



mence their studies anew, nor the guidance so as to come to shore out of the confusion. Owing to abundant cupidity their sole thought was how to mend the old scarf of their hypocrisy and to make their days pleasant by attaining their desires. The respect-loving sovereign perceived that a journey to the Hijāz would be for their good, and sent them off, willing or unwilling. They were made comfortable by having the control of the body of pilgrims, and the veil remained suspended over their wretchedness. An order was given that they should not return without being commanded to do so. As their minds were full of cupidity, they had resort to vulpine tactics, and made use of fawning language. Might they be excused from going? Their improper ideas did not succeed, and their trickery was unsuccessful. They went off, injured spiritually and temporally. At this time babblers stirred up commotions in India; they made one into a hundred and exulted in envy. They thought the world was made for their pleasure, and knocked at the door of return, thinking that perhaps they might be shone upon, and that the desires of the black-hearted ones might be accomplished. Though their friends and acquaintances reminded them of the royal 387 orders, and the rulers of that country (the Hijāz) observed H.M.'s commands, and did not give them leave, they contrived to escape. When they heard in Gujarat of the failure of the rebellion, and of the punishment of the wicked, they were struck with shame and sought protection from the secluded ladies. When H.M. heard of their arrival, and of their designs, he ordered that some active men should go and bring into prison those ignorant and evil men in such a manner that the ladies should not know of it. Mullā 'Abdullah had died of error. The other scoundrel was seized in that manner, and was out of a love for justice subjected to an examination. He could give no answer except silence and ashamedness. From graciousness and a desire to save him from contempt he was sent to the school of instruction and there the cup of ¹ his life overflowed (he died).

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma in the account of 27th year says that he was put into the charge of A. F. and that the latter by reason of an ancient enmity, and because he knew Akbar would

ask no questions, had him strangled. Badāyūnī, Lowe 321, says he was put in charge of Todar Mal, and this statement also appears in the A. N. MS. 27, 247, p. 333b. Badāyūnī



does not name A. F., but he also says that 'Abdu-n-nabī was strangled. See *id.*, Lowe, 244. There seems no reason to doubt that 'Abdu-n-nabī met with a violent death. A. F. must have known this, and his silence tells against him. Mullā 'Abdullah died in 990 (1582) at what must have been an advanced age. 'Abdu-n-nabī seems to have been killed in 992 (1584). See his biography and that of Mullā 'Abdullah in *Darbārī Akbarī*, pp. 311 and 320. Mullā 'Abdullah died in Aḥmadābad. The *Maāsir*,

III. 256 mentions a rumour that he was poisoned by Akbar's orders. The *Iqbāl-nāma* has the curiously worded remark that he vacated his body to escape the hand of the king's wrath. It would appear from the *Iqbāl-nāma* that the real charge against 'Abdu-n-nabī was that he had defamed Akbar at Mecca and represented him as not being a good Masalman. See also Akbar's letter to the *sharīfs* of Mecca which seems to refer to this.



CHAPTER LXVIII.

VICTORY OF ŠĀDIQ K. AND DEATH OF KHABĪṬA.

(Eight lines of reflections about the good fortune of Akbar are omitted.)

When the Khān Ā'zim and many of the officers of Bihar had come to court for the New Year festivities, Khabīṭa with a number of ill-fated, turbulent men came to Bihar from Bengal, and stirred up commotion and oppressed the weak. The Khān Ā'zim's men were unable to protect Hājipūr, and the rebels took possession of it and of many parganahs. Šādiq K. maintained himself bravely in Patna and assembled the fief holders of that country. They acted in harmony and resolved to give battle, and drew out their forces. Šādiq K. commanded the centre, Muhibb 'Alī K. was on the right 388 wing, Ulugh K. Ḥabshī on the left. Bihār K. and Abū-l-m'aālī were in the van. Muḥammad Qulī Beg Turkamān had charge of the artillery. The rebels also made ready for battle. Khabīṭa, who was the sword of the vain-thoughted, was in the centre, Jabbārī was on the right wing, and Dastam and Rustam, the sister's sons of Khabīṭa, were on the left. Tarkhān Diwāna, S'aīd Beg, and Shāh Dāna were in the van. The imperial servants sent some brave men along with the artillery across the Ganges to Hājipūr, and constructed a fort on the bank of the Gandak. Fights continually took place between the two armies, and there was daily market for the merchandise of life-sacrifice. As fortune favoured the imperialists they were victorious and the rebels fled in disgrace. When these combats had gone on for forty days, and the owlsh natures could effect nothing in the light of day, they made a night attack. The brave soldiers of the eternal fortune behaved still more nobly. 'Alī Beg, the cousin of Šādiq K., lost his life after fighting gallantly. Many applied themselves to the work and raised the pæan of joy. The enemy were defeated. Next morning on the 24th the officers crossed over the river and engaged. The enemy, whose confidence



had been increased by the chief officers not having crossed and the soldiers taking refuge in the fort, came forward to do battle. First the sister's sons of Khabīṭa left the van and fell upon the imperial wing. Muḥibb 'Alī K. stood firm. While the battle was doubtful, the enemy's van attacked the imperial left wing. Ḥabīb 'Alī K., the son of Muḥibb 'Alī K., did wonders, but the imperialists were nearly being worsted. Just then the imperial van displayed bravery. Ḥamza Beg, Ghazā 'Alī and Ḥasan Mīāna came from the centre and gave fresh lustre to the fight. Khabīṭa with a large force drew up in front of Ṣādiq K. Muḥammad Qulī Beg, Junaid Maral and many strenuous men distinguished themselves. While the contest was going on so keenly, the right wing of the enemy suddenly took flight, and in a short time the audacious rebels were stained with the dust of defeat. The imperialists were somewhat astonished at this celestial aid, and sought to understand it. Then they recognized that it was the wondrous work of fortune, and turned to the giving of thanks. Suddenly Mīrak Ḥusain, the brother of 'Arab Khānjahānī, brought the head of Khabīṭa, and gave the news of joy. It appeared that in the heat of the attack a cannon-ball had struck that ringleader of the enemies of God, and had destroyed the success of the shameless ones. His followers lifted up the lifeless body and set off, but from confusion and cowardice they threw it down and fled. The above-mentioned person cut off his head and brought it in. Thus the wondrous work of fortune became known to small and great. Thanksgivings were offered to God. The enemy numbered more than 5000 experienced soldiers, while the imperialists had less than 2000 fit for battle. It does not enter into the ideas of ordinary observers that the latter could withstand the former. Khabīṭa was of the Moghal tribe, and had served in the Badakhshān army. He had distinguished himself by acts of daring in company with M'aṣūm K. Kabulī, and had in a short time become the head of the rebels of the day. His punishment was a lesson to the turbulent. His head was sent to Court as a proof of the heavenly aids. The officers were exalted by various favours, and as the rainy season was near at hand Shāh Qulī Maḥram, S. Ibrāhīm and S. Farīd Bokhārī, who had been sent off on account of the disturbances in Bengal and Bihar, were recalled.

One of the occurrences was the failure and return of M. Khān.

from Sorath.¹ Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. sent an army under M. Khān who was related to him, against Amīn K. Ghorī and to conquer Sorath. He from cowardice and want of planning did not succeed, and an easy task became a difficult one. If the evil of foolishness happen to the reason which is the ruler of the bodily elements, the subjects of this king cannot maintain their health, so if the commander fail in skill and courage, what can be expected of his men? The world's lord reproved him for his self-conceit and ignorance, and he had the good sense to atone for his fault by humility and entreaties.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an ambassador to the pleasant land of Kashmir. When Ṣāliḥ Diwāna represented to H.M. the loyalty of the ruler of that country and his alarm at no
 390 one's being sent to him, the Khedive, who receives little and gives much, sent Shaiḥ Y'aqūb Kashmīrī² to him with kind commands, and valuable favours, and also gave leave to his son Ḥaidar.

One of the occurrences was the death of M'aṣūm K. Faran-khūdī. H.M. in his abundant kindness forgave this man who was worthy of death, and left the retribution of his actions to the incomparable Deity, as has been in some measure related. Inasmuch as the picture of his life was doomed to be erased, the stewards of fate brought him to an end, to the glory of the throne, the prosperity of justice, and the retirement of the turbulent. On 23 Tīr (July 1582) at midnight he was going from the Palace to his house when some men fell upon him and killed him. In spite of much investiga-

¹ This is part of the peninsula of Kāthīwār and not the fort of Surat. The text has سورٹ but I.O. MS. 235 has سور. See J. II. 243, 258. The M. Khān here mentioned is M. Khān Nishāpūrī and Shihāb's brother's son. He is sometimes called M. Jān. B. 502. There is an account of the expedition in the Mirāt Sikandari, Bom. lith., p. 372. Fath K., the general of Amīn K. Ghorī, offered to Shihābu-d-dīn to make over Jūnagarh to him, and Shihābu-d-dīn sent

his nephew with 4000 horse. But Fath K. died, and M. Khān was eventually defeated by Amīn K. Ghorī and was wounded and had to fly.

² Also called Ṣairafī or Ṣarfī, that being his takhallas. He was a poet. See B. 479 and 581. Badayūnī III. 142 has a long notice of him. He died in the 11th month of 1003, July 1594. The Iqbāl-nāma says that he had the advantage of knowing the Kashmīrī language.



tion and close inquiry the affair was not cleared¹ up. H.M. had compassion on his circumstances and placed his children under the shadow of his graciousness.

Another occurrence was the capital punishment of Jalā.² As in the dispensary of bodily physicians both poisons and antidotes are employed, and it is essential that both be kept in stock, so also in the drug-shop of just kings, who are spiritual physicians, both the pure and the impure are cherished, and good is wrought by the evil, and the wicked suffer retribution. Former rulers have watched carefully over this class of men and have by the "Avaunt" of majesty kept them in check. Whenever they make use of this greedy, selfish crew they do so after much consideration, and they make goodness of object the foundation of such use. Those who think it proper to abstain from seeing this injurious crew, and still more from superintending and supporting them, seem not to have fully comprehended matters, or they have confined their tasks within the limits of their abilities. Those of wide capacity are not confounded by hearing of such men (the wicked); they do not give way to anger, and inflict retribution slowly and with deliberation. Such is the praiseworthy conduct of the sovereign of our age. Under circumspection, this class of men are admitted to the court of fortune. Such gentleness is shown to them that they forget themselves, and open their hands for various kinds of oppression. The Shāhīnshāh in this way makes trial of men and converts poison into antidotes. His sole desire is to preserve equability, and to worship God. A fresh proof of this was given by the circumstances of

¹ It was generally supposed that Akbar had brought about his murder. The fact that he was living outside the walls made the assassination easier, and Badayūnī, *Lowe* 307, says he was cut to pieces in his litter outside of the city-gates. The *Iqbāl-nāma* says that he deserved death, but that out of deference to Miriam-makānī, who had interceded for him, Akbar could not openly order him to be killed. As however he did not show signs of repentance, Akbar ordered

Sikandar Qalmāq, who was a trusted *cela*, to put an end to him privately, and accordingly this was done. There is a notice of him in the *Maasir* III. 246.

² The *Iqbāl-nāma* calls him Jalābī or Halābī Cābūksawār, and says he was the best horseman of the day. Probably he is the Rāmī K. Ustād Jalābī of the *ʿAīn*, B. 441, who accompanied Gulbadan Begam to Mecca, A.N. III. 146.



this easily-intoxicated wretch. He was a broker's son, and though shameless and rough in manner, he got admission to court by his profession of horse dealer.¹ He was highly trusted, and as the time of retribution had not arrived, he for a long time actively
391 engaged in ministering to his passions. At this time it came to the royal hearing that he had seduced a woman and had killed her husband. H.M. sent him to prison, and when the charge was investigated, it was found to be true. Many other evil acts of his came to light, and the record of his wickednesses was read out. On the 30th (10th July 1582) in spite of long intimacy and exceeding graciousness he received his punishment and became dust-stained, in the earthbin of annihilation. Deceit ceased to be current, and truth was exalted. Mankind received instruction, and the wicked were terrified.

Abundance of collyrium was bestowed, and crowds of men opened their eyes to the daily-increasing beauty of the world's lord.

At this time an order was issued for the coming of that compendium of ancient sages, Amir Fath Ullah of Shirāz. H.M. had long wished for him. The latter also had for a long time desired to come to court but fortune had been unpropitious. At last he came to the Deccan from Shirāz at the instance of 'Ādil K. When the latter died, his old idea was renewed, and he was relieved from his distress by various kindnesses. An order was sent to the rulers of the Deccan and to the fief-holders of the empire that they should assist him and guide him on this way. He very eagerly brought his jewel of knowledge to the market.

Among the occurrences was that the cup of life of Jīvan² K. Koka became full. On 10 Amardād he died of an abdominal complaint, and of piles. H.M. craved forgiveness for him from God, and visited and comforted the mourners in his family.

One of the occurrences was the bursting of a tank.³ On the top of the hill of Faṭhpūr, to the north of the gateway (*dargāh*), a

¹ The text has *asp dallālī*, but the true reading apparently is *asp jallā-bī*, which however means much the same thing. See Vullers and Behar 'Ajam S.U.

² Jīvan is mentioned as a soldier on p. 321 of this volume.

³ The *Iqbāl-nāma* calls it the Anūptalao tank. But this seems doubtful. The position does not



reservoir had been made by H.M. Many pleasure-loving servants met on its banks, and H.M. was present. The princes, the officers and other special persons were assembled there. Every one of them was paying his respects in some special manner. Inasmuch as the wise make use of sport, and test men when they are at ease, pleasure was being keenly pursued. Some were playing at *caupar* (draughts), some at chess, and many were occupied with cards. H.M. was studying all the groups with the norm of knowledge. Inasmuch as the lordship of the outward world, and the primacy of ³⁹² the spiritual world, have been bestowed on H.M. in full measure, the incomparable Deity preserved H.M.'s holy person from everything bad. Though it was his holy idea that there should be celebration ¹ (of his birthday), yet he did not approve of the playing of games on such an occasion.

Half of the day of the 18th (Amardād) had passed away when suddenly a side of that little ocean gave way, and the water rushed out. Though by the blessing of the holy personality none of the courtiers was injured, yet many persons of lower rank suffered loss (were drowned(?), and many houses of the common people were carried away by the flood. In spite of the crowd of people only one of those known to the king, viz. Madadī² cītabān, lost his life. He who knew the mysteries of the heavens regarded this as a Divine message, and became averse to the celebration of such occasions, and perceived that God did not approve of this business of recreation. In thanksgiving for the Divine protection he opened the hand of bounty and made a world attain its desires. The courtiers

seem to agree, and the Anūp talao—at least the one which was filled with coin—was a small tank and could hardly have produced so much damage.

¹ *Nigāshṭa āmid*. The catastrophe occurred on 18 Amardād or about the 28th July 1582, which corresponded to 5 Rajab 990, i.e. to Akbar's birthday. A. F. says Akbar wished the day to be marked or celebrated (*nigāshṭa*), but he did not

approve of the playing of cards, etc., and so did not take part in this. The phrase *nigāshṭa āmid* is however obscure. It might be expected that the text was corrupt, but all the MSS. seem to have the same reading.

Generally *nigāshṭa āmid* means "was written."

² The Iqbāl-nāma calls him Madavī.



all awoke and became followers of enlightenment, and recognizing that the holy personality had saved them from this celestial disaster increased in their devotion. That receiver of Divine instruction, in order to pay his devotions and in memory of this great mercy, resolved that meat should not be tasted on this day (the 18th) of each solar month. He also resolved that every year he should be weighed twice. According as from his birth he had been weighed on 5 Rajab in conformity with the lunar calendar, so also he should be weighed on the day of Ormuzd of the month Ābān of the solar year. The courtyard of bounty was thrown open, and twelve articles were prescribed for the solar weighing viz. (1) gold, (2) silk, (3) quicksilver, (4) perfumes, (5) copper, (6) pewter,¹ (7) drugs,² (8) butter, (9) rice and milk,³ (10) iron, (11) various grains, (12) salt. A vow was also made to God that meat would not be tasted in this month (Ābān). Also a similar fast was to be observed from the month of Āzar⁴ in accordance with the number of years of the venerable life. And in accordance with the number of years, sheep, goats and fowls were given separately to the sects which do not take life. An order was also issued to the chosen disciples that in every solar year they should observe the month of their birth by not injuring living creatures, and should not make their bellies the burying place of

¹ Text *bassad* coral. But coral was rare and so unlikely to be made the 6th article in a scale of diminishing values.

Besides *bassad* is not a common word even in Arabic for coral, and there is no sign of a *tashdid* in the MSS. The I.O. MSS. and the Iq-bāl-nāma have *jasad*, saffron. This is more likely, but I believe the real word to be *jast*, which is Hindustani for pewter and so agrees with Ain 18, B. 266, where the 6th Article is *rūḥ-i-tūtiya*, which, as we know from B. 40, is thought by some to be the same as *jast*.

² *Makayif*. Intoxicating drugs, perhaps opium.

³ *Shirbirin*. A recipe for mak-

ing it is given at B. 59. It was to contain milk, rice, sugar-candy and salt.

⁴ *Āzar* is the month following Ābān. The whole of Ābān was a fast owing to its being a birth-month. The fast was therefore continued into the next month. The passage in text is explained by the chapter on *Ṣūfiyānā*, Fasting, in the 'Ain. It is said there, B. 62: "When the number of fast days of the month of Ābān had become equal to the number of years his Majesty had lived, some days of the month of Āzar also were kept as fasts. At present the fast extends over the whole month."



animals. For the lunar weighing eight¹ things were appointed: silver, cloth, lead, tin, fruits, sweetmeats, vegetables, sesame-oil. As the weighings of sons and grandsons which took place according to the lunar year were at this time made according to solar year, Prince Sultan² Selim's weighing was fixed for the 18th *Shahriyūr* 993 instead of the 17th *Rabī-al awwal*, that of Prince Sultan Murād for the 27th *Khurdād* instead of the 3rd *Muharram*, that of Prince Sultan Daniel for the 28th *Shahriyūr* instead of the 2nd *Jamāda-al-awwal*.

One of the occurrences was the testing of the silent of speech (*khamūshān-i-goyā*). There was a great meeting, and every kind of enlightenment was discussed. In the 24th Divine year H.M. said that speech came to every tribe from hearing, and that each remembered from another from the beginning of existence. If they arranged that human speech did not reach them, they certainly would not have the power of speech. If the fountain of speech bubbled over in one of them, he would regard this as Divine speech, and accept it as such. As some who heard this appeared to deny it, he, in order to convince them, had a *serai* built in a place which civilized sounds did not reach. The newly born were put into that place of experience, and honest and active guards were put over them. For a time tongue-tied (*zabān basta*) wetnurses were admitted there. As they had closed the door of speech, the place was commonly called the *Gang Maḥal* (the dumb-house). On the 29th (*Amardād*—9th August 1532) he went out to hunt. That night he stayed in

¹ In B. 266 only seven articles are specified, though it is stated that the weightment was against eight. This is because B. has left out the *shīrīnī*, which means sweetmeats. Another account, which is that given in the *Iqbāl-nāma*, makes up the number eight by giving two classes of fruits, viz. the sour, and the sweet, *turshī* u *shīrīnī*. By the *turshī*, pickles are probably meant. B. has mustard-oil for the second-last article, but the word is *kunūd*, and in the 'Aīn, Book III, p. 299,

kunūd is explained as what is called in Hindi *tūl*, i.e. sesame. See J. II. 64. The importance of the list of articles lies in the fact that they were afterwards distributed to the poor.

² Under the 28th year *Nizāmu-d-dīn* mentions that on Thursday 19 *Sh'abān* 991 Akbar went to the house of Miriam Makānī to celebrate the weightment of Prince Selim. 19 *Sh'abān* is = 7 September 1583, but probably it should be 19 *Sh'abān* 990, which is = 18 September 1582.

Faizābād,¹ and next day he went with a few special attendants to the house of experiment. No cry came from that house of silence, nor was any speech heard there. In spite of their four years they had no part of the talisman of speech, and nothing came out except the noise of the dumb. What the wise Sovereign had understood several years before was on this day impressed on the hearts of the formalists and the superficial. This became a source of instruction to crowds of men. H.M. said, "Though my words were proved, they still are saying the same things with a tongueless tongue. The world is a miserable abode of sceptics (*nānuḥaramān*). To shut the lips is really to indulge in garrulity. They have hamstrung the camel of the Why and Wherefore, and have closed the gate of speech with iron walls."²

Verse.³

Enough, Nizāmī, be silent of discourse,
 Why speak to a world with cotton in its ears,
 Shut your demonstrations into a narrow phial,
 Put them all in a phial and place a stone thereon.

¹ Not found.

² cf. Badāyūnī, Lowe 296, and the account given by Akbar himself to Father Jerome Xavier. J.A.S.B. for 1888 and 1896 (General Mac-lagan's articles), p. 77. A. F. represents Akbar as making the experiment in order to prove that speech was not spontaneous with children, and as having proved his point. But Xavier's account shows that Akbar had an idea that he might

find out the sacred language. It was a cruel experiment. Akbar's comment on his critics is obscure. Apparently, it means that though he proved his case, they still are unconvinced.

³ These four lines occur in Nizāmī's *Khusrau* and *Shirīn*, in an apologue of Plato near the end of the poem, but all four lines are not consecutive in the poem.



CHAPTER LXIX.

EXALTATION OF M. Khān BY BEING MADE THE GUARDIAN TO PRINCE
SULTAN SELIM.

[This chapter begins with a dissertation on the evils of bad companionship and the advantages of a good education. It then proceeds to state that M. Khān was made the prince's tutor (Atāliq).

Though Qutbu-d-din Khān had been promoted to the office of Atāliq, yet as at this time he had charge of a distant country (Gujarat), M. Khān, son of Bairām Kī, who possessed far-sighted wisdom and daily-increasing loyalty, was appointed to the post. In thanksgiving for this he gave a great feast, and begged for the presence of H.M. On 27 Shahriyūr the world's lord honoured him with his company, and crowds of men attained their desires. 394

One of the occurrences was the illness of H.M. and his return to health. Just as those whose foot has slipped in search are brought by an injury into the high way, so does it happen to the prudent walkers in the pleasant lands of holiness. Short-sighted and crooked-minded persons regard such things as a retribution, and the acute and profound perceive that they are in the nature of rue (a protection against the evil eye). On 20 Mihr (beginning of October 1582) H.M. had an internal pain, and a world was seized with dread. When even the wicked and impure became sorrowful 395 what conception can be formed of the grief of the good, and of those who regard things in a business light? Who can conceive the melancholy condition of the true and loyal, and of the devoted followers? The pious sovereign looked to the True Physician, and did not regard the medicine of mortal physicians. He comforted those standing around him by weighty counsels. At length, after much talk, he yielded to the faithful and distressed ones, and took medicine. The Greek and Indian doctors proceeded to use their remedies. Laxatives are of most use in such a case, and Indians



do not employ these. May Providence grant that there be no such experience in the case of a distinguished man, and still less of a just king! On one hand was the indifference of H.M. to the taking of medicine, on the other there was the uproar of those self-conceited men. The heart of the writer of the Book of Fortune (A. F.) was stirred up, and he cast away the thread of humility. I represented (to Akbar) in a gentle manner, "I admit that all are true and well-intentioned. What can come of various methods? What is the use of soft speech out of season when the mind is sick? The Persians say that unless aperients are used, there will be blood (dysentery) and an easy matter will become difficult. Choose one who is less bigoted, and who is good and enlightened and experienced, and converse with him." My remarks were nearly being accepted, and the matter was about to be made over to the Greek treatment. But some of the envious did not permit this, and accordingly blood came. Out of necessity recourse was had to Greek medicine, and the tongues of the envious were closed. On the first day of *Ābān* (about 10th October) there were signs of recovery, and in a short time the sacred elements (of Akbar) became whole.¹ For three days he did not touch food, and for 17 days he was benefited by eating without using oil. After one month and six days he was restored to complete health. The loyal received fresh life, and the traders in good deeds opened the shops of thanksgiving and the general public obtained deliverance from bewilderment, and rejoiced.

(*Verse*).

Also at this time the beginning of the solar weightment took place according to the rule which has been mentioned, and there was a daily market of liberality.

One of the occurrences was the deliverance² of Shahbāz K. from

¹ Ferishta notices this illness and says that people were alarmed because Akbar, like his father, was an opium-eater. Khāfi K. says that there were various rumours, etc., and that to quiet them Akbar, though much broken, held many assemblies. He says he sent Shah-

bāz K. to Bengal as he was not able to go himself. Bartoli, pp. 40 and 42, also alludes to Akbar's drinking propensities, and accounts for his falling asleep at the religious discussions owing to over-indulgence in arrack and opium.

² Ferishta says that he was set at



the straits of prison. As the marks of repentance were visible on the forehead of the condition of that one who had stumbled into neglect, he was raised up from the school of instruction to the pleasant abode of favour, and he from thanksgiving increased his loyalty and service, and gathered the flowers of success, as will be related in its place. 396

One of the occurrences was the appointment of acute and un-avaricious overseers. As it came to the royal hearing that from the abundance of business and cupidity, there was much oppression in the conduct of the work of buying and selling, and that the traders were injured, he from a love of justice and from graciousness, ordered that various articles should be put into the charge of tactful and honest men in order that the unjust might be placed in the corner of failure. M. Khān had charge of horses, Rajah Todar Mal of elephants and grain, Zain Khān Koka of oil, Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram of fruits and sweetmeats, Sādiq K. of gold and silver, Itimād K. Gujrātī of jewels, Shāh bāz K. of gold brocade, M. Yūsuf K. of camels, Sharif K. of sheep and goats, Ghāzi K. Badakhshī of salt, Makhsūs K. of armour, Qāsim K. of aromatics, Hakīm Abū-l-faṭḥ of intoxicants, Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of leathern articles, Naurang K. of dyes, Rajah Bīrbal of cattle and buffaloes, S. Jamāl of drugs, Naqīb K. of books, Latīf Khwāja of hunting animals, Habib Ullah of sugar, and the author of woollens. An order was given that the auspicious overseers should receive $\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. from purchasers, and one p.c. from sellers, and the half should be their reward. The title of Tūī begī¹ was bestowed on Bāqī K. and he was to get 5 p.c. on what was assessed on the two parties (to the marriage).

By this excellent regulation the rules of inspection were ob-

liberty in Ramzān 990, September-October 1582. But Badayūnī, Lowe 333, says he was released and sent to Bengal on 17th Jamāda aṣ ṣānī, 9th July 1582. He also says A. F. procured his release.

¹ The text has tomān bēgī but the I.O. MSS. and even the Lucknow ed. show that the true reading is tūī

begī, i.e. director of marriages. See B. 278. The subsequent clause too seems to be wrong. Instead of *ba-an giroh* the I.O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have *ba farafin*, and the passage is explained by B. 278 where we read "His Majesty takes a tax from both parties to enable them to show their gratitude."

served, and the garden of the outer world was kept irrigated and verdant. The general public had repose, and lustre was given to the obedient.

One of the occurrences was the bringing of Nūr Muhammad to court. He had become notorious among the rebels of the Eastern Provinces, and had been active in oppressing the subjects. When the Khān Ā'zim M. Koka came to Jaunpūr, intelligence was received that that evil-doer had come from Bengal by way of Tirhut and had joined with Khawāja 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr and stirred up commotion, and been plundering in the district of Sāran. As the heavenly superintendents arrange for the retribution of evil-doers, they were disgraced before the arrival of the victorious troops. Having heard of the approach of the troops, they prepared for battle. A large caravan of salt¹ merchants was passing, and the scoundrels went to plunder it. The merchants made a breast-work of their bags and stood firm. The assailants were soon repulsed. After that they took refuge twelve *kos* from Tirhut, and meditated oppressing the
397 weak. Just then the victorious army unfurled their banners, and addressed themselves to the making a bridge over the Ganges, and to the punishment of the rebels. When the bridge was nearly finished, the rebels lost heart and sought protection with the zamindar of Kalyānpūr,² but could not find it, and returned unsuccessful. Brave men pursued them. 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr was about to go to Bengal by way of Tirhut.³ The Kasib^{*} tribe destroyed him and

¹ The text has *mulk*, but the I.O. MSS. 236 and Elliot V. 428n show that *nimah* is the true reading.

² In *Sarkār Sāran*, J. II. 156. This was Kalyān Mal, an ancestor of the Hatwa Rāj. See G. N. Dutt, *Hist. Hntwa Rāj*, J.A.S.B. for 1904, pp. 181 and 225.

³ I.O. MS. 236 and Lucknow ed. have "in Narhan," and this is possibly the true reading. It is given in *Bib. Ind.* ed. as a variant.

* Text *كهيتة* *Khītah*, but several variants are given, one being *كيسه* *kīseh*. I believe this last

to be a mistake for *كسيه* *Kasih*, the dots having been taken as coming before the *ي* instead of after it. The tribe then is the *Khasī*, or *Khāsī* tribe of Assam and Sylhet, commonly written of as the *Cossyahs*. Whether A. F. is correct or not in extending their habitat to Santhalia or Bhagalpur—apparently the place where 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr and his companions were cut off—I do not know. But I think there can be no doubt that it was the name of the *Cossyah* tribe that he meant to write. Possibly the men were murdered in



seventy others, and cleansed the earth of the disturbance caused by that strifemonger. There are many of this tribe in the hill-country. In appearance and manners they are like Qalmāqs, but they are dark-complexioned. Nūr Muḥammad, the son of Tarkhān, who was proceeding towards Gya, was caught by the Khān Ā'zim's men near Campāran.¹ They put chains on his neck and clogs (*kunda*) on his arms. Out of regard to justice he was capitally punished, and evil-doers had their eyes opened.

Also at this time Rajah Birbar's abode was made illustrious by the advent of the Shāhīnshāh. He was among the intimate associates. For him H.M. had ordered the erection of stone-palaces. When they were finished, he expressed a wish that they might be glorified by the advent of the Shāhīnshāh. On 7 Bahman (January 1583) there was a splendid feast, and by the Shāhīnshāh's graciousness his wish was gratified.

Also at this time the commander-in-chiefship of the province of the Panjab was bestowed on Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and S'aid K. received a *jāgīr* in Sambal. He was ordered to punish Arab Bahādur who had stirred up strife in the hill-country there. On 8 Isfandārmuz H.M. rode off to enjoy hunting, and at the close of the day alighted at the town of Jalesar. Jagmāl² Panwār has erected on a small hill, ten *kos* from Fatḥpūr, a delightful mansion and given it the name of Rūshinās.³ Its environs delight the eye, and the verdure utters the praise of God with the tongue of action. Its air

the Cossyah hills, for they may have been going towards Bhātī and the kingdom of Tsā K. Since writing this I have found a passage in the *Iqbāl-nāma*, p. 69, which speaks of the Mugs, who were brought to court in Jahangir's time by Hushang, the son of Islām K., as being like the black Calmucks. This makes me think that the hill-tribe meant by A. F. is the Chīn or Khyīn tribe of the Arakan hill-country. There is only the difference of a dot between Khita and Khyīn, and we have the word كھین at p. 432 though

apparently A. F. has written west instead of east.

¹ The T.A. states under the 28th year that Nūr Muḥammad was the son of Tarkhān Dīwāna, and that he was executed in the market-place (*naḥḥāḥ ās*) of Fatḥpūr.

² Birbar's house is still shown at Fatḥpūr. See Keene's *Agra* 64. There does not seem any good reason for thinking it to be his daughter's house.

³ B. 476. That is "distinguished, celebrated." Tiefenthaler I. 170 mentions a place five leagues S. of



refreshes the brain. He remained three days there, making hunting the veil of Divine worship, and then returned.

Fatḥpūr called Rūbās where Akbar used to go for change of air and

for hunting. Perhaps Rūbās and Rāḡhinās are the same place.



CHAPTER LXX.

THE BEGINNING OF THE 28TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION,
TO WIT, THE YEAR TIR OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

At this time, when Time was carrying through work, the star was guiding, the glory of Divine worship was increasing daily, and justice was being augmented, the ear was rejoiced by the sound of the New Year. Joy showed a new face. The exalter of throne and 398 diadem uttered the summons, and gathered together the assemblage of supplication. Active and magician-like men adorned the State-Hall with every thing that was most excellent so as to surprise even the acute and the critical. On Monday, 26 Šafr 991, 10 March 1583, the world-lighting sun shed its rays on Aries, and the joy of Spring began, and the fourth year of the third cycle brought the message of eternal life. Mankind sang songs of rejoicing, and there was variety of happiness. Great festivals went on to the day of exaltation (*škaraf*), and there was a daily market of liberality.

Verse.

The kingdom longed for such an adornment,
At length fortune fulfilled the kingdom's desire.

It needs an enlightened heart and an eloquent tongue, and leisure, to tell somewhat of these feasts and so to enliven my discourse. Where have I—the stammering-tongued and much occupied—the power to undertake such a task?

Verse.

How is it right that in the dawn of Spring
Flies should buzz in presence of the nightingale?

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Bengal for the third time. In the previous year the *Khān Ā'zim M. Koka* had been sent from court in order that he might inflict suitable punishment



CSL

on the strifemongers of Bihar, and might address himself to the conquest of Bengal. As the rebels of Bihar had received their deserts before the arrival of the victorious army—as has been related—Ṣādiq K. came by relays of horses to court, and as the rainy season was at hand, the enterprise was not accomplished that year. When the tempests and floods of that season had ceased, Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ṣādiq K. S. Ibrāhīm and S. Farīd Bokhārī were dispatched, and strenuous and unabashed (*sazāwals*) were appointed to the fief-holders of Ilāhābās (Allāhābād), Oudh and Bihar. In a short time a large army was collected in Hājīpūr, and energies were devoted to the accomplishment of the task. The Khān Āzīm with many brave and loyal men took the route of Garhī. Tarson K., S. Ibrāhīm, Mir zāda ‘Alī K., Saiyid ‘Abdullah K., Kīcak Khwāja,¹ Subhān Qālī Turk, and other heroes crossed the river, and addressed themselves to the conquering of that quarter. On account of the jungle, the numerous ravines, and the mire and water, they could not advance by that route. The armies joined one another near Monghyr. Tarson K., Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Muḥibb ‘Alī K., the Mirzāda ‘Alī K., S. Ibrāhīm, and Rai Patr Dās took post a stage or two beyond Colgong. The rebels prepared for battle in the neighbourhood of Kāligang² (?). Before this, M. Sharfa d-din Husain, Bābā K. Qāqshal and many other strife-mongers had died, and M‘aṣūm K. Kābulī was at the head of the rebels. Qutlū Nohānī was predominant in Orissa, and he had also taken possession of part of Bengal. When M‘aṣūm K. heard the sound of the advancing armies, he first addressed himself to Qutlū, and made a league with him to the effect that when the imperial officers arrived, he should join him with a chosen force. When he had been somewhat heartened by this, he hastened off to Ghorāghāt, and made comradeship with Jabbārī, Mirzā Beg, and the rest of the Qāqshals, and in order to inspire them with confidence he left his family in their quarters. Then he came with a number of rebels to Kālī

¹ Perhaps the word is Gicak, a lute. Can this be the Khwāja Kisik of Gulbadan B.'s Mem. translation, p. 162?

² Kātīgang the canal, or river-cutting, appears from the I.O. MSS.

to be the correct reading. Probably it is the Khārī or Khītīgang of A. N. III. 300. The Iqbāl-nāma has Kātīgang. See also Elliot VI. 66 where there is a long piece of translation.



Gang (Kāṭigang ?) and applied himself to strengthening the place and to preparations for battle.

On 9 Farwardīn the vanguard of the victorious troops took possession of Garhī, which is the gate of that country. On the 16th the officers met in with the rebels and drew up in battle-array. They established batteries on the bank of the Kāṭigang,¹ and the war boats were made ready. As the imperial servants were on the watch for Qutlū, Saiyid ‘Abdulla K., Mīrzādā ‘Alī K., S. Muḥammad Ghaznavī, Khwāja ‘Abdul Hai and others together with nearly 4000 horse were sent under the command of Wāzīr K. towards Balkana (?).² They lay in wait twelve kos away from the camp. Every day there was an engagement with guns and arrows, and great deeds were done. On account of the idle talk of men of little heart there was a rift in the enterprisingness of the commanders, and great importance was attached to the numbers of the enemy. A request was therefore sent for help. When Sher Beg *tawācī bāghī* who had been sent off post-haste, arrived, the world's lord was much astonished and said, "Though something tells me that the news of victory will soon arrive, yet there is no harm in caution and in granting their request." Accordingly, on the 13th Ardibihisht M. Khān, Zain Khān Kokā, Ism‘aīl Qulī K., Makḥṣūs K., Muṭṭalib K., Rai Sarjan, S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār, Shiroya K., Khizr Beg, Mīr Abū-l-Mozaffar, Mīr M‘aṣūm of Bhakar and many others were sent off to the eastern provinces, and each was presented with a *khil‘at* and a special horse. Before they started the good news of victory arrived, and once more was the mysterious intuition of the world's lord impressed on high and low. To some were eyes, to some collyrium, 400 and to some staffs were given. For nearly a month the armies of fortune confronted the rebels and discharged guns and muskets night and day. On both sides were great deeds performed. And though hopelessness was prevalent, yet the Shābinshāh's fortune emerged in a wonderful manner. On the 14th the crescent of

¹ Kāligang in text, but there is the variant Kāṭigang.

² بلکنا Balkana (?) in text, but there is a variant Balkasta. A M.S. in my possession has Kalkata quite distinctly, and I observe that in the

‘Ālamgīrnāma, p. 528 top line, a ferry called the Calcutta ferry is mentioned as being somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sūṭī "opposite the village of Tardīpūr and on the Ganges."



victory illuminated the world, and the rebels, whose star was extinguished, fled to the desert. Every one of the reckless fools fell into confusion.

The short account of this wondrous stroke of fortune is as follows: In the heat of the contest the Qāzizāda, who was one of the ringleaders, came from Fathābād¹ and brought many well-equipped war-boats with him. Suddenly a cannon-ball reached him, and he was killed. M'aṣūm K. appointed in his room Kālā Pahār, who was singular for his skill in river-fighting. He too was soon reduced to annihilation. Also there arose dissension between M'aṣūm K. and the Qāqshāl clan and Khāldīn. Crapulousness laid hold of the drinkers of the wine of presumption, and they became foolish. Able negotiators set themselves to win men over. Many returned to obedience. First Khāldīn came in and made oaths and agreements. Then M. Beg Qāqshāl, Jabbārī, and others secretly took the oath of good service. It was agreed that they should withdraw from fighting and go to their homes, and that after some days they should come to the camp and become good servants. They acted according as they had said. The presumptuous rebels were thrown into great confusion, and were compelled to fly with saddened hearts. Though the Khān Ā'zīm endeavoured to pursue them, he was prevented by the foolish talk of some, and the cowardice of most. The rebels withdrew, and when the news of victory came, thanksgivings were offered to God, and the brave men, who had been sent to assist, turned back.

One of the occurrences was that the Qāqshāl officers joined the imperial servants. When M'aṣūm trod the desert of defeat, he hastened off to the homes of the Qāqshāls in order that no harm might happen to his family, and also that he might revenge himself upon them. M. Muḥammad Qāqshāl had out of friendship conveyed his family² (?) to a place of safety. The Qāqshāls took up a strong position near Ghorāghāt and prepared for battle. M'aṣūm K. plundered

¹ A Sarkār in East Bengal, comprising Farīdpūr, etc. See J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 217, and J. II, 132.

² The text has *بیای اورا*, which I do not understand. The I.O. MSS.

have *بسی اورا* "into his protection (?)." From the Iqbāl-nāma it appears that M. Muḥammad removed M'aṣūm's family to a safe place.



Ghorāghāt and proceeded to attack the Qāqshāls. The Khān 'Āzim sent off Muhibb 'Alī K., S. Ibrāhīm Fathpūrī, Babūi Mankli, Sikandar Cikni (?) and other combatants to the number of about 4000 horse to that place under the command of Tarson K. They arrived when the Qāqshāls were in difficulties, and the rebels fled. The heroes set themselves to pursue them, but turned back in Ghorāghāt. M. Beg, Khaldin, Wazir Jamil and the others adhered to their former promises and made submission. They took upon themselves the task of inflicting retribution upon M'aṣūm K. and separated from the victorious army.

One of the occurrences was the coming to court of Amir Fath Ullah Shīrāzī.¹ He was singular for theoretical and practical knowledge. Though he had acquired much in the schools of Khwājah Jamālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Maulānā Kamālu-d dīn Shīrwānī and Maulānā Aḥmad Kurd (?), yet his science was greater than theirs. 'Ādil K. of Bijāpūr had by great efforts brought him from Shīrāz to the Deccan. When 'Ādil K. died, he, in accordance with an old wish, and a command, proceeded to the holy threshold. On the 25th he attained this blessing. So much learning had he that if the old books of wisdom had disappeared, he could have laid a new foundation (of knowledge), and would not have wished for what had gone. As was right and just, he, with so much enlightenment, desired to become a disciple of the world's lord. By good fortune he gained his desire. He frequently said in the meetings, "If I had not entered the service of this adorer of multiplicity, and chooser of unity, I had not become a traveller on the road of Divine knowledge. His (Akbar's) personality and magnificent nature have made the wine of learning digestible by me. Otherwise the current sciences had been a veil over the face of the search for truth." And it is evident that there are two classes of men. There is he who having been taught in the Divine school has the pure temple of his soul filled with the light of knowledge without the stain of effort. He comes forth in the course of ages, and the form worshippers of the day seldom recognize him. The other is he who takes pains and who by thousands of strivings acquires some of the knowledge possessed by his predecessors. The general public do not see anything beyond

¹ See B. 33, n. 1, and Badāyūnī, Lowe, 325 and 381.



him. At the present day, by the good fortune of the age and of mankind, the world's lord is the Primate (*Peshwā*) of the first class. Hail to the brilliant star which gathers eternal bliss by this knowledge and which imparts glory to the record of actions!

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K. to Bengal. When M'aṣūm trod the desert of failure, as has been related, the victorious army proceeded against Qutlū. As the Khān 'Azim disliked the climate of that country, he begged for employment elsewhere. The gracious sovereign accepted his earnest request and issued orders that if some officer could undertake the control of
402 the army and the administration of the country for some time, he might make over charge to him, and come to Bihar, and repose in his fief. Otherwise he should wait a little, and Shahbāz K. would soon be sent. On 8th Khurdād the important duty was made over to him (Shahbāz), and he took leave and went off with many officers.

One of the¹ occurrences was that the grand-daughter (*naḥira*) of Māldeo obtained a new life. In the wide country of India, on account of truth-choosing, and jealous honour, when the husband dies, his wife, though she have spent her days in distress, gives herself to the fire with an expanded heart and an open brow. And

¹ This interesting incident is as usual told by A. F. in a stilted and obscure manner. He does not tell us where the Satī was going to take place, or where Akbar was at the time, and he does not clearly tell us who Jaimal and Udai Singh were. B. 427, 428 may be consulted, and also the Maṣṣir II. 110. It appears that Jaimal was the son of Rūpsī who was the nephew of Rajah Bihārī Mal, and consequently a cousin of Rajah Bhagwān Dās. A. F. says that Udai Singh, who wanted to make the widow burn, was *pisar-i-ao*. Blochmann takes this to mean Jaimal's son, and it may be that he was the widow's stepson and not her own son. But grammatically it looks as if the words meant that he was the

widow's own son. Elliot VI. 69 calls him Māl Deo's son, but this is clearly wrong. At p. 326, A. F. mentioned that Lonī was the residence of Bihārī Mal's nephews, and perhaps this is the Lonī in Sarkār Rewārī mentioned in J. II. 288, though B. regards Lonī or Lūnī as being near Ranthambor: see p. 398, n. 1. But either place was perhaps too far for Akbar to ride to, and presumably the family was staying in Agra or Faṭhpūr. The news was brought to Akbar's zanāna. Presumably he was there then, but possibly some of the ladies of the Mota Rajah family got the news first. Another daughter of the Mota Rajah, the sister of Jaimal's widow, was married to Jahangir in 994, 1586.



if from wickedness (*tardāmanī*) and love of life she refrain from doing this, her husband's relatives (*khes̄āwandān*) assemble and light the flame, whether she be willing or unwilling. They regard this as preserving their honour and reputation. From the time that this ever-vernal country has been kept verdant and fresh by the justice of the world's lord, vigilant and truthful men have been appointed in every city and district in order that the two classes of cases may be continually kept distinct, and that forcible burning may not be permitted.¹

At this time H.M. had sent Jaimal by relays of horses to the Bengal officers. On account of immoderate expedition, and the excessive heat, the torch of his existence was extinguished in the neighbourhood of Causā. His wife, the daughter of the Mota Rajah (The Fat Rajah), had not the courage to burn herself. Udai Singh her son and some bold and foolish persons set themselves to work this injustice (to make her burn). It was high dawn² when the news came to H.M.'s female apartments. The just sovereign fearing that if he sent others there would be delay, mounted a swift horse and went off to the spot. As the circumstances were not known there was confusion for some time. Foolish talkers, and imaginative simpletons, made up wonderful stories of a fight. The loyal and devoted, and the happy warriors, got agitated and assembled in troops. There was a time of confusion and they set about putting on their armour and making ready for battle. The loyal but feeble-minded were at a loss, while the strong and well-disposed galloped off. The two-faced and wicked misunderstood matters and talked unintelligently. The crooked in their ways and the inwardly dark raised a song of triumph. Such had been the rapidity that even

¹ See the instruction to the Kotwāl or Police officer, J. II. 42: "He should not suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination."

² چاشنی بلند بُرد *cāshnī buland būd*. I am inclined to think that we should read چاشنی *cāshnī*, for I find that this word is construed with *buland*; *cāshnī buland būd* would mean it was high dawn. I

think that this the time meant, and not *cāsh*, which would be about 9 a.m. The translation in Elliot VI. 63 makes the disturbance to be caused by the Rajputs, but I do not think this is the meaning. It was Akbar's followers who did not know why he had gone off and who were disturbed and got ready for battle.



the guards had not been able to come up, but some of the personal attendants arrived near the spot. The faction gave up their proceedings in presence of the Shāhīnshāh's majesty. When that cavalier of fortune's arena had come near the spot, Jagannāth and Rai Sāl went ahead and seized the ringleader of the ignorant and turbulent ones and brought him to H M. The appreciative sovereign read the writing of repentance on the foreheads of the crew, and in all this ebullition of anger gave them their lives, but imprisoned them. In a short time the prudent prince made use of justice, graciousness, 403 and courage, and brought things into tranquillity. The dust of turbulence was laid and the pæan of joy rose high.

One of the occurrences was the sending of I'timād K. to the government of Gujarat. At the beginning of the conquest of this country, he had been nominated to this high post. From wickedness and perversity he indulged in evil thoughts, and the Shāhīnshāh's fortune put chains on his feet and sent him to the school of the prison, as has already been related. From much cupidity he had begged for the government of the province. When the Shāhīnshāh treated him with kindness, Mir Abū Turāb for his own advantage made him more keen in the prosecution of his desire. The truth-seeking Shāhīnshāh's idea was that if some goodness should appear in him, and if it was his wish, he should fulfil what he had said. As at this time there was some appearance of this, he proceeded to grant his long-cherished wish. He made over to him the military command and the administration of the province. He adhered to what he had said and ripened his hopes. Though right-thinking and far-seeing persons represented, "When he was in full strength, and had numerous helpers, he was not able to control the factious people of Gujarat. At this day, when his bodily frame is declining, and he has no single-hearted comrades, how can it be proper to dispatch him on this service?" Yet as the decree of heaven had passed, the speech of the wise did not take effect, and he went off in great elation. Mir Abū Turāb was sent off as Amīn to the country, and Khwāja Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad was made Bakhshī. Khwāja Abu-l-qāsim became Dīwān. They were accompanied by Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Abu-l-Mozaffar, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāi, Mir Muḥibbullah, Mir Sharafu-d-dīn, Mir Sālīh, Mir Hāshim, Shāh Beg, Mir M'asūm Bhakkari, Zainu-d-dīn Kambū, Saiyid Jalāl



Bhakhari, Saiyid Abū Ishāq, Qambar Ishak Āqā, Pahlwān 'Alī Sistānī and others. Each was exalted by receiving a robe of honour, and a choice means of conveyance (*bāragī*). They also received valuable counsels. They took leave on 7 Tīr, and Karm 'Alī Darogha of the perfumery was sent to bring away Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. The order was that when the new governor came, Shihabu-d-dīn should come with his soldiers to court.¹

Also at this time Mīr Sharīf Gilānī came from the Nizām-ul-mulk together with other ambassadors from the Deccan and did homage and presented gifts. They were received with favour.

¹ This account of I'timād's appointment should be compared with Abū Turāb's *History of Gujarat*

recently published by Dr. Denison Ross.



CHAPTER LXXI.

THE WATERING OF THE GARDEN OF DOMINION, AND THE UPREARING OF
THE PALACE OF WORLD-RULE.

Inasmuch as the dominions are extensive, and the soldiery numerous, as cupidity increases daily, right-thinking diminishing, 404 the courageous and veridical not to be found, the false and flattering plentiful, the wicked contrivers in troops, and the acute and just-thinking scarce (*khāl-ḥāl*), there soon comes a great rift in affairs, and evil grows prevalent. Therefore is it that the world's lord every now and then augments his circumspection, and imparts new freshness to the garden of the State. Accordingly at this time, he, from brilliance and foresight and from the quest of truth, erected a new palace of administration. He made over every department to distinguished loyal men who were unavaricious and well-disposed, and he associated the majesty of the Shahinshah with paternal benignity. He made over to Prince Selīm the Divine tasks of severity and lenity, and the superintendence of marriage and birthday feasts—which are sources of stability and ornament of eternal dominion. That pearl of the crown of the sultanate carried out whatever the just sovereign ordained and addressed himself to giving currency to the orders. As colleagues are indispensable, M. Khān, S. Abū-l-faiz Faiẓī and the faithful Fath Ullah were appointed to assist him. The management of the household—which is equal to the administration of a great kingdom—was made over to Prince Sultān Murād. Rai Sāl Darbārī, Karm Ullah, Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Shīrīn Qalm, Muḥammad 'Alī Khazāncī served under him. The superintendence of faith and religion and of wisdom and work was committed to Prince Sultān Daniel. Ghāzī K. Badakhshī, Rai Sarjan and the writer of this noble volume were appointed to lay matters before him. First, they (i.e. the officers in charge of the departments) studied the choice regulations which had lighted up the heavenly soul (of Akbar) and had adorned therewith the raw



material of the minds of the simple; and secondly, they guided the bewildered to the highway of Divine worship. Allowances and charities were made over to Sultān Khwāja, Ḥakīm Abū-l-faṭḥ, Mīr Abū Turāb and to the Qāzī and the Muftī (law officer). The development of the dominions, and the appointment and dismissal of the officers of the Khālṣa were made over to Rājah Todar Mal, Khwāja Yahīya, Rai Durgā and Yār 'Alī. The charge of the army and the arrangements for the pay of the soldiers were made over to Shahbāz K. J'aafar Beg and 'Alī Dost K. The superintendence of the rates of goods was assigned to Zain K. Koka, Ism'aīl Qulī K., Payinda K. and Hājī Ḥabīb Ullah. The care of the armour and the looking after the roads were made over to Qulij K., Jagannāth, Lon Karn and Ṣāliḥ 'Āqil. The watching over the property of deceased persons and the conveyance of it to the heirs were made over to Shapīf K., Rājah Askaran, Naqīb K. and 'Abdu-rahmān the son of Muḃīd Beg. The department of buying and selling jewels and other minerals was made over to I'timād K. Gujrātī, Baqī K., Jagmāl, Ḥakīm Ain-al-mulk, and N'aamat K. The charge of buildings was 405 given to Naurang K., Qāsim K. Makhsūs K. and Latīf Khwāja. The administering of justice to complainants was made over to Rājah Bīrbar, Qāsim 'Alī K., Ḥakīm Ḥamām and Sham Sher K. Kotwāl. The writer of the book of fortune (A. F.) was also appointed to this office. An order was issued that they should not be satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but make a profound investigation. The deeds of the one party (the oppressor) were very base, and the condition of the other (the petitioner) very bewildered. On account of the bribery of the oppressor and of his high position, and of the empty-headedness and helplessness of the oppressed, it was necessary that there should be no slackness in the inquiry, and that the thought of presents (*pāra*) should not turn the heart out of the way, nor that the shafts of injury should lead one to the lane of cowardice, and cause the veiling of the truth. In a short time the outer world attained an excellent management and the spiritual world a new development. There was, as it were, a new palace constructed for the appreciativeness of the sovereign, and humanity was tested in the square of knowledge. The wicked descended into the hollow of ignominy, and the good were exalted. Every great one who makes use of the medicine for senselessness, and chooses, with a thousand



eyes of the heart, watchfulness, will assuredly make Fortune his servant, and the empire of rulers will come under the shade of his justice.

Verse.

Hail! the garden of the two worlds rejoices because of thee,
The foundation of life is firm because of thee.
Solomon had a ring, thou hast faith,
Alexander had his mirror, thou the code,
Alexander with his mirror, Kaikhusrū with his cup,
Have not seen what thou art beholding for many days.

One of the occurrences was that Wazir K. was victorious and that Qutlū Nohānī (Lohānī) was defeated. When the Divine aid had deprived the rebels of endurance, M'aṣūm K. Kābulī and the other seditious and ill-fated ones took flight, as has already been narrated. Thereupon the Khān Ā'zim and the other great officers set about finding a remedy for the crafty Qutlū. He by wiles and flatteries brought forward a proposal of peace, and sent eloquent and skilful persons to court, and made use of blandishments. The answer came that if his works corresponded to his words, they should admit him as a servant and restore Orissa to him. At this time the Khān Ā'zim's heart was alienated from the country and he was eager to depart. He wished that on the arrival of the order of leave he might hasten off to his estates, and that Ṣādiq K. might in these few days take the command and conclude this great affair (the settlement with Qutlū) to a conclusion. He (Ṣādiq K.) made unsuitable stipulations, and so the Khān Ā'zim turned to Wazir K. He gladly accepted the task, and the Khān Ā'zim went off to Hājīpūr (where his estates were). Upon his departure, the devious Qutlū in his shortsightedness and narrow capacity uplifted the head
406 of presumption, and made unfitting conditions with regard to the peace. The officers, who had betaken themselves to repose, were somewhat annoyed and marched from Sherpūr¹ in order to give battle to him. On 10 Tir they encamped at Bardwan. That turbulent one was six *kos* off and had recourse to vulpine tricks. He

¹ Sherpūr 'Aṭāī in Sarkār Sharīfābād, B. 341. The I.O. MSS. have Sherpūr 'Aṭāī.



made use of humility and supplications. They were deceived by him, and added Madāran, Meduipūr and other places to Orissa. He agreed to take the burden of obedience on his shoulders, and to send his brother's son with choice presents to court. Again he had recourse to rebellious thoughts, and determined that he should by stratagem get one of the leaders into his clutches—perhaps in this way he might gain his object. He represented that he was sending the apple of his eye to court, and asked that Šādiq K. should come without a large retinue from the camp, while he too would come out with a few followers so that they might see one another and be materially comforted, and that he might make over to him the cream of his life (his nephew). Šādiq K. had the foresight to keep away, and S. Farid Bakhshī¹ was sent. He from his good intentions and simplicity, went off along with Husain K., Abū-l-Qāsim, 'Abdul Hādī, and Maḥmūd K. Khwāṣ. When he came to the appointed place, there was no trace of Qutlū. As he was continually sending messages of concord, he went on. Some plausible persons brought him to his quarters and he (Qutlū) prepared a feast. From time to time he expressed fresh supplications, but his sole intention was that when the men had gone to their repose he should seize the Shaikh and take him to a remote place, and gain his objects by using him as a hostage. The Shaikh perceived this and at the beginning of the night proceeded to depart. No horse (*bāragī*) had been left in the stable, and when they had gone a little way there was a hot fight for a while, and some men were killed. In the midst

¹ See B. 413, who refers to Stewart's Bengal. Stewart, p. 177, tells the story differently from A.F., but as I think not altogether in accordance with his authorities. What Stewart says is that Farid did not treat Bahādur Kurfarah with sufficient respect. But what Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Badayūnī—who, I presume, are his authorities—say is that Qutlū received Farid with respect (herein differing from A.F. who says Qutlū was absent) and acted as if he was his servant, or at least as the

servant of Akbar, but that Bahādur wanted to treat Farid on a footing of equality. Bahādur was a Bengal Zamindar, as well as an officer of Qutlū, but Farid chose to regard him rather as Qutlū's servant than as a landholder, and behaved haughtily to him. See Elliot, V. 429, where the translation is wrong, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 333, where also the translation is not correct. Both should be compared with the originals.

of this the Shaikh came out on his own elephant. By the jugglery of fortune the animal proved unmanageable and rushed off into space. Owing to the darkness of the night his men could not follow him. The Shaikh thought of crossing a stream and so escaping, but was bewildered owing to there being no ford.¹ Suddenly some men came up and shot arrows at him and wounded him. The Shaikh threw himself off the elephant and turned aside. By the guidance of the mysterious arrangers (i.e. protectors) he proceeded on his way. The scoundrels thought that the Shaikh was still in the haudah (*'amārī*) and was trying to escape. While he was going on in this bewildered way a faithful servant joined him and gave him a mount (*bāragī*) and conducted him to the camp. The officers² emerged from their heavy slumbers of negligence and attacked that contriver of long plots. They crossed the Damūdar river and went on for two *kos* in battle array. That scoundrel (Qutlū) established³ forts and firmly planted the foot of audacity.

407 Qutlū and many others took refuge in a fort, and in another place Bahādūr Kūruh⁴ prepared for battle. In the beginning of Amardād, Šādiq K., Shah Quli K. Maḥram and others advanced to do battle with Bahādūr. After a severe struggle they took the fort, and he escaped and joined Qutlū. Next day they attacked his residence, and mounted guns on high places. By the Divine aid the rebels were defeated, and fled in wretched plight. From want of energy and slumbrousness of intent they were not pursued. The imperialists halted on the bank of the river.

On the 2nd that majestic one—whom the spheres cannot counterpoise—was weighed against eight articles, and the feast of the lunar anniversary took place. The needy of the age attained their desires.

¹ Text *pāi guzārī*, which may mean "looking for a ford." The I.O. MSS. have *be guzārī*, "the absence of a ford."

² The rest of the paragraph is translated in Elliot, VI. 69.

³ *Qil'ah sākhṭa*. Elliot renders this "entrenched his camp," and perhaps this is right.

⁴ Badayūnī, Lowe, 333, seems to call him Bahādūr Kur Farah. Elliot, V. 429, calls him Gauriya. The text of the T. A. has *گوریا*. See above, text, p. 384 and note. Perhaps Badayūnī's Kur Farah is a mistake for Kar Farmā. See J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 200.



One of the occurrences was that Burhān-al-mulk took the protection of the sublime court. He was the younger brother of Martāza Nizāmu-l-mulk. When Husain Nizāmu-l-mulk died, the kingdom came ostensibly into the possession of the elder son,¹ but in reality into that of his mother. She, like the father, loved Burhān most and regarded him as superior to every one else. When the changing heavens had made some circuits, Martāza at the instigation of strife-mongers and intriguers arrested his mother and brother and sent each of them to a fortress. From lewdness and ignorance he discarded the pilots² of the time and subjected himself for spiritual guidance to a sect. Owing to the rawness of his guide and the severity of the ritual his brain became deranged. He withdrew from intercourse with mankind, and left affairs to a wretch named Husain. This man rose from cock-fighting to become his companion, and owing to ignorance (on the part of Martāza) he acquired the title of Āsaf K.³ The sense-robbing world's wine infatuated the weak-handed man. His evil propensities developed and

¹ Ferishta has a long account of him in his history of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. See also the Darbārī Akbārī, 688. Martāza came to the throne in 972 A.H., 1565, and reigned till 1589. The next sentence is translated in Elliot, "He, like his father before him, preferred Burhān to all his friends," but I think the sentence refers to the mother. She was of Persian origin, and descended from Jahān Shah of the Black Sheep so that she was connected with Bairām K. Her name was Khūnza Humāyūn. Martāza was eventually killed by his own son, and Ferishta narrowly escaped death on this occasion.

² A. F. has surpassed himself in obscurity in this passage. Elliot, VI. 70, renders it "His ignorance and vicious propensities kept him aloof from the loyal and good, and

threw him into the company of evil persons whose bad advice quite perverted his mind." The words in text are *nāguzrān-i-waqi* ناگزران وقت and I. O. MS. 236 has the same. I have supposed *nāguzrān* to be a word formed like *nākhudā* and to mean captains or pilots. I. O. 236 has *nagazīran-i-waqi* ناگزیران وقت which perhaps means "persons who were indispensable to the times." The word *rūhānī* which I have translated by "spiritual" also means "a howling darwish"; c.f. Ferishta's account of Martāza's going to Bālaghāt and assuming a dervish's dress, etc.

³ Āsaf K. is the name of Solomon's vizier, see B. 368. Ferishta calls Husain Shāhib K., and the T. A. Muṣāhib K. He was eventually killed by A. F.'s muscular brother-in-law Khudāwand K. Deccānī.



a new foundation was given to self-conceit. The world thought that the days of the recluse were ended. At length that ungrateful and devious one set himself to make the Barīd war (viz. that against the Barīd Shāhs of Bidar), and the dust of commotion rose high in the neighbourhood of Qandhar.¹ On learning this, the mad-man came out and went rapidly against him. At this time Burhān by the help of the governor of the fortress, came out and proceeded to create a disturbance. The opportunity for rascals came. As his intellect remained in prison, and his fortune was asleep, he fastened his eyes upon men's property, and was active in distressing people. Nizāmu-l-mulk, on hearing of this, effected a reconciliation (with Husain) and returned and reached Ahmadnagar on the day that he (Burhān) intended to come. On seeing him the commotion subsided. He said to his companions: "For a long while I have been a recluse, and have been averse to mixing with men. My brother
408 longs for rule. Withdraw from me and join him." They replied.

"It is proper that the innings of the base be broken up! When that has been done these matters may be considered. Otherwise few will know the real circumstances, and most will think that your action (in resigning or withdrawing from society) is the result of weakness and ill-health." He rejoiced at this pronouncement and a song of joy was raised on account of the uniting of hearts. He went in conquest of battle with a labour-loving heart and a right courage.

In addition to the fact that Burhān was not a match for Martāza in numbers, the right-thinking and truthfulness of his companions prevented matters from coming to a fight. Crowds of men turned back from Burhān, and he without engaging had to tread the desert of failure. For a while he sought asylum with the owner of Bijanagar.² He returned without effecting anything. From

¹ Elliot, VI. 70, says, sixty miles N. Bidar, and at VII. 25 note says 25 miles S. W. Nandar. In the maps there is a Qandahār some 80 miles N. Bidar, and a long way to the east of Ahmadnagar. It is on the Manāda, a tributary of the Godavery. Ferishta does not name it, though he speaks of Shāhib K.'s attack on Bidar. Pos-

sibly A. F. has chosen Qandahār on account of its remoteness, it being his rhetorical way of saying that the whole of Bidar was disturbed. Qandhar is marked as Kandahr in Grant Duff's map. See I. G. XIV. 377.

² The text has Bijāpūr, but the variant Bijanagar seems preferable,



there he went to 'Ādil K. in Bijāpūr. When craft and deceit did not avail, he returned to Ahmadnagar in the attire of a jogī. There he lived in secret, and endeavoured by the help of wicked men to deceive people and to strengthen his party. The veil over his actions was removed. He then went off rapidly to Baglāna, but failing there he went to Quṭbu-d-dīn K. in Nadarbar, and gathered bliss at the sublime court. On the 11th he brightened his forehead by doing homage at the holy threshold. Inasmuch as the raising up of the fallen, and showing kindness to the fatigued is the praiseworthy quality of H.M., he was exalted by various favours. Two years before this, they brought one who called himself Burhān. Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn² Ḥusain Ānjū received him and introduced him, and he obtained lofty rank³ by the kindness of the world's lord. On this occasion the two were confronted, and an investigation held. The shameless one made some long speeches, but was compelled by acuteness to tell the truth and to say, "I am the son of a certain Deccānī who had the title of Ḥakīm-al-mulki. The mother of Niẓāmu-l-mulk had received me as a son. I was led astray by cupidity and short-sightedness." From fear he ran away, but was caught by searchers on the road to Agra and sent to the school of the prison.

One of the occurrences was the chastisement of 'Arab Bahadūr. His misconduct has been described, and how he failed. After he had become a vagabond in Sambal, he stirred up strife in Bihar. When the Khān 'Āzim M. Koka had gone from Bengal to that quarter, some brave men, under the charge of Subhān Qulī Turk, proceeded to inflict retribution on him. From far-sightedness he himself (the K. 'Āzim) went there. There was an engagement between Tirhut and Campāran, and he was again disgraced. From

as Bijāpūr occurs in the next clause. Ferishta says he went to Burhānpūr.

¹ J. II. 208. A Sarkār of Mālwa. Also written Nazar-bār, the Nandar-bār in Khandesh of the I.G.

² The Iqbāl-nāma says, Mīr Jamāl had means of knowing, for he was married to the real Burhān's sister. Ferishta confirms this and says her

name was Khadīja, and that she was Burhān's full sister.

³ Badāyūnī, Lowe, 334, says he received a *jāgīr* in Oudh. See also Elliot, V. 429. Presumably he is the same pretender as the one mentioned at p. 703 as having been put to death in 1596.



there he went off to Jaunpūr. By H.M.'s orders, Rajah Todar Mal sent his son Gaurdahan to chastise him, and 'Arab entered the hill-country.

Also at this time Haji Ibrahim Sirhindī was sent to the prison of instruction. For some time, he by effrontery and plausible speeches ranked among the searchers for wisdom. For a time he enjoyed himself as Ṣadr¹ of Gujarat. During that time some persons came and complained of his oppression. When his cupidity and
409 wickedness became evident, and his tyranny became patent, he was sent to the fortress of Ranthambor. The oppressed were heartened. He wished to descend by making a noose. The rope broke and his² days came to an end.

¹ See supra III. 264. He was appointed in 987.

² See Darbārī Akbarī, p. 702.

and Badayūnī, Lowe, 286 and 322. Badayūnī says he died in 994 (1586).



CHAPTER LXXII.

THE SENDING OF M. KHĀN TO QUELL THE DISTURBANCES IN GUJARĀT.

Who can reckon up the marvels produced by Existence, and who can understand them? The family¹ of contingent beings cannot comprehend them. How then can the children of men do so? But the sage can to some extent trace out the matter. It may be that the strong gale of sedition and the stirring up of the dust of dissension, even in spite of the truth-seeking, and righteousness of the Ruler of the age, have happened in order that the wondrous working of the world's lord's fortune may be impressed on mankind, and that the misery of the disobedient may be made conspicuous. Or it may be in order that the veil may be withdrawn from the actions of those wicked persons who, from the wide tolerance of H.M. and their own deceit, have taken their place among the good and auspicious, and in order that the lamp of perception might be kindled for the infliction of retribution upon them. Or it may be in order that the goodness of those who remain under the veil of obscurity and do not sell their service may be inscribed on the portico of manifestation! For such farseeing designs as these the pleasant land of Gujarat became stained with the dust of uproar. The turmoil of the evil-thoughted took possession of the world. Though the main cause of the sedition was the wickedness of the servants of Shihību-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and of Qutbu-d-dīn K., yet the neglect and unskilfulness of those two great Amīrs led to their ingratitude. They continually behaved with slackness towards the foolish praters. The garden of loyalty became full of dust, and from negligence they did not bestir themselves to gather together the single-minded, nor did they use intelligence in searching for good men. When the government of that country fell again into the hands of ʿTīmād K., those who were slaves² of gold separated and withdrew from going to

¹ Meaning the angels and other created beings.

² Meaning the subordinates of Shihāb and Qutbu-d-dīn.

court, and from the business of the branding. The self-will, and carelessness of 'I'timād K. and the delay in the arrival of assistance increased the evils. The strifemongers on 23 Shahriyūr (about 4th September, 1583) raised up Moẓaffar and prevailed against Aḥmad-ābād. The ancestors of that low fellow were not known to any one. Men called him Nannū.¹ In former times 'I'timād K. gave him that name and acknowledged him as the son of Sultān Maḥmūd Gujarāti. He was captured during the first expedition to Gujarat, 410 and for some time was a prisoner in the hands of Karm 'Alī,² the *darogha* of the perfumery department. Afterwards he was sent to Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān. When the latter died, he came back to court and Khwajah Shāh Maṣūr the dīwān looked after him. In the 23rd year he escaped, through negligence, and went off to his home (bangāh) and took refuge with the owner of Rājpiplah.³ Quṭṭb-u-d-dīn K. led an army against him, and he went off to Jūnagarh and took refuge with the Lonikāthīs.⁴ The officers did not regard him or bring him into notice. At this time, he, by the help of the servants of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., emerged from this corner, and became a trouble. From the time that 'I'timād K. had gone from court, and an order had been issued, summoning Shihābu-d-dīn

¹ B. 325 calls him Nathū. Cf. J. II. 267. It seems probable that he really was the son of Sultan Maḥmūd, and at all events he fought like a man of a good stock. Bayāzīd Biyāt tells us that Moẓaffar had been in his charge at Cūnār, and that by Mun'im's orders he sent him to Gaūr where he arrived on the very night that Mūn'im died, i.e. 23rd October, 1575. More probably he was taken to Tānda as it was there that Mun'im died.

² The M. Aḥmadī, lith. ed., 149, calls him the son of Mihtar Ramzān. Perhaps he was made his custodian because he was one of those who went to look for him when he was first caught. B. 519.

³ Text Baḥīlī, but the variant

Rājpiplah is right. See J. II. 251. Danvers in his history of the Portuguese in India says that Sultan Amodifar, i.e. Moẓaffar, managed to escape by the aid of some women. II. 53.

⁴ Perhaps Lonikāthī is here used as the name of a chief as at A. N. III, 424. For the Kāthīs see J. II. 248. Possibly the name refers to their living near the sea and making salt. The M. Sikandari 378 says Moẓaffar first went to Tarwārī, the ruler of Rājpiplah, and then went to the Lonakāthīs in the village of Kherī. See also M. Aḥmadī, p. 147, which calls the village Gadri. The Rauzāt Tāhirīn says that Moẓaffar took refuge near the seashore with the Kāthīs who are robbers.



Aḥmad K., the servants of the latter had indulged in evil thoughts. On the 10th he left Aḥmadabad to proceed to court, and next day I'timād K arrived in the city and sat on the masnad of authority. Mir Ābid, Khalil Beg, Mir Yūsuf Beg, Miram Beg, and some Badakhshīs and Tūrānīs became actively disloyal and went off to Dūlqa.

They had been plotting to kill their master (Shihāb) before the new governor (I'timād) had arrived. One who was faithful¹ to his salt revealed the secret, and by an unfitting clemency the conspiracy was overlooked (lit. the rubbish was covered—*khasposh*). Now they renewed their evil design, and set out to join Nannū. Umr Hājī² was the kindler of the disturbance, and was the leader of the wretches. This wicked man had for some time been diwan³ of the Ṣadr at Court, and had been equal to Sharfu-d-dīn in evil conceptions. He acquired some consideration in Gujarat, and when that country was conquered he went to the Deccan. When Shihābu-d-dīn⁴ Aḥmad K. became governor of the province of Gujarat, he on the strength of former acquaintance joined him. The whole talk of the mercenary men was, "To-day our jagirs⁵ have gone. Until we reach the capital, and expenses for the meantime be supplied and the business of the branding be settled, it will be difficult to get a mouthful of bread. It is far better that we take the turbulent Nannū by the hand, and that we stir up strife." Though well-wishers and experienced persons represented (to I'timād) that Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad had withdrawn from conciliatory measures and was going to court and that the officers of the auxiliary force had not yet arrived, and that it was proper to restrain him from this journey and to give back the jagirs to him for some days, or to spend some money and quiet the uproar of those dog-fleas, or—before

¹ Lit. recognition of his salt made one reveal the secret. The Iqbāl-nama says his name was Jahāngīr.

² The I.O. MS. and apparently the variant have 'Umr Hājī Sipāh. The Iqbāl-nama makes Mir Ābid the ring-leader.

³ Diwān-i-ṣadārat. The Ṣadr's Diwān?

⁴ The Iqbāl-nama says that Shihāb's servants were refractory men who had been in the service of the Mirzās and who had only been kept in order by Shihāb's personal influence.

⁵ Perhaps the meaning is that their master's jagirs had gone.



the rebels had matured their preparations—to dispose by activity and alertness of this handful of traitors”: none of the suggestions was accepted. ‘Ṭīmād K. replied: “The servants of Shihābu-d-dīn K. have started the disaffection, he can put it down, or will have to answer for it.” In a little time the number of the rebels increased, and there were loud reports that Nannū was approaching.

- 411 Of necessity the first opinion was accepted, but as he (Shihāb) had gone some way, he refused. ‘Ṭīmād K. thought that he would go in person, and so shorten the time for delivering messages, and that he would by every possible means bring him back. Though acute persons said that to leave the city during this commotion was to make an easy matter difficult, their advice was not approved. He went off at night with Mir Abū Turāb and Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. They lost their road and only reached Karī¹ at dawn where they joined Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. After much talk he agreed to return. His wishes were complied with. His fiefs were restored to him, freed² from burdens, and two lacs of rupees were given him as a loan.³ After that most of the day was spent in ratifying the agreements and in pledging oaths (i.e. taking oaths of fidelity from the officers and soldiers). Then Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. set off with his household. At the end of the night Zainu-d-dīn Kambū and Mir M’aṣūm Bhakarī met them, eight kos from Aḥmadabad, and represented that Nannū had joined the rebels, and that he had meditated an attack on Cambay, but that on learning that the city (Aḥmadabad) was undefended he had hastened there, and had prevailed⁴ over the city. Pahlwān⁵ ‘Alī Sistānī, the city kotwāl, had lost his life, and the property and honour of the inhabitants were being plundered. At first there was sorrow and bewilderment, and

¹ Gadhī in text, but Karī in I.O. MSS. and in Elliot and J. II. 253. Karī is a pargana in Gujarat, Bayley's Gujarat, p. 11, and is I presume the Kuree of his map, and N. W. Ahmadabad and on the road to Deesa. If it was 20 kos from Aḥmadabad, Elliot V. 430, ‘Ṭīmād could not have lost his way very much if he got there by dawn.

² Perhaps it merely means that they were given back to him.

³ Masā‘dat, B. 265.

⁴ The Mirāt Sikandarī 374 says Mozaḥfar took the city on Wednesday, 27 Sha‘bān, 4th September, 1583.

⁵ He had been recently appointed. Elliot V. 430.



then they of necessity set themselves to remedy matters. After talking, they resolved on giving battle. On the morning of the 24th¹ they halted at 'Uṣmānpūr on the banks of the Sabarmatī, and slumbered in the sleep of negligence. Though persons of foresight represented that the rebels were scattered throughout the great city, and occupied in plundering, and that they should draw up their forces and attack them, and so quell the disturbance, the officers adopted the easiest course, and did not set themselves to do this. They thought that the old servants of the governor would join on receiving his conciliatory letters, and that the activity of the rebellion would cease. With this idea I'timād K. and Mīr Abū Turāb went off from the camp to the houses of acquaintances, while Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. occupied himself in writing soothing letters. The rebels collected and prepared for battle. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. awoke somewhat from his slumbers and applied himself to arranging his forces. While he was doing so, Muṣṭafa Shirwānī came forward with some wicked wretches. Hājī Beg Ūzbeg, Payinda Muḥammad Sagkash, Ṣāliḥ Qundūzī, Khizr Khwāja,² and a body of known men to the number of about 500 took the road of faithlessness. The engagement had not taken place when a large number of men forded the river below 'Uṣmānpūr and fell upon the camp. Many took shelter with the enemy and some remained with their families, and out of an army of more than 7,000 horse, only a few relatives³ remained around him (Shihāb). During this confusion one of the servants³ struck him on his right shoulder with a sword, and his horse was thrown down by a gunshot. He fell to the ground, but some faithful servants raised him up, and gave him a mount. They took him rapidly away from that place of confusion, and, on account of their being busied in plundering, no one pursued him. On the 25th Shihābud-dīn Aḥmad K., I'timād K., Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and some others, to the number of about 300, assembled in Pattan.

¹ 24 Shahriyūr = 5th September, 1533.

² Is it possible that this is Gulbadan Begam's husband? I think it is. See *infra*, p. 437, where his younger brother is mentioned. Khizr's becoming a rebel may ac-

count for Abul-Faḥl not mentioning him in the *Ain* as a commander.

³ The *Mirāt Aḥmadi*, p. 155, gives his name as Ābdu-r-Raḥmān Majhūlī and says he came from behind and struck Shihāb, but that the wound was not serious.



Mozaffar K. having got his heart's desire in Aḥmadābād took a great name to himself, and became presumptuous and infatuated. He assumed the royal power, and bestowed on the wicked wretches the titles of the Shāhinshāh's officers. 'Ā'bid Badakhshī was made Khān-Khānān; Khalil Beg, Khān Zamān; Mirak Yilāq,¹ Atgah K.; Mirak Beg, Badakhshī; Khān 'Ālam, Qurbān 'Alī Bihārī,² Khān Kalān; Shāh Mirzā, Naurang K.; Nauroz, Qarāca K.; Muḥammad Amin Badakhshī. Muqsūs K.; Payinda Muḥammad Sagkash;³ Khān Jahān; Mir 'Abdullah, 'Āṣaf K., and Mir Bakhshī; Sāliḥ Badakhshī Mozaffar K., and dīwān; Abu-l-wafā became Afzal K. and mushrif dīwān; Shāṭir Muḥammad, N'aamat K. and Mir Sāmān. He did not know that unless God's favour be bestowed, and there be choice qualities, the night lamp of greatness does not shine.

Verse.

It needs a sun to burn up the stars.
Night becomes not day by thy lamp.

To assign to small men the titles of great men is to throw oneself along with the former into the abyss of disgrace. Accordingly every one of these soon became the dust of dishonour and failure. They showed levity in talk about officers and pay, and in the wish for fiefs they cast away their honour. Payinda Muḥammad Sagkash and Tahmak⁴ lay in wait for one another, and their hostility led to bloodshed. Tahmak forged a letter from him (Payanda) to Shihāb-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and accomplished his object by corrupting his sealer. Mozaffar without looking into the matter closely, and acting without consideration, consigned him (Payanda) to annihilation. By the cajolery of fate the work of friends was accomplished

¹ بلق in text but the variant پلاق is the reading of I.O. MSS.

² Biharāgi بهارگی in MSS.

³ Dog-killer, presumably it is the name of a Moghul tribe, sagkashi means a killing for which there is no punishment. Payinda has been mentioned already, pp. 21 and 22.

⁴ Variant Tamak. The Mirāt

of Aḥmadī has Samuk سمک and so have the I.O. MSS. Apparently Samak is the same person as Hājī 'Umr, for Samak is described as a ringleader and the Raunāt Tāhirin calls him Hājī Samak. Perhaps the sipāh or siyah of variant of text 410, l. 12, is a mistake for سمک.



by enemies. At this same time, Sher K. Fūlādī arrived from Sorath.¹ As Mozaffar was solicitous about Quṭbu-dīn K., and was continually tampering with his fly-like servants, he left 'Ābid at Aḥmadabad and went off to that quarter himself, and sent Sher K. Fūlādī and some rascals to Pattan. At the same time Saiyid Daulat,² who was one of the choice servants in the eastern part of Gujarat, did not wait to see Mozaffar, but went off with some vagabonds to Cambay, and proceeded to plunder it. Khwāja 'Imādu-d-dīn³ Ḥusain carried off 14 lakhs of rupees from that port, and by his activity conveyed them to the fort at Broach to Quṭbu-d-dīn K. Nearly 40 lakhs of dāms fell into the hands of Saiyid Daulat. He sent a portion of this to that futile one (Mozaffar), and joined, and became a ringleader.⁴

When these events came to the royal hearing, H.M., whose mind is a mirror showing the future, remarked that the disturbance would soon be quelled, and that the rebels would meet with their deserts. He addressed himself to the composing of the distractions of the country, the soothing of the proprietors, and the punishment of the rebels, and sent a chosen army to that province. On 9 Mihr Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Ḥāshim, Shīroya K., Rai Durgā, Rai Lon Karan, Mednī Rai, Miyān Bahādur, Darvesh K., Rafī' Sarmadī, S. Kabīr,⁵ Naṣīb Turkamān and many other strenuous men were sent off under the command of M. Khān, the son of Bairām K., in order that they might go by a straight road to Gujarāt, and address themselves to the punishment of the evildoers.⁶ Qulij K. and

¹ Wrongly, Surat in text.

² The Mirāt Sikandarī and Mirāt Aḥmadī call him a servant of Kalyān Rawad of Cambay. Presumably this is the Kalyān Rai Baqqāl of Badayūnī, Lowe 249.

³ The father of Tāhir, author of the Rauḡāt Tāhirīn, Elliot VI. 195.

⁴ The text from following the Lucknow edition has سه کروز آمد, "He came three kos," which makes nonsense. The reading of the I.O. MSS. is سرگروز آمد "he became a ringleader." The Mirāt Sikandarī

says Mozaffar rewarded him by giving him the title of Rustam K.

⁵ The Iqbāl-nāma adds, "Who is now, by the Shāhīnshāh's favour, styled Shujā'at K." B. 519 says he got the title from Prince Selīm. He was of the Cistī family, and distinguished himself under Jahāngīr.

⁶ At the end of the account of M. Khān's deputation, the Iqbāl-nāma has the statement that Muḥibb 'Alī, the son of the Mir Khalīfa, died at this time (991). It says that Akbar excused him from more active service



Naurang K. were sent off to Mālwa that they might obtain the offices of that province, and then join the victorious army. An order was issued to Quṭbu-d-dīn K. to the effect that although from calculation it appeared that he was sufficient for putting down the dust of dissension, yet out of caution a large army had been nominated. If by heaven's decree the spark (of rebellion) could not be extinguished, help would come from the auspicious combatants.

One of the occurrences was the death of Jagmāl¹ and Rai Singh. The former was the brother of Rānā Pratāp, the latter the grandchild of Māldeo. When the first by the guidance of fortune brightened his forehead by doing homage, and was exalted by princely favours, Sirohī and its territory were made over to him in fief. Sultān Deorah was powerful in that country. An order was given to 'I'timād K. that when he came to that neighbourhood, he should take vigorous measures, and should make over the country to Jagmāl, and if it was necessary, should leave some experienced fighting men to help him. When he came there, he carried out the orders, and Jagmāl entered Sirohī. The presumptuous one (S. Deorah) retired to the ravines. Rai Singh, Beca, Deorah and men of Jālor were left to help Jagmāl. When the victorious troops marched to Gujarāt, that wayward one renewed his turbulence, and Beca and many Jāloriāns came to the rescue. The wicked man came upon their quarters by secret paths. Those two men (Jagmāl and Rai Singh) awoke out of the sleep of neglect and preserved their honour by bravely sacrificing their lives.

414 On the 25th (Mīhr)² the feast of Shawwāl was celebrated and the Shahinshāh gave a feast. Magical minstrels administered the medicine of wisdom by the adit of the ear, and various artists did wonderful things. The archery of the strikers of the *qabaq* excited

on account of his age, and made him governor of Delhi, which appointment he held for a long while and until his death. B., following Nizāmu-d-dīn, puts Muḥibb 'Alī's death into 989. The Muḥibb 'Alī who is mentioned later as co-operating with Shahbāz K. is Muḥibb 'Alī Rohtāsi.

¹ Elliot V. 430 where Jagmāl is

wrongly described as Sultan (or Saltān) Deora's brother. Nizāmu-d-dīn joined 'I'timād at Jālor and brought with him 1000 *mohars* for Jagmāl's expenses. Rāi Singh was the son of Candar Sen, son of Māldeo.

² The 'Īd-al-fitr, celebrated on 1 Shawwāl and which occurred this year (991) on 8th October, 1583.



astonishment, and there was a display of the game of *caugān*. Crowds of men obtained their wishes. Suddenly in the midst of the game Rajah Birbar fell from his horse, and became insensible. The world's lord cast the shadow of his kindness over him, and relieved him by his holy breathings. In a short time he returned to his senses, and uttered thanksgivings.

One of the occurrences was the death of Mir Gesū *Khurāsānī*. He traced his lineage to the Saiyids (of *Khurāsān*). For a time he held the office of Bakāwal Beg (steward of the kitchen), and then for a time he was governor of Bhakar. At this time he was Faujdār of Mīrtha and some of the interamnal parganas (between the Ganges and the Jamna). Owing to ignorance of business he was continually having altercations with the base soldiers. The master from cupidity is intent on depriving evil soldiers of part of their pay and the wicked and ungrateful are intent upon getting more than their share. From a bad disposition, he did not expel avarice from his heart,¹ and did not treat them with frankness. At last on the eve of the 24th (Mīhr), which was pregnant with the 'Id of *Shawāl* (8th October, 1583), he in the town of Mīrtha spoke to them in a shameless way and after reproaches turned some of his servants out of his house. At dawn he went to the 'Idgāh in a drunken state. Mūsā Bahlīm (?) one of the set came forward in a humble manner, and Mir Gesū owing to his intoxicated state put him in prison. At this time Ibrāhīm of Nārnaul came in with some evil disposed persons and M. Gesū lost forbearance and abused him. The unfaithful servant replied with his sword. Some double-faced ones removed him under pretence of making a reconciliation, and some base ones turned their attention to releasing Mūsā. On perceiving this he went to their quarters and set fire to them. The mutineers turned out to fight, and M. Gesū's companions showed cowardice, and the Mir was killed. Out of wickedness they reduced his body to ashes. When this became known active measures were taken to seize the evildoers. Many were punished, and some absconded. Justice revealed her countenance.

¹ از آزار دل بر می گرفت The text has az āz instead of āz az. For Mir Gesū's biography see the *Maaṣir* III. 349. See also Elliot I. 241 for an

account of his proceedings in Sind. There is an account of his son Jalālu-dīn Masha'ūd's death in *Tūzūk* J. 67, pp 141-42 of translation.



CHAPTER LXXIII.

MARCH OF THE ROYAL STANDARDS TO ILAHĀBĀD (ALLAHABAD).

In every work the Shahīnshāh brings various distinctions into action, and whether in repose or in marching displays great ideas. He weighs profit and loss in the balance of foresight. For a long
415 time his desire was to found a great city in the town of Piyāg,¹ where the rivers Ganges and Jamna join, and which is regarded by the people of India with much reverence, and which is a place of pilgrimage for the ascetics of that country, and to build a choice fort there. His idea was to establish himself there for a time and to reduce to obedience the recalcitrant ones of that country, and to introduce peace down to the ocean. He thought that when he had laid the foundation of this city of fortune, he would go by boat to the eastern districts and root out the thorns of rebellion from that country. Should peace be produced there by the reverberation of the august expedition, he would proceed to the Deccan, and take possession of that country which was longing for a just ruler. Should the wide country of India be civilized by means of obedient vassals he would proceed to Turan, and he would put to rights M. Ḥakīm who, on account of the companionship of flatterers and shortsighted persons, did not sit at the board of good service, and who indulged

¹ Cf. J. II. 158. The translator has inserted an *r*, spelling the word as Priyāg, and this is in accordance with the Sanskrit, but in the *Ain* text the spelling is given, and there is no *r*. It is stated in the I. G. (old edition) that Allahabad was founded in 1575, and there is a similar statement in the *Darbārī Akbarī* (though probably 981 is a slip for 991), but it appears from this chapter that the city and fort were not founded till 2nd Āzar 991, i.e. about the middle of November 1583.

There is a good account of Allahabad in the *Ḥadīqa-al-īqālīm*, p. 663 of lith. ed., and there it is said that Akbar called the place Ilahābad and that Shah Jahān changed the name to Allahabad. (The name given in the T. A. and the *Iqbāl-nāma* is Ilahabad or Ilahabāgh). The author of the *Ḥadīqa* says, he saw a paper of Akbar's time which gave the cost of the building of the fort, etc., and the amount stated was two kroras and some lakhs.



in foolish replies. He would also guide aright M. Sulaimān and Shahrūkh M., who were stirring up strife with one another in Badakhshān, and would get possession of the land of his ancestors. In this way the various classes of mankind would experience the joys of concord.

With these far-reaching thoughts he on 5 Ābān (about the middle of October) set out from Fathpūr. As his intention was to proceed to the eastern provinces, he in accordance¹ with the rules of the experienced men of India, went off on a lofty elephant and travelled $3\frac{1}{2}$ kos (a day).

On the 12th, near the village of Barauli, the river-houses (the boats) were glorified by his advent. Some of the special courtiers had the bliss of attending him, while the main camp went by land. There were more than 300 boats for the passengers and the baggage. On the 17th they cast anchor opposite the town of Etawah. Zain Khān Koka had a delightful residence and garden there, and begged for the royal visit. H.M. granted his request, and stayed there a while. On the 22nd he came near Kālpī. Muttalib K., the *tīyūldār* (fief-holder) of that place, arranged a splendid feast on the bank of the Jamna and got high honour by H.M.'s presence. Next day he arrived near Akbarpūr at the residence of Rajah Bir Bar. By going to his house he gratified a long-standing wish of his (Bir Bar's). Then he went on, hunting and dispensing justice, stage by stage. Mankind rejoiced. On the 1st Āzar he reached the wished-for spot, and next day in an auspicious hour he laid the foundation of the city, and planned² out four forts. In each he arranged for lordly residences. The beginning (of the city) was the place where the rivers joined. In the first (fort) he fixed that there were to be twelve buildings.³ In every one there were delightful apartments. There

¹ There is no word for "daily," but I think *darnawardīdān* must mean that the journey was continuous and that Akbar marched $3\frac{1}{2}$ kos daily till he came to Barauli and the boats. The T. A. and Badayūnī describe him as starting by boat from Agra, but apparently he joined the boats lower down on the Jamna.

² *Bīrang* in text, but the I.O. MSS. have *surang*. *Bīrang* seems right for *bīrangūdan* means "to sketch out."

³ I.O. 236 has *sarābūstān* instead of the *manzil* of text, and the Darbarī Akbarī, p. 123, says there were twelve gardens.



was a garden which was the special private chamber of the Shāhin-shāh. In the second there was a place for the Begams and the Princes. In the third there were to be residences for the distant relatives and for the personal attendants. The fourth was for the soldiers and subjects. The engineers produced master-pieces, and in a short time the first (fort) was admirably completed. Every one had a place suitable to his rank. In a short time a great city was established.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the litter of Miriam-makānī. She had been unable, for various reasons, to come at the beginning. At this time she set out on the camel of joy, and afterwards proceeded by water along with many Begams and other ladies. H.M. paid his respects in a new manner. An assemblage of joy was arranged, and the rose-garden of the Caliphate was refreshed by recognition of dignities.



CHAPTER LXXIV.

VICTORY OF SHAHBĀZ K. AND THE VAGABONDAGE OF M'ASŪM K.
KABULĪ.

It has been mentioned that after the defeat of the rebels, a body of the victorious troops proceeded towards Orissa and had halted on the bank of the Damodar, and that some great men had gone to Ghorāghāt and been the means of delivering the Qāqshāl. When some time had elapsed, M'asūm K. had come from the country of Bhātī with many strife-mongers and proceeded to make war on M. Beg Qāqshāl. The latter had gone to Tājpūr¹ and taken protection with Tarson K.² He (Māsūm) had the effrontery to send some men to ravage that country. Tarsūn K. shut himself up in a fort, and the rebels plundered to within seven *kos* of Tānda. There was a great commotion. When Shahbāz K. heard of this, he made wisdom the precursor of courage, and set about punishing the rebels. He sent off some men in swift boats in order to turn him back, and he himself marched out with troops from Patna, and proceeded by land. He soon arrived at the scene of disturbance, and produced tranquillity. The presumptuous retreated. M'asūm, who had arrived near the Jamna,³ remained where he was. He (Shahbāz) wrote from Tānda to the officers who were connected with Orissa, to the effect that "Qutlū had not the strength to engage in battle with the imperialists, and it was better that some should come to this quarter." Accordingly, Wazir K., S. Ibrāhīm, S. Farīd Bakhshī, Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Pahār K., Mirzāda 'Alī K., Bābūi Mankālī, Hasan K., Shāh Qāsim Badaḡhshī, Haidar Dost, Mir Abu-l-ghais, S. Muḥammad Ghaznavī,

¹ B. 342 says Tājpūr is in Dinaj-pūr.

² B. 342. There was a Sarkār Tājpūr in Bengal, I. II, 135. Cf. Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 109. He states that there is no town of Tājpūr now.

³ The Jamna seems to preserve its name after the junction with the Ganges at Allahabad. Cf. A. N. II. 255, l. 5, and my note 15. Cf. Jarrett, II. 120, who quotes Wilford as saying that the waters of the three rivers do not mix.



Jalālu-d-dīn Ma'sūd, Kamālu-d-dīn, Husain Sistānī, Kicak Khwāja, Sikandar Caknī, Abā Bikr, and others took upon themselves the task of putting down Qutlū, while Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ṣādiq K., Muḥibb 'Alī K., Rajah Gopal,¹ Khangār,² the sons³ of Saiyid Muḥammad Mir 'Adil and others proceeded to help Shāhbāz K. Shāhbāz K. 417 crossed the Ganges and proceeded rapidly to chastise the rebels. By the Divine aid 3,000 artillerymen⁴ from among the servants of Shāh Bardī, who had died about this time, came from Bhātī and entered into service, and brought the news of victory. Afterwards Tarsūn K. and M. Beg Qāqshāl joined. At this time the news came that an army of ill-fated ones had proceeded under the command of Bābāi Bhakarī towards the town of Santos,⁵ and that the servants of Tarsūn K. had fled. Shāhbāz K. set himself to remedy matters and sent off Muḥibb 'Alī K. Qāsim K. Taimur Badakhshī and Selīm K., and afterwards sent on himself. The enemy fled on hearing the noise of the advance-force, and much booty fell into the hands of the soldiers. From there they marched 18 kos through a difficult country in order to do battle with M'aṣūm K. and halted on the bank of the Jamna. M'aṣūm took refuge on the other side but prepared for battle. Shāhbāz sent a letter to advise and guided him towards obedience. He recounted to him the worthy qualities of the Shāhīnshāh and abused him for his falling away. He gave him many salutary counsels and mingled threats and encouragements. During those twenty-four hours messages were sent three times, and choice replies expressive of contrition were received. Next day⁶ the officers (of Akbar) arranged an assemblage and he

¹ B. 502 and 532. The Iqbāl-nāma adds the word Jādon, which completes the identification.

² Perhaps Kāngār, the nephew of Bihārī Mal, B. 436.

³ The Iqbāl-nāma gives their names, Mīr Abu-l-m'aālī and Mīr Abu Qāsim.

⁴ Probably these were Portuguese, but the numbers seem large.

⁵ The I.O. MSS. have Santos. It was in Bārbakābād Sarkār and is mentioned in the Ain under the cor-

rupt form of Sikh Shahr. It lies in South Dīnājpur. See Mr. Beames' interesting note about Santos or Mahī Santos in R.A.S.J. for 1896, 116. It was on the Atrāī. Santos is mentioned in the T. Nāṣirī, Raverty, 576, and n. 4.

⁶ The passage about Shāhbāz's operations is translated in Elliot VI. 71-72, but it is difficult, and the translator has evaded one thorny place by not translating the part about the negotiations. I am not sure of the

(M'aṣūm) crossed two-thirds (*dobakhsh*) of the river and arrived within a javelin cast of the shore. He accepted the proposition to render loyal service, and a treaty was drawn up and sealed by the heads of the army. It was settled that on the following day he would make his apologies for the past and that there would be a feast of unity. Some persons who were lovers of strife increased his fears by secret letters, and rehearsed to him the downfall¹ of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī. As his fortune was somnolent he could not distinguish between counsel and fraud. He wrote, describing the circumstances,² and made excuses. Shāhbāz K. got indignant, and behaved improperly to friends and to strangers. A mist of discord arose and occasioned arrogance among the rebels. The warriors who sought for battle crossed the river amid a shower of bullets and arrows, and engaged in fight. There was a hot engagement. By the marvels of daily-increasing fortune the rebels took to flight on 4th Āzar (about 15th November, 1583) and the sound of victory spread far and near. During the crisis the royal fleet did not arrive, but Narain, the landholder (*būmī*), and Murād Qāqshāl, brought up their own boats and rendered assistance. Muḥibb 'Alī K. and Selīm K. Sirmūr³ and some other brave men went rapidly in pursuit of M'aṣūm. M. Muḥammad Dastam and some ill-fated ones turned round and fought. On hearing of this, Shāhbāz K. hastened

meaning, but I think that *do bakhsh* must here refer to the two-thirds of the river, and not to two channels, as seems to be the case at Ain text I. 388, last three lines—J. II. 120. I think too that the officers "*umarā*" must be Shāhbāz and his officers, and that it was M'aṣūm who crossed over two-thirds of the river and came within bow-shot, or javelin cast. The word is *gazāndāwī*. Cf. the use of *gazāndāz* at A.N. III. 137, three lines from foot.

¹ It is not surprising that the fate of M'aṣūm Farankhūdī should have frightened him. The text has a curious omission here. The I.O.

MSS. etc. have the words *dāstān quruqī* after *bīm afzūdand*; *quruqī* is a Turkish word and means a sentinel over the women's apartments. Perhaps the phrase is—travellers' tales, the idle tales told by sentinels. The Lucknow ed. says that *quruqī* means a fool, and so *dāstān quruqī* would mean foolish tales.

² I am not sure of the meaning, but I suppose M'aṣūm wrote to Shāhbāz, and referred to the assassination of M'aṣūm Farankhūdī and to the warnings he had received.

³ B. 436 also called Selīm K. Kākar.



to the spot and arrived just when the first detachment was in difficulties. A great engagement took place, and many rebels fell headlong into the pit of annihilation. Qarā¹ Naqdī was taken prisoner, 418 and the rebels were properly defeated, and went off with blistered feet to the desert of failure. They escaped owing to the darkness of the night. The elephant Har Pershād and many others were captured. M. Beg Qāqshāl, Sangrām and Dalpat did good service. Next morning the victorious army crossed streams and miry places and arrived near Ghorāghāt. A portion of that city was² plundered. M'asūm K. took refuge in Bhātī with some followers. Jabbārī and some followers went to the country of Koc (Cooch Behar). Every one of the crew went to some corner or other. Shāhbāz hastened to Sherpūr,³ which was the home of many of them. Next day he arrived there and some of their families were captured, and much booty was obtained. Nearly 150 noted men were made prisoners. The news was brought to Ilahabad, and many thanksgivings were paid, and there was a fresh daily market for service (i.e. service was rewarded).

One of the occurrences was that Šādiq K. separated himself (from Shāhbāz). On the first day that the officers joined, an elephant of Šādiq K. ran, on the march, at Shāhbāz K. and nearly killed him. Though he was not hurt in his body, yet vexation abode in his heart, and from that day there was an interruption of friendship, and a display of hostility. He behaved himself improperly. He changed from the favour he had shown (to Šādiq) and became highly displeased with him. When Shāhbāz was going to Bhātī, Šādiq separated himself in order to pay his respects to the holy threshold.

¹ Or Qarā Baghdī. The translator in Elliot has read the name as Farānkhūdī and so has represented that Māsūm Farānkhūdī was made prisoner, whereas he had been assassinated at Fathpūr a year before this.

² Bari Ghorāghāt on the Karatoya in South East Dinājpur. Beames in R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 126.

Tiefenthaler I. 448 mentions Ghorāghāt as the residence of a military commander, and as a populous and well-kept town. He says it is 25 kos from Rājganj.

³ The I.O. MSS. add Murca, which enables us to identify this Sherpūr as that in Bograh. B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 221, and I.G. XXII, 273. It is not the Maimansing Sherpūr.



One of the occurrences was the defeat of Sher K. Fulādī. When the delightful country of Gujarāt became filled with the dust of dissension, as has been related, Shihābu-d-dīn K. 'Itimād K. Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad Bakhshī and some other officers assembled in Pattan. They were nearly going to Jālōr, and retiring from the country altogether. At this juncture, Muhammad Husain, S. Abu-l-qāsim, Mīr Abū-l-mozaḥḥar, Bunyād Beg, Firūz, Mīr Muḥibb Ullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn, Beg Muhammad Toqbāi, Bulūd K. Khwājaserā, Saiyid Abū Isahāq and others to the number of 1500 auxiliaries arrived. And 1000 men left the enemy and joined Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad K., and 700 horse joined 'Itimād K. But the newly-arrived slaves of money were empty-handed and made complaints. They opened the booths of wish and spoke foolishly. 'Itimād K., who had gained experience from previous events, gave them money, and made them zealous for service so that the thoughts of going away left their minds. Meanwhile Rawaliya Khās-Khel (belonging to the clan of) Sher K. (Fulādī?) stirred up strife in the town of Jūtāna. Beg Muhammad Toqbāi, who was in the neighbourhood, mingled skill with valour; and by the might of daily-increasing fortune obtained a victory. On hearing of this Sher K. sent 419 Husain his son-in-law with a large force. Beg Muhammad did not see it proper to fight, and retreated. The imperial servants appointed S. Muhammad Husain, Khwāja Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, Mīr Abū-l-mozaḥḥar, Saiyid Muḥibb Ullah and some other experienced soldiers to assist him. The foe gave way, and Beg Muhammad followed them up, and a hot engagement took place. After the manner of Rajputs he got off his horse, and fought in a determined manner. He was nearly slain when Khwāja Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad arrived with some brave men, and the enemy was disconcerted. Daily-increasing fortune displayed her face, and the imperial servants decked out the assemblage of joy. Then Sher K. turned his face to do battle, accompanied by many scoundrels. The army expressed its wishes and complained of being empty-handed. 'Itimād K. was obliged to do something to relieve them. He and Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad K. stayed to look after their households (*bangāh-dārī*), and the rest of the men went off to fight under the command of Sher K., the son of 'Itimād. In the centre were Sher K., Rādhān K., Pahār K., and others. Muhammad Husain



Shaikh, Mir Ṣālih, and others were in the right wing, Khawāja Abū-l-qāsim diwān, Bunyād Beg, M. K. Nishāpūrī, Saiyid Abu-Isaḥaq, and Hājī Sambal were in the left wing. Mir Abū-l-moẓaffar, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāi, Mir Muḥibb Ullah, Mir Sharafu-d-dīn Firuz, Sūr Dās, and Saiyid Mustafā were in the vanguard. Khawāja Nizamu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Mir M'aṣūmbhakkārī, and Aṭal Ghakkar were in the reserve. On 27 Ābān the battle took place near Miyāna 18 *kos*¹ from Pattan. The left wing of the imperialists was shaken, but Husain K. the leader of the enemy's right wing (Sher K.'s son-in-law) was killed by Maqūd Āqā. The left wing of the enemy fell upon the reserve, but was repulsed. The enemy's centre departed to the desert of failure without fighting. By the Divine aid a victory was obtained, and a large amount of booty was obtained. Many wicked men were killed. The opinion² of the experienced was that they should at one gallop proceed to Aḥmadābād, and make a difficult work easy, but the words of the foolish babblers prevailed, and there was a want of singleness of heart. The news of victory reached Allahabad and the servants were rewarded.

- 420 One of the occurrences was the sending of Zain K. Koka and Rajah Birbar to bring in Rajah Rām Cand. He is the ruler of Pannāh³ and famed throughout India. He represented himself as one of the obedient and sent his eldest son to do service, but from short-sightedness did not come himself to court, giving as an excuse the length of the journey. Now that Allahabad was glorified by the Shāhinshāh's advent, there remained no room for the former excuse. An order was issued that an army should march to awaken this somnolent dweller in ravines. At this time his son represented by means of well-intentioned courtiers that his father's omission to come was not due to arrogance and disobedience. Owing to his living in a fortress, and to his not mixing with the world he was subject to timidity. If one or two of the known men of the court were dispatched to him, assuredly he would pluck up courage and come. Inasmuch as the Shāhinshāh considers the sword as the last remedy to be employed against refractoriness, the representation

¹ The T.A. says 15 *kos*.

² Cf. Elliot V. 433. Nizāmu-d-dīn strongly recommended this course. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 340.

³ Patna in text. Patlah in I.O. MS. B. 406, and Badayūnī, Lowe 435.