



was accepted, and on the 24th the Kokaltāsh and the Rajah were sent off, to give protection to this savage and to bring him in.

One of the occurrences was the suppression of the disturbance of Jabbārī. It has been mentioned that Shahbūz K. and other officers went off to Bhātī, while Wazīr K. and others prepared for war in the direction of Orissa. The intervening country remained empty of troops. Meanwhile Jabbārī came from Koc to Ghorāghāt, and turbulent men gathered round him. He took Tājpūr from Selīm K. Sirmūr's¹ people, and Purniah from the relations of Tarsūn K. From thence he proceeded to Tānda. Hasan 'Alī Kotwal of the city was lying ill, and S. Allah Bakhsh the Sadr was agitated. From want of courage he was getting confused. Suddenly S. Farīd arrived, and produced tranquillity. He was returning, disgusted, from the army of Orissa to court, and by the royal orders he returned. When he came there, Jabbārī withdrew. The Shaikh hastened to Tājpūr and encouraged the men there, and the agents of the officers got possession of the fiefs.

At this time it was brought to H. M.'s notice that in the rainy season the Ganges was very violent, and injured many people. H.M. laid the foundation of an embankment one kos long, forty yards wide and fourteen cubits high. This was a protection to the people and a help to cultivation. As prices were high on account of the dryness of the year, the means of subsistence of many people came to an end.

One of the occurrences was the coming to court of the Khān 'Azīm. He had been living in Hājīpūr since he left Bengal. He came to Allahabad on the arrival of H.M. and did homage on 4 Dai, and was exalted by various favours. Farīdūn Birlās, Hakīm 421 Mozaffar, Khwājah Muqīm and many others did homage along with him. Also, during this time, S'aid K. came from Sambhal and did homage, and received princely favours.

¹ He was an Afghan. See B. 436.



CHAPTER LXXV.

MARCH OF H.M. TO FATHPŪR THE CAPITAL.

It was H.M.'s intention that when the affairs of the eastern districts had been excellently arranged, he would proceed towards the Deccan, and introduce order there. Suddenly the rebellion in the province of Gujarāt made a great noise and he turned some of his attention towards it. It appeared to him that he should go to the capital and march from there. At the beginning of the disturbance it was the opinion of small and great that when M. Khān got there and was joined by Qutbu-d-dīn K., the dust of dissension would be easily laid. Now came the news of Qutbu-d-dīn's death, and of dissensions among those who had been sent. H.M. set before himself the punishment of the wicked, and the composing of the distractions of the country. The brief account of the events—which were so pregnant with Divine aids and the marvels of daily-increasing fortune—is that when the ingrates and the turbulent had filled that pleasant land with the dust of strife, Qutbu-d-dīn K. from ignorance and conceit did not set matters right. Whilst the officers in Pattan were representing, "To-day the crooked and worthless fellows are busy¹ about their jagirs and appointments, and there is no order among them. The proper thing is to march quickly and skilfully against them. In this way the success of the rebels would cease, and a difficult task would be made easy,"—he (Qutbu-d-dīn) was slow in moving and was not doing good work. He made some objections about the soldiers' want of equipments and he also spoke about waiting for the troops from Mālwa. Meanwhile the disorder increased, and until a censure came from court, he

¹ The officers were referring to Mozaffar's distributing fiefs and appointments among his officers. They urged that their minds were

taken up about these matters and so they were unprepared and could be successfully attacked.

did not wake from the sleep of neglect, or take steps to remedy matters. He sent out troops in advance,¹ but those active men (the

¹ This is an obscure passage, and it strikes me that A.F. must have left something out when revising his draft. What it refers to is explained by the Mirāt Sikandarī, the Mirāt Ahmadī and the T.A. The first two say, pp. 377 and 157, that when Mozaffar set out from Ahmadabad to encounter Qutbu-d-dīn, Saiyid Daulat marched from Cambay with 4000 horse to join him and did so at Naryād. When Qutbu-d-dīn heard of Saiyid Daulat's march, he sent Muḥammad Afzāl and Mirak Muḥammad with 1000 (the M. Sikandarī says, with 3000) horse to intercept him, and to prevent them (Daulat and Mozaffar) from crossing the Mahindrī. They were to take possession of the ferries. They reached there, but they were in collusion with the enemy. So, when Mozaffar came to the ferry, Qutbu-d-dīn's men only showed a little fight and then ran away. Mozaffar then marched on to Baroda and Qutbu-d-dīn came out to fight him and was defeated. In the battle at the Mahindrī Qutbu-d-dīn was not present. The Mirāts go on to say that Qutbu-d-dīn resisted Mozaffar for twenty-one or twenty-two days and displayed superhuman valour. He only yielded on account of the treachery of Carkas K. Rūmī and Muḥammad Mirak. On the other hand, Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 432, speaks of Qutbu d-dīn's having fought in an unsoldier-like manner (*nāsipahāna*). This statement must refer to the second battle, for, as we

have seen, Qutbu-d-dīn was not present at the engagement on the Mahindrī. The Mahindrī would have to be crossed by Mozaffar when coming from Ahmadābad to Baroda. Nariād, where he and Saiyid Daulat met, is about half-way between these two towns.

The M. Sikandarī gives some useful Hijra dates. It was on Wednesday, 27 Sh'abān 991, 5 September 1583, that Mozaffar entered Ahmadabad. On 17 Zi-l-q'ada or 22 November 1583 he left it for Baroda. By this time Qutbu-d-dīn had come to Baroda, having been brought there, or having come there with Zainu-d-dīn Kambū, a relative of Shāhbāz K., who had been sent from Pattan by Shihābu-d-dīn and 'Itimād to urge him to advance. According to the M. Sikandarī 374, Qutbu-d-dīn was then not in Broach but in Sultānpūr or in Nandarbār. "Sultanpur lies about twenty miles north of the Tapti, Nandarbār nearly the same distance south of it. Elliot V. 434 n." At Sultānpur Qutbu-d-dīn was about as near Baroda as Broach. The T.A. Elliot V. 434 says that the Mālwa force was at those two places (Sultanpūr and Nandarbār) when Mozaffar was at Broach. It is certainly strange that, as Badayūnī, Lowe 341, remarks, Naurang did not advance to help his parent.

The story of the treachery of Carkas Rūm and Muḥammad Mirak is told in detail in both the Mirāts. See also Noer's Akbar, translation. II. 81



rebels) crossed the river Mahindri and fought a battle near the town of Sarnāl, and the soldiers suffered a shameful defeat there.

From presumption and self-conceit he, on 8 Aban, about 15 October 1583, came out of the fort without putting Broach into a proper state of defence, and without conciliating the mercenary soldiers. Although right-thinking and acute persons represented that it was wrong to treat a great disturbance lightly, and to disregard the army, and that what was absolutely necessary for the times was to make presents to the offended and the loud talkers, and to labour to close their mouths and to win hearts, yet, as his fate was overturned, the words of wisdom did not enter his 422 ears. Accordingly, on 25 Ābān, about 2 November 1583, Moẓaffar approached with a large force. The armies were drawn up on both sides, but meanwhile Carkas K. and Mīrak Afzāl, and many others, joined the enemy. Quṭbu-d-dīn and some of his clan (*khāṣ khelān*) made their way to the walls of Baroda.¹ Next day the haughty rebels invested the city (Baroda). Just then the news came of the defeat of Sher K., and Moẓaffar was nearly abandoning the siege and proceeding thither (to Maisana). He feared lest the victorious troops should prevail against Aḥmadābād. When he heard that they had gone back, he gave up the idea and became bolder in besieging the city. Quṭbu-d-dīn K. from worship of wealth (*khwāsta-parastī*), and love of life, had not the courage to sacrifice himself. He took into his head the idea of a peace. He sent Zainu-d-dīn and Saiyid Jalāl to express his wishes, and asked to be allowed to proceed to the Hījāz with his accumulations. As he was turned away from perception, he did not understand that the accumulation of wealth is for the protection of honour, and that life is only precious when consistent with honour. The rule of soldiering is to play away manfully unstable life in the service of one's master, and to acquire by such valour eternal life and sempiternal glory. Apparently the night of destruction was growing increasingly dark, and guiding wisdom was in heavy slumber. Moẓaffar was seized by arrogance on receiving this message. He had the first (Zainu-d-dīn) trodden under the feet of an elephant. To the other life was

¹ The text has not the word Baroda. I adopt the variant which

gives it, and this is supported by the I.O. MSS.



granted at the intercession of relatives.¹ It was time that Qutbu-d-din should have been aroused, but love of existence only increased his somnolence. He took the treaty into his hands with much² fawning. On 13 Āzar, H., 23rd November, 1584, he adorned himself and came before that wretch, and accepted eternal disgrace. Mozaffar made some inquiries after his health and then made him over to the executioners. The star of his life set. Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'ūd his sister's son was also put to death. Afterwards the fort of Broach was invested. Khwāja³ 'Imādu-d-dīn Ḥusain and some others were admitted to quarter. The Kotwāl took the road of disloyalty and delivered up the keys of the fort. On the 19th (Āzar) the fort was taken possession of without a contest. The Cambay treasure and the abundant wealth of the governor were plundered. Mozaffar thought in his avarice of becoming a son-in-law. The wise mother⁴ poisoned her child. The thorn of failure entered the foot of his desire. He made a practice of oppressing the people, and of pillaging the traders. The vogue of impropriety (*nāshā-nāṣāī*) became great.

On hearing this news H.M. held before himself the resolution to send an expedition to Gujarāt. The countries of Garha-Raisīn were given in fief to the Khān Ā'zim. On the 29th, he obtained leave to go to Ḥājipūr in order that he might collect equipments and 423 come to court. S'aid K. was made an officer of the 3000 grade, and Ḥājipūr and its neighbourhood were given to him in fief. He took

¹ The M. Aḥmadī says that Saiyid Jalāl was spared at the instance of Saiyid Aḥmad Bokhārī. Badayūnī, Lowe 340, says Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ the Ṣadr was also spared.

² Text, firmān, which does not make sense. The I.O. MSS. show that farāwan "abundant" is the true reading.

³ The Krorī of Cambay and father of the author of the Rauḏāt Ṭāhīrīn. Cf. Elliot V. 433. He had brought the Cambay treasure to Broach.

⁴ Qutbu-d-dīn's wife. The M'irāts

do not mention this circumstance but the Iqbāl-nāma does.

⁵ In Bhopāl. The variant Garha and Raisīn is preferable to the text. See *infra* 436 six lines from foot. Garha is Garha-Katanga which was east of Raisīn. The latter at that time belonged to Mālwa. Apparently Garha-Katanga must have been taken away from Bāqī K., the elder brother of Adham, for he did not die till the following year. See *infra* 436.



leave on that day after receiving valuable counsels. On 10 Bahman, 20 January, 1585, H.M. proceeded, under the guidance of fortune to the capital (Fathpūr).



CHAPTER LXXVI.

WONDROUS FORTUNE OF THE SHAHINSHAH AND THE DEFEAT OF SULTAN
MOZAFFAR GUJRĀTĪ.

(This Chapter begins with twelve lines of reflections about Akbar's Fortune.)

As the soldiers of Gujarāt had joined Mozaffar, and he had collected abundant wealth, the officers of Pattan thought of leaving the country and coming to Jālor. At this time, M. Khān arrived with a large force and produced tranquillity. He delayed¹ for a while to collect the officers, and he was also stayed somewhat by the foolish talk of ignorant people. Near Mīrtha, Khwajagi² Tāhir came to him from the officers of Pattan and told him what had occurred. M. Khān wisely suppressed what had happened to Qutb-d-din K., and sought for victory from the brightness of his star. On 20 Dai,³ about 31st December, 1583, the army halted at Pattan. The soldiers there were incorporated, and there was rejoicing and a council was held. Some foolish propositions were brought forward. Some said that they should remain where they were until the Mālwa troops arrived. Some said that to march before the world's lord should advance towards that quarter would be to transgress the 424 rules of farsightedness. Some thought that the only thing to do was to march on quickly in reliance on the daily-increasing fortune

¹ The delay was on the way to Pattan, and apparently at Jālor. Nizām-u-d-dīn tells us M. Khān only stayed one day in Pattan. Elliot V. 434.

² This circumstance is mentioned by Tāhir in his book. He says, in the account of Akbar's 28th year, that Shibāb and T'imād wrote a report of what had occurred and sent it with him from Pattan, and

he travelled with great rapidity and delivered it to M. Khān at Mīrtha near (east of) Ajmīr in the course of seven days.

³ The Mīrāts do not give the date. M. Khān reached Aḥmadābad, which was 90 miles from Pattan, on 6 Muḥarram 992, 9 January, 1584. As M. K. stayed a day in Pattan he must have left on 1st or 2nd of January.

without regard to external arrangements. What occasion was there for equipments? There were plenty of brave and capable men. These uttered many heartening words. By the guidance of the star, and glory of Fortune, all agreed to this view, and resolutions of acting in unity were taken. They left Itimād K. in Pattan and went forth to do battle. They marched under the leadership of the Divine aid. The centre was made glorious by the loyalty of M. Khān, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., Jān Darvesh K., Sultān Rāhtor, Mīr Mozaffar, Abū-l-faṭḥ, M. Qulī Moghal. S. Muḥammad Moghal, Qarā¹ Baḥrī and a number of experienced combatants were also there. Shīroya K. Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Abū-l-qāsim, Bunyād Beg, Firūza, Mīr Hāshim, Mīr Sālīḥ and others were on the right wing. The Mota Rājah, Rai Durgā, Tulsi Dās Jādūn,² Bicā Deora, Rai Narain Dās, the Zamindār of Īdar, and others were appointed to the left wing. In the vanguard were Payinda K. Moghal, Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Hāshim, Rai Lonkaran, Rām Cand, Udai³ Singh, Saiyid Bahādur, Saiyid Shah Ālī, Saiyid Naṣr Ullah, Saiyid Karm Ullah and many others. In the altamsh were Mednī Rai, Rām Sāh, Rajah Mukatman,⁴ Khwāja Raffī, Mukammal Beg Sarmadī, Naṣīb Turkaman, Daulat⁵ K. Lodī, Saiyid K. Kararānī, S. Walī, S. Zain, Khizr Āqā and others. In the reserve were Khwāja⁶ Nizamu-d-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, Mīr Abū Mozaffar, Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakkarī, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, Mīr Ḥabīb Ullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn, Hāth Bilūc and others. Miān⁷ Bahādur Uzbek and other smart men were the scouts. In each body of troops there were swift, mountain-like elephants.

¹ This name is not in text, but occurs in the I.O. MSS.

² The conjunction in text before the name Jādūn seems wrong, and does not occur in the I.O. MSS.

³ Presumably the man who wanted to force his mother or stepmother to become a satī.

⁴ B. 488. He was a Bhadauria. See Maasir Umarā II. 228.

⁵ See Noer's Akbar II. 86, n. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 379. Badayūnī calls Daulat the reasoning

soul of the Khān-Khānān. He was an Afghan. He was collaterally descended from the Daulat K. of Bābūr's time, and the father of the famous Khān Jahān Lodī. See Tūzūk J. 42, etc.

⁶ The historian. He was married to M. Khān's sister. Badayūnī, text I. 333, Lowe 342.

⁷ Perhaps Sān Bahādur is the more correct reading. In one place it is Biyān.



On hearing of this, Mozaffar came to Ahmadabad with a large force, and drew up in battle-array. He himself was in the centre. Sher K. Fūlādī commanded the right wing. In the left was Lonīh Kāthī, and in the vanguard Ṣalīḥ Badakhshī. They chose the crossing at 'Uṣmānpūr' as the battlefield, and they arranged their guns and other firearms in a proper manner.

Inasmuch as well intentioned fabrications² have a good effect, a fīrmān from the court of the Caliphate was manufactured, and 425 was received with honours. The gist of it was: "In a certain auspicious hour we shall come out to assist the victorious troops and shall advance on a red (*gulyām*) world-traversing steed as if for the purpose of hunting; until we arrive, do not be hasty to engage." A joyful banquet was arranged and the drums of joy beat high. The agitated took heart and the presumptuous enemy was terrified. The imperial servants, thinking that the Mālwa troops would arrive, and that the enemy's battlefield would be abandoned, and the news of the coming of Akbar might be impressed on the hearts of the troops, moved away from confronting the foe and proceeded towards Sarkec.³ They arrived there on 6 Bahman⁴ and chose a battlefield. On one side they abutted on the city,⁵ and on the other on the river. They strengthened that delightful place by making a barricade.⁶ Mozaffar made a hasty move and came to that quarter

¹ The M. Ahmadi 159 says Mozaffar encamped near Uṣmānpur on the other side of the Sabarmatī at a distance of one kos from the city. M. Sikandari says this was on Monday 9 Muḥarram, 12 January, 1584.

² *Sākhīnagīhāt maṣalaḥāt-āmīz*. Cf. *darogh maṣalaḥāt-āmīz* in first story of Gulistan.

³ J. II. 241. It is famed for the architecture of the tombs there.

⁴ The M. Sikandari 378 says M. K. encamped near Sarkec on Wednesday 11th Muḥarram, 14th January, 1584, and that Mozaffar also moved out and came from Maḥmudnagar and crossed the river and encamped near the tomb of Shāh Bhīkan. This

agrees with the T.A. Elliot V. 434, which says that M. Khān encamped at Sarkej, 3 kos (it is about 5 miles) from Ahmadabad, and that Mozaffar pitched his camp opposite the Imperial army, two kos distant, near the tomb of Shāh Bhīkan (son of Shāh Alam and grandson of Qutb Alam. The battle took place on Friday, 13th Muḥarram, 992, 16th January, 1548. Elliot V. 434 wrongly has 16th Muḥarram.

⁵ Though the word city is used, it appears from the M. Ahmadi that Sarkec is meant. It lies S. W. Ahmadabad.

⁶ *Shākhbandī kardā*. The word is not in the dictionary, but according



A party of misguided rebels made a night attack, but failed and had to return. At dawn the army prudently strengthened the barricade by erecting an earthen wall. The impious enemy hastened¹ to draw up his forces for fear that the royal standards should shed their rays, or the Mālwa army arrive. Though the leaders (of the imperialists) were not disposed to engage, partly because they were looking for the coming of the Mālwa officers and partly because most of the day was spent, yet they of necessity addressed themselves to fighting. As there was a rumour that Mozaffar would appear from the rear with some men, while another army was in front, Rai Durgā hastened off in that direction with a portion of the reserve. The other troops pressed forward in the manner that had been arranged. On the way there was a great ravine, and there was much sand. The vanguard turned back somewhat in crossing, but the *altamsh* (reserve of the vanguard) pushed forward and encouraged the vanguard. When they emerged from these straits there was for a time a hot engagement.

Verse.

There rose a cry from the mass² of two armies,
The noise of resurrection reached the sky.
You'd say the earth split in two,
Isrāfil blew the trump of the resurrection.

Saiyid Hāshim³ lost a brief life and gained eternal glory. Before this he had stated that he dreamt that eighteen lancets had pierced him, and that much blood had flowed. The strange thing was that he took his last sleep after eighteen wounds! *Khizr*⁴

to the Lucknow ed. it means a barricade of stone or wood, etc.

¹ It appears from the M. Aḥmadi that Mozaffar, who had previously been separated from M. Khān by the river Sabarmatī, now crossed it, i.e., he came to the Sarkec side, i.e. to the right or west bank of the Sabarmatī, Aḥmadābad being on the left or east side.

² Qalb, centre of army and also

body, so that there is a play on the double-meaning. Isrāfil is the angel of the Resurrection. It is Sirāfil in the verse.

³ He was a Bārha Saiyid and younger brother of Saiyid Qāsim, M. Sikandarī, 379.

⁴ The Khān's vakil. The Rauzāt Tāhirīn calls him Khizr Beg Turkaman. He was killed.



Āqā also displayed good service. The combatants on both sides clashed together and died bravely. The flames of war flashed on both sides. The heroes of the vanguard and the *allamsh* separately engaged in hand-to-hand combats, and each company of brave men engaged with a company of the enemy. M. Khān with 300 warriors and 100 elephants kept his eye on the marvels of daily-increasing fortune. Moẓaffar with 6 or 7000 men came in front of him and was behaving insolently. Short-sighted well-wishers seized the 426 Khān's rein and sought to turn him back, but that forerider of loyalty planted more firmly the foot of courage. He snatched the reins from the hand of those who recognized not Fortune, and took the path of battle. He brought on the rank-breaking elephants, and the elephant Shermār and others distinguished themselves. Before they reached the foe, the latter lost firmness. The breeze of victory refreshed the standards. Rai Durgā went in that direction and inspired fear into the enemy's right wing. This man and that man were saying "the world's lord is coming with a rush." The enemy became confused and fled without fighting. Moẓaffar, who had been haughty, went to the desert of failure in a wretched condition. He hastened by the route of M'amūrābād¹ towards the Mahindri. Everybody of the enemy's troops fled, and many lost their honour, for some, blood was mixed with dust. The work of slaying went on till the end of the day. The fortune of the Shāh-inshāh had her face brightened. Yet the victorious army consisted only of 10,000 troopers, while on the other side there were nearly 40,000 troopers and 100,000 infantry!

Verse.

A very few soldiers in the day of battle
Prevailed over numerous foes,
For in war victory comes from fortune,
Not from wealth and many soldiers.

On account of the much warring, and the day's being spent, the fugitives were not followed. The army encamped on the field of victory, and returned thanks to God. Next morning at dawn there

¹ Not marked in map. Badayunī, Lowe, 344, says it is on the Mahindri.



was a joyous festival in Ahmadabad. In every street and lane there was the sound of joy. On the 25th Bahmān (about 8th February) the couriers of rejoicing brought the news (to Akbar) in the neighbourhood of Kora Khatampūr,¹ and told the wondrous work of Fortune. The world's lord gave thanks to God. The sovereign's knowledge of mysteries was again impressed on the minds of all. The simple, whose luck was good, renewed the joy of devotion (to Akbar). Next day Zain K. Kokaltāsh did homage. Rajah Rām² Chand had come out of his fort and was proceeding to the court. The Koka preferred his request. On the 30th H.M. encamped near Etāwah, and at the request of the Kokaltāsh he halted for a while under the trees of that town—which is a delightful spot. Next day at time of marching he dismissed the Koka in order that he might give the landowner the news of favour and bring him with him. On 4 Isfandārmaz, 14 February 1548, the standards of the Shadow of God cast
427 their rays over Fathpūr, the capital, and crowds of men attained to joy. There was a new assemblage for truth-seeking, and new rules were inaugurated for appreciation. Success seized far and near, and the good tidings of eternal dominion quickened the hearing of mortals.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Rām Chand came and did homage at the holy threshold. When the envoys came to him and recited to him the tale of majesty, and imparted great counsels to him and in an excellent manner inspired him with hopes and fears, he, from his good fortune and auspiciousness cast out from his head long-standing arrogance. On the 12th (Isfandārmaz) he was exalted by the prostration, and he produced presents for the inspection of H.M. Of these, 120 elephants³ were accepted in order

¹ Evidently this is the Korarah (Corah) and Ghātampūr of the Ain J. II. 167, and which are there given as two places in Sarkār Korarah. It is the Karra of the I.G., 42 m. N.W. Allahabad.

² This is Rām Chand Baghelah. B. 406. He was Rajah of Bhath which is another name for Panna in Bandalkand, Central India. Birbar

was according to Badayūnī formerly the Rajah's servant.

³ Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 345, who says "120 rubies." Perhaps *fīl* is a mistake for *lāl*. One hundred and twenty elephants seems a large number for Rām Chand. Yet he was famed for his liberality, and his country was celebrated both for elephants and rubies. Badayūnī



to gratify him, and also a ruby of great value. (His territory and fort were returned to him, and his dignity was increased by great gifts. Among them was a present of 101 horses.

One of the occurrences was the death of Muḥammad Zamān. He was the cousin¹ of M. Yūsuf K. From the turbulence of youth, and the talk of shortsighted avaricious men he led an army against the Jāliyā,² who is one of the great landowners of Mālwa. He had recourse to supplications and sent presents, and ratified the promise of doing good service. From cupidity and inexperience Muḥammad Zamān suppressed the new treaty and hastened to the town of Mahriya³ and opened the hand of plunder. After this he plundered Deogarha. Hearing that the road of Surat⁴ was shorter he, from irreflection, went off in that direction. He met with defiles which were difficult to traverse. He halted with a few men, and passed on his army and baggage. From somnolence of intellect he sate down to a drinking-bout. The landowner had his opportunity and came there, and M. Zamān's days were ended. Whoever takes the road of disobedience, and does not listen to the voice of well-wishers and does not stick to what he has said, will soon come to an end of this kind, and will fall into various misfortunes.

says one ruby was worth 50,000 rupees.

¹ The T. A. calls him brother (bārādar) of M. Yūsuf. B. 533. He was a commander of 1000.

² This seems to be the name of a district, and to be the Jetgarh or Jetha of J. II. 200 in the Sarkār of Garha (wrongly printed as Kanauj in J. II. 199), and province of Mālwa. The Iqbāl-nāma apparently has "the Rajah of Jaithā." The T. A. mentions that M. Zamān was killed in

Garha, the Garhākota of I.G. XII. 161, and now in the Saugor district.

³ This is a mistake for Harariya or Hariyā which is the form in I.O. MS. 236. Harariya and Deogarh are mentioned in J. II. 200 as two estates. Harariya appears as Harai in the I.G. old ed. See also Deogarh id. iv. 202. Both places are in the Chhindwāra district.

⁴ Sic in text. But the true reading seems to be *yūrat* "encampment."



CHAPTER LXXVII.

THE DISGRACE OF SULTĀN MOZAFFAR A SECOND TIME.

The hearts of majestic rulers and just throne occupants, whose speech and action as well as the pure temple of their souls are illuminated by the glory of truth, are cups¹ which display the world. Especially is this the case with our world's lord, whom, on account of his right intentions, good deeds, ample intellect and wide toleration, the illustrious ones of the spiritual world as well as the chosen ones of the outer world serve with gladness. Whatever he desires is, as it were, the interpretation of destiny, and things which do not show themselves to the vision of the acute, easily come into existence for
428 him. The circumstances of this turbulent evildoer are a fresh proof of this, and are a charm to awake the somnolent. After that burnt-out star had taken the road of flight, and the² departure of the *Shāhīnshāh* had enlightened mankind, he could have been seized if a little pursuit had occurred, and that thorn would have been pulled up from the root. But in the joy of victory they did not attend to this, and the foolish talk of the wicked and crooked in their ways was an additional obstacle. After the lapse of one³ day, Qulīj K.,

¹ Alluding to the cup, or mirror of *Jamshīd*.

² *Guzārīsh*. I suppose this refers to Akbar's leaving Allahabad, but it may also refer to the myth of his coming to Gujarat. It may also refer to his statement or prophecy that the war would be over soon. The word *guzārīsh* occurs in the sense of utterance a little lower down, p. 428, l. 13.

³ It would seem that this statement is wrong if A.F. means that the Mālwa army arrived at *Aḥmadabād*.

As far as I can gather it did not come there at all at this time. The author of the *Mirāt Sikandarī* was with the Mālwa army and his statement is therefore entitled to more credit than either A.F.'s or *Nizām-ud-dīn*'s. He says, p. 379, and so does his copyist the author of the *Mirāt Aḥmadī*, that the Mālwa army under Qulīj K. and others reached Baroda in the morning after the victory at Sarkhej. When they got the news they stayed where they were, and then Naurang and Zāhīd,



Sharif K., Naurang K., Tulak K. and others arrived, and there was an active discussion. Meanwhile that wretch righted himself by the might of gold-scattering. He went to Cambay and seized much property from the traders. The slaves of gold gathered round him, and the peasantry, thinking him to be the child of their former Sultāns, showed him loyalty. The assemblage of men, and the drawing rein by the victorious army, made more courageous him who had lost heart, and he renewed the war. He gave out that the foot of his courage had slipt, at the report of the coming of the august retinue. The imperial servants, on account of the soldiers' complaining that they were destitute, and of the foolish talk of ignorant cowards, did not set their face to fighting, and begged for the august advent. They were too pressing in their wishes and became unduly apprehensive. The world's lord heartened them by excellent counsels. He said that the strifemonger would soon be reduced to ashes, and that the imperial army would be successful. No long time elapsed before the dust of turbulence was laid, and the Shāhinshāh's knowledge of secrets became impressed on mankind. The officers got courage and took up again the idea of fighting. Many were of opinion that all should unite and endeavour to drive away Mozaffar. But some thought that as the first army had endured hardships it might now repose, and that Qulij K., Naurang K. and the Mālwa army might apply themselves to this work, and that M. Khān and the other strenuous ones might go to Ahmadabad and exert themselves in civilizing the country. At¹ last they agreed to act together,

the son of Sharif, made a rapid expedition against Broach. They hoped to take the fort at once but failed, and so they sat down before it. M. K. left Ahmadabad for Cambay on 2 Šafar, 4 Feb. 1584, and he wrote to Qulij K. and the others who were besieging Broach to leave that place and join him in attacking Cambay. They marched accordingly "after 15 days" and joined him Bārīca (?) 7 kos from Ahmadabad. When Mozaffar heard of the junction he left Cambay and went

to Baroda, and from there went to the hill-country. This is a different story from Nizāmu-d-dīn's who speaks, Elliot V. 435, of the Mālwa troops coming to Ahmadabad three days after the victory. This must be wrong, especially as it is evident that when the seat of war had been shifted to Cambay there was no occasion for the Mālwa army coming to Ahmadābād.

¹ Perhaps this is also part of what some advised, viz. that they should afterwards act together and put down



and addressed themselves to the putting down of Mozaffar. They went on one or two stages, and then proceeded to spend their time. M. Khān, relying on the fortune of the Shāhinshāh, could not bring himself to remain (behind) and left Saiyid Qāsim, who was wounded, Muḥammad Ḥusain S., Shādmān, Khwāja Abu-l-qāsim dīwān and others with 2000 men to protect the city, and he and the other officers joined the army that had gone on, and proceeded to Cambay which was the seat of Mozaffar's turbulence. The latter sent Saiyid Daulat with some troops towards Dūlqa, and the sons of Ikhtiyar-al-mulk, and Mustafā Shīrwānī to M'amūrābād, and prepared in his presumption and shortsightedness, for war. When the victorious troops had reached the distance of ten kos (from him), Mozaffar lost courage and went off to the town of Bāshad¹, which is the residence of Acal Harpār², landowner. The imperial troops went on to Baroda. Tūlak K. was sent off to punish Saiyid Daulat and to return. The rest of the army addressed themselves to the chastisement of Mozaffar. On 19 Isfandārmaz (about 1 March 1584) they came to heights and valleys. They traversed difficult routes and had some fighting with a large body of rebels. By the Divine aid they gained the victory, but on account of the excessive heat they did not pursue them. Mozaffar crossed the Narbadda and withdraw to the town of Nadod³. From there he went to the Koh-i-Cāmpa (?)⁴. That is a village sixty kos from Aḥmadābad. The world is eloquent about its strength.

Mozaffar, but that meanwhile they should only march one or two stages.

¹ The text has sabad سباد, but the variant Bāshad is supported by the I.O. MSS. and by the Basad of the T. A. Elliot, V. 435, where it is said to be on the Mahindrī and near Patlād (Pitlād, and the Petlād of I. G.). See also the note in Elliot which says the maps show a Wassud on N. bank Mahindrī. After all it appears that Vāso is the real name. See I. G. XXIV. 300. It is the Basso of Tieffenthaler I. 379, who describes it as 20 m. from Petlad. The سباد sabad

of text is evidently a mistake for Baso.

² The Iqbalnāmā has Aḥal Barmār. Apparently the last word should be Parmār, which is the name of a tribe and is a variant on Bib. Ind. text. See J. II. 242.

³ The Nāndod of I. G., capital of Rājpipla.

⁴ Jahānīya جهانیا in text. Variant Cāmpa. I cannot identify it. Perhaps it is the Jubboogaun of the maps. The Mirāt Sikandari has Kohistān-i-Jhānpa. Jubboogaun appears to be the Jamūngāon of J. II.



There are lofty hills E., W. and N. of it. S. is the river Taptī.¹ When the imperialists encamped at Nādot, a council of war was held. Every one gave his opinion according to the extent of his wisdom, about advancing, or halting, or returning. The first idea was adopted, and the foolish talkers were put to silence. At this time came Tūlak *Firūzmand*, and those acquainted with secrets took an augury of victory. Also at this time the death of Simak² produced joy. Whoever from an evil fate turns away from the dominion which is conjoined with eternity soon has the dust of failure poured upon his head by the celestial managers, and is sent down to annihilation. This wretch was the source of the disturbance, and had few equals in wickedness. When the noise of the approach of the world-conquering troops came near, Moẓaffar left Naṣīrā,³ Carkas, and that wretch (Simak) in Broach. Inasmuch as the double-faced and ten-hearted adorn the lips with the words of friendship, but have not internal knowledge thereof, he was continually sending letters of concord to Payanda K. Moghul. Some of these fell into Naṣīrā's hands, and he was lying in wait to kill him. He played a trick and represented himself as ill. The evildoer came to sympathize with him, and was put to death. Three hundred Tūrānīs, who were his comrades, accompanied him to the abyss of annihilation. The defeat of Saiyid Daulat was also a joyful news. When Tūlak⁴ K. had turned him out he returned and again took possession of Cambay, and turned his attention to plundering Petlād. Khwājam Bardī the *thānadār* fought with him, and was victorious. At this time Atāliq Bahādur fled. During this campaign this shameless Uzbek left the enemy and joined the imperialists. Miyān⁵ Bahādur represented his loyalty

254 and the Djamongāon of Tiefenthaler I. 372.

¹ From I.O. MS. 235 it appears possible that a tributary of the Taptī is meant.

² As I have already said, I think this must be the 'Umr Ḥājī of p. 410. It is Lamak in text, the variant is Shimak.

³ The M. Sikandarī calls him N'aṣīr K. The T.A. Elliot V. 434 calls him Moẓaffar's brother's son,

whilst Badayūnī, Lowe 342, 344 calls him "his wife's brother (*khusrpūra*, father-in-law's son). This is more likely, for Moẓaffar presumably had no brother. The M. Sikandarī speaks of a son of Moẓaffar.

⁴ Elliot V. 433 has Naurang, but this seems a mistake in the MS.

⁵ Apparently Sān is the proper reading. See Elliot V. 436.

and took him into his charge. Both of them from wickedness and crooked thoughts spoke idle words and confused simple men. One 430 day, when the camp came to Nādot, that wicked tyrant (qābūci, lit. janitor) went off with some men on a roadless road (i.e. were put to death). The other was sent to prison, and the vogue of folly was destroyed. There came eagerness for battle.¹ M. Khān, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and others were in the centre. Sharīf K. Naurang K. and others adorned the right wing. Qulij K., Tūlak K. and the jāgīrdārs of Mālwa were in the left wing. Payinda K., Rai Durgā and others were in the vanguard. Khwāja Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Mir M'aṣūm Bhakkārī and others were in the reserve. On the 29th (about 10 March) they marched from Nādot. Mozaffar was terrified and went off to a high hill. Many audacious men came forward and prepared for battle. The imperial left wing made a fine attack, and several times each side repulsed the other. The brave on both sides contended on foot. During this contest, a party of brave men belonging to the right wing got to the top of a high hill, and by cannon and musketry disconcerted the presumptuous foe. Then the reserve attacked them. Then the brave men who were alongside of the imperial left wing made a general attack. Many of the enemy were killed, but most of them fled, covered with dust and blood.

Verse.

The hearts were arrows,² and the brains cleft,
 Their clothes were bloody, and their steps³ dust.

¹ This is the battle described at length by Nizāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 436. He is represented there as saying that he drove back the enemy for a good kos; but according to the Lucknow lith., and a MS. in my possession, what he says is that he fought with Mozaffar's infantry and drove them to a high hill (*koh* not *karoh*). He describes himself as having been sent on in front, and as having taken the chief part in the action. A.F. however puts him in the reserve, and says nothing about his being sent forward (though I have no doubt that this is true), and the M.

Sikandarī, which also describes the battle, p. 379, says that as the Mālwa army had had no share in the first battle, it took the chief part in this (as indeed A.F.'s account of the arrangement of the forces indicates). It gives as the site of the battle the hill country of Jhāmpa, in the district of Rājpipla.

² That is, were pierced by arrows: see Lucknow ed. note. Or perhaps it means their hearts were bloodless, their brains split. *Khadang* is the white poplar, and also the bow and arrow made of it.

³ Possibly *kām* is the true reading,



One, with cuirass on breast, had his head laid low by the mace, Another fell on his head with the dagger in his hand.

The leader of the rebels lost heart, and took to flight. When things came to a hand-to-hand fight the rebels vainly strove. As the daily-increasing fortune was in the ascendant they lost the power of struggling, and they were disgraced and took the road of failure. The brave men hastened to hunt for lives, and, in a short time, nearly 2000 persons were killed. Five hundred were made prisoners and went to their last sleep. The enlightened Khedive offered fresh thanksgiving for this great victory, and he exalted the loyal servants by various favours. (M. Khān was raised to the rank of a *panchazāri* (5000) and got the title of Khān-Khānān. In him good intentions were allied with skill, and wide capacity went shoulder to shoulder with benevolence and so fortune unveiled her face to him, and made him the executant of good deeds.

At the time when the news of the Gujarat disturbances arrived, H.M. inquired from Amīr Fath Ullah of Shīrāz—who was an astronomer 431 acquainted with the¹ minutest details of the science—about the circumstances of friend and foe, and about the final result. The Mīr made researches in the heavens, and reported that it appeared that in this year two battles would be fought, and that the imperial servants would be victorious. As he reported, so did it turn out, and there was a fresh currency of the recognition (of Akbar's and Fath Ullah's merits).

and the meaning would be: "Their desires were dust." I.O. MS. 236 has *khāk* in the first line, and *cāk* in the second, and this perhaps makes better sense. The brains were dust, and desires (*kām*) or feet (*gām*) were split.

¹ I.O. MS. 236 has a *yā* after *akh-tar-shināsī*, as if the meaning were that Fath Ullah was not only a compendium of astrology but of all philosophy.



CHAPTER LXXVIII.

BEGINNING OF THE 29TH DIVINE YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR
AMARDĀD OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

In this commencement of fortune there arrived the New Year with fresh achievements of Fortune conjoined with eternity, and another joy was imparted to the new generation of mankind. The leafless ones of creation had a novel glory.

Verse.

You complained of the coming of leaf-shedding Bahman.
Look up and behold the garden for Bahman¹ is in flight.
Hark to the thunder, verily 'tis the sound of the tabor.
The world holds a bridal, and the garden comes in bridal dress.

The imperial artificers gave profound attention to the adornment of the palace, and made the preparations for the festival in an excellent manner. The feast of joy was prepared on 25 Isfandārmaz in the garden which had been made by H.H. Miriam-Makānī four kos from Fathpūr. Many secluded ladies were received in that pleasure-house. When four minutes of the night of Wednesday, 8 Rabi'-al-awwal 992, 10 or 11 March 1584, had passed, the world-illuminating sun bestowed a fresh glory on the Sign of Aries, and the rosy hue of uniformity decked the face of day and night (the equinox). The fifth year of the third cycle began, and the world had new splendour. Also on this day the Khān 'Ā'azim M. Koka arrived from Hājipūr and did homage, and increased the joy. On the 15th (Farwardīn) there was a great feast in the special garden (Bāgh Khāṣa) and crowds of men attained their desires. From the time of entry (of the sun) to that of exaltation (19 Farwardīn) there was a great festival every day, and the Shāhinshāh gratified the wishes of high and low. In the beginning

¹ The 11th month of the Persian Year corresponding to 15 January—15 February.



of this year the Divine Era was introduced, and produced joy among mankind, as has already been related.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of M. Beg Qāqshāl and other men from Bengal. When it had been conquered for the third time, M. Beg, Wazīr Jamil, Khāldīn, Farrukh Īrghālīq and others took the road of loyalty by the help of skilful and right-thinking men. They were however always alarmed and confused on account 432 of their own bad conduct. When Shahbāz K. was victorious, and Šādiq K. was proceeding to court, the persons above mentioned joined him. They regarded this opportunity as a boon. When news of this was received, Mohan Dās was sent by relays of horses to turn back Šādiq K. and to send him to the army of Wazīr K. who was confronting Qutlū. He was also to make the Qāqshāls hopeful of princely favours, and to bring them to court. That swift messenger joined them in Tānda. Šādiq K. obeyed the orders and went off in that direction (i.e. to Wazīr K.). In order to soothe the apprehensive Qāqshāls, his eldest son Zāhid was sent along with them. They arrived at this time and reaped bliss by doing homage. The Shāhīnshāh exalted them by various favours, and joy seized thousands whose hopes had been broken.

One of the occurrences was the death of Tarsūn ¹ K. When Shahbāz K. had defeated M'aṣūm K., he went off to the country of Bhātī, and did not heed the typhoon-like violence of the rivers. His idea was to test Īsā ² K. the ruler of that country, who was always expressing his loyalty. If he delivered up M'aṣūm K. and the other rebels, his lips and his heart would accord. Otherwise the veil over his conduct would be removed, and his wickedness would have its retribution. Bhātī ³ is a low country and has received this name

¹ M'aṣṣir I. 471.

² See ante pp. 257, 260.

³ The word Bhātī is spelt letter by letter in the text. Cf. J. II. 116, B. 342 and J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 226. In Serishtadar Grant's Analysis of the revenues of Bengal, etc., p. 257 of Fifth Report, there is the passage: "The low marshy lands of Hejellee, anciently called Batty, as being in a

great part subject to the overflowing of the tide, parganas 16." Further down on the same page he says, speaking of Boklah (Bāqla) or Ismaelpoor, that it extends laterally, eastward of Khaleefatabad in Jessore, and extends to the mouth of the Ganges, near the island of Rabnabad "which forms the S.-E. angle of the Bengal Delta, as also the further

because Bengal is higher. It is nearly 400 kos in length from east to west and about 300 kos from north to south. East of this country are the ocean and the country of *Habsha* (?).¹ West is the hill-country where are the houses of the *Kahin* (?)² tribe. South is *Tānda*.

extremity of the lowlands of Bhatti, commencing on the west from Hejellee." For Rabnabad, which includes three islands, see I.G. XI. 341. (Old ed., not mentioned in new ed.)

¹ Text حبشة *Habsha*. Ethiopia? and there is the variant *Khasrū*. Professor Dowson, who has translated the account of Tarsūn's disaster VI. 72, has read the word as Jessore, and in this he is supported by the I.O. MS. 236 which has جسر. It is probable also that the variant given in Bib. Ind. text supports him, with the exception of the misplacing of a dot for خسرو. *Khasrū* is probably خسر *Khazar*, the *u* at the end being a conjunction. I.O. MS. 235 has چین *Chīn* China, but this is probably a guess. I am inclined to think that the country meant is Jaintia, east of Sylhet, for in the Āin J. II. 139 this is spelt *Jesa* or *Jaisa* چيسا. It is evident from J. II. 116 that Abul Faḡl regarded *Bhātī* as lying on the east of Bengal as well as on the south of it, and he probably regarded the whole of Sylhet, the southern part of which is very low, as belonging to *Bhātī*. It will be seen from the text, p. 432, and from the Āin J. II. 116, that *Bhātī* was considered as being larger than Bengal Proper, even with the inclusion of part of Behar, for the length of Bengal from Chittagong to Garhī is given as 400 kos, and its breadth from the northern mountains to *Madāran* as 200 kos, whereas *Bhātī* is said to

be 400 kos from E. to W. and nearly 300 from N. to S. I doubt if Jessore can be right, for Jessore and Baqri-ganj seem to have been included in *Bhātī*. Moreover Abul Faḡl would hardly have spoken of Jessore as a wilayat or country. In his time it was not even a sarkār. It was only a pargana in Sarkār *Khalīfatābād*, J. II. 134, where we find a large maḥal or pargana entered as Jessore, otherwise Rasālpur. See Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 121, and B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, 217. The quotation from the *Haft Iqlīm* in Raverty's translation of the T. Nāṣirī, p. 593 note, where Bengal is said to be bounded on the south by *Jesūdah*, is according to Blochmann, J.A.S.B. for 1875, 285, a copyist's error for Chittuah. However it is right to point out that Jessore is mentioned along with *Bhūsna* as a country or district in Bengal, A.N. III. 787, five lines from foot.

² Text كهين variant كهن. I do not know what tribe this name represents. In I.O. MS. 239 it is كاهش *kahash*. Apparently it is the same word as the *Khīta* or *Kīsa* of p. 397, l. 5, and which I have supposed to represent the *Cossyals*. Possibly the word is *Kohsār* or some such word meaning a hillman. What we should expect to find would be *Santāī* or *Kol*. Perhaps the word is *Koc* or *Konc*. A. F. speaks at p. 397 of the *Khītas* being like *Calmacks* (*Qulmāp*)



North also the ocean¹ and the terminations of the hill-country of Tibet. The father of this chief (*būmī*) belonged to the Bais² tribe of Rajputs. In that fluviatile region he continually displayed presumption and refractoriness. In the time of Selim K., Tāj K.³ and Daryā K. went to that country with large forces, and after many contests he came in and surrendered. In a short while he again rebelled. They managed by a trick to get hold of him and sent him to the abode of annihilation, and sold his two sons 'Īsā and Ishmael to merchants. When the cup of Selīm K.'s life was full, and

in appearance, and the T. Nāsirī, Raverly 560, says that in the mountain between Tibet and Gaur (Lakhana-waṭi) there are races, the Kūne, Mej and the Tihārū, and that they all have Turk countenances (i.e. Mongolian features). Cf. B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, vol. 42, p. 239 7.

¹ Certainly the name nearest in spelling to Khen is the Khyin or Cin tribe in the Arakan hill tracts, but then how should they be in the west of Bengal? See note at p. 397 of text. I can make nothing of this extraordinary northern boundary, the ocean. Possibly *dariyā-i-shor* is a mistake for *dariyā-i-surma*, "the river Surmā" in Sylhet, but against this is a fact that we have the word *nāz*, "also", in the original which must refer to the occurrence of the ocean as the north boundary. Nor do I understand the mention of the mountains of Tibet. However we have just seen the T. Nāsirī speaking of the mountains between Tibet and Gaur, and from the great length, 300 *kos*, of Bhātī from N. to S. it looks as if A. F. included Gaur or part of Assam in it. It is evident that 'Īsā had associations with North-Eastern Bengal, for we find that he made an

expedition to Kāc Bihar. Professor Dowson well says, l. c., "The whole description is unintelligible."

² See Elliot's Supplementary Glossary I. 13 for an account of the Bais clan. It originally belonged to Bais-wāra in Oudh. It is curious that in the *Āin J.* II. 117, 'Īsā is called 'Īsā Afghan. Perhaps the account in the A.N. was written after A.F. had got fuller information.

³ Tāj K. was Sulaimān Karārānī's elder brother and reigned before him. See Stewart's Bengal 148 and the *Riyāzu-s-salātin*, Bib. I. ed. 152. I do not know who Daryā K. was. B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 225, also mentions a Tāj K. Masnad-i Ālī who established himself at the mouth of the Rasūlpūr river about 1505. This is a local legend, and the Tāj Masnad-i Ālī may be Sulaimān's brother. Tāj K.'s name appears in the list of the rulers of Bengal, J. II. 147, immediately before Sulaimān's. See also id. 149, where it is said that Tāj K. killed Jalālu-d-dīn (the brother of Bahādur Shāh, otherwise *Khizr K.*) and assumed the government and was afterwards succeeded by his younger brother Sulaimān. The best account of Tāj K. appears to be that in the

Tāj K. became predominant in Bengal,¹ Quṭb-u-d dīn, the paternal uncle of 'Īsā, obtained glory by good service, and by making diligent search brought back both brothers from Turān. 'Īsā acquired fame by his ripe judgment and deliberateness, and made the twelve *zamindārs* ² of Bengal subject to himself. Out of foresight and cautiousness he refrained from waiting upon the rulers of Bengal, though he rendered service to them and sent them presents. From a distance he made use of submissive language.

433 When the bank of the river Ganges near *Khīzrpūr* ³ became an imperial camp, there were strong forts on the two sides of the river owing to the spot's being a thoroughfare. In a short time both of these were taken with severe fighting, and Sonargaon came into the possession of the imperial servants. They also reached Karābūh? ⁴

Rauzat-t̤ t̤āhirīn in the chapter on the Kings of Bengal.

¹ Can this be the Quṭb K. who is said to have abandoned *Shēr Shāh*'s service in disgust at his breach of faith to Purān Mal? See A. N. translation I.—399—5.

² These are the *Bāra Bhūīahs*, for whom see Dr. Wise's papers J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 197, and 1875, p. 181, and Gait in id. for 1893, p. 281. According to Pimenta, 'Īsā himself was one of the twelve. Here I may note that the fullest account of 'Īsā K. is in Dr. Wise's paper already cited, p. 209 of J.A.S.B. for 1874. It appears from it that 'Īsā's father was called Kālī Dās Gajdānī and that he became a Muḥammadan and received the title of Sulaimān K. If this was so, however, one would hardly expect his children to have been sold into slavery, for it is contrary to Muḥammadan law to sell believers as slaves. There are several references to 'Īsā K. in the A.N., and I have pointed them out in a paper in the A.S.B.J. for 1904, p. 57. 'Īsā died in 1008

A.H., 1599-1600 A.N. 763. He had a son named Dāūd, A.N. 809.

³ About a mile N. of Narainganj in the Dacca district. J.A.S.B. for 1872, vol. XLI, p. 96, note by Dr. Wise. It is entered under Sonārgāon in the *Āīn J. II.* 138. See also Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 133, and Dr. Wise's article, J.A.S.B., vol. XLIII, p. 211. There is however another *Khīzrpūr* (*Kidderpūr*) marked on Rennel's map which is perhaps the one here meant. It is on the Brahmaputra to the N. of Dacca.

⁴ This name is doubtful. The *Māaḡir* in its account of *Shahbāz K.* II. 595 has *Katrāpūr*. I.O. MS. 236 has *Kashrābū* and No. 235 has *Katrālu*. Blochmann suggests *Bakterāpūr*. Possibly the *ba* of the text is part of the name and the word is *Bikrāmpūr*. Or the name may be a corruption of *Khatābazū* in *Sarkār Bāzūhā J. II.* 138, or it may be *Kerapūr* in *Sarkār Sonargāon, J. II.* 139. In Rennel's map of the Ganges and Brahmaputra there is a place called *Goraboe*, marked near *Ekdalla*, which



which was his (Īsā's) home. That populous city was plundered. A force was sent against Bārā Sindar,¹ which is a large town, and much plunder was obtained. From there they came ² to the Brahmaputra. This is a great river which comes from Assam.³ After a little fight, which took place with the scouts (qarāwalān), Ma'sūm lost firmness and took refuge in an island.⁴ He was nearly made prisoner. At

is probably the place in text. It was probably near the place called Door-doreah by Dr. Taylor, p. 112 of Topography of Dacca, and situated eight miles above Ekdalla, but Door-doreah was on the other side of the river. The name Karabuh recurs at p. 733, and there as here we have the variant Katrabuh. Now in Dr. Wise's paper Katrabo is mentioned, p. 211, as a place in Dacca where a branch of Īsā's family still resides. It seems probable that this is the place meant by the text. Dr. Wise also in his supplementary paper, J.A.S.B. for 1875, p. 181, quotes Sebastian Manrique's mention of Catrabo as one of the twelve provinces of Bengal, and on the following page he says, "Catrabo is Katrabo, now a 'tappa' on the Lakhya, opposite Khizrpūr, and which for long was the property of the descendants of Īsā K." He also quotes Clementi Tosi, who says, "Katrabo Capo d'una provincia." Finally at p. 214, J.A.S.B. for 1874, Dr. Wise tells us that the Jangalbari family (descended from Īsā) have a *sanad* dated 1700 which mentions Katrabo in Bāzuhā. Dr. Wise tells us, J.A.S.B. for 1874 211, that Khizrpūr is generally associated with Īsā K.'s name and that it is situated about a mile N. of Narainganj. But may not Īsā's Khizrpūr be the one marked in Ren-

nel's map on the old Brahmaputra and E. of Toke? Most probably Katrābuh is the Katārmalbāzū of the Āīn, J. II. 138. There is the variant Katabal. Tiefenthaler has Katārbalbāzū and Gladwin has Kut-termul Bazoi. If Katrabuh was opposite the Narainganj Khizrpūr, it cannot be the Goraboe of Rennel. The reading Bahtārāpur as the name of Isā's residence is probably a mistake for ba-katrāpūr, i.e. with or to Katrāpūr.

¹ This may be Kiyāra or Katāra Sindār, J. II. 124, but the I.O. MSS. have a quite different word, viz. Mashhadī, which I do not find in the Āīn. The same word also occurs in a MS. belonging to myself. Perhaps the place is Masjid Ḥusain Shāhī or Masjid Andarkhāni in Sarkār Ghorāghāt. J. II. 136.

² Apparently they marched or sailed up the Brahmaputra, i.e. up the Lakhīa to the Brahmaputra (the old bed).

³ There is the variant Khitā (Cathay), and Khitā is given as the source of the Brahmaputra in the Āīn J. II. 121.

⁴ B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, 231 n., says that Īsā was strong enough to make war on Kūc Bihar. This however refers to a subsequent period. See below p. 716. Īsā appears to be



this time Īsā, who had gone to Koc (Cooch Bihār) arrived with a large and well-equipped army. The imperial servants took post at Totak on the bank of the said river and opposite the city of Kinārā, Sindār and established a fort there. On both sides there were hot engagements by land and water. The imperialists were continually successful. They sent to Ṭarsūn K. and directed that he should make a demonstration at Bajasrāpur² and so distract the enemy (lit. make them of two minds or hearts). Two roads led from the town of Bhawāl³ (i.e. Nagārī). One was far away from the enemy and the other was by the river bank, and this was very near them. By heaven's decree Ṭarsūn K. took the latter route. Ma'sūm K. heard of this and marched rapidly with a large force. Shahbāz K. sent Muhibb Āli K., Rajah Gopāl, Khangār and others. He also sent a swift courier to warn him and to bid him take up a strong position until the reinforcements arrived. He (Ṭarsūn) did not believe⁴

the Gaur Pāshā of Gait, J.A.S.B. for 1893, pp. 290-91.

Perhaps the island, *jazīra*, is the peninsula between the Brahmaputra (old) and the Lakhia. The word *jazīra* has both meanings.

¹ Probably this is Toke, a well-known and beautiful spot N. of Dacca. It is opposite Agāra Sundar in Rennel's map and probably we should read Agāra instead of Kināra here. Toke is at the head of the Banān or Lakhia river where it leaves the old Brahmaputra. Toke is said to be the Tugma of Ptolemy. See Taylor, *id.* 116. I think that the Totak of text is a mistake for Tonk, the dot appearing to be after the k instead of before it.

² بجوراپور. There is the variant Bajhrāpūr. I cannot identify the place. Perhaps Bajitpūr in the Maimansingh district is meant. This may be the Bāyazīdpūr of J. II. 135, or the Bājpatārī of *id.* 136. Both are in Ghorāghāt.

³ In Elliot, this is identified with the Bhāwal in Dacca, and presumably this is right. The Dacca Bhāwal is entered in Sarkar Bāzūha. See Beames, i.e. 127. The Bhāwal entered under Sarkar Madāran is a mistake, see *id.* 105. When Ṭarsūn K. was last spoken of he was in Tājpūr; see above, p. 416, and Elliot VI. 71.

⁴ This is an obscure passage and it is left untranslated in Elliot. Part of the difficulty is due to an error in the text. That has, at nine lines from foot, *bawezish nay-aid*, "Not come to an engagement." But the true reading, as shown by the I.O. MSS. and the Ma'āsir I. 474, last line, is *bawārash nayāmad*, "he did not believe him." Ṭarsūn did not believe the courier and was sorry for Shahbāz, thinking that he had been deceived into sending away a part of his forces. This is clear from the line in the Ma'āsir, top of p. 475. Therefore, though he did so



the message and grieved for Shahbāz K., thinking (or saying) that the rebels had committed a fraud, and had by this contrivance separated a body of troops from Shahbāz. As the courier was very urgent and his companions represented the advantages of caution and the evils of carelessness, he set about looking for a shelter and found a suitable place. But as he in no way believed what the courier said he did not halt there but went on towards the camp (of Shahbāz). Just then news came that an enemy was approaching. He cast away the thread of farsightedness and concluded that it was the reinforcement, and was preparing to receive it with hospitality. He had gone some steps when the tumult of the foe filled with dust the field of his security. Though his well-wishers urged him to hasten to the shelter until the men should come from the camp (of Shahbāz) and urged that possibly the officers of the reinforcement might come up, it was of no avail. He set himself with a strong heart and a tranquil mind to engage in combat. Some went off, alleging that they were going for arms. Though not more than fifteen men remained with him, he boldly took the field. Farīdūn Husain, 434 and 'Alī Yār, who was related to him, were favoured by fortune and bought eternal fame with the money of life. Tarsūn K. was wounded and made prisoner. Ma'sūm K. spoke lovingly to him and wanted him to join him. As he was of a loyal disposition, he reproached and censured him, and gave him lofty counsels. The shameless one of narrow capacity put him to death, and Tarsūn gathered in his old age an everlasting good name.

One of the occurrences was the death of the painter Daswanth.¹ He was the son of a Kahār (pālki-bearer caste). The acuteness and appreciativeness of the world's lord brought his great artistic talents to notice. (His paintings were not behind those of Bihzād² and the painters of China. All at once melancholy took possession of him, and he wounded himself with a dagger. After two days he paid back the loan of life, and grief came to the hearts of connoisseurs.

Another occurrence was the wounding of Sānwal³ Dās; he was

far yield as to seek out a shelter, he went on.

¹ He is mentioned in the Ain. B. 108.

² A famous painter, mentioned by Bābur, 197. He was at the court of Sh. Husain M. of Hirāt.

³ B. 525.



Rajah Gopāl Jādūn's brother's son, and was one of the personal attendants. At the end of the day he was hurrying to go on guard. Bīcā¹ Bhāthī from his enmity towards him thought that in this rapid movement Sānwal had the evil intention of killing him. He therefore attacked him with a sword and struck² him such a blow that experienced physicians thought he would not recover. The world's Khedive visited him and cast the shadow of his graciousness over him. By his breathings, Sānwal recovered from his mortal injury, and after three years became quite well.

Among the occurrences were the disturbance in Badakhshān, and the apologies of M. Ḥakīm. Evil-minded strife-mongers stirred up the dust of dissension between MM. Sulaiman and Shāhrukh. From carelessness and love of flattery these two could not distinguish friend from foe. They fell out with one another and did not attend to the administration of the kingdom. The soldiers were discontented, the subjects suffered injustice, the country was uncultivated, the forts unprovisioned. Whoever attends to his own comfort and neglects the helpless will soon strike his foot against the stone of failure. And whoever does not regard the winning of hearts as a great blessing will soon become a wanderer in the desert of ruin. While indulging in such evil conduct they turned away from supplicating Shāhanshāh, and (at the same time) spent their days in pride and conceit. 'Abdullāh K. Uzbek, the ruler of Turān, got his opportunity and came to Badakhshān, and got possession of
435 that strong country without a battle. The Mirzās fell into the desert of helplessness. M. Ḥakīm awoke from the heavy slumber of self-conceit, and sent skilful ambassadors, and made a thousand entreaties. The world's lord granted the envoys' wishes and dismissed them. The gist of the reply was "The Mirzās of Badakhshān are receiving the retribution of their ingratitude. Make yourself glorious, outwardly and inwardly, by the splendour of sincerity so that far and near it may be perceived. Assuredly in that case others will be afraid of you. If before this be recognized, any one make an attempt on your country we shall, in the first place, send skilful

¹ There is the variant Bījā and I.O. MS. 236 has Bīmā. Bhāthī is a Rajput tribe. See Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I. 37. It is also spelt Bhāttī.

² There is the variant "barrān," "on the thigh."

and faithful men to administer good advice (to 'Abdullāh). If this be not effective, we shall send warriors who are grippers of victory, rank-breaking elephants, vast treasures, and a large part of artillery under the command of one of our fortunate sons." The envoys had not come out of the kingdom when a second petition arrived to the effect that "The Mīrzās of Badakhshān have, with repentant hearts and ashamed countenances, taken shelter at this eternal dominion (i.e. Kābul). What is the order?" M. Ḥakīm also represented his own state of confusion. The order was "At our court, repentance is purchased at a high price (i.e. much is given for it). Give the Mīrzās news of joy, and send them off after making them hopeful of the Shahanshāh's favour. And do you yourself rely upon our daily-increasing fortune, and stand firm, and be under no apprehensions." The language now used is the same as that in the previous rescript.

One of the occurrences was the submission of Qutlū Karārānī. It has been mentioned that part of the victorious army of Bengal had marched to the Bhāti country with Shahbāz K. and that another portion was with Wazīr K. in Bardwān and was stationed there to repress Qutlū. This army was spending its time there on account of the ill-timed moderation of Wazīr K. When Sādiq K. joined, real work was done, and the face of fortune assumed fresh glory. That presumptuous one (Qutlū) lost endurance, broke up his camp, and went off with shame to Orissa. The officers pursued him and arrived at Tukarōi.¹ His condition became desperate and he took refuge in the forest of Dharpūr.² With craft he mixed gold with entreaty (*zar bazārī*, "gold and greeting"). The officers, from cupidity, and the hardships of campaigning, did not attend to the circumstances, and made use of a former order which was to the effect that if the dweller in the ravine of ruin should bind himself to the saddle-straps of eternal dominion, they were not to take his past into account, and were to make over Orissa to him. He out of gratitude sent his brother's son to court, and also sent sixty choice elephants and other presents. On 1 Tir, 11 June 1584 S.,

¹ The text has *بیکی کروی* within one *kos*, but the true reading is *بذکروی* "to Tokarōi" as Elliot VI. 75 and I.O. MS. 236 show.

² Harpūr in original, but Dharpūr, or Dharpūr, seems to be the correct reading. It is Dharpūr in Iqbāl-nāma. See ante p. 122 and note.

Ibrāhīm Fathpūrī was exalted by doing homage, and brought the envoys to the court. When the assembly of peace had been held, 436 Wazīr K. was sent back to Tānda, and Šādiq K. to Patna. Every one rejoiced in getting his fief. On the 13th the lunar weighing of the world's lord took place and a delightful feast rejoiced far and near.

One of the occurrences was Rajah Bīrbar's having a renewal of life. The caugān-ground had been fitted up and there was an elephant fight going on. Suddenly the elephant Cācar, which was unique for violence, and for the killing of men, rushed to kill a foot passenger, but then passed him by and turned towards the Rajah. He was nearly killing him with his proboscis. The Shāhanshāh from his general benevolence and especial kindness (for Bīrbar), and great courage, urged on his horse and came between the monster and the Rājah. The enraged brute rushed at the cavalier of the arena of courage and a cry went up from mankind, and the livers of iron-hearted men became like water. All at once, it stood still, overcome by the majestic "Avaunt" (Dūrbāsh). Amazement seized the beholders.

Among the occurrences were the deaths of Ghāzī¹ K. Badakhshī and Sulṭān Khwāja² Naqshbandī. The first was a hero elightened by

¹ Ghāzī K. was also called Qāzī Nizām. He was originally in M. Sulaimān's service. He is famous for having invented the *siḍa* or prostration. See B. 440, and the long notice in the Māʿasir II. 857. See also Badāyūnī, Lowe, 185-86 and 351 and the Darbār Akbarī 816. Badāyūnī's account of what Ghāzī K. said to his servant etc. is not very intelligible. Badāyūnī has also a notice of him under the name of Qāzī Nizām in vol. III. 153. A. F. gives two causes for his death, but he might have added old age, for the Ma'āṣir says he was 70 when he died. The same authority says that his son Ḥusāmū-d-dīn was married to

A. F.'s sister, and that he became a darvesh. See Tūzūk 80, quoted by B.

² See B. 423 and the long account in the Māʿasir II. 379, who takes occasion to give a full account of Akbar's religious views. He was buried outside the fort of Fathpūr towards the north. See also Badāyūnī, Lowe 351. Mulla Aḥmad of Tatta, afterwards killed by a Sunnī, found the chronogram Sulṭānu-l-Khawārij (prince of heretics), but it is one short, yielding only 991. According to the Māʿasir II. 382, who quotes from a work by Lāl Beg Nahshbandī, Badāyūnī's story about Sultan Khwājah's mode of burial is not true.



wisdom. To the sword he added the high dignity of the pen. Though stupid in conventional learning, yet by the blessing of his discipleship of the world's lord he in company with the illuminate-sages (*dānīshwarān-i-'Ishq*) and the pure Sūfīs, performed his devotions (to Akbar). Thus, though tied by external circumstances, he gathered a share of deliverance. He always had a weeping eye (*chashm-i-giryān*) and a burning heart. He made the final journey (i.e. died) in the city of Awadh on 4th Amardād (about 15th July 1584). Apparently, an act of sexual intercourse and improper food conducted him to the abode of annihilation.

Though the second (Sultān Khwāja) had not garnered much knowledge, and had never ascended the heights or sounded the depths of learning, yet many of the heartfelt words of Sūfism had polished his nature, and he became cognisant of the spirit of the age by the virtue of the Shāhanshāh's glance. By a genuine discipleship he pressed on towards the pleasant abode of Freedom (*īflāq*). On the 5th (Amardād—25th July 1584) he died at Fathpūr from weakness of the stomach and heart. The loving sovereign was grieved at the departure of those two wise men, and by lofty counsels administered comfort to their children and other mourners. He took upon himself the charge of providing for them.

One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khān Āzīm M. Koka to Mālwa. It has been mentioned that when he was in Allahabad he became disgusted with holding *jāgīrs* in Bengal and Bihar. Accordingly Raisīn and Garha were assigned to him. On the 17th he set out for those places after being loaded with counsels. On 25th Shahrīwar, about 4th September 1584, Bāqī¹ K., the brother of Adham K., died. His surviving family was cared for by the sympathetic Shāhanshāh.

One of the occurrences was the disgrace of Saiyid Daulat.² When there was some disturbance in Gujarat, this impure one again prevailed over Cambay. The Mota Rājah, Medīnī Rāi, Rājah Mukat Man, Rām Sāh, Udai Singh, Rām Cand Bāgha Rathor, 437

¹ See Badayūnī, Lowe 351, where it is stated that he died in Garha Katanga which was his jāgīr. Bāqī K. is also mentioned at p. 59 of *id.*

He was Adham K.'s elder brother. There is a short notice of him in the Māasir I. 394.

² Cf. Elliot V. 435-36.



Tulsī Dās, Jādūn Rahādūr, Atūl Ghakkar, Abūl fath Mughal, Qarā Bahārī, Daulat K. Lūdī and others were appointed to chastise him. Before they arrived, he had cast his eye upon plundering Petlād. Khwājam Bardī and a body of brave men gave him battle, and he was wounded and had to fly. / Also at this time Ābid, Mirak Yūsuf, Mirak Afzal, ‘Abdullāh and Timar Husain came out of the hill-country of Rājpipla and stirred up strife near the town of Mūnda,¹ and oppressed the peasantry. The Khān-Khānān sent from near the Mahindrī Khwājah Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. Mir Abūl Mozaffar, Khwājī Rafī, Mir Ma’sūm Bhakkarī, Sultān Rāthor, the son of Saiyid Hāshim,² and other brave men.³ When they came to Dhūlqa (Dholka of I.G.) the rebels had dispersed, and so they returned.

Also at this time Bahar⁴ K. Ghakkar stirred up strife in Badhnagar.⁵ Qābil K.⁶ Gujarātī, Rādhān K. and other fief-holders of that quarter gave him battle, and many of the strife-mongers were slain. That turbulent one had to sit in the corner of failure.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army against Sultān Muẓaffar Gujarātī. On 25 Ardibihisht the Khān-Khānān arrived at Aḥmadābād and applied himself to the improvement of the country and the soothing of the weak. The distracted state of the country became somewhat lessened. At this time the evil-disposed one came out of the defiles of the hill-country of Rājpipla and set off towards Pattan. Maqṣūd Ākā and many brave men were appointed, under the command of Shādmān Beg, and on hearing of this, Mozaffar went off hastily towards Idar,⁷ and took refuge in Kathīwāra. From there he crept off to the port of Ghogha.⁸

¹ Mandah of J. II. 253 P. Probably the Moondah of Bayley's map.

² Text, Saiyid Hāshim, but the variant "son of" must be right, for Hāshim was killed at the battle of Sarkhej. The variant is also supported by the I.O. MSS.

³ Nizāmu-d-dīn does not notice this expedition; probably this was because there was no fighting.

⁴ The I.O. MSS. have Behār or Pahar Khokar.

⁵ W. Idar and Dūngārpūr, the Burnugger of Bayley's map.

⁶ This is the nearest approach I can find to the name Giabiblica mentioned in Akbar's *parwāna* J.A.S.B. for 1896, pp. 60 and 61.

⁷ So in text, and the I.O. MSS. fail us here. But I suspect some mistake, for Idar would not be in the way from Pattan to Kathīwār. However the Iqbāl-nāma has Idar.

⁸ A port in the Gulf of Cambay. I.G. XII. 301.



Every one of his companions withdrew into retirement. Sher K. Fūlādī went to Baglāna. The ruler of that country sought to seize him. He left his property behind him, and by wiles got off to the Deccan. A few had the good fortune to go over to the victorious army, such as Mahdī¹ Sultan, the brother of Khizr Khwāja K., and the son of M. Muqīm Naqshbandī. Though some pursuit took place, yet if there had been celerity, that one of slumbrous fortune (Sher Fūlādī) would have been seized.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Broach. When, by the wondrous fortune of Shāhīnshāh Sultān Mozaffar had had to fly for the second time, Qulij K., Naurang K., Sharif, Tolak K. and other fief-holders in Mālwa went off to take Broach. On 1 Farwardīn they invested the fort. As they were slow about it, and the taking of it was spun out, the Khān-Khānān sent a number of strenuous men to their assistance, under the command of Shihābū d-dīn K., and that Sarkār was given to him in *tiyūl*. The officers took up the work anew, and prosecuted it vigorously. On 10 Mihr the leader of the musketeers came out, and reported about the distressed and wearied condition of the besieged. He said that if the imperialists came to the gate, his comrades would open the door to them, and a difficult task would become easy. As his statements bore the marks of truth, they immediately set their minds on carrying out the plan, and words became deeds. There was the apparition of victory.² Naṣīra by craft came out of the battery of Sharif K., but Carkis and many others were killed.

On the 21st Mihr the house of Rajah Bīrbar was made glorious by the feet of the Shāhīnshāh. His wishes were gratified, and there was a great feast.

One³ of the occurrences was that Shāhbāz K. returned unsuccessful from Bhatī, and that steps were taken to retrieve matters.

¹ This must be Gulbadan Begam's brother-in-law. See her Memoirs, 182. This renders support to the idea that the Khizr-Khwāja of p. 411 is her husband.

² Cf. Elliot V. 437, and the Mirāt Sikandari, p. 380. The latter says

Nīṣar and Carkis came out at night and that Carkis' horse stuck in the mud (of the Narbadda) and so he was caught and killed. See also M. Aḥmadī, p. 163.

³ This passage is translated in Elliot VI. 75.



When he went there, he encamped on the bank of the Panār¹ which is a branch of the Brahmaputra. He occupied himself in sending messages and in giving counsels. The suggestion was that he (Īsā) should deliver up the rebels, or drive them away from his presence. Īsā had recourse to coaxing expressions, and for a time indulged in plausible speeches. When it appeared that his tongue and his heart were not in accord, there arose the turbulence of battle. For seven months there were victories from time to time, and the evil-doers were put to shame and suffered failure. It was a time when both parties² should have lighted the lamp of discernment, and have practised conciliatory measures. But from somnolences of intellect, there was an increase of blindness, and arrogance rose high. From self-conceit Shahbāz K. vexed people, and his officers snapped the thread of moderation and behaved in a silly manner. The evil-doings of the enemy increased. Death³ made his appearance and the stock of life became dear. The enemy relied upon the circumstances that the rainy season was at hand, and that the victorious troops would be compelled to return. Fortunately the rainfall was less than usual, and so they had to wait in a shameful⁴ condition for the dark days. They collected a number of diggers (*bildār*) and cut the (bank of) river Brahmaputra in fifteen places. The water rushed upon the camp and the batteries were submerged. The enemy brought large war-boats, which had very high and long bows, and in the country-language are called *pitāra*,⁵ and took them close to Shahbāz

¹ The Bannar of Rennel, which is according to him another name for the Luckia, or Sital Luckia (the Luckhyā of the I.G.). Taylor, Topography of Dacca, Calcutta 1840, says, p. 12: "The Bannar unites the Brahmapootra and Luckia (i.e. the Buri-ganga). It has formed a deep bed for itself in the hard kankar soil of the Northern Division, and in some places is more than fifty feet deep."

² Text *har du*. I. O. MSS. have *har du sū*, "both sides." The reference is to Shahbāz and his officers.

³ I. O. MSS. have *margī*, "Pestilence." The expression "stock of life" is allegorical apparently, and does not mean that provisions became dear.

⁴ *Sharmgīni*. Both I. O. MSS. have "*sarkamīn*", lying in wait.

⁵ Cf. J. II. 122, where it is said that boats are so adapted for a siege that when run ashore they overtop the fort. There is the variant *bināra*; Elliot has *liyara*, and so apparently have the two I. O. MSS., though the word in these may also be read *pāra*. Probably the word is *palwār*. See



K.'s fort. On both sides there was firing of artillery and muskets. The warriors were somewhat disconcerted, but by heaven's aid the enemy's leader was struck by a bullet and killed, and some boats were broken to pieces, and all at once the waters decreased, and the enemy had to fly. A large amount of booty was obtained, and many of the enemy were drowned. There was a hot contest in every battery, and the Fortune of the Shahinshāh had fresh lustre. But the foe prevailed against Saiyid Husain, the thānadār of Dacca, and he was made prisoner. 'Isā awoke from his heavy sleep of ignorance and set afoot negotiations for peace through the instrumentality of his prisoner. Shahbāz K. accepted them. 'Isā bound up the waist of obedience, and thought that by service he would obtain deliverance. He agreed that a royal daroghah should be appointed in the port of Sonargāon, and that M'aṣūm should be sent to the Hījāz. He also sent presents and peshekash and won over the hearts of the officers by large gifts, and the victorious army retired. When Shahbāz K. had crossed the rivers and reached Bhawāl, and was looking for the fulfilment of 'Isā's promises (lit. for words to be converted into deeds), wicked men in the army¹ in improper language made 'Isā doubtful in his mind. He changed his language, and brought forward conditions. The commander of the army was indignant, and said that to make confusions on every occasion and to introduce new clauses was not the rule with right-minded persons. He became stern and spoke harshly. Preparations were made for battle, and on 19 Mihr, divine month, 30 September 1584, that crooked-minded one ('Isā) came forward to fight. The officers from short-sightedness saw their gain in what was their loss, and thought that the defeat of Shahbāz K. would be an advantage to themselves. The first to go off without fighting was Muhibb 'Ali K. Every one left his place and went a roadless road. Shāh Quli K. Mahram made some stand and fought, but from being unsupported and from being wounded he left Bhawāl. Shahbāz K. awoke from his sleep of haughtiness and made some effort to win the affections of his officers, but misplaced repentance is of no avail. He was obliged

Wilson's Glossary and Taylor's Topography of Dacca, p. 120, where it is said that the palwar is the kind of boat peculiar to the district.

¹ Apparently this means Shahbāz's army.



to march for Tānda. All his collections were lost, and the sons of Mir 'Ādila and others were made prisoners. S. Muḥammad Ghaznavī and others were killed. During the retreat Khangār Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Rajah Gopāl, Mirzādas 'Ali K. and others fell in with Tarkhān Diwāna, M. Muḥammad and Nauruz 'Ali Qāqshāl as they were returning from plundering. Owing to their evil fortune ¹ (*az bakht teragī*) the rebels took the band of imperialists to be their own men and joined them. There was a hot engagement and the days of Nauruz ² (*naurūz rā rūzgār*) came to an end and the others came off half-alive by dint of running. Victory displayed the face of joy, and abundant plunder was obtained. The officers after eight days obtained repose at Sherpūr-Murca.³ Shahbāz K. tried to make preparation in this place and then to return and exact vengeance, but his companions were disgusted with his bad manners
440 and did not incline to accompany him. When they arrived at Tānda, Wazīr K. came forward with an open brow and a warm welcome. Shahbāz K. brought forward his former proposition, but opinions were not unanimous, and hearts did not emerge from double-mindedness. They were obliged to make reference to the holy threshold. When the news came, strenuous *sazāwals* were sent to turn back the officers, and suitable censures were conveyed to each of them, and counsels were also given. An order was issued to S'aid K. and other fief-holders of Bengal and Bihar to act in unity and to exert themselves to punish the landholder (Īsā). First, Peshrau K. and Khwājagī Faṭḥ Ullah were sent on this service, and afterwards Rām Dās Kacwāha and Mujāhid Kambū. They were by sharp words to produce a beneficial effect and make them keener for service.

¹ Blochmann, 436, makes the mistake to have been on the side of the Imperialists, and apparently the Bib. Ind. takes this view, which is perhaps supported by the grammatical construction. But surely A. F. would not speak of the mistake being the result of evil fortune if it eventuated in a victory for the Imperialists. I think therefore that

the meaning is that the rebels, who were loaded with booty, made the mistake, and the note of the Lucknow edition, p. 280 of vol. III, takes this view. The *giroh* in text is I think the band of Imperialists.

² Naurūz means New day and A. F. puns on this.

³ I adopt the variant Sherpūr Murca.



On 16 Āzar, divine month, the house of Rajah Todar Mal was illuminated by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. The Rajah had for a long time cherished this desire, and he preferred his request in an excellent manner. At this time he gained his object and in thanksgiving had a great feast.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Jagannāth to Ajmīr. News came that the Rānā had come out of the defiles of the mountains, and was creating a disturbance, and was oppressing the weak. As the chastisement of the wicked is Divine worship, an army was appointed under his command. J'afar Beg was made paymaster (*bakhshī*). It set off on 24 Āzar, after Jagannāth had received valuable counsels. In a short time they arrived there, and the landowner retreated, and men got their repose. After some days, Saiyid Rājū was left in Mandalgarh with some men, and an expedition was undertaken against the Rānā's residence. He did not find himself able to oppose, but came out by another ravine and stirred up strife in the country that was submissive. Saiyid Rājū marched against him to give battle, and the Rānā returned towards Citūr. The Saiyid returned from the stage which the Rānā had left. Though there was no victory, yet the oppressed were delivered. Jagannāth attacked his residence, and joined Saiyid Rājū.

One of the occurrences was the birth of Ārām Bānū Begam.¹ On 12 Dai, 22 December 1584, divine month, and the 19th degree of Sagittarius, and according to the calculation of the Indians, one degree and 51 minutes, that night-gleaming jewel of fortune appeared, and glorified the harem of the Shāhinshāh. Astrologers announced the joyful news, and the world's lord conferred on her that great name. It is to be hoped that the advent of this lady of the family of chastity will be the means of increased life and will be an adornment to the kingdom.

¹ Cf. Jahāngir's Memoirs, Price's translation, p. 48. Her mother was Bibi Daulat Shād. Jahangir says his father was very fond of her. See also Tūzūk 16. Akbar called her his Lāḍla (Lārla) (darling), and Jahāngir speaks of her as being of a violent temper. Shakra-n-nisā was

her elder sister and by the same mother. Ārām Bānū died of dysentery on 7 Tīr in the 19th year of Jahangir in her fortieth year. Tūzūk Supplement, p. 386. The statement there that she left the world in the same state in which she entered it must mean that she never married.



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CHAPTER LXXIX.

THE ARRIVAL OF SHĀHRUKH M. AT THE COURT
OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

(This chapter begins with about twelve lines of reflections on the evils of flattery, etc. as illustrated by the history of the Badakhshān Mirzās. It then proceeds as follows):—

When M. Hakīm returned to Kabul from Badakhshān, M. 441 Shāhrukh brought himself to the resolution of paying his respects to M. Sulaimān, and of living in harmony. M. Sulaimān, on account of suspicions, and his observation of the conduct of faithless persons, would not agree to this. After much talk, it was arranged that Uzbeg Sultān, the ruler of Hiṣār—who kept alive the rules of relationship and friendship—should send a party of men as sureties (bayāwarī) and that the Mirzās should see one another in the midst of the river Āmū (the Oxus), at a place¹ where there are nine channels, and that they should there enter into engagements of concord. It was also arranged that M. Sulaimān should cross four channels, and M. Shāhrukh five. When M. Sulaimān² arrived at the river-bank, he crossed one channel and then got frightened and turned his rein. Makers of difficulties were nearly putting a stumbling-block in M. Shāhrukh's path, but from his good disposition and intentions he crossed eight channels, and after waiting upon M. Sulai-

¹ It would be interesting to know where this place is. It probably is in the upper course of the Oxus and south of Hiṣār Shādmān, which is another name for Hiṣār. The nine channels recall Arnold's expression "The shorn and parcelled Oxus." In Bābur's time, and also in M. Sulaimān's, Badakhshān included territory north of the Oxus.

² Sulaimān had crossed one channel, and presumably Shāhrukh crossed this and visited his camp which presumably was on the N. bank of the Oxus. But perhaps the meaning is that Sulaimān did not turn quite back but stayed at the south side of the first of the nine channels, and that the meeting took place there.



mān expressed his desires for amity. He took his leave after having visited the Mīrzā's (Sulaimān's) quarters. The latter went off to Kūlāb and shortly afterwards he—under pressure from wicked men who regard evil as good and good as evil—enlarged his wishes and raised a disturbance. He sent a message that Mihr 'Alī, Cūcak and 442 Mir 'Imād should be delivered up to him, or if M. Shāhrukh could not agree to this, that he should dismiss them from his presence. M. Shāhrukh swallowed the bitter draught, and agreed to the last proposition. They went off to Kabul with the thorns of failure in their feet, and Mir 'Imād went into retirement. Meanwhile Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī, who was the sword and the intellect of the country, left M. Shāhrukh and joined M. Sulaimān. This increased the bad feeling, and it was not long before Mihr 'Alī returned from Kabul (text Zabūlistān) to M. Shāhrukh. As M. Sulaimān had suffered much opposition¹ from him formerly he sent a message to say that the surrender of Mihr 'Alī would be a proof of M. Shāhrukh's submission. The Mīrzā sent him along with Ḥājī Taman,² and M. Sulaimān made the latter his servant, and imprisoned Mihr 'Alī. He also sent S. Bābā Wālī³—who under the disguise of a medicant's dress, was spinning snares—and represented that at the time of the agreement and the division of the country, Muḥammad Qulī, Ḥājī Taman and Mihr 'Alī were of his (Shāhrukh's) party. It was proper now that his share (Sulaimān's) should be increased by Tāliqān and some territory (in order to support the retainers). M. Shāhrukh replied that the rules of humanity and graciousness required that the pleasant abode of unity should not be stained by the dust of the shameless and strife-mongering, and that M. Sulaimān should send back the set which had left him (Shāhrukh). M. Sulaimān did not agree to this and resolved on fighting. Shāhrukh too, from the intoxication of youth, and from not having any wise companion, went off. In Rustāq he halted, and made his petition, and had recourse to entreaties. He begged that no dust of conflict should be

¹ The text has *pashimānī*, "repentance," but I think the I.O. MS. reading "*beshimānī*," "boundless," is more likely to be correct. I am doubtful, however, and perhaps the

Bib. Ind. text is correct. The meaning then would be that Sulaimān repented of the former discord.

² The Iqbāl-nāmā has Ṣaman.

³ Wālī in text.

raised, and that they should not give their enemies cause to rejoice. M. Sulaiman was nearly coming to terms, but strife-mongers did not allow him to do so, and there was a battle. Inasmuch as the breaking of compacts, and the non-acceptance of apologies are not auspicious, M. Sulaimān was defeated without a severe contest, and took refuge with the people of Hiṣār. M. Shāhrukh did not pursue and applied himself in some measure to the work of administration. He made over Kulāb to his eldest son Muḥammad Zamān, and made Mihr Ali¹ his atāliq. He himself came to Qandūz. M. Sulaimān took help from Uzbek Sultān, the ruler of Hiṣār, and proceeded towards Badakhshān. M. Shāhrukh also formed the design of fighting. He sent some active men ahead under the leadership of Qanghar, and gave battle with the assistance of the Kulābis. M. Sulaimān was defeated on this occasion also, and returned to Hiṣār. At this time the ambassadors of the Shāhīnshāh arrived, and M. Shāhrukh's position became very strong. At the time when the august retinue had cast the shadow of justice over Zabulistān (Kabul) and M. Hakīm had been disgraced in the battle with the Prince (Murād), adroit and bold ambassadors were sent to M. Shāhrukh, who was agitating the chain of loyalty, to enquire after his health, and to tell him to come and do homage, or to send his mother, the Khānim. The Mīrzā expressed himself in submissive language, and his affairs assumed a brighter aspect. The people of Hiṣār withdrew from supporting M. Sulaimān. But M. Shāhrukh did not, on account of the wickedness of his advisers, bring himself to wait upon H. M. But he was arranging to send his mother to make excuses when news came that H. M. was returning. Also his mother fell ill at this time. M. Sulaimān, having come to despair of the Hiṣārīāns, wished to do the work of an enemy under the guise of a friend, and came with some Uzbegs to Badakhshān. He brought forward proposals of peace. M. Shāhrukh accepted them, and it was agreed that each would pass over channels of the river to the place of the former compact, and that they would have a banquet of friendship, and make fresh treaties. M. Shāhrukh acted as he had said, M. Sulaimān did not cross, and sent a message that M. Shāhrukh should come over to his side of the river, and remove the dust

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¹ Apparently he had been released and had returned to Shāhrukh.



of doubleness (as apposed to unity). M. Shāhrukh understood his idea and turned his rein. At this time Mirzā Shāhrukh's mother¹ died, and all at once good counsels ceased. He fell into conceit and self-will. The condition of the army became bad. There was sport and play, and the peasantry fell into distress. M. Sulaimān went off to 'Abdullah K. Uzbek, the ruler of Tūrān, in hopes that he might gain his ends. He had taken an army to Tāshkēnd, but his father Sikandar K.¹ received M. Sulaimān, and welcomed him with kindness. 'Abdullah K. on hearing this news had other thoughts and wrote that Sulaimān should be kept under surveillance until his arrival. The Mirzā understood the matter and on a dark night took the road to Hīṣār. Some active men went with him, and by dint of courage he got away from that dangerous place. When 'Abdullah K. returned, he sent Qul Bābā,² his *vakīl* and general, to Uzbek Sultān with the request that he would deliver up the Mirzā. He observed the rights of kindness and sent off the Mirzā to Badakhshān before Qul Bābā arrived. Sulaimān came, after failure, to Kūlāb via Qarātagīn. M. Shāhrukh came forward with submissive language and proposed to divide the country according to the former arrangement. M. Sulaimān had the dexterity (*pakhtakāri*) to refuse, and accepted *Kishm* as a fief. M. Shāhrukh, owing to the wine of conceit and a love of praise, only paid attention to the words, and did not try to read the lines of the forehead, nor did he distinguish friend from foe. In a short time the word-sellers had a daily market, and the right-thinking had to sit in a corner. Mir 'Imād, Mir Kalān, and Cūcak Beg took charge of the administration, and the office of Bakhshī (army payments) fell again to Yār Beg. Avarice and envy made these men foolish, and they were continually squabbling with one another. On account of the neglect of the lord of the country (or perhaps of the village-headmen) the avarice of his ministers, and the ignorance of his servants, there was great confusion in men's fiefs, and there was a brisk market for the sale³ of villages, and the rank of folly became great. Kūlāb 444

¹ Or Iskandar. He died in 1583 (991) Vambery.

² His Kokal tāsh or foster-brother and governor of Herat. Vambery's

Bokhara 292 and 296. 'Abdullah's son 'Abdu-l-mumīn put him to death.

³ I have deviated from the text here, and adopted the reading of the

was given anew to Qādir Qulī Koka, Qundūz to Qūrcī Beg, Tālcān to 'Abdu-r-Rahmān, Ghori to Mīr Nizām, Kahmard to Khanjar 'Alī, Andarāb to Latfī Koka, Rustāq to Mast 'Alī and Baqlān to Sherbal. At such an inauspicious time 'Abdullah K. saw his opportunity and came to Badakhshān, and conquered that strong country without a battle. He always had had an eye on the Mīrzās of Badakhshān, and when he learnt that they had not gone to the Shāhīnshāh, and that they were quarrelling with one another, and neglecting the administration, he had recourse to violence. He sent a message that they should make over to him Ghori and Kahmard, and should send the Aimāqs of Turān—who for a long time had lived in that country (Badakhshān)—to him. M. Shāhrukh made no reply, nor did he become more active. An idle report had been spread that the ruler of Turān was dead and that Qul Bābā was preferring these requests. M. Shāhrukh remained on this account in the profound slumber of indifference. In this state of affairs, while the hearts of the Mīrzās were bad, the forts unsupplied, the soldiers distressed, friends in obscurity, and enemies in the enjoyment of success, the active foe arrived. The Mīrzās fled to the defiles. Qūrcī Beg joined the enemy, and Qundūz, which is the pillar of the country, was lost without a battle. Similarly Sherbal and some other Badakhshān officers took the road of disloyalty, while many remained with their families, and restrained their people from service. The Kūlābīāns attached themselves to Muḥammad Zamān and stood firm. Whoever spends his time in sloth and in looking after his own comfort, and defers the good treatment of men to the day of calamity, will be left alone in the world of social life, and shall not receive help. The knitting together of hearts is produced by abundant attention in the time of prosperity. Those who are infatuated with the world do not open the door of warmth of affection until they have fallen into difficulty. Till then they keep the shops of gentleness closed! When the Mīrzās had brought things to such a pass, every one to whom they applied turned away. Being helpless they abandoned

I.O. MSS. Instead of *bāzār khūd faroshī u pāyā kharrāmī* of the text, and which means the "bazar of self-selling and the degree of plea-

sure," they have *dahfaroshī*, "the sale of villages," and *pāyā khārī*, "the rank of asinism."



the defiles of Badakhshān and came to Bahārak,¹ which is a rugged place and difficult of access. They thought their old servants would be eager to help them, but most of them did not come forward. On account of the excessive ice and snow, and the turning away of old friends, they could not remain there, and came to Panjshir,² which is a dependency of Kabul. Their idea was that if M. Ḥakīm helped them, they would try to recover their home. Otherwise they would seek protection at the court of the Shāhīnshāh. From the time that M. Sulaimān had been exalted by doing homage at the holy threshold, and had sold the desire of conquering Badakhshān for a pilgrimage to the Hijāz, he had felt ashamed, and would not turn his face to the august court. M. Shāhrukh's wish was that he might unite himself to eternal dominion, and as in the time of his prosperity he had not behaved well to the Kābulis, he wished to go to India by the hill-route and without seeing M. Ḥakīm. M. Ḥakīm sent for M. Sulaimān, and after treating him with respect sent him to the Lamghānāt, and assigned some villages to him there. Shāh Muḥammad M., the son³ of Shahrukh, was with M. Sulaimān. M. Shāhrukh was arrested and made over to Shādmān Hazāra. He was to keep count of him (awāra sāzād) and not let him go to India. The Mīrzā with his three sons, the twins Ḥasan and Ḥusain, and Badī-z-zamān, their mother, and some servants, in all about thirty persons, remained in those hilly defiles of the Hazārjāt with a thousand⁴ inconveniences and disgusts, and thought every day would be his last. By the wonders of destiny a report arose that Ābdullah K. had been defeated, and that the Kūlābians had been successful against him. The Hazāra (Shādmān), who had had other thoughts, took the road of hope and sent off the Mīrzā towards Badakhshān. Fearing lest that savage should change his mind, he, after marching some distance, went off to a pathless place, and after fighting his way through ravines rested in Kahmard. The rural population there gathered round him, and in a short time it appeared that the

¹ In Badakhshān. But perhaps some place outside Badakhshān is meant, e.g. the Bazārak Pass. See J. II. 399, 400.

² Or Panjīr, J. II. 411. It is N. of Kabul.

³ I.O. MS. 236 does not call him the son of Shāhrukh. Shāh Muḥammad is mentioned again as being in the Khaibar caravan.

⁴ A. F. puns on the word Hazāra, meaning both 1000 and a country.

above report (of 'Abdullah's death) was not true, and that the Kūlābīāns were shut up in the defiles. The Mīrzā went off to attack Tālqañ.¹ Meanwhile news came that Kūlāb had been taken and that an army had been sent to drive² forward the Aimāqs. His companions scattered and his condition became worse than before. He could not remain where he was, nor could he turn his face to go back. He was nearly falling into the hands of the enemy. With a thousand efforts he proceeded towards Kabul (the country, not the city) and he met M. Sulaimān in Sāl Aulang.³ M. Ḥakīm had, on the strength of the same report (of the success of the Kūlābīāns), given him leave to go to Badakhshān. He was now waiting at this station for reinforcements. They now came to recognize one another's quality somewhat, and consulted about remedying⁴ matters. Suddenly some Uzbegs raised the dust of commotion. About this time the birth of a son had caused M. Shāhrukh's countenance to shine. They left it with a country woman and went off in haste. Mihr Āli, Qādir Bardī, Jahāngīr, Ulugh Beg and others were coming close behind them.⁵ At dawn the Uzbegs arrived and dispersed to plunder the baggage. As fortune would have it, M. Sulaimān's steed⁶ stumbled and he was thrown. M. Shāhrukh dismounted and tendered his horse. That too ran off. One of the companions got off his horse and gave it and mounted M. Sulaimān, and M. Shāhrukh cleverly caught the

¹ *Batākhī*. There is also the reading *nāhiyat*, "towards," but the Iqbālūnāmā has *batākhī*.

² That is, to drive the Aimāqs to Transoxiana. It seems that 'Abdullah claimed them as his subjects and demanded them back from the Mīrzās. We shall find later that 'Abdullah's son, 'Abdu-l-mumīn, excited Akbar's wrath by demanding the surrender of the Aimāqs from him.

³ The Sāl Aulang of A.N. translation, p. 563, and the Saulah Aulang of Jarrett II. 400 n.l. It is N. of Kabul and between Panjhir and Ghorband.

⁴ Text, "*becāra*," "helpless," but *cāragar* seems more likely, and is given in the variant and the I.O. MS. 236.

⁵ *Dust u garīban mīāmadand*. They were faithful and were afterwards killed in the Khaibar. The baggage was with them and when the Uzbegs came up they proceeded to plunder this, and so the Mīrzās had time to escape (Iqbālūnāmā).

⁶ *Takāwar*, "an ambling horse or mule." The Iqbālūnāmā makes it a mule.



runaway. As they were galloping, two roads appeared, and they separated. The enemy went after M. Shāhrukh. A river was in 446 front, and the Mirzā crossed it and then broke down the bridge. He now breathed safely. His young son Ḥasan got separated during this hurry-scurry (*ravārav*) and thus Time inflicted a new wound. Just then the news came that M. Sulaimān was in Alsai¹ and Najrāo. The Mirzā joyfully went there and paid his respects. In this time of happiness, Siyūndak K. came from M. Ḥakīm and conveyed a message of friendship. As they were aware of his evil disposition, this was a new grief to them. They did not know that he had been rebuked by the sublime court for his conduct, and that he was sorry for what he had done. They did not believe his friendly message, and sent some persons along with the messenger in order to find out what was the upshot of the affair, and ascertain if the promises were valid. At this time a courier of Kuar Mān Singh made them hopeful of royal favours. M. Sulaimān, who was ashamed to go to court, and whose hopes were fixed on M. Ḥakīm, stayed where he was. M. Shahrūkh proceeded to the court. He left the mother of the twins and one son and some old followers (*bāb-urīān*) near Cārikārān to search for the child who had been lost. He himself went off by the Dāman-i-Koh to Daka. A large caravan was waiting there and was in a state of alarm on account of the brigands. He chose their companionship. In the caravan were his aunt Khānzāda Khānim and Shāh Muhammad M. (his son). M. Ḥakīm had given them leave to go to India. The Mirzā (Shāhrukh) by the connivance of Shāhī Afghan proceeded by that difficult pass. In every bit they traversed, the narrow parts were

¹ The text has در ایسا و بجر dar Isā u baḡrā. There are variants and I think the true reading is در الساء dar Alsā u Najrāo. There are two Tumāns or districts in the N. and E. of Kābul, J. II. 411, and their names nearly agree with the reading in I.O. MS. 236 which has در الساء و بجر dar Alsā u Naḡrā. In Badayūni, Lowe 355, we have Asālū or Asā. We are told by A. F. that

M. Sulaimān got lands in the Lamghānāt from his son-in-law M. Ḥakīm, and this agrees with the positions of Alsāi and Najrāo. See also J. II 407 and n.l. and 411. Nizāmi-ud-dīn mentions in the T.A.M.S. copy penes me, at the beginning of the 31st year, that M. Ḥakīm assigned Istālīf to M. Sulaimān. But this must have been when he first came.



closed with stones by the wicked people of the *rāvīne*. In the more difficult places the *Tārikīāns* (the *Raushānis*) blocked the path. *Shāfi* out of craft sent *Qanchar Bāi*, *Jahāngīr*, *Khanjar Āli*, *Yār Beg* and *Abdāl*, each one of whom was the Rustum of the age, to that evil crew on pretence of giving a message, and had them treacherously slain. His idea was that night would throw its dark shadow, and then a difficult business would become easy. When a watch of day remained, something of the state of things became known, and they turned back from *Āli Masjid*. The *Tārikīān* were emboldened and came out to fight. The consternation of the traders affected the soldiers and they lost courage. Life and property were plundered. *M. Shāhrukh* fought bravely. He fell from his horse, but by his efforts and the help of *Khadang Beg* he mounted again and once more performed masterpieces of bravery. His son *Badī'u-zamān*¹ fell from his horse, but by the help of *Jān 'Āli* got to the station. By dint of fighting he (*Shāhrukh*) got out of the ravine, and at the end of the night rested in *Daka*. In the morning he considered what he should do, and saw no protection except in the hills of

447 *Badakhshān*. At this time he learnt that *M. Sulaimān* was in the neighbourhood. He got some comfort by seeing him, but was grieved by the death of his newly-born son. The *Aimāqs* had loyally concealed him and cherished him. On the first occasion, when they (*Shāhrukh* and *Sulaimān*) were staying together in the *Langhānāt* he had sent for him, and had left him in the kind guardianship of *M. Sulaimān*. "A flower passed away from life, without fruiting."² *M. Hakīm* had sent *M. Sulaimān* to the *Langhānāt* according to the former arrangement. At this time an army of *M. Hakīm's* arrived, and represented that an order had come from the *Shāhīnshāh's* court to the effect that *M. Shāhrukh* should be escorted in a suitable manner, and that it had been nominated for this service. Though he was somewhat rejoiced at this good news, yet he did not believe in it much until they turned back after having traversed the *Khaibar*, and the officers, who were in the neighbourhood of the

¹ Slain by his younger brothers in the 18th year of *Jahāngīr's* reign, 1628. B. 312, *Tāzūk* 360 and *Iqbal-nāma* 203-04.

² The MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have *bar 'nachīda*, "without gathering fruit."



Indus, came forward with all respect. Kuar Mān Singh regarded his coming as a great honour, and showed him fitting hospitality. From there he went forward with a tranquil mind and a glad heart. The news of the safety of the son who had been separated from him, also rejoiced him. He had fallen into the hands of an Uzbek during the scrimmage (*dūa dū*) and on the occasion of the hurry-scurry (*ravārav*) the Uzbek's eyes had fallen upon the baggage. He had left the child and gone hastily after the baggage. A slave was on the watch, and he took up the child and brought it to Sāl Aulang, and made it over to the mother whose heart had long been consumed with sorrow. When M. Shāhrūk crossed the Indus this good news was a happy presage to him. The fief-holders everywhere gave him a warm welcome, and when he came to Lahore, Rajah Bhagwant Dās held a great feast. He also accompanied² him on his journey. Prince Daniel was sent to receive him one stage from Fathpūr, and he was accompanied by many grandees. On 23 Dai,³ 3 January 1585, he was exalted by doing homage, and there was a daily market of hospitality. As the world's lord reads the roll of the heart from the lines on the forehead, he perceived the characters of nobleness in the Mirzā, and taking him by the hand of kindness, he showed him favour. The star of his fortune which had sunk rose again. Everyone of the faithful exiles, who had quaffed the bitter cup of adversity, gathered the bliss of prosperity.

If a profound glance⁴ be given to all the Badakhshis it will appear that the pearl of pure intelligence has been removed from that

¹ Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 350 and T.A. beginning of 30th year (not translated in Elliot).

² Badayūnī, Lowe 352.

³ Nizām-u-d-dīn puts the arrival of Shāhrūk at Fathpūr into the 30th year, 993 A.H. See Elliot V. 447. Both he and Badayūnī state that Mān Singh's letter announcing the arrival of Shāhrūk at the Indus arrived on 1 Zi-l-q'ada 992-25 October 1584. If this date is correct, Shāhrūk must have travelled very slowly from the Indus, or he must

have been some time at Fathpūr before he was presented.

⁴ These reflections are obscurely expressed and there is a word—*zamāne*—of which I do not see the force. The I.O. MSS. have *zamāna*, and it may be that this is the right reading and that it is in *zāfat* with Badakhshān and that the meaning is "That Badakhshī of the Age." Apparently what A. F. means is that if we look at the Badakhshis, then Shāhrūk's removal from them was like removing a rare pearl from a



troubled land of indiscretion, and if a comparison be made with the far-sighted ones of the sublime court it will appear that simplicity has been transferred to the school of the acquisition of wisdom. Hail to the glorious fortune which at the time exerts itself in testing piety and in the knowledge of mankind! The raw material of the simple-minded here acquires a refined soul, and their countenances
448 are brightened by varied knowledge. The Mirzā by the action of Fortune, which is the awakener of the slumbrous but well-intentioned, awoke from sleep and became possessed of auspiciousness, for by this lucky circumstance he obtained exaltation.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of M'aṣūm K. Kābuli. It has been related what happened to the army in Bhātī on account of selfishness and envy. Shahbāz K. spoke in a lofty manner and decided to go to court, and the Bihar officers, with the exception of Muḥibb Āli K., abode in their estates. From prudential¹ motives Isā did not leave his home, but M'aṣūm, at his instigation, came to Sherpūr² and some rebels took possession of the country up to Māldah, twelve *kos* from Tānda. Though Wazīr K. had not the courage to rely upon the daily-increasing fortune and to resolve upon fighting, yet he stood firm and guarded that great city and many other places. The *sazāwals* by right behaviour and bitter speeches turned back Shahbāz K. and made the fief-holders of Bihar accompany him and act in unison. An order was issued to Shahbāz K. to the effect that if he wanted more troops, Rajah Todar Mal, Mattālib K., S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār and many other able and zealous servants would be sent to him. He replied that he had plenty of troops and that his whole soul was set upon accomplishing the task. On 18 Dai, 28 December 1584, he entered Bengal and applied him-

place where it was not appreciated, and if we look to the society into which he entered at Fatḥpūr, then it was the case of an honest simpleton coming into intellectual society. Jahāngir's account of Shāhrukh, Price 35, may be compared with the remarks of A. F. There is a good account of Sulaimān and Shāhrukh's

wanderings in Noer's Akbar, translation II, pp. 121-29.

¹ See Elliot VI. 77.

² I think this is Sherpūr Feringhī in Bikrāmpūr, the Serrepore of Fitch. See B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 230 note, and Taylor's Topography of Dacca 108. Taylor says that Serripūr was destroyed by the Kirtināsa. Ap-



self to the conquest of Bhātī. On the banks of the Jamuna¹ he learnt that M'aṣūm K. had halted in Sherpūr,² and that he did not imagine that the imperialists would cross the river. Bewilderment³ seized the brave men among the rebels and they fled without fighting. Shahbāz K. set himself to cross and to advance. The officers had no heart for this, but Rām Dās and Khwājagī Fath Ullah by skill and energy left no room for pretexts and sloth. Willing or unwilling, they had to cross the great river. When they came near the rebel, he fled in distress. Some prisoners were made and much booty obtained. Success unveiled her countenance. As it was not proper to leave the country unprotected and that all should follow the fugitives, and as most officers were not single-hearted, Shahbāz K. wished to leave Sādiq K. and some others midway, and to advance in person with the rest of the troops. Men did not agree to this. At last, Shahbāz, Shāh Qulī K., Maḥram and others stayed there, and Sāid K., Wazir K., Sādiq K., Muḥibb Āli K., Saiyid 'Abdullah K. and others sent off on 8 Bahman. Rām Dās and Khwājagī Fath Ullah accompanied⁴ them. They made such a march that when the enemy heard of their approach they evacuated the country, and the territory which had been lost was again taken possession of. Some booty was obtained and then the officers returned to Sherpūr.⁵ By celestial aid the dust of dissension and the tumult of 449 rebellion were dispersed, and victory declared itself. The enemy was discomfited.

parently it is the Feringhībazar of Rennel. E. Idārkpur.

¹ This is apparently the Ganges and not the Janai, or what is now known as the Brahmaputra. See I.G. VII. 134, old ed. The quotation from the Arā'ish-i Maḥfīl, Elliot VI. 78n., is a paraphrase of a passage in the Ain.

² Apparently Sherpūr Feringhī or Feringhībazar.

³ It appears from the I.O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. that this sentence is misplaced here. It should come in immediately after the words

"the conquest of Bhātī." This seems to make better sense. The rebels fled on Shahbāz's approach and M'aṣūm was astonished, not thinking that Shahbāz would cross the river. It appears also from Elliot VI. 77 that the sentence in question occurs before the sentence which mentioned the Jamūna.

⁴ The I.O. MSS. have *bāmīnī*, "in order to inspect," and the Iqbāl-nāmā has *bāmīnī u sūzawālī*.

⁵ It is Sherpūr Murca in I.O. MSS. and also in Elliot VI. 77.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of Dastam Qāqshāl.¹ He was one of the ringleaders among the rebels. From men's want of courage and the concourse of base people he became powerful. At the time when the victorious army collected in Sherpūr,² M'aṣūm hurried off towards Fathābād³ in the direction of Orissa. That vain-imagining⁴ one remained in this neighbourhood (that of Sherpūr). His idea was that in this way the imperialists would be split up into two forces, and that he might thus be successful. Before news came about M'aṣūm, Dastam increased his commotion at a distance of twelve kos from the imperial camp. Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Muḥibb 'Alī K., Rajah Gopāl Dās, Mirzāda 'Alī K., Khwāja Baqār⁵ and other brave men went off to give him battle. Khwāja Muqīm⁶ who had come there as a wāq'a-navīs (intelligencer or recorder) joined them as an⁷ Āmin. The news of coming of the battle-lovers robbed the enemy of firmness, and the officers pursued him to Shāhzādpūr⁸ and then returned.

¹ His death is mentioned later. A.N. III. 462.

² Apparently this is Sherpūr Feringhī, which seems to add a fourth to the Sherpūrs mentioned in J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 283 note. Perhaps, however, it is Sherpur Murca.

³ Fathābād corresponds to Farīdpūr and part of Jessore etc. Fatiahas is marked on De Barros' map, J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 108, as a town in the direction of Orissa from Dacca.

⁴ The Bib. Ind. makes a new clause after *shīṭāfī* as if the vain-imagining one were Dastam, and I have translated the passage accordingly. But I am inclined to think that this is wrong. The vain-imagining one is probably M'aṣūm who went to Fathābād and remained there, thinking that this would lead to a division of the imperial forces (as indeed it did). Apparently Dastam advanced

to within 12 kos of the imperial camp, in ignorance of M'aṣūm's flight. Presumably he came from the Ghoraghāt side where the Qāqshāls had their homes.

⁵ The Iqbāl-nāma has Bāqar Anṣārī.

⁶ I do not think this can be the father of Nizāmu-d-dīn. The M'aṣūmī MS. J.A.S.B. mentions a Khwāja Muqīm who was alive in 1024 or 1025, 1615 A.D. This could hardly be the man who was in service at the time of Bābur's death in 1530. Moreover the Iqbāl-nāma says he is now called Wazīr K. and has a manṣab of Rs. 2,000.

⁷ The text has "with thirty men", but the variant *bamīnī* as an Āmin or in order to inspect, is supported by the I.O. MSS. and the Iqbāl-nāma and must, I think, be right.

⁸ The pargana meant is probably that in Sarkār Jinnatābād J. II. 121. There is also one in Bāqirganj, id.



One of the occurrences was that the victorious troops were divided into two bodies. Inasmuch as evil thoughts and selfish views turn wisdom into foolishness, and fill the ear of the understanding with the quicksilver of insouciance, the holy counsels (of Akbar) were of no avail. Shāhbāz K. was made furious by the evil thoughts of his companions, and lost moderation. Šādiq K. got disgusted with the work and gave vent to his feelings by his language. Though the officers had life-sacrificing courage, they did not possess along with it practical wisdom, so that they might carry on their king and master's work and lay aside selfish views, and regulate the feast of friendship. As they could not carry out their own designs, they indulged in wrath and destructive desires. They left the highroad of justice on one side and went on a pathless course. Though they used to bring the word "loyalty" on their lips, how shall I write that they had no share of honesty? Apparently they had taken the usual share (of this quality) in this rose-garden of joy!

In the books of instruction composed by those who have chaunted the lay of loyalty, two classes are reckoned. First, there are those who choose singleheartedness (or Unity) when combined with their own advantage, and in this way raise higher the rank of their self-will. But though this class is separated somewhat from traffickers, yet the discerning do not give the name of singleheartedness to such slaves of selfishness, and do not attach value to their adhesion. The second class is that of the noble truth-seekers who keep their altruistic hearts filled with the light of love, and are pre-eminent among the chosen ones of the Creator. More wonderful still, the capital of 450 success comes in heaps to this class, as fodder for cattle comes² to the husbandman! Enough of many words and little substance! Those men (the officers) seized upon harsh language and severity at a time when gentleness was befitting.

134, but that seems too far east and south.

¹ The meaning is that though the officers had no right to be continually talking about loyalty, they were not altogether dishonest. They had apparently the ordinary share of it. The "rose-garden of joy" seems

to mean Akbar's court, and A. F. says these men had as much loyalty as most of the courtiers had.

² I suppose this means that it comes spontaneously without effort. Artificial grasses are not, or at least were not, known in India.



At this time the commotion of M'aṣūm K. was discussed, and it was resolved that as the enemy was in two places, so the victorious soldiers should be divided into two armies, and address themselves to service. On 20 Bahman, about 1 March 1585, Wazir K. Shāh Quli K. Maḥram, Ṣādiq K., Muḥibb 'Alī K., Rajah Gopāl Dās, Kīcak ¹ Khwājah and others took upon themselves the task of defeating M'aṣūm K., and so separated. Sa'id K., Shāhbāz K. Bahādur K., Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Mirzāda 'Alī K. Bābūi Mankli, and Abā Bīkr, and Ormaz the brothers of Tarson K., Timar Badakhshī, Shāh Qāsim and others remained where they were, and occupied themselves in putting down the evildoers in that quarter. The private disputes which occurred every day were at an end, and each body went off to do service.

One of the occurrences was that the ruler of Kashmīr sent his son to court. When Yūsuf K. saw himself cherished and exalted at court, he sent his eldest son Y'aqūb thither with the rarities of the country in order that he might gather bliss in the service of H.M., and also might be a reminder of himself in the august assemblage. On 29 Bahman, 9 February 1585, he arrived and performed the *kornish*, and became the ² subject of favours.

¹ Perhaps this is the Khwājah Kasak or Kisāk whom Gulbadan Begam seems to refer to as a writer. Mem. translation. O.T.F. 163 and note.

² Haidar Malik says, I.O. MS. 510, p. 185a, that Akbar was not pleased with Yūsuf for sending Y'aqūb. He said Yūsuf had not come

himself, and had at first sent a boy (Haidar) who was not fit for service, and then Y'aqūb who was not free of madness and wickedness. It was such language as this which led Y'aqūb to fly to Kashmīr after having been about two years in Akbar's court at Fatḥpūr.



CHAPTER LXXX.

MARRIAGE OF PRINCE SULTÂN SELÎM.

Those who are awakened of heart and profoundly intelligent, never neglect five points, but regard them as the great methods of doing the will of God. The first is to regard man's corporeal frame as a Divine building and so to watch over it. They reform the wicked by severe language, and severe action, and by exiling and imprisoning them. Secondly, they guard the camp of wisdom from the strong gale of self-indulgence, and do not drop from their hands the proper measuring rod for the edification of their outer and inner nature. Thirdly, they control their desires—with which the issues of things in matters spiritual and temporal are bound up—and keep them in their proper place. Fourthly, they subject lust and wrath to wisdom, and do not prey upon men's honour. They treat high and low with respect, and so keep the garden of dominion verdant. Fifthly, in arranging marriages they are especially careful about race on both sides,¹ so that there may be good offspring. The effect of putting (good) seed into a saline soil illustrates the value of this precaution. God be praised. The sovereign of our 451 time has succeeded in every thing and has raised aloft the standard of achievement, especially in the matter of marriages! If, as in the case of those who have chosen celibacy, there be no marriages, then the great fountain-head of humanity shall become choked, and the stream of Divine benevolence shall sink into the sand. And if the jewel of equality be obscured, the limpid waters of life will soon become brackish. Hence it occurred to the holy heart that he ought to bring a jewel of chastity into the grasp of that star of the mansion of sovereignty—Prince Sultân Selim—so that by this present there might be a fresh illumination of the hall of fortune.

¹ The original contains the metaphor of a doubt thread, the meaning being that both bride and groom

should be superior. The disquisition may be compared with the chapter on marriages in the *Ain*. B. 277.