understand. I.O. MSS. 3238 and 3257 have *agar bastan* etc., and this seems likely to be right; *bastan ain taras* would mean "to adopt this course."

Apparently the gist of the discourse is that if death ends all things, then resignation is fitting, but if there is another life then the friends of the good should rejoice.

<sup>2</sup> Fayyāzī is the later name assumed by Faizī. From a remark by Faizī Sirhindī it would seem that our Faizī surrendered the title because the Sirhindī had a prior title to it. But according to Badayūnī Faizī called himself Fayyāzī in imitation of his brother's title of 'Allāmī. According to A. F. (B. 949), Faizī adopted the new title to express the abundance of his spiritual love. It appears from Badayūnī III. 307 that Faizī only adopted the title Fayyāzī in the year before his death. See the verse there.

<sup>3</sup> بنارواست *banarwā ast*. I take *nawā*





Pass away from this wide field.  
Pass away, thirsty one, from this ocean.

Another <sup>1</sup> (*Verse*).

Hail! Shāhinshāh the seeker after Truth,  
Pearl of ocean, Majesty of heaven.  
'Tis a pearl where a world annexes joy;  
Thy reign is the heady wine of heaven.  
I'm a musician whose notes are formed of blood;  
My pen is like the stops of an organ;  
If from this feast where thy fellowship is the cupbearer,  
I depart, the melody will still remain;  
The pitcher-drawers work marvels.  
No musician, yet the feast is full of music.

675

Another (*Verse*).

No one can advance like me (?);  
This is the work of the heart, not of the body;  
What can vulpine men do against me?

to be used here in the sense of hopping or jumping. This seems to be the Lucknow editor's opinion, for he says that the meaning is that the bird, i.e. his genius, is about to fly. The word cannot, I think, here mean singing, or being in voice, for the verse occurs in the extract given at p. 686 of the A. N., line 11, and is followed by the couplet,

"Be silent, for the tale is a long one."

It (the bird or the genius) is a sparrow and not a noble falcon. The word *mastuqī* which occurs in the last line of the quatrain means "a drawer of water," and also "a dropsical person" and "one who is thirsty." No doubt Faiẓī plays on all three meanings.

<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī quotes some of these

lines—and many others—in his third volume p. 306, and says they come from the conclusion of a poem in supplication of Muḥammad which at the instance of friends he wrote when near his end. Like most of Faiẓī's poetry they are obscure, and justify Badayūnī's criticism of his writings. In the fourth line there is a play on the word *daur* which means both reign, and a cup that is handed round. Badayūnī has a different reading of the line, and it seems an improvement. He has "*Daur-tu shrāb u āsmān mast*." "Thy reign is wine and heaven is intoxicated thereby." The 7th line perhaps means that the pearl is not a material one but a pearl of the soul, and that Akbar's companionship takes the place of wine.





Why do they prick the forehead of the tiger ?  
 I've satisfied my gaze with the holy feast;  
 I've received the favours of the holy lineage;  
 Those dog-minded ones who wander in the streets  
 Are throatless (i.e. voiceless) devourers of carcasses;  
 I liken<sup>1</sup> them to the vultures of the age;  
 I leave them to batten on carrion on a dung hill!  
 I took a morning-draught of life with Jesus;<sup>2</sup>  
 I asked for life long as Noah's;  
 When this word was born of my breath,  
Khizr<sup>3</sup> came and gave me his own term of life.  
 If the Fates exalt me in my fortune  
 They will make the life of my words lasting.

The world's lord intended to go a-hunting. He who was prepared for the last journey (Faizī) expressed a wish that the writer of the book of fortune would take four days' leave and be with him. When I petitioned,<sup>4</sup> H.M. abandoned his intention. On the fourth day he turned aside from mankind, and his knowledge of hidden things became apparent. Four months previously, at the beginning of the illness, he had composed this quatrain.

*Verse.<sup>5</sup>*

Seest thou what cruel sport the heavens played.  
 The bird of my heart made a night-rush to leave its cage,  
 That bosom in which worlds could harbour  
 Is pained when I draw half a breath.

During his illness this verse was several times on his lips.

<sup>1</sup> The Lucknow ed. says that the verb *māndan* has in this line the force of likening or comparing, and that in the next line it means "to abandon."

<sup>2</sup> Alluding to the life-giving breath of the Messiah.

<sup>3</sup> *Khizr* is Elijah, and drank of the fountain of life. The last four lines occur in *Badāyūnī's* extracts p. 309, and they come there after many

other lines which do not occur in our text.

<sup>4</sup> The third person is used, but I think A. F. means himself. *Badāyūnī* says that Akbar visited Faizī at midnight, just before his death.

<sup>5</sup> These lines, with some verbal differences, are quoted in *Badāyūnī*, Lowe 420, and text II. 406. The word in the second line is *shabāhangī*, and *shabāhang* means the morning



Verse.<sup>1</sup>

Should all the worlds together strive  
One lame ant's foot would not get well.

From a long time he loved<sup>2</sup> solitude, and took the path of silence. In spite of the endeavours of the *Shāhinshah*, he did not complete the pentad.<sup>3</sup> He himself speaks of this.

## Verse

Many caravans set out, for the heavens  
Never heard before such a noise of bells;  
I fastened my pen to the foot of the bird;<sup>4</sup>  
I formed the idea of composing a pentad;  
It did not<sup>5</sup> adapt itself to the air of the skies  
But stopped midway on account of the heavy weight;  
I perceived that pigeons with feathered<sup>6</sup> legs

star, and also a nightingale. Here, I think it means a night-journey, on the analogy of *shab-i-ghūn*, a night-attack. Apparently the meaning is that Faizī wished to sing, but was prevented by his asthma. The *Darbār-i-akbarī*, 365 reads *bad āhangī* "an evil design" (?) instead of *shabāhangī*. Price reads *qafs-i-shab* "cage of night," but the metre will not allow of this. Mr. Lowe renders the line, "the bird of my heart out of its cage became a nightingale." According to Price, *Jahāngīr*, p. 76, these lines were quoted by Akbar on his death-bed. They are more appropriate to Faizī as he was a poet, and was dying of breathlessness. Price's rendering of the second line is, "My soul is on the wing to escape this cage of darkness." Apparently, *Badayūnī's* remark, "One of his acquaintances invented this chronogram," must refer to the chronogram immediately preceding. Otherwise,

there must surely be an omission in the MS.

<sup>1</sup> I presume the verse to mean that all efforts are vain unless God, or Fate, wills. The *Darbār-i-akbarī* quotes the lines at p. 366, but reads *ba jāng* instead of *ba tang*. It is *ba tang* in the *M'aāsīr* II. 588. By the lame ant's foot Faizī perhaps means his pen which he is fond of describing as a foot.

<sup>2</sup> I adopt the reading of the MSS., which is *dost dāsh̄ta*. The text has *dāulat dāsh̄ta*; *dost* seems correct as it also occurs in the *M'aāsīr* II. 587.

<sup>3</sup> Faizī wished to write five poems in imitation of *Nizāmī*. A list of them is given in the *Darbār-i-akbarī*, p. 370.

<sup>4</sup> Meaning his genius.

<sup>5</sup> Text *bagirifta*, but MSS. have *nagirifta*.

<sup>6</sup> *Parpā*. The text has *bar pāi* "with weights on their legs" and this may be correct, but probably the true





676

Were not capable of brushing the empyrean ;  
 If the feet had not caught in his snare,  
 There was hope that it would carry a message  
 Of the seven caravan-sarais and <sup>1</sup> the four stages (?) ;  
 I placed five litters on camels,  
 There were four brides and seven tents (?) ,  
 Half-way did I convey them ;  
 Some day, if Fortune give me repose,  
 I'll bring them one by one to the throne's foot ;  
 I watered my soul with the thought  
 That ere I sank into slumber,  
 If heaven brake not my vow,  
 I'd bring Bilqīs <sup>2</sup> to the bosom of Sulaimān.

I now <sup>3</sup> write down something of each poem that I have obtained.

696

One of the occurrences was the marriage of Prince Sultān Daniel. On the eve of the 22nd Mihr (2nd October, 1595), there was a feast of joy, and that nosegay of fortune was united to (the daughter of Rai Mal the son of Rai Māldeo.) On the 2nd Ābān (the solar weighment took place. There was rejoicing, and H.M. was weighed against twelve

reading is *parpā*, for there is a kind of pigeon which has feathered legs, and in consequence does not fly high. See Vullers and the *Bahār-i-ʿajām* s.v. *kabūtar*. Faizī feigns that he fastened his quill to the leg of his genius and consequently it could not soar. *Parpā* pigeons are referred to at B. 302 where the passage probably means that such pigeons only take short flights, in contradistinction to the *nishāwarī* who fly up till they are out of sight.

<sup>1</sup> I borrow the conjunction from I.O. MS. 236. I do not know what the line means, but probably the four stages mean four of the five poems. Apparently they are also the four brides mentioned two lines after this. The seven tents there referred to may

be the Haft Kishwar which Faizī intended to write in imitation of Nizāmī's Haft Paikar, or they may be the seven climes. The five litters are the five poems of his projected pentad, of which only two were completed.

<sup>2</sup> The Queen of Sheba and the heroine of one of Faizī's poems. "Sulaimān" here stands for Akbar.

<sup>3</sup> Here follow twenty pages, from 676-696, of extracts from Faizī's poems! A.F.'s account of Faizī here may be compared with Badāyūnī's III. 299, etc., of which there is an abridged translation in Elliot V. 544, with the long account in the *Darbār-i-akbarī*, p. 359, etc., with B. 548, Elliot VI. 147 and Badāyūnī, Lowe 420.





articles. A new door was opened for liberality. On this day Rustam M. obtained leave to go to Cītūr.<sup>1</sup> As his agents in Multān had cast away the thread of justice, Multān was made crown land and entrusted to Khwāja Muqīm. Amīnu-d-dīn accompanied him (Rustam) in order that an ignorant<sup>2</sup> Turk might not oppress the weak. On account of the illness (*tabāhserai*) of his companion, he sent him back from Sirhind.

At this time Ḥakīm Hamām died. For two months he suffered from a decline (*diqq ranjuri*) and on the 16th (Ābān) he died. He was of a good countenance, was a jewel of purity, and a sweetly spoken man. He laboured much for men's advancement. He had a knowledge of temperaments and some acquaintance with physic. He was exalted by the high office of Bakāwal Begī (steward of the kitchen). H.M. begged forgiveness for him, and consoled the survivors by various kindnesses.

<sup>1</sup> See Badāyūnī, Lowe, 416.

<sup>2</sup> Text *nāsipās*, but the variant *nā-shīnās* is more reasonable and is supported by I.O. MS. 236. Perhaps the next sentence rather means that M. Rustam through wickedness turned back Amīnu-d-dīn al Sirhind, B. 314,

and M'aāsīr III. 437, understand the passage to mean that Akbar recalled Rustam al Sirhind, but the verb is *gardānīd*, and not *gardānīdanā* as would be the case if Akbar were the nominative.





## CHAPTER CXXIV.

RAJAH 'ALĪ K., THE RULER OF KHĀNDESH, JOINS THE VICTORIOUS  
TROOPS.

He always talked about service, but his acts did not balance his words. He did not have the august *khutba*<sup>1</sup> recited except in the presence of the envoys, and he became foolish from self-willed thoughts. When the Khān Āzam went to conquer the Deccan, he and other rebellious Deccanīs fought with him, and gravely repented of this afterwards. He was continually in fear and was seeking for means of escape. When the Maliku'sh-shu'arā Shaikh Abū-l-faiẓ Faiẓi went to give him advice, he emerged from his bewilderment, and when the Shāhinshāh's expedition for the conquest of the Deccan took place, he acquired fresh wisdom. His envoys were summoned to the Presence and his fears were removed by oaths and promises. When Prince Sultān Murād struck his tents in order to proceed from Gujārāt to the Deccan, and Shāhrukh M., the Khān-khānān, Shahbāz K. and other Mālwa officers proceeded with him, he had the auspicious idea of taking precautionary measures, and made an offer of his services. On the 27th he waited upon Shāhrukh M. and other imperial officers at the distance of thirty *kos* from Burhānpūr. The officers received him with cordiality, and by H. M.'s orders increased his territories by Nadarbār.

On this day Akbarnagar was founded. When Rājah Mān Singh was in Bengal he considered about a seat of government which could to some extent be safe from an attack<sup>2</sup> by boats. After much inquiry a place was found near Ākmaḥal (Rājmaḥal). Apparently Sher K. had approved of it. The foundation was laid in a fortunate hour, and

<sup>1</sup> He only had the proclamation of Akbar's name made when the ambassadors were at his court.

<sup>2</sup> *Āsīb-i-kishtī*. But the word *kishtī* seems a little doubtful as one does not see how Rājmaḥal was safe from

an attack by boats, unless perhaps from the Maghs, who were not likely to come so high up the river. Possibly the words mean that the place was a safe anchorage.





in a short time there was a choice city, to which the glorious name was given. At this time much of Īsā's territory came into possession. On the 27th Āzar Rājah Mān Singh led a force thither from the new city. The enemy not seeing themselves able to resist, crossed the Brahmaputra, and abandoned all this side of the river. On account of the approach of the rains the Rājah encamped in Sherpur, Hurra (in Maimansingh), and there built a fort which he called Salimnagar. Also at this time the fort of Kākṛūyā<sup>1</sup> was taken. The zamīndār of it applied for help to Qutbu-l-Mulk Deccanī (of Golconda), and Durjin Singh with some brave man was sent there. In a short time the zamīndār was punished and his house taken.

One of the events was the punishment of the Kākar tribe (an Afghān tribe). On account of wickedness and of the strength of their country they for a long time tormented the weak, and closed the road to Qandahār. In the beginning of Dai, Shāh Beg K. went off to punish them, and a great battle took place. Strong stockades were destroyed, and many were killed. Some fled, and some submitted. On 3rd Dai Rājah Sūraj Singh received favours and was sent to guard Gujarāt which was somewhat bare of troops. On the 16th the wardrobe was submitted for inspection. On seeing a coat (jāmah) H.M. said, "It seems that this is Ikhlas K.'s," who had been one of the eunuchs<sup>2</sup> of Jannat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn) and from great service had been made an Amīr, and had died 17 years before this. Many simple-minded persons made inquiries, and the old register showed that the statement was true. Also a merchant brought, by the august orders, all his horses for inspection by H.M., in order that he might choose the best. H.M. said, "It seems that with one exception<sup>3</sup> they are not his." On a little inquiry this was found to be the case. A slave represented that he was called Balbal, and that this grieved him. H.M. gave him the name of Balkarn. He rubbed his head on the ground and said, "My mother and father

<sup>1</sup> So in text. From the mention of the ruler of Golconda it would appear that this sentence has nothing to do with Bengal. I.O. MS. 235 seems to have Gāgrūn, which was a fort in Mālwa (see Jarrett II. 209), and probably this is right.

<sup>2</sup> An I.O. MS. seems to have Khwāja Pisar instead of Khwāja Sarā. But "eunuch" is probably right. See B. 405. The Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī says he died as governor of Delhi.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the meaning is "one part is not his."





called me by this name." A separate volume would be required to describe the intuition into mysteries of the "gift of God." The subject cannot be disposed of in a subsidiary narrative. On the 11th Bahman he, at the request of Zain K. Koka, visited his house and gave it fresh glory. He tendered 170 elephants as a present but only some were accepted.

At this time H.M. directed that an expedition should go to the Deccan. As the hauteur<sup>1</sup> of the Prince and the duplicity of the officers were impressed upon him, and as unpleasant reports arrived one after the other, he determined to proceed thither. Though many courtiers from avarice and interested motives spoke against his going, their opposition was without effect. On the 21st the advance-camp was sent on. By wondrous fate there was some rain on that day. The Indian astrologers represented that whenever the sun was in one of the latter four signs and there was some rain, the despatch of the advance-camp should be postponed to another hour. After that there was heavy rain. On the eve of the 27th the throne-occupant himself came out. His idea was that if the rain lessened he would proceed on. On that day, after hunting, he alighted in the village of Babāi Khān. Rain and hail increased every day. Though the clouds did not cease to send down rain, he every day enjoyed hunting. He turned back near Rām Tīrthā when thirteen kos off. On the 5th Isfandārmaz he by one march reached Lahore.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Badāyūnī, Lowe, 321.





## CHAPTER CXXV.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE VICTORIOUS SOLDIERS IN THE DECCAN, AND THE  
SIEGE OF THE FORT OF AHMADNAGAR.

When <sup>1</sup> an order was given for the conquest of this country, the Prince made preparations for the expedition. The Khān-khānān was delayed by men's not having assembled. Before he joined, there arose some dust of dissension. The Prince's idea was that the leaders of the troops should join him (in Gujarāt) and proceed from there to the Deccan. The Commander-in-chief's idea was that he should march by himself by the route of Mālwa. When <sup>2</sup> they had settled their plans, the Prince left Ahmadābād on 20th Ābān of the previous year (about 30th Oct. 1594), and stayed for some time in Broach, waiting for troops.<sup>3</sup> On 22nd Khirdād (beginning of June 1595), he left that place. The Khān-khānān, after collecting his men, spent some time in Bhilsa (in Gwāliyār), which was his fief, and on 9th Amardād (19 July, 1595), proceeded towards Ujjain. The Prince was angry at this and sent him an indignant letter. The Khān-khānān represented that the ruler of Khāndesh was using the language of concord, and that, apparently he would join the imperial army. His (the Rājah's) mind was somewhat disturbed, and it would be proper (for the prince) to spend some time in Gujarāt in the enjoyment of hunting. The Prince from anxiety about the expedition, became somewhat angry, and tale-bearers and interested

<sup>1</sup> Partially translated in Elliot VI. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot has "As their opinions did not agree," and this seems to make better sense. But text and I.O. MS. 236 have "When their ideas became of one colour." Either a negative has been omitted, or the clause refers to the generals having both agreed to march.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Iqbāl-nāma*, the

troops that Murād was waiting for were the Khān-khānān's. It says Rājah 'Alī joined the K.K. 30 *kos* from Burhānpūr, but Murād waited in Broach, thinking the K.K. would join him there. When he found they had gone by another route, he became very angry. When Akbar heard of this he sent Rām Chand to reprove both of them, and dispatched a lac of mohars for the soldiers' pay.





persons widened the breach. He proceeded to Aḥmadnagar with the Gujarāt army. While the imperial servants and Rājah 'Alī K. were marching to join the Prince, news (of his departure) came and filled them with sorrow. The Khān-khānān left his army, his artillery, and his elephants with Shāhrukh and the other officers, and went off rapidly with Rājah 'Alī. On 19th Azar (29th Nov. 1595), he joined the Prince near the fortress of Cāndor<sup>1</sup> 30 *kos* from Aḥmadnagar. From want of experience, and evil teaching, the Prince did not admit them to pay their respects. He went off<sup>2</sup> to a distance and only after much discussion granted an audience. When the army came up afterwards it was not treated in a soothing way. The Khān-khānān and many of the auxiliary troops (*kumakī*) became disgusted and he withdrew his hand from the work. Šādiq K. quarrelled with<sup>3</sup> Shāhbāz K. on account of the old grudge and he (Shāhbāz), out of apprehension, seldom went to the *darbār*. On 7th Dai the troops assembled half a *kos* from the city. Many soldiers and peasants received comforting messages (i.e. safe-conducts). On that day the K.K. and Shāhbāz went to the city, and owing to their neglect some soldiers committed plunder.<sup>4</sup> With great difficulty they were restrained, but the citizens lost heart on beholding the breach of promises. On the 8th (18 December 1595), the fort was invested, and Cānd Bibi, the sister of Burhān, undertook the defence. When Aḥmad was raised to the sovereignty, Ikhlas came to Aḥmadnagar to support Motī. He was defeated and fled to Pattan.<sup>5</sup> When the victorious troops joined<sup>6</sup> together, Manjū took Aḥmad and proceeded with some money and elephants to Bijāpūr. He was nearly

<sup>1</sup> Cānd in text.

<sup>2</sup> There is the variant *rāi*, instead of *rāhī*, and perhaps the meaning is he assumed a distant manner."

<sup>3</sup> Elliot VI. 93 makes Šādiq the one who rarely went to the *darbār*, but the text, as pointed, makes the statement refer to Shāhbāz, and this seems right. Šādiq belonged to the *darbār*, being Murād's guardian, and Shāhbāz came from Mālwa. The Iqbāl-nāma says it was Shāhbāz who kept away. The Iqbāl-nāma calls

Šādiq the make-bate who stirred up Murād against the K.K. and says that the first day the latter was not allowed to pay his respects, and that next day the prince received him "with a thousand frowns."

<sup>4</sup> Firishta lays the blame of this on Shāhbāz. Text has *rezah sipāhī*, but probably this is a misreading.

<sup>5</sup> On the Godavery.

<sup>6</sup> Text, *ba ikbar*, as if it were a place, but probably it only means "gathering together."





being made prisoner, but escaped owing to the neglect of the generals. The siege of the fort, which from that day commenced, became a tedious affair. Cānd Bibi, who was afraid of the fort's being taken, resolved, on hearing of the news (of the dissensions?), upon resisting. On the 9th Shāh 'Alī and Abhang K. with a large body of men made a night attack on the Khān-khānān's entrenchments. There was a great fight, and many of the enemy were killed. They returned to the fort, unsuccessful. If the success had been a little prosecuted, they would have been taken, or active men would have entered the fort along with them. Things became difficult on account of the dissensions in the army, the closing of the roads, and the want of food. Though ingenious and right-thinking persons represented that three great armies had assembled, and that each should take upon itself one of three things: 1st, to take the fort; 2nd, to conquer the country; 3rd, to guard the roads, not one was done. On the 13th a party of scoundrels did injury to the camp and the animals, but retreated without accomplishing their object. Saiyid<sup>1</sup> Rājah and several of his brethren died bravely and H.M. left his fief to his sons. On the 16th Sa'adat K.<sup>2</sup> plundered a Gujarāt caravan which had almost arrived, and Sayyid 'Ālam and some others were killed. Shaikh M'arūf and a party moved quickly and made their escape, and Šādiq K. took Rājah 'Alī K. and others with him and set about chastising him (i.e. Sa'adat K.), but was not successful. He only made himself and the ruler of Khāndesh too trivial. The thread of proper appreciation should not be cast aside and a tiger should not be sent to fight a jackal. On the 19th Sher Khwāja, Sh. Daulat, Kāmran Beg, Daulat K. and some other brave men were sent to Pattan. After a severe engagement they defeated Ikhlas K., and obtained much plunder. As there was no leader to stop oppression, the inhabitants of Pattan—who held writings guarding their quarters—were plundered to the uttermost,<sup>3</sup> and high and low

<sup>1</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma says, he went out on a foraging expedition. He belonged to the Sayyids of Bārha. See B. 452.

<sup>2</sup> Sa'adat K. is probably the person mentioned in B. 478 and note, who afterwards entered Akbar's service.

Shaikh M'arūf may be the Šadr of Bhakkar (B. 471). He was in the caravan, and fought his way out.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Firishta who says the inhabitants, men and women, were stripped naked.





were terrified by seeing the bad faith. On the 11th Isfandārmaz (21 February, 1596), the wall of the fort was somewhat broken. In the prince's entrenchment the foundations of the fort were made empty by extensive excavations. These were filled with gunpowder and set on fire. Thirty yards of wall were thrown down. Active men were ready to enter, but as the mine in Sādiq's battery had been discovered,<sup>1</sup> and emptied, the besiegers delayed till it should explode, being apprehensive that what had happened at Chitor might occur. So long did they delay that the garrison replaced the wall. Next<sup>2</sup> day some brave men ran to that quarter, but gained nothing except their own loss. The end of the day shone upon failure, and the darkness of the night prevented success. The garrison who—seeing the dissensions among the besiegers—had recovered their courage, became somewhat bewildered and proposed a peace. They represented that they would take Bahādur, Burhān's grandson, out of prison and give this child the title of Nizām-ul-mulkī and would make him a servant of the sublime court, that the territory of Aḥmadnagar should be made his fief, and that as a thankoffering the country of Berār would be made over to the victorious army, and that jewels, choice elephants, and other varieties, would be given as presents. A party of men, owing to ignorance, and some, from interested motives, accepted these improper proposals. Though able men represented the want of food, the dismay and the trickery of the garrison, it was of no avail. Owing to the influence of bribes, and the listening to idle tales, the peace-proposals were accepted on 13 Isfandārmaz (23 February, 1596), and fighting was laid<sup>3</sup> aside.

701 On the 15th the lunar weighment of H.M. took place and there was a great feast. The holy frame was weighed against eight articles, and the wishful had their desires gratified.

<sup>1</sup> Firishṭa says, a Persian in the Moghul army gave information of the mine to the garrison, and so they destroyed it, without the besiegers knowing that this had been done.

<sup>2</sup> *Dīgar roz.*

<sup>3</sup> *Khāfi K.*'s account of the siege is unusually detailed, and he does justice to the heroism of Chānd Bibī.





## CHAPTER CXXVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 41ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO  
WIT, THE YEAR AMARDĀD OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On Wednesday 20th Rajab, 1004 (11th March, 1596), after 9 hours, 22 minutes, the world-warming sun shed his rays upon Aries. The world received glory, and the fifth year of the fourth cycle began, and conveyed the news of splendour to the world. Up to the day of culmination there were grand banquets, and the period of prosperity became more active.

*Verse.*

Joy once more came into movement,  
Princely delights abounded,  
Pearls and rubies cast such lustre  
That ocean and mine became mingled.

(Zain K. Koka and Sādiq K. were raised to the rank of Panj hazārī, Shāh Qulī Maḥram was made a Cār-hazārī (4000), and many received the reward of good service. On the 26th a blind<sup>1</sup> man came to court, and astonished great and small. In consequence of much study he talked quietly about things and discussed on every subject without exception. Some simple-minded persons thought it was jugglery, and some thought he was helped by a *jinn*. On the 28th H.M. went to the gardens, and enjoyed himself with the new beauties of the Dilāmez and Rāmbārī pleasure-grounds.

<sup>1</sup> The text is not quite intelligible to me. Chalmers translates: "At this time also a blind man appeared at the court who undertook to tell all things that should be asked of him." The author of the *Iqbāl-nāma* refers to the incident and says he saw the man, but the precise nature of the

marvel is left by him obscure. The text has *ba dū dast-u-baḡhal salḥan sarāide*. Lit. "He spoke with two hands and with his armpit"! The *Iqbāl-nāma* has "placing his hands under his armpit." According to Vullers this is a phrase for standing quietly, and not moving.





## CHAPTER CXXVII.

## INCREASE OF THE SHAHINSHAH'S DOMINION.

Inasmuch as H.M. regards the issue of every event to be dependent on supplication to God, the degree of eternal dominion continually increases, and the strifemongers and the rebellious sit down in the black day of failure, and evil minded desceud into the pit of shame. Accordingly, at this time, of untimely disturbance, dissension and disgust of the army of the Deccan, and of the success of the foe, the country of Berār was conquered, and the wicked were put to silence. As the story of the peace was credited, they for a time looked to the fulfilment of the engagements, but before talk had become action, they (the imperial armies), on 10 Farwardīn (20th March, 1596), on a false report about the army of Bijāpur, and from the destructive action of some of the leaders, retired from the investment of Aḥmadnagar.<sup>1</sup> Vagabonds followed them, and, stage by stage, laid hold of the baggage. On account of the dissensions there was no remedy for these things. On 14 Ardibihisht they reached the town of Maḥkar<sup>2</sup> in Berār. By great good fortune the enemy had left the territory, and a council was held about keeping it. Many thought that to guard it was beyond their power. Šādiq, under a happy star, took upon himself the guarding of the marches, and Mīr Murtaza became security for the cultivation of the country. At first he (Murtaza) made his residence in that city—which adjoins the territory of Aḥmadnagar. M. ‘Alī Beg Akbarshāhī, Sh. Daulat, Sh. Mīr Moẓaffar, Muḥammad K. Sh. Sikan-dar, and many servants joined him, while others went to Īlchpūr—which is the capital of Berār. Ḥasan K. of Mīana, Abū-l-fath, Qalb ‘Alī, ‘Abdu-r-raḥman Beg and other servants were appointed to assist.

One of the occurrences was the coming of the victorious troops

<sup>1</sup> An obscure clause, beginning *u laḥte badān sū* is left untranslated.

<sup>2</sup> Bhakkar in text, but the variant Maḥkar is right: see J. II. 237.