



## CHAPTER C.

RETURN OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH FROM KASHMĪR THE PARADISAICAL.

As the spectacle of that ever-vernal flower garden—which leads every one else to self-indulgence—made H.M. more zealous in devotion to the Creator, and as he had gathered some delight from travelling in it; and had made the peasantry and the soldiery joyful, he decided to return. Though the attractions of the climate, and the abundance of flowers and fruit shut off the road of escape, yet wisdom prevailed and prevented him from staying longer. On 1 Amardad, 11 July, 1589, the anchor was raised and he set<sup>1</sup> sail. The Paklī route was kept before his eyes. He travelled 3 *kos* 25 poles, and halted opposite Nandimarg. On this day Abiyā<sup>2</sup> paid his respects, and was received with favour. As Y'aqūb Kashmīrī—who had in some measure awaked from his slumbers, perceived the majesty of the Shahinshah, and wished to pay his respects, H. M. made the arrivals happy, and sent them back satisfied. But as Y'aqūb was impressed by the greatness of his crimes, he had not the courage to come in, but sent his brother, in order that the good news of pardon might reach him, and might ease his fears. The brother returned after succeeding in his wishes. Next day he spent in the same delightful spot. On the morning following he departed, and 553 after travelling 4 *kos* 59 poles, he encamped near Joras (?).<sup>3</sup> On this day some ladies arrived from the great camp, and paid their respects. Āṣaf K., Khwāja Daulat, and others, did homage. Here a privy

<sup>1</sup> *Bādbān Kashībānd*. In Bates' Gazetteer, Introd., p. 10, it is stated that Kashmīr boats have no sails. Perhaps A. F. is only speaking rhetorically.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the name is Abhaya.

<sup>3</sup> Text, خواين جراس. The I. O. MSS. have Joras. If the vari-

ant be correct, the village may be the Khūr or Khūr Nakavīr of Stein 183. But I incline to think it is Sursu, or Tsurus, the Soorvo of the map, a large village on bank of Jhelam, between Bij Bihāra and Avantipūr. It may, however, be the Jarura of the T. Rashīdī, p. 439.





council was held, and the expedition to Kabul was decided upon. After one (day's) halt, he travelled 5 *kos* and halted near Pampūr. One day afterwards, he travelled 4 *kos*, 36 poles, and stopped near the Koh-i-Sulaimān.

On this day he paid a visit of consolation to Muḥibb Āli K.<sup>1</sup> and gave some pleasure to him, who was prepared for the last journey. Then he got into a small boat and proceeded towards the city. His only object was to exalt by consolation Amīr Faṭḥ Ullah Shīrāzī who had been ill from his first coming to the city, and had been unable to accompany H.M. on the excursion. H.M. came to the bedside of that chosen member of wisdom's family, and spoke graciously. Next day he halted. The days of Muḥibb 'Alī were ended. One said to to him, "Say there is no God except God." He, who had long refrained from speech, now said, "'Tis not a time to say Lā Ullah (without God). 'Tis a time to fix all one's heart on God (bā-ullah)." H.M., who appreciated merit, grieved for him and showed kindness to his family.

On 9 Amardād (about 19th July, 1589) H.M. travelled three *kos* and encamped after passing through Srinagar. On the way, his boat collided with a bridge, but by God's protection no damage resulted. After two days more he travelled 4 *kos* 60 poles, and encamped at Shihābu-d-dīnpūr.<sup>2</sup> Here Sultan Qoresh of Kāshghar arrived and was received with royal favours. His lineage goes back to the great Qān (Cingez). He was s. 'Abdu-r-Rashīd s. Sultan Sâid s. Sultan Aḥmad, known as Ālanja K. s. Yunas s. Avīs s. Sher 'Alī Ogḥtan s. Khizr Khhāja s. Tughluq Timur s. Īsā Būgā s. Davā s. Burāq s. Bīsūn Tavā s. Mawatkān s. Caghtāi s. Cingez. Some account of Caghtāi has been given in volume one. Mawatkān was the second son of Caghtāi, whom Cingez loved more than all his other children. Mawatkān was killed by an arrow in 618 (1221 A.D.) under fort Bāmiān. Bīsūn Tavā, his second son, served Cingez till his death.

<sup>1</sup> This is Muḥibb Alī Rohtāsi, and not the son of Bābur's prime minister. See B. 422.

<sup>2</sup> About 12 m. N. N. W. Srinagar, and near the junction of the Sindh river. It is now known as Shādīpur, but Dr. Stein ridicules the idea

that the name is derived from Shādī (marriage), and considers it to be an abridgment of the name derived from Sultan Shihābu-d-dīn of the 14th century. Jahāngīr has an account of the place Elliot VI. 305.



Burāq was first with <sup>1</sup> Qubla Qān who sent him to Transoxiana. He was tyrannical, and fought in Persia with <sup>2</sup> Ayāq s. Hulāgū, and was defeated. In Bokhara he adopted the Ahmadi (Muhammadan) religion and took the name of S. Ghīāsu-d-dīn. On his death Davā succeeded, and reigned with great splendour. He conquered Transoxiana, Turkistan, Badakhshān and Kabul. He attacked Persia several times, and led armies into India, but was unsuccessful. **Isā 554** Būqā reigned, after his father, in Turkistan, Kāshghar and Moghulistān. Tughluq Timur (his son) succeeded him. It is said <sup>3</sup> that Isā Būqā had two wives, the elder being Sātilmish Khātīm, and the younger Manlīq. It being the rule that the elder wife, in a Moghul tribe, takes charge of the others, Sātilmish learnt, when the Khān was away on an expedition, that Manlīq was pregnant. She gave her to Sharāwal <sup>4</sup> Dukhtū who was one of the great officers. When the Khān returned from his expedition, he was vexed at this, but there was no remedy. After the Khān's death there was confusion in the tribe. Amīr Būlājī Dughlat, the grandfather of M. Haidar, proceeded to search, and sent Tāshū Taimūr to enquire, in order that he might get information about Manlīk and her progeny. After much search he found that she was dead, and he brought away her son Tughluq Taimūr K., after a thousand troubles, from the country of the Qalmāqs. At the age of 16 <sup>5</sup> he ascended the throne, and in his 24th year he adopted the Ahmadi religion. There being a commotion in Transoxiana, he marched to that country and by his justice gave it tranquillity. He perceived the marks of eternal greatness on the forehead of Šāhibqirānī (Timur) and made <sup>6</sup> over the country of Kash to him, and gave Transoxiana to his own men. <sup>7</sup> After him Ilyās Khwāja K.

<sup>1</sup> Coleridge's Kubla Khan. The text omits the word Qubla, but it is in the L.O. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Should be Abāq or Abāqa. He succeeded his father in 1264. See Abaka K. in D'Herbelot.

<sup>3</sup> Taken, apparently, from T. Rashīdī. See translation p. 6. Text prints the passage as if it were a statement by Tughluq Timur!

<sup>4</sup> The Schivè Oghoul of Desmai-

son's translation of Abūl Ghāzī, p. 165. There, Būlājī is called Pou-lādtchi, and his messenger Tāsh Timūr. Though A. F. uses the word *jadd*, "grandfather," he must mean ancestor.

<sup>5</sup> T. R. 23.

<sup>6</sup> T. R. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently he made it over to his son Ilyās. See T. R. 22.



became ruler. When he died, the Moghal tribe fell into confusion. Amīr Qamaru-d-dīn Dūghlat put to death 18 persons from among the sons and sons-in-law of Tughluq Timur, and sat upon the throne. No descendant of Tughluq Timur survived except Khizr Khwāja. Amīr Khudādād, the brother's son of Qamaru d-dīn, hid the child with the help of the mother (of Khudādād). Shāhib Qirānī (Timur, i.e., Tamer lane) waged great wars with Qamaru-d-dīn, and when the latter died, Khizr Khwāja was raised to the throne. He preserved peace with Timur, and by his prudence Moghalistān was civilised. He took an army several times to Cathay, and got possession of Turfān<sup>1</sup> and Qarā Khwāja. His daughter Takal<sup>2</sup> Khānim was exalted by entering Timur's harem. Timur was called Gūrgān because that<sup>3</sup> is the title of a son-in-law.

Sher 'Alī<sup>4</sup> Oghlān lived with his brothers after his father's (Muhammad K.) death and died in early youth. <sup>5</sup>Avīs K. (Sher Ali's son) served his uncle Sher Muhammad K. who was ruler of Moghalistān. He took to brigandage (*qazzāqī*), and fought battles. When Sher Muhammad K. died, he ascended the Khānī throne. They say he waged 61 wars with the Qalmāqs, and was once victorious. Twice he was captured. Tāshī,<sup>6</sup> the ruler of the Qalmāqs, respected his high lineage and let him go. When Sātūq K. came against him, he  
555 hastened to fight, and in the confusion he was killed by an arrow shot unwittingly<sup>7</sup> by one of his own men. Confusion arose in the Moghal tribe. After his father's catastrophe Yūnas K. was taken by some to Samarqand to M. Ulugh Beg, and Isā Būqā was made ruler of the Moghals. The Mīrza (Ulugh Beg)<sup>8</sup> killed many of them and took all that they had.

He sent Yūnas to Shāhrukh, and the latter kindly made him over to Maulānā Sharfu-d-dīn 'Alī Yezdī. From him he got some enlightenment, and when the Maulānā died, he passed into Arabia, Persia, Azarbaijān and Fārs. He made Shīrāz his home, bought land and acquired knowledge, and supported himself by his own

<sup>1</sup> T. Rashīdī 52 and n. 6. Karā-khoja is mentioned there as an important town on the borders of Cathay.

<sup>2</sup> Tavakkul of T. Rashīdī.

<sup>3</sup> T. R. 278 and note. <sup>4</sup> T. R. 60.

<sup>5</sup> The Vais K. of T. R. 60 *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup> Tāshī in text. See T. R. 65 and 79 n 1.

<sup>7</sup> T. R. 72.

<sup>8</sup> Bābur refers to this incident, Erskine 11. See also T. R. 84.





industry. In his 41st year Sultan Abu S'aïd sent for him and provided him with an army. He sent him off against his brother who had come as an invader. After much fighting he was defeated, but by craft and stratagem he established himself near Farghāna, and men gathered round him. At this time Mir Saiyid 'Alī, a grandson of Amir Khudādād, died, and Yūnas' affairs became flourishing.

In a short time Īsā Būqā also died, and then his son Dost Muḥammad K. ascended the throne. In a short time, the government of Moghalistān became established in Yūnas K.; out of gratitude he gave his three daughters to M. Abu's sons, viz. Mihrnigār Khānim to Sulṭān Aḥmad, ruler of Samarqand; Sulṭān Nigār Khānim to Sulṭān Maḥmūd K. M. M. Sulaiman's father was born of this marriage. Qutlaq Nigār Khānim he gave to 'Umr S. M. H. M. Getī Sitānī (Bābur) was the offspring of this marriage. He lived for 74 years. At the end of his days he went into retirement<sup>1</sup> on account of the bad behaviour of his servants.

Sultan Aḥmad K., the second son of Yūnas, governed well, and fought with the Qalmāqs and won great victories. He prevailed over the Uzbegs and Qazzāqs. When Shāh Beg defeated Aḥmad's elder brother S. Maḥmūd, Aḥmad came to help him, but by the jugglery of the heavens both brothers were defeated. Shāh Beg respected old obligations and let them go. Aḥmad fell ill of grief, and died. Sultan S'aïd was the third of Aḥmad's 16 sons.<sup>2</sup> He was for a while Shāh Beg's prisoner. He escaped and came to his uncle S. Maḥmūd. Then he left him and joined his brother Khālīl in Moghalistān. Between those two and the elder brother Maṇṣūr K. there was war. Sulṭān S'aïd K. had to traverse plains and deserts, but by the Divine aid he joined Getī Sitānī (Bābur) in Kabul, and was kindly received. He enjoyed himself for three years in the service of that ap- 556  
preciative one. Then he took an army with him and came to Farghāna, and conquered most of the country. M. Abū Bīkr, the ruler of Kāshghar, came to fight and was defeated. After this Sūnj<sup>3</sup> K., ruler of Turkistān, came with a large force. The Khān went to Qāsim K., the ruler of Dasht Qibcāq, and from there brought an army against Kāsh-

<sup>1</sup> Haidar says, T.R. trans. 114, that Yūnas was seized with paralysis and was bedridden for the last two years of his life. He does not say

anything about the bad conduct of his servants.

<sup>2</sup> T. Rashīdī, 160, has 18 sons.

<sup>3</sup> Suzunj Khwāja K., T. R. 133.



ghar. He fought with M. Abū Bīkr and was victorious. He made peace with his elder brother Maṇṣūr K., and the *Khutba* was read in his (Maṇṣūr's) name and coin struck. They say that for some time after Maṇṣūr, the name of *Khān* was given to his son Shāh K. When he died, the government returned to S'aid. He several times led an army against Moghulistān and was successful. He also fought with the people of Tibet, and gained victories. He sent his son Iskandar with M. Ḥaidar to Kashmīr by the way of Tibet, and that delightful country was conquered. On account of double-faced men, Ḥaidar made a sort of peace and returned. S'aid died of asthma (*damgīrī*) and the insalubrity of Tibet. His son 'Abdu-r-Rashīd received his name from Firdūs Makānī (Bābur) at his father's request. When he succeeded, he governed justly and prevailed over the Uzbegs and Qazzāqs. He always kept on friendly terms with Humāyūn. M. Ḥaidar has called his history by his name. When he died, 'Abdu-l-Karīm<sup>1</sup> succeeded him. He reigned worthily for 30 years. His six brothers were Šūfī Sultan,<sup>2</sup> Maḥmūd, Qoresh, Abu S'aid, 'Abdu-Raḥīm and 'Abdullah.<sup>3</sup> In accordance with their father's will, and from their goodness, they served 'Abdu-l-Karīm. A dispute arose between Qoresh's son *Khudābanda* and his uncle Muḥammad.<sup>4</sup> He went off to the Kirghiz (Text, *Dagavī*) and by their help he conquered *Tarfān*. The *Khān* was apprehensive on this account and sent off Qoresh to the *Hijāz*. He, with his belongings and his seven sons, Shah Muḥammad, 'Ādil, Moẓaffar, 'Ābdullah, Sanjar, Aḥmad and Ghazanfar, came to *Badakhshan*, and from there went to *Balkh*. By 'Ābdullah's permission he went to Fortune's threshold (Akbar's court) and was exalted by the service<sup>5</sup> of the world's lord. His eighth son, *Khudābanda*, remained where he was. Goodness and discretion shone from his forehead. When 'Ābdul-Karīm died, and the government came to his brother Muḥammad, 'Abdullah sent a large army against the latter from *Transoxiana*. It was defeated, and returned. What

<sup>1</sup> See T. Rashīdī, Introduction, p. 121. According to the *Haft Iqlīm*, Abdu-r-Rashīd had 13 sons. See also Ney Elias's *Khojas of E. Turkistan*, J.A.S.B. for 1897.

<sup>2</sup> See A. N. III. 150, 151. His brother Abu S'aid was married to Ḥaram Begam's daughter.

<sup>3</sup> Killed in Berar, A. N. III. 490.

<sup>4</sup> Evidently this is the Maḥmūd mentioned above. A variant gives Muhammad as the name.

<sup>5</sup> Qoresh became a commander of 700. B. 459.



has been the end of this irrigation of the garden of words? Though a little diffusive, the rose garden of annals has been refreshed.<sup>1</sup>

On 13 Amardād, Divine month, 23 July 1589, H.M. travelled 3½ kos, 12 poles, and arrived near Sopūr.<sup>2</sup> On the way he visited the garden of the Bāgh Šafā which M. Ḥaidar had made. He also climbed to the top of a little hill<sup>3</sup> from which much of Kashmīr could be seen, 557 and enjoyed exquisite pleasure. Next day, he travelled 4½ kos, 72 poles, and halted near Patan.<sup>4</sup> He<sup>5</sup> disembarked here and went

<sup>1</sup> The last part of this digression adds to the information in the T. Rashīdī.

<sup>2</sup> Text Satpūr, but probably the place is Sopūr at the S. W. corner of the Wular lake. The I.O. MS. 236 seems to have Sopūr. It is also called Suyyapūra and may be the Suryapūr (recte Suyyapūra) mentioned in the T. A. quoted by Ross and Elias, p. 490. It is stated there that there was a palace of Zainu-l-Ābidin in Suryapur. A Satpūr is mentioned in J. II. 364. Perhaps this is Sopūr. Ḥaidar M.'s Bāgh Šafā was, as we learn from the T. A., in Andarkot which is the old Jayapura. Stein, p. 197. Akbar would pass this place on his way to Sopūr. The T. A. and Ferīšta tell us that Ḥaidar M.'s building in the Bāgh Šafā was burnt by the rebellious Kashmīrīs. Apparently what Ḥaidar said when it was burnt was, "I did not bring this building from Kashghar, and so by God's help I shall be able to rebuild it." Andarkot seems also to be called Andarkūl, the one word meaning the Inner Fort, and the other, "Within the lake," and this is the position of Andarkot. See Mr. Growse's *Architecture of Kashmīr*, *O. Review*, January 1872, p. 29.

He spells the name Antar-kot from *abhyantara kotta*.

<sup>3</sup> This must be the isolated hill. Aha Tung of Bates's Gazetteer, S.W. Manasbal lake, and close to Sambal. It rises about 1,000 ft. above the plain (actual height 6,290) and is visible from many distant parts of the valley. See Stein II. 422.

<sup>4</sup> This is on the Barahmūla-Srinagar road, and is two days' journey from the latter. It is not on the Jhelam (Veth) and I do not understand how Akbar got near it by boat, unless he went by a canal. He was travelling in the rainy season. Mr. Growse says that Patan or the Pass stands at the head of a small canal and that this passage is only navigable in the height of the rains. Patan is now only a large village, but is remarkable for two temples. See Stein's papers 199-200. Growse and Lawrence 175. I presume that by the word *shahr* A. F. means Srinagar, but possibly Patan is meant, for it seems strange that they should have been sent back with presents to Srinagar when Akbar might have made his donations when he was passing through the city. Perhaps, however, they were sent to look after 'Azdu-d-daulah.

<sup>5</sup> There is a variant here, and per-



on by land. On this day he sent the Maliku-sh-sh'ara S. Faizī, and Mir Sharif Amulī to the city with a large sum of money in order that they might distribute it to the emancipated ones who had chosen retirement and those who were silently needy, and to others who wished for help.

One of the occurrences was the coming of Y'aqūb K. Kashmīrī to the sublime court. He had suffered the retribution of his presumption and rebelliousness, and was spending his time in consternation among the defiles of Kishtwāra.<sup>1</sup> He had been greatly alarmed by the arrival of the great army, thinking that the landholders (of Kishtwāra) might seize him and deliver him up. Some of his bewilderment was removed when his brother came and announced to him the good news of pardon, and he betook himself to submissiveness. He saw no salvation for himself except by coming to pay his respects. But as he was greatly disturbed on account of his previous conduct, he presented a petition through M. Yūsuf K. "On account of the intoxication of youth, and intimacy with wicked men, what had occurred, had occurred. Now the whirlpool of repentance had taken possession of him. His prayer now was that H.M. would send him his special slipper so that he might place it on the crown of his head, and prostrate himself at the holy threshold." The gracious sovereign accepted his apology, and granted him his desire. The distressed one hastily came on receipt of this kindness. On 18 Amardād, the desire of his soul was gratified.

After three (days) hālts, H.M. resumed his march. He travelled  $3\frac{1}{2}$  kos, 60 poles, and encamped near Naupāra.<sup>2</sup> In that country there are porters who carry immense burdens, and traverse hills, as if they were plains. These men transported much baggage. It was

haps the meaning of it is that Akbar disembarked and made arrangements for journeying by land without actually doing so.

It was on the *wudur* or table-land near Patan that Abu-l-Māālī was defeated by Ghāzī Cak in the fifth year of Akbar's reign. A. N. II. 102.

<sup>1</sup> Kishtwār town is called Kasta-wār by the Kashmīrīs. (Bates).

<sup>2</sup> I have not found the place. There is a village called Nagpathar w. Patan, but it is too near the latter place. Perhaps it is the Nūr-pūr between Barahmula and Patan mentioned in A. N. II. 102. Or it may be the Tapor of the maps, for in Persian writing n. and t. only differ by a dot.





a wonderful sight. H.M. set out next day at dawn, and having travelled 2 *kos*, 20 poles, he encamped at Bārahmūla. This is the gate of Kashmir. On one side there is a sky-touching hill, and on the other the Bihat tumultuously rushes towards India. Between the two there is a narrow path. Since a long time, the rulers have made a gate<sup>1</sup> there, and the guards admit no one without a passport. On this day Zain K. Koka arrived from Pakli and did homage. H.M. sent him forward in order that he might make strong a bridge over the Indus. The army was divided into eight portions. Some special troops were told off to follow the royal stirrup. The other seven<sup>2</sup> were arranged according to the watch of each day, and all the zealous men were put in charge of them so that each division might have its round of service. On the 23rd H.M. left the Bihat, and encamped after travelling  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a *kos*, plus 20 poles. On this day Mir 'Arif<sup>3</sup> Ardabili did homage. He had a large share of intelligence, and was also distinguished for his austerities. Some years ago, he had, on account of the chatter of the envious, hurried off from Lahore to Kashmir. 'Alī K. the ruler had treated him with respect, and made him his son-in-law. Envious people represented that he was aiming at sovereignty, and was plotting to cut off the ruler when the latter 558 should come to visit him. The Mir on account of men's improper behaviour, and his ill luck, fled at night to the wilds. He was caught on the road, brought in, and abused. Thence he went to Tibet. 'Alī Rai<sup>4</sup> the ruler there gave him his sister in marriage. When the ambassadors went off to Tibet, an order was given that they should bring the Mir. As he had secretly a desire for discipleship, he eagerly set off, although the ruler did not grant him leave, and his friends and allies terrified him. He was received with princely favours. After one day H.M. travelled 3 *kos*, 20 bambus and halted near Khānpūr.<sup>5</sup> Here news was received that on the 24th Khwāja

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stein saw the remains of the Drāṅg or watch-tower in 1892. Here, apparently, was the stone gate through which Hsien Tsiang passed.

<sup>2</sup> See B. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Badayūnī III. 59 has a long notice of him. He was a grandson

of Ism'ail Ṣafavī, and so was styled Ardabili. It was Makhdumu-l-Mulk who drove him from Lahore.

<sup>4</sup> Zād in text, but the variant Rai seems preferable.

<sup>5</sup> This can hardly be the Kani-sapura or Kanpur of Growse p. 28, for that is above Bārāhmūla. There





Sandal<sup>1</sup> had died. As this famous pigeon-fancier had fallen ill, he had been sent on before. On the way he took the final journey.

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Aẓdu-d-daulah. He had been left behind in the city on account of illness. Ḥakīm<sup>2</sup> 'Alī did not treat him properly, and H.M. sent Ḥakīm Ḥasan to cure him. The latter reached the august camp, and it was made known that 'Aẓdu-d-daulah had turned away his heart from this inn of 3-5 days' duration. H.M. grieved at the departure of this memorial of former sages. He often said that the Mīr was his vakīl, philosopher, physician, and astronomer, and that no one could understand the amount of his grief for him. "Had he fallen into the hands of the Franks, and they had demanded all my treasures in exchange for him, I should gladly have entered upon such profitable traffic, and have bought that precious jewel cheap."<sup>3</sup> This bewildered one of the assembly of existence (A. F.) knows that he had completely plundered the caravan of learning's schools. The meeting with this spiritually great man worked a revolution in my ideas. Together with all this stock of knowledge, he was a rare jewel of truth and uprightness and practical skill. An order was given that his body should be removed from the *khānqā*<sup>4</sup> of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and conveyed to the top of the Koh-i-Sulaimān, which is a delightful spot.

Next day he marched 4 *kos*, 60 poles, and alighted at the village of Kānpālā<sup>5</sup> (?). It snowed for most of the way up to this place.

is a Kānpūr marked on Stein's map a little below Bārahmūla.

<sup>1</sup> See B. 302 where he is called Khwājah Qandal Cheleh. See also A. N. *infra*, p. 559, from which it appears that his tomb was west of Barahmūla and near Māhipara.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥakīm 'Alī was a young man, and, according to Badayūnī III. 167, he prescribed *harīsa*, a thick pottage, with fatal effects. But in his history he says that Faṭḥ Ullah insisted on eating the pottage in spite of Ḥakīm 'Alī's remonstrances. See B. 33 n.

<sup>3</sup> Is this a reminiscence of con-

versations with Acquaviva and an allusion to St. Matthew xiii. 46?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 34. A picture of his shrine and its surroundings forms the frontispiece to Lawrence's work. See also p. 292 *id.*, and Bates' Gazetteer 361. Saiyid 'Alī is the great saint of the valley, and is said to have been the chief agent in converting the inhabitants. See J. II. 355 and n. 4 and ed. 392 and n. 6. He belonged to the last quarter of the 14th century.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the Kānelwār of Bates, as there is the variant Kānela. Kānelwār is the *tahsīl* station of Dacīnpāra.



On each side there is a lofty mountain. The one on the right, in returning, was bare of trees; the other was full of cypresses and pines, though the distance between these two peaks was very small. At dawn he started again and marched  $3\frac{3}{4}$  kos, 60 poles and halted near Pāhūnār<sup>1</sup> a dependency of Dajan Khārū.<sup>2</sup> In going from Bārahmūla up to the river Kishan Gang the country on the right hand is called Dajanpārā, and that on the left is called Khārū. Next day he traversed Kūarmast<sup>3</sup> 'which is the most difficult pass on this route, and halted at the village of Māhipara.<sup>4</sup> He traversed  $3\frac{1}{4}$  kos, 89 poles. 559 Sometimes he ascended from the depths up to the sky. In going through the pass H.M. drew rein for a while at the grave (*turbat*) of Khwāja Šandal and mourned by throwing down<sup>5</sup> food as is the rule of pigeon-fanciers. On this day people could not keep up with him, and so he was obliged to halt. Meanwhile Mīr Abū-l-qāsim Tamkīn<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I think this must be Bhaniyār on right bank of Harpatkai river at its junction with the Jhelam. It is east of Urī and is famous for its temple. But it is on the left bank of the Jhelam.

<sup>2</sup> Dajan دجان is a clerical error for Dacan and the compound word Dajankhārū appears to be a mistake for Dacan-khāwar, i.e. right and left. See J. II. 359, n. 2, who says: "On the Bihat river, below Bārahmūla, the subdivision of Dachin lies to the north, and that of Kāwar to the south of the stream." Upon the meaning of Dacan or Daksina see Stein, J.A.S.B. for 1899, p. 170, n.

<sup>3</sup> The Kokararmast of Elphinstone's map. I.O. MS. 236 has Mast-Kūār. Jahāngīr entered Kaghmīr by the Pakhlī route in the 15th year of his reign, and gives an itinerary. He mentions Kūarmast or Kūarmat كوارمت Tūzuk 294, and describes it as the hardest of all the passes on the road, and also as the last on the

way to Kaghmīr. After crossing it he came to the village of Yaca.\* The next stage was the village of Baltār. Stein, J.A.S.B. for 1899, Extra No. 2, pp. 82-87, should be consulted about the Pakhlī or Jhelam route.

<sup>4</sup> It is Paipara in I.O. MS. 236.

<sup>5</sup> Such seems to be the meaning of the text which has بالقاء آبى *ba ilqāi āsh*. But the reading is doubtful. I.O. MS. 236 has *ba adāi āsh-i-palk* and No. 23 has *ashk* "tears"; *palk* means the eyelids, and possibly the meaning is that Akbar shed tears. But *pulk* means kidneys, and perhaps *āsh pulk* may mean kidney-soup. All the MSS. seem to have *adai* and not *ilqāi*, and *adar* would agree better with weeping than *ilqāi*. *Ashkī* "the weeper" was the name of one of Akbar's famous pigeons. B. 299.

<sup>6</sup> So in text, but Namakīn is the true reading. It was a nickname given him because he presented

\* Perhaps the final letter is a D and the place is the Datchī of the maps.



came from Swād and did homage. He brought with him Kālū Afghān, who had fled and had been at the bottom of the disturbance of the Yūsufzai. When the victorious troops surrounded that hill country, and the position of the recalcitrants became difficult, every section of them took refuge with one of the officers. This evil-doer made the Mir the means of his deliverance. H.M. sent this man who was worthy of death to the school of the prison. At dawn he resumed his march, and after travelling  $4\frac{1}{4}$  kos, 26 poles through defiles he halted near Buliās.<sup>1</sup> This is the end of the country of Kashmīr and the beginning of the territory of Mastang.<sup>2</sup> This name is applied to the country from Buliās to the Kishen Gang. S. Ism'ail, in whose sanctity the Yūsufzai tribe believe, and to whom they impute miracles, came and did homage. Perhaps the sins of the tribe might be forgiven by his intercession! On this day a large sum was made over to Mir 'Arif Ardabīlī in order that he might send it to the indigent in Tibet. Ḥakīm Abū-l-faṭḥ suffered from diarrhoea and was in great pain. H.M. cast the shadow of his graciousness over him, and comforted him. Next morning he again marched and travelled four kos, passing through the Būliās pass and encamping near Naupara.<sup>3</sup> The road was almost unparalleled for difficulty, narrowness, and heights and hollows. On this day he went to the Ḥakīm's quarters and encouraged him. Next day he travelled 4 kos, 10 poles and encamped near Barka<sup>4</sup> (?). Sultān Ḥusain<sup>5</sup> Pakliwāl came forward with presents, and was received with favour. On 1 Shahrīywar, Divine month, 11 August 1589, he crossed the Kishen Gang by a bridge, and after travelling  $3\frac{1}{4}$  kos, 82 poles encamped near Sikrī.<sup>6</sup>

Akbar with a plate and cup made out of rock-salt. B. 470.

<sup>1</sup> The Peliāsa of the maps. Stein 86 calls it Būliāsa and identifies it with the ancient Bolyāsaka. It is six marches from Abbottabad. See also Tūzuk 292.

<sup>2</sup> Variant Pushang. There are both a Pushang and a Mastang east of Qandahar, J. II. 396, but neither can be the country here spoken of. I.O. MS. 236 appears to have Hainak here and Shāhbang lower down. B.M.

Add. MS. 27,247 has *Sungu Saha-sak*?

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the Naoshera of Stein's map, west of Būliāsa and near Dopatta.

<sup>4</sup> I.O. MS. 236 Parka.

<sup>5</sup> B. 454 and 501. He was descended from Timūr's Qārīlāqs. He is mentioned in the Tāzuk, p. 290. When Jahāngīr saw him (in 1619) he was 70 years old.

<sup>6</sup> I.O. MS. 236 Sank ī. Add. 27,247 B.M. MS. has Sikrī.





It is a fine river with clear and wholesome and very cold water. It rushes down from the foot of Tibet. The country from this stream to the Pakli river (the Sirān) is called Mastang.<sup>1</sup> Up to this point H.M. had followed the river Bihat. Next day a formidable pass,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  kos long, was traversed, and the encampment was made near the Nain Sukh<sup>2</sup> river. This was not inferior to the previous river in the sweetness and wholesomeness of its waters. Some thought it to be superior. Qāsim K. was sent on to look after the bridging of the Indus. After one day H.M. passed the defiles of Batrās.<sup>3</sup> He travelled 5 kos, 30 poles and encamped near Gahī, a dependency of Pakli. Here a plain became visible, and provisions after being very dear were now cheap. Sultān Husain prayed that his house might be illuminated by the advent of H.M., and his request was graciously granted. Next day  $4\frac{1}{4}$  kos, 80 poles were traversed, and a halt was made near Dādhāl.<sup>4</sup> Next day 3 kos, 90 poles were traversed, and the encampment was at Garhasa. Shahrukh, the landowner of Damtūr,<sup>5</sup> 560 came and did homage. As the Hakīm was in much pain, a halt was ordered. On the night of 7th Shahriyār, Divine month, 18th August, 1589, that adorning of the garden of acuteness, farsighted, awakened-hearted, and wise-brained one, expired. He stepped aside from this place of trouble. He retained his senses to the last, and the commotion of death did not terrify him. How shall I describe the grief which the holy heart felt at this calamity! Though the grief of great and small may be comprehended, how can the state of that appreciative one of the banquet of enlightenment be understood! There were combined in the deceased loyalty, tact, benevolence, eloquence, good looks, dignity, God-given gravity, innate kindness, and profound wisdom. In accordance with orders, Khwāja

<sup>1</sup> Shahbang in I.O. MS. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Jahāngir, Tūzuk 291, says it was Maḥmūd of Ghaznī who called this river Nain Sukh, "The delight of the eyes." It is also known as the Kunhār. See Panjab Gazetteer, Hazāra district, and Elliot VI. 372 and I.S. VIII. 365.

<sup>3</sup> Sirās or Tirās in B.M. Add. 26,247. Name omitted in I.O. MS.

236. Perhaps it is the Batrassigālī west of Garhi Ḥabībullah of the Hazāra Gazetteer, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Dodyal, 25 miles from Abbottabad.

<sup>5</sup> B. 524 and Tūzuk 290. Damtūr or Dhantūr, the Dhamtaur of the map, lies on the right bank of the Dor near Naushahrah. It is some five miles east of Abbottabad.



Shamsu-d-dīn and a number of others conveyed his body to Hasan<sup>1</sup> Abdāl and committed it to earth under a dome which the Khwāja had made. I, Abul Faḡl, the writer of the book of fortune, had thought that I had emerged from the thornbrake of restlessness and had chosen the pleasant abode of contentment and tranquillity. On that<sup>2</sup> day the veil was withdrawn, and I nearly fell into the turmoil of agitation. He (Abu-l-Faḡh) acquired eternal bliss and yielded up a borrowed life at the feet of his master. I hope that all his servants, whether far or near, may surrender their brief lives in his presence. The king of poets, S. Faizī, wrote an elegy about Aẓdu-d-daulah and the Ḥakīm. I give some verses from it and so empty my heart.

(Here follow Faizī's verses, 200 lines. The five lines quoted by Badayūni, Lowe 382, are not among them. Apparently Faizī wrote two poems, one about Faḡhullah only, and one about him and Abū l-Faḡh.)

564 Next day he travelled  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kos,<sup>3</sup> 8 poles—the road being very

<sup>1</sup> See Elliot VI. 311 and note, which states that the tomb still exists.

<sup>2</sup> The passage is obscure, but I think A. F. means that the loss of his friend nearly deprived him of the power of self-restraint. It withdrew the veil over action or conduct, i.e. laid bare his inmost feelings. Cf. the translation at p. 660 of the *Darbār Akbarī*. It has helped me to understand the passage. Faizī's verses were evidently inserted at a subsequent recension of the *Akbarnama* for they do not occur in B.M. Add. 27,247. There we have instead a few lines from Niẓāmī. In that MS., the date of Abdul Faḡh's death is given as 19 Shawāl, after two watches of the day had passed. The corresponding A.D. date would be 21st August, 1589. In MS. B.M. 27,247 the wording of A. F.'s reflections is somewhat different. The words there are: "An rūz parda-i-kār az rūt-i-ao

*bar khāsta nazdik būd ke ba khāristān-  
 gūrai jazā khud kashān rafta.*" "On that day the veil was removed, and I was nearly falling out with external things." A. F.'s remark about Abul Faḡh's not being really a subject of regret is paralleled by the concluding lines of Faizī's ode. This poem is finer than that on Kashmīr and shows real feeling. In the first book of A. F.'s letters, p. 43 of the Newal Kishore edition, there is a letter of Akbar to Ḥakīm Hamām, telling him of his brother's death. It is dated from the bank of the Indus, 28th Shawwāl 997 (30th August, 1589). It gives the date of the death as the day of Murdād 7th Shahrīyūr 34th year (night of Thursday 19th Shawwāl 997).

<sup>3</sup> The variant 88 poles is supported by I.O. MS. 236. This omits the quarter kos and makes the stage  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kos, 88 poles.



narrow and full of streams—and encamped at Dahakārī.<sup>1</sup> Next day he started at dawn and travelled  $3\frac{3}{4}$  kos, 80 poles and halted between Khorā<sup>2</sup> and Mānikyāla,<sup>3</sup> which is a seat of the Dilazāks. Next day he travelled  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kos and halted near Sherkhān. Next morning he travelled 4 kos and halted near the Serai of Saiyid Pīr Sabz.<sup>4</sup> Here M. Yūsuf K. took leave and returned to Kashmīr. Next day he passed Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl and halted near the serai of Zainu d-dīn 'Alī. On that day he travelled  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kos, 50 poles. Next morning he crossed the river Tarābardī,<sup>5</sup> and passed the serai of Bahādur and halted. The march was  $3\frac{3}{4}$  kos. On 14th Shahrīūr, 24th August 1589, 565 he travelled  $4\frac{1}{2}$  kos and encamped by the river Indus near Atak-Benares. From Srīnagar to this place is 96 kos, 77 poles. Here Zain K. Koka, Qāsim K. and Shāhbāz K. had the felicity of doing homage. Next day Prince Sultān Murād came with the ladies<sup>6</sup> and did homage. Rāi Rāi Singh and many others paid their respects. On the 16th Sādiq K. did homage. He had according to orders hastened to the Presence. He was sent off to chastise the Afghans, and he came to Swāt by the pass of Malkand. Shāh Beg K., Shāhim K., Jānish Bahādur, Aḥmad Beg, Takhta Beg, and other heroes joined him. By the power of planning and courage, the Afghans were reduced to obedience, and Swād became somewhat populated. At this time Mīr Murād, in the exercise of his duties as saẓāwal,

<sup>1</sup> Apparently it is Dastkārī in B.M. Add. MSS. 27,247. Perhaps it is the Dhamuk of Elliot VI. 308 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. MS. 27,247 has Kahwār. But khar seems the proper word.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this is Mānikyāla, famous for its Buddhist tope. See I. G. IX. It seems that it was first described by Mountstuart Elphinstone in his book on Kabul. The text has *ke aurang nishīn ast*, "Which is a capital." But Mānikyāla apparently never was a capital, and the reading of the two I.O. MSS. agrees with the B.M. MS., viz. *Dilzāl nishīn*. The Cawnpore ed. has "which is a remain of antiquity"—*ke wa gusāshī peshīn ast*

If the place be really Mānikyāla, Akbar must have gone a good deal out of his way, for Mānikyāla lies considerably to the east.

<sup>4</sup> The text omits the words Pīr Sabz, but the variant gives these, and they occur in the I.O. MSS. Perhaps it is the Sawajpeer of the map, N. of Ḥasan Abdāl.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the I.O. MSS. have Aḥmadī. Perhaps however the Haroh is meant. B.M. MS. 27,247 seems to have Haro. For the Haroh see I. G.

<sup>6</sup> They had been at Rohtās, and B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 states that they came from there.





brought Shāhbāz K. to Atak Benares. Šādiq K. being apprehensive<sup>1</sup> that he would meet him, went off very quickly.

<sup>1</sup> Šādiq K. and Shāhbāz were on bad terms and so would avoid one another. But there is some confusion in the account and there are variations in the MSS. We are told here that Shāhbāz was being brought by Mīr Murād to Attock. But a little above it is mentioned that Shāhbāz had the happiness of doing homage at Attock two days before Šādiq. At p. 547 we see that Shāhbāz had been escorted to Swād by Mīr Murād. I.O. MS. 235 and the Cawnpore ed. make Shāhbāz go off quickly in order to avoid Šādiq. The text and I.O. MS. 236 make Šādiq go off quickly in order to avoid Shāhbāz. Perhaps the Shāhbāz first mentioned was not Shāhbāz Kam-bhir. There was a Shāhbāz K. who was Collector of Rewārī, III. 557, who apparently was not the Kam-bhā.

*Note.*

Paklī or Pakhlī is not mentioned in the I.G. It is called a Sarkār in the Āīn and is described at J. II. 390. This account is copied by Jahāngīr, Tūzuk 290, who entered Kashmīr by this route in the 14th year of his

reign, 1619-20. See Elliot VI. 367-73. According to Haidar Malik, it was he who suggested this route to the emperor, but it must have been well known to the Moghuls, as Akbar used it twice. Baron Hügel's statement that the Pakhlī route was not properly opened out till the 18th century, Stein 83 n., does not seem to be correct. Paklī now forms part of the Hazāra district and is frequently mentioned in the Hazāra Gazetteer. It is watered by the Sirān river. It is also shown in the curious map of Kashmīr prepared by Captain Gentil and published in Vol. III of Langlès' translation of Forster's Travels, Paris 1802. Forster travelled by Bāramūlah when leaving Kashmīr in June-July 1783. He must have followed Akbar's route for most of the way, for he too came out at Attock, but he did not go through Paklī on account of the evil reputation of the inhabitants. He went by Jiddan, which appears to be the Gudoon of the map, and is to the south of Banū. Elphinstone II. 8 speaks of the Judoon tribe as holding Dhantour, a narrow valley along the Door.



## CHAPTER CL.

### EXPEDITION TO AFGHANISTAN (ZĀBULISTĀN).

As H.M.'s holy design was to pacify that country and to cherish the old <sup>1</sup> proprietors, he on 19th Shahriyār, 31st August 1589, crossed over by the bridge which had been constructed below Attock. He marched 28 <sup>2</sup> bambus and halted near the Sarai of Khairābād. The elephant establishment, the park of Artillery, and the great camp were left in Attock. Those who were wearied with the journey, and those who loved the shade, and their homes, expected that after such troublesome journeys H.M. would not go to Kabul, and that his only design was to hunt and recreate himself on the bank of the Indus. On this day Shahbāz K. obtained leave to go to Swād. After three (days) halts he marched 3 *kos*, 25 bambus and halted near Elias-garha. News came that Husain Pakliwāl had fled. When the imperial officers made some representations about the large revenues of that territory (*Pakli*), the clown fell into evil thoughts and went off to his home on the same day that the royal standards crossed the Indus. On this account H.M. on the 23rd made over *Pakli* and its neighbourhood to Husain Beg S. Ūmari as his fief and sent him off there. By the might of fortune he prevailed over it, and that land-owner received his chastisement. On the 27th when the camp was near Gorkhatra, Shāh Beg came from Swād, and on the way had the bliss of having an audience. At his request H.M. visited Begrām which

<sup>1</sup> *Nau ākhiṭan babārī būmīān*. *Bābari* is properly *bāīrī*, and means old. It has nothing to do with *Bābur* or with the *Baūboor* tribe of *Elphinstone* II. 69. In B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 the motive given for visiting *Kabul* was to see the ancestral home.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has 1½ *kos*, 28 poles, and this is probably correct. This MS. has the advan-

tage of always giving the *Hijrī* date as well as the Persian month and day. Here it says that *Akbar* crossed over on the last day of Shawwāl (997) (31st August, 1589). It also says that the bridge was placed above Attock. The same MS., which is evidently from an earlier recension, gives the stages of the journey through the Khāibar.





was in his fief. An order was given to the writer that he should go there, and give presents to the hermits. Thousands of needy persons  
**566** received their portions, and the treasure-house of prayers was filled. On 1st Mihr, 11th September, he traversed the Khaibar and halted at Daka. Qāsim had so improved the road, which camels and horses used to traverse with difficulty, that carts passed through easily. On the 4th Karam Ullah came from Mālwa, and did homage near Khwāja Yāqūt Sarai. At the stage of Safed Sang the idea of travelling rapidly presented itself. As the time of the autumnal<sup>1</sup> colouring of Kabul was approaching, he left the great camp under the charge of Prince Murād, to come on slowly, and at the close<sup>2</sup> of the 8th, he urged on his steed. At midday he rested near Bārik Āb. On the way Ḥakīm Ḥamām came from Turān, and prostrated himself. In compassion for him H.M. said with his pearl-dropping tongue: "One brother has gone from the world for you, and for us, ten."

<sup>2</sup> Verse.

From the point of eyesight one person is less,  
From the point of wisdom, more than thousands.

When his heart had been consoled by the Shāhinshāh's help, the Ḥakīm conveyed the praise and supplications of the ruler of Turān. He (Abdullah)<sup>4</sup> represented that the taking of Herat and the conquest of Khurasan were due to the blessed influence of his devotion to

<sup>1</sup> This sentence appears in a simpler form in B.M. MS. Add. 27,247. There it is said that "As the autumn of Kabul—which is equal to the spring of other countries—was at hand," H.M. resolved to hasten on. Cf. J. II. 408 where A. F. speaks of the matchless beauty of the autumn in the Dāman-i-Koh.

<sup>2</sup> The B.M. MS. above mentioned says Akbar started at the close of the day and travelled all night and up to the middle of next day. The date given is 8th Mihr = Saturday 19th Zī-l-q'ada = 19th September. On this occasion he travelled 13½ kos, 40 bam-

bus, and reached Bārik-Āb. Before he reached Jajdalak, Ḥakīm Ḥamām met him, having come on in advance of his companions on hearing of the death of his brother. They remained in Kabul.

<sup>3</sup> These lines are also quoted by Badāyūnī, Lowe 383.

<sup>4</sup> Abdullah conquered Khurāsān in 1589. His message is somewhat differently worded in Add. 27,247. After meeting Ḥakīm Ḥamām, Akbar started again at midnight and travelled 10½ kos, 46 bambus, and reached Kabul on the day of Ābān 10th Mihr = Monday 21st Zī-l-qāda.





the world's lord. He was sending Aḥmad 'Alī Atāliq, who was one of his confidants, with gifts and compliments. He and Mīr Ṣadr Jahān were following. On this day the villagers came in crowds to perform the *kornish* and gained their wish. When half the night had passed, he renewed his journey, and on the 10th<sup>1</sup> he illuminated Kabul by his advent. On the whole way, Turks and Tājiks came forward on both sides with presents and offerings. On this day too Mīr Ṣadr Jahān paid his respects. From Attock-Benares to Kabul is 92½ *kos*, 41 poles, and they were traversed in 21 days and 18 marches. He took up his quarters in the citadel and enjoyed the gardens and the plain. He proclaimed benevolence to great and small, and every day, while he was in the city, a crowd partook of his bounty. On the 15th Prince Murād arrived with the family and household. At the end of the day he came down from the citadel and halted at the hall which had been erected near the Safed Sang. At dawn, as it was a feast day, he indulged in some splendour, and there was a daily market of giving. Aḥmad 'Alī Atāliq had an audience, and presented the letter and the choice products of his country. Ḥakīm Ḥamām represented that on 16th Āzar of the previous year a wonderful thing had happened in Turān. Up to the end of the evening there were such death-cries of birds that even the loveless hearts of hunters were pained. At dawn there were seen in every field near Bukhāra, ducks, swans, geese, 567 storks, etc., lying dead or wounded or with broken breasts and scattered feathers. Likewise on the banks of Lake Kūrāk many thousand animals were lying dead, and persons who came from the Oxus and its neighbourhood made similar reports. Crowds of men with carts, camels and horses, carried off loads of them to their houses, and for six months ate their flesh, and supplied lamps with their fat. The Turānīān ambassador represented that 'Abdullah K. had assembled able men and made enquiries. As there was no ice or snow, they were unable to give any explanation. Some said it appeared that an army of owls must have passed by. Others suggested that it was a hunting animal called a Ṣadāiq.<sup>2</sup> It was not improbable that such destruction of life had been caused by it. It had no equal

<sup>1</sup> The T. Akbarī has 22 Zī-l-q'aada (3rd October). A. F. has 10th Mihr (corresponding to 21st September).

<sup>2</sup> صدایق. Not in dictionary. I.O. MSS. have *badāiq* or *padāiq*. Apparently, a fabulous bird.



among birds for strength. They also mentioned that one of the birds was wearied out with flying and was panting. A chief huntsman went up to it and bound it with a cuirass (*bandizarah*). When the bird had rested, it removed the bands and flew off, and disappeared from sight. After a while the cuirass fell to the ground on the plain.

On the 17th H.M. went to the Jahān Ārā garden, and he also had some sport in hunting. Next day, at dawn, he went to see the houses of the Aimāqs. Every one of them was gratified with money and goods.

On the 21st he marched from the Safed Sang plain, and halted at Khwāja Ḥasan's garden, which was distinguished for space and delightsomeness. M. Sanjar, M. Bāshī, Shādmān, and other Hazāra leaders, who seldom came to the city, visited the court and by the favours conferred on them emerged from their *shyness*.

One of the occurrences was the giving leave to Rajah Todar Mal to betake himself to the fields of freedom, and then his being recalled. On this day a petition came from him to the effect that old age and sickness had prevailed over him, and that apparently he was near his end. He prayed for permission to resign in order that he might go to the bank of the Ganges, and spend his last breaths in remembering God. H. M. in accordance with his request sent an order and expressed the hope that his spirit might obtain relief by this means. Afterwards admonitions were sent to the effect that no worship of God was equal to the soothing of the oppressed, and that it would be better for him to give up his idea (of retirement) and to spend his last breath in serving man, and to make that the provision for his final journey. On the 25th Qāzī 'Abdu-s-Sammī' came from Lahore and paid his respects. On 2nd Ābān H.M. was weighed against twelve articles, and small and great obtained their desires. Next day he went to the Shāhr-ārā garden and from there he went to the cemetery (*guzargāh*) and visited the tomb of Firdūs Makānī. He also grieved over the tombs of M. Hindāl and M. Ḥakīm who sleep near at hand. He  
 568 ordered Qāsim K. to make a beautiful garden there. He rejoiced the inhabitants of that place by many gifts. On the 9th he enjoyed the variegated hues of autumn at Māmā Khātūn and spent some time in enjoyment at the garden of Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain.





One occurrence was the arrival of Miriām Makānī. As her desire to behold H.M. made her uneasy, she set off for Kashmir, and Gulbadan Begam and many other ladies accompanied her. Hearing that H.M. had gone to Kabul, they followed him there. In accordance with his excellent rule, he first sent Prince Daniel and some officers (to meet her) and afterwards Prince Murād, and finally the Prince Royal Sultan Salim.

On the 13th he himself received her near Begrām (the Kabul Begrām), and on the same day conveyed them to special quarters. There was a choice feast.

One of the occurrences was the expedition of Burhān-ul-Mulk to the Deccan and his returning unsuccessful. When the Shāhin-shāh's order reached Khān Ā'zim M. Koka, he prepared to accompany Burhān with a chosen army. As the latter had evil thoughts in his head he declined this. He said that the Deccanis would not join him on account of his having a large force, and that the presence of an army would make an easy matter difficult. Accordingly, he only took with him Caghatāi K., Canda K., and a few others with 1000 horse and 300 musketeers. He came to Birār by the route of Kālī Bhīt. He left Elichpūr on right and hastened on to Dānāpūr. Jahāngīr K. thānadār and some others came to him with fawning words, but their companions did not do so, and gave battle. There was a slight engagement. Suddenly, a bullet reached Caghatāi K. and he was killed. Canda was wounded and made prisoner. Burhān received the retribution of his evil thoughts, and returned unsuccessful to Mālwa.

One occurrence was the birth<sup>2</sup> of Sultan Parviz. On 19th Ābān after 9½ hours he was born in the apartment of Prince Selim by the daughter of Khwāja Hasan, the paternal uncle of Zain Kokaltāsh. There was great rejoicing.

N. Kabul. See A.N.I. 597, n. 2 (translation).

<sup>2</sup> The birth took place in Kabul. Cf. Tūzūk J.8. The mother's title was Sāhib Jamāl (Mistress of Beauty).



(Verse.)

569 The world's lord gave the above name to this bright star.  
It is hoped that he will live and be exalted by being cherished  
by the Shahinshah.

On the 25th Mullā Talib-Mihtar Yārī and M. Beg came back  
from Tibet and had an audience. They brought an envoy (*wakhshūr*)  
from there together with presents.

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## CHAPTER CII.

RETURN OF THE AUGUST STANDARDS OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH FROM  
KABUL.

H.M. enjoyed himself in Kabul and gave pleasure to small and great. His idea was that the active young men should behold the spectacle of the falling of snow, and should tread the ice, and that the natives of India might enjoy this. But as his might had confused the people of Turān, and had awakened them from the sleep of repose, he had compassion on them and resolved to go to India. He marched on 4th <sup>1</sup> Āzār (November), and camped at Safed Sang. On the way it appeared that a base fellow had dishonoured a peasant's daughter and so he was capitally punished. Sharīf K., <sup>2</sup> the son of M. 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad the calligrapher (*Shīrīnqalm*), had been in the plot with him, and was also punished. This was a lesson to those who are apt to go astray. On this day Qāsim was appointed governor of Kabul. On the 10th he encamped near Begrām. It was reported to him that Raja Todar Mal had died on 28th Ābān (8th November, 1589). His life had passed in loyalty and pru-

<sup>1</sup> The T. A. Elliot, V. 458, states that Akbar arrived in the city of Kabul on 22 Zīl-q'aada 997 (3rd October, 1589) and that he stayed there two months. It adds that he left on 8 Muḥarram, but as this would make his stay only 1½ months, 8 is probably a mistake for 20, which appears in the Newal Kishore ed. 20th Muḥarram 998 corresponds to 19th November 1588. A.F. says Akbar left the city on 4th Āzār, which corresponds to 14th or 15th November, but on that day he only went to Safed Sang, in the environs. On the 10th Āzār or 21st November he went to Begrām.

<sup>2</sup> Sharīf was a great friend of Jahāngīr's. See B.517 and Price's Jahāngīr's Memoirs, 18; also the Tūzūk, Rogers' translation, p. 14, etc. The story is more fully told in the Iqbāl-nāma, which says that on the march a man came and complained that a camp follower had dishonoured his daughter. An inquiry was held, and the man was executed. Sharīf, who was the cause of the crime, was beaten with the hand (?), and put in prison. He became Amīr-ul-Umarā under Jahāngīr.



dence. When the order giving him leave arrived, he went towards Hardwār with a sound mind and a distressed body. The order of recall reached him at the pond he had made near Lahore. As he considered disobedience to H.M. displeasing to God, he returned, and died on the eleventh day (of Muḥarram) afterwards. He was the unique of the Age for uprightness, straightforwardness, courage, knowledge of affairs, and the administration of India. If he had not had bigotry, conventionalism, and spite (*kīnatcī*), and had not stuck <sup>1</sup> to his own opinions, he would have been one of the spiritually great. A wound was given to disinterested work (by his death), and the market of business lost its briskness. I grant that an honest man (*dīānatwār*) might be found, though he would be a fellow-nestling with the phoenix (*‘anqā*), but by what charm or talisman could he acquire the influence (*‘itīmād*) which is so seldom given to mortals? <sup>2</sup>

On the 13th the great tent was erected on the camp. On the way there was ice on the ground, and H.M. trod upon it. Many  
 570 active young men followed him. As it appeared that there was little wood in front, H.M. ordered that high and low should gather sticks. All obeyed the order, and with excellent results.<sup>3</sup>

On this day <sup>4</sup> the Khan-Khānan (Bairām's son ‘Abdu-r-Raḥīm) produced before the august Presence the Memoirs of Firdūs Makānī (Bābur) which he had rendered into Persian out of the Turkī, and received great praise.

<sup>1</sup> *Bar gufta khud natanīda*.—Literally, "had not twisted things to his own speech."

<sup>2</sup> A. F.'s character of Todar Mal should be compared with B. 32 note, and 351, with the Maasiru-l-Umarā II. 123, and the Darbār Akbarī 519. The Maasir, p. 127 i.e., says Aurangzib stated that he had heard from his father that Akbar admired Todar Mal's abilities, but objected to his self-confidence. Shah Jahan also stated that A.F. disliked Todar Mal, and tried to injure him. Badayūnī's amusing verses about Todar Mal's

death have been well translated by Mr. Lowe, p. 383.

<sup>3</sup> It appears from Mrs. Rijnhart's book on Tibet that it is a practice with the Tibetans to pick up firewood on the march, and put it into their gowns.

<sup>4</sup> 13th Āzar would be about 24th November, 1589, or 25th Muharam, 998. For a discussion of the question of who translated Bābur's Memoirs see Asiatic Quarterly, July and October, 1900. The Darbār Akbarī 642 ridicules the idea that Abdu-r-Raḥīm personally translated the Memoirs.





On the 15th, at Bārīk Āb, news came that Rajah Bhagwant Dās had died. H.M., from his being the sovereign of the social world, was somewhat grieved at this. The Rajah had been at the cremation of Rajah Todar Mal, and when he returned to his house, he vomited and had an attack of strangury. After five days he departed from this world on 3rd Āzar (13th or 14th November, 1589). He was endowed with uprightness, weight of counsel, and courage. His son<sup>1</sup> Kuar Mān Singh received the title of Rajah and the rank of 5,000. It appears that H.M. had an intimation of the approaching ends of those two officers. When he went on expeditions he (as a rule) did not leave more than two high officers in the capital, and he had arranged that Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Rajah Todar Mal should be in the capital of Lahore. On the very day of the march, Qulij K. was also sent off. On this day the mystery<sup>2</sup> was made plain.

One of the occurrences was the holding of a *qamargha* hunt in the plain of Arzana<sup>3</sup> (?). When the victorious standards reached Gandamak, the thought of the chase occurred to H.M. An order was given that the officers should arrange the stations. Next day he passed from the Bāgh Wafā and came to Kūshkul (?). By the route of Pātāq he passed by the desert-dwelling Arabs,<sup>4</sup> and to every one of them were money and goods distributed. From there he came to the village of Bihār, which was inhabited in the time of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, and he ordered that it should be revived, and that a fort should be made there. He gave it the name of *Shahbāz* (variant *Sahā*). On this day *Shāh Beg K.* arrived from Swād and was graciously received. On the 19th, N'īamat K. died. He had the title of Mullā Mīr<sup>5</sup> and led a good life. On account of

<sup>1</sup> That is, the adopted son. It appears from the *Iqbāl-nāma* that he was really Bhagwān's brother's son.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to p. 537 where we are told that Qulij K. was put in charge of Lahore along with the two Rajahs. This was contrary to the usual practice of only leaving two officers in charge, and the change is attributed by A. F. to Akbar's premonition that they would die.

<sup>3</sup> There are several names of places in this paragraph which I cannot identify. Gandamak of course is well known.

<sup>4</sup> The 'Arab (عرب) is mentioned as a wild tribe in Afghanistan, J. II. 403.

<sup>5</sup> B. 542. He was a physician, and belonged to Herat.





his intelligence he held the high office of Bakāwal Begī (superintendent of kitchen).

Also during this year Mādhū Singh was sent off in order that he might assist Qulīj K. in administrative and financial matters. Next day H.M. encamped near Walid (?). On the way he enjoyed himself in the Bāgh Šafā garden. Next day he halted. Khawāja Shamsu-d-dīn was raised to the office of Dīwān, and so had new honour conferred on him. All the officers were sent off in order that they might go to their stations and properly guard them. On one side was Nimla,<sup>1</sup> and on the other side Daka,<sup>2</sup> which is  
571 a distance of twelve kos. And the beasts were driven from the mountains to the plain of Arzana. When the enclosures (*jirgahā*) had been completed, H.M., along with the princes and some intimates, enjoyed the pleasure of hunting on the 27th (Āzar = 6th or 7th December). The sport was excellently carried out. On 1st Dai he reached Jalālābād. On the way he visited the Lamghānāt. He passed from the tūmān of Sandaur to Mas'ūdābād.

One of the occurrences was a supplication from Muḥammad Zamān. When 'Abdullah K. seized Kulāb, Shahrukh's son, who was so called, was made prisoner, and died in confinement. At this time a pretender (*dastānfarošhī*) gave himself out in Qarātagīn as Muḥammad Zamān.<sup>3</sup> He represented that Khawāja Kilān Khawāja, the son of Khawāja Jūibārī,<sup>4</sup> out of kindness to the exalted family, saved him from those who hunted after his life. Another youth had died

<sup>1</sup> Marked on the maps as Neemla, east of Gandamak. There is, or was, a garden here. "From Kuju we passed through the garden of Neemla to Gundamak. This royal garden was in good order, and we halted to admire it. Cypress trees alternate with the chinār or plane; all of them reaching to the height of 100 feet, and, as the Persian verse has it, "holding each other by the hand and rivalling each other in beauty." Burnes' Cabool, 1842, p. 125. A Nimlah is mentioned, B. 57, as a place from which rice was obtained.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently, the hunting-ground was north of the Kabul river. That river would form one side of the enclosure, and perhaps the Surkh Āb would be another.

<sup>3</sup> See Badayūnī, Lowe, 366 and B. 313, 380. The man was an impostor, and ended by murdering Qāsim K. See Maqṣirū-l-Umarā III. 65 and A. N. III. 576 and 652.

<sup>4</sup> The Jūibārī Khawājas according to M. Schefer form one of the two branches of the Khawājās. See Ney Elias' Khojas, J.A.S.B. for 1897, Supplement.

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in his place. In that hill-country a commotion arose, and Kūlāb and many other places became involved in it. Mahmūd Sulṭān got ready an army and came to do battle, but was wounded and put to flight. Allah Dād Beg and Nūram Beg were killed. On the 2nd his petition arrived, accompanied by the heads (of the abovenamed two persons). After humble and supplicating expressions it stated that when he had been delivered from the place of danger by the goodness of the Khawāja Kīlān Khawāja he had come to India, and had, after the manner of the liberated, brightened his forehead by prostration at the holy threshold. As he had sworn to the Khawāja that he would not reveal his identity during the latter's lifetime, he had not told his adventures to H.M., but had gone to the Hijāz. Now he had come home and was making war on the Ūzbegs, and was wielding the sword of the world's lord. If H.M. would help him, he could easily sit on his throne. Though the story did not appear to the Shāhīnshāh to be true, he made the envoys hopeful and said, "I have made a treaty of concord with the ruler of Turān, and my greatness does not allow of my fighting him; it will be better for you to come to court." He then dismissed the envoys with favours, and sent some money and goods along with them, and was the means of his (M. Zamān) prosperity.

On the 9th he encamped near Allah Baqā. Qāzī 'Alī, who had been put in prison at the instigation of Rajah Todar Mal, was released. Though he was unique<sup>1</sup> for honesty, yet he had failed on account of the high fortune of his enemies. When his helplessness was made clear, H.M. showed him favour. On the 12th he encamped at Bārik Āb at the Khawāja Yāqūt Serai.

An occurrence was the bestowal of the Vakilship on the Khān-Khānān. As ability and disinterestedness shone on his forehead, he was, on the 13th, raised to this post and Jaunpūr was made his fief. Gujarat was taken from him and given to the Khān A'ẓīm,<sup>2</sup> from whom Mālwa was taken and given to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad. On 572 the 15th a daughter was born in Lahore to Prince Salīm by the

<sup>1</sup> But see Badayūnī, Lowe, 364. The Iqbāl-nāma speaks of him under the 35th year and says he hailed from Mashhad. B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 calls him s. Mullā Qutbū-d-dīn Jalgū.

<sup>2</sup> Badayūnī says he spitefully laid Mālwa waste when it was taken from him.



daughter of Dariyā Malbhās.<sup>1</sup> H.M. gave her the name of Daulat Nisā.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. met with an accident and was hurt. On the 18th the camp was at Daka, and while hunting, a hyena came in sight. In that stony place H.M. rode after it. His horse stumbled<sup>2</sup> (?) and he fell from his saddle, and his face struck the stones. High and low received heart-breaking wounds. The lion-hearted one, by God's aid, summoned up strength, and bound up the wounds. The spectators were nearly dying, but H.M. comforted them by encouraging words. Ḥakīm 'Alī of Gilān plastered the wounds with oil which he had got from Indian physicians, and on the same day there was an improvement. The grandees were of opinion that he should stay where he was for some days, but he wisely went on. He was carried in a litter. My elder brother S. Abu Faiẓī made the following verse on the calamity:—

(Here follow 22 lines of verse.)

It was remarked that nine days before this, Narain Miṣr<sup>3</sup> had died in Attock, and Bhīm Nāth in Jalālābad. These two physicians were celebrated throughout India. Casters of omens at court were delighted, regarding the fact as an evidence that H.M. would have  
**573** no more need of doctors. On the 25th he recovered, and sat in the hall of audience. He said that this accident produced a wonderful awakening, and that it occurred to him that if he was about to take the last journey, he was empty-handed. Every one's slumber is proportioned to his awakenedness. A great nature—which is the substance of spiritual and temporal supremacy—is not content save with comprehending the Creator, and thinks itself empty-handed, though in possession of the treasures of Verity. In this way the pain

<sup>1</sup> There are various readings. See B. 477 n. 2. In Price's *Jahangir*, 20, the lady's father is called Darya Komm and described as a powerful Rajah at the foot of the Lahore mountains. The child only lived seven months.

<sup>2</sup> *Basir shud*. Perhaps became exhausted. There is the variant *tand shud*, i.e. galloped off. *Basir shud*

means "came to an end, died." Here it probably means "fell on his head," i.e. stumbled. This is shown by the expression in the *Iqbāl-nāma* "*Iskandarī khūrda*, i.e. tripped.

<sup>3</sup> B. 544. Text has *Miṣr*, but the word should be *Miṣhar*, and represents a Brahman family. Bhīm is Pim in text.





of seeking after God receives its consummation, and the affliction is succeeded by eternal health. On this day Qāsim K. received leave to go to Kabul, after receiving admirable counsels. Takhta Beg received the fief of Ghaznī and was allowed leave.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Bunīr. The victorious soldiers went off to punish the Yūsafzais, but on account of the strength of the country they could not get there. At this time a petition of Shahbāz came from Swād. On 1st Bahman (11th January, 1590), when there was no intention of fighting, H.M. appeared at dawn in a dream and directed an engagement. Shahbāz obeyed and obtained a victory. The country came into possession, and many of the illfated were slain. 'Alī Muḥ. Alif delivered up his short life in good service.

On the 10th H.M. crossed the Indus by a bridge, and ordered the bakhshīs to cross over the soldiers, division by division (*cankī ba cankī*). Husain Beg S. 'Umarī came with presents from Paklī, and received favours. On this day the writer of the book of fortune became somewhat deranged and fell into great grief. News came that in Lahore on the 5th (Bahman = 15th January, 1590) the mistress of the auspicious lineage and the lady of the family of chastity, to wit, his loving mother, had departed from the unstable world to the heavenly realm.

*Verse.*

When my mother has gone beneath the earth,  
If I throw dust (*khāk*) on *my* head, what harm (*bāk*) is there?  
I know that by this increase of tumult  
Thou wilt not come whence thou hast gone.  
But what shall I do, for I am impatient.  
I deceive myself by a subterfuge.  
You ought to have packed up the goods of life and accompanied  
her on that journey. Apparently owing to my imperfection  
such was not heaven's decree, and I had to remain bewildered  
in the stony tract of impatience.

*Verse.*

Hundreds of thousands of eyes were needed for my heart's anguish  
That in solitude I might weep with each one of them.



Where was the auspicious sentiment of styling as the "restoration of a deposit" the claim for the restitution of a present, and so not becoming mad at the act of God? yet I possessed, by the power of wisdom, a magazine of advices, and I used to practise the distribution of consolation! The sympathetic sovereign cast the shadow of his favour over me, and these words issued from his pearl-laden tongue: "If (other) inhabitants of the world possessed the grace of permanency, and only one took the path of annihilation, there  
**574** would be no cure for intelligent friends in patience and resignation. But since no one remains long in this inn, why should one suffer the reproach of impatience." My heart was comforted by these cordial words,<sup>1</sup> and I undertook what was proper for the time.

On the 22nd he encamped at the Sarai of Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī, and spent two days in the pleasure of hunting. Next day he halted at Ḥasan Abdāl. He visited the grave of Abu-l-faṭḥ and gave vent to his grief. On the 24th Khwājagī Muḥammed Ḥusain left from this station to go to Kabul. On 2nd Isfandārmuz, near Kahuriya news came of the death of Rajah Gopāl Jādūn. He had been appointed

<sup>1</sup> A.F.'s father, and presumably his mother also, came to Lahore in May, 1586. She belonged to a Quraysh family and apparently was a daughter or other near relative of Mīr Raḥīmu-d-dīn Ṣafavī of Ij. Cf. B. XVI and J. III. 446. A.F. does not give her name. Blochmann quotes Akbar's remark to A. F. and puts the original in a note, probably because he did not feel quite certain of the meaning. It is certainly an obscure sentence, the difficulty lying in the expression *jiz eké*. B. renders this "only once," which seems to give no meaning. His translation, which is evidently intended to be a free rendering, is: "If the people of the world lived for ever, and did not only once die, kind friends would not be required to direct their hearts to trust in God and resignation to His Will;

but no one lives long in the caravan-serai of the world, and hence the afflicted do well to accept consolation." I conceive the meaning to be: "If permanence were the general lot, and your mother's death an exception, then there would be no means of consoling you, but since all must die, why subject yourself to the reproach of impatience?" "The M'aasur merely quotes the words II. 610 and gives no explanation, but I am glad to see that the author of the *Darbār Akbarī*, p 470, takes the same view as I do of the *jiz eké*, rendering it "*ek ke sawā*," though he renders the next clause differently, making it to mean "even then the friends would have no remedy but resignation." Possibly *jiz eké* should be *jizagi* and the meaning be "if a portion did not die."





to the charge of Ajmīr, and suddenly died in the city of Bīānā. On the 9th H.M. came to Rohtās,<sup>1</sup> and it was reported to him that Masnad i-‘Ālī Fath K. had died in Oudh. He was a very honest man. As it was the rainy season, Miriam-Makānī expressed the wish that H.M. would rest for some time in this fort. He replied that honour did not allow that he should be in comfort, and the world in trouble. On the 12th he enjoyed a *qamargha* hunt in the neighbourhood. On the 16th he crossed the Jhelam after making bridges in two<sup>2</sup> places near Rasūlpūr. On the 20th, while he was encamped near Hilān, he met with an accident, and the world was plunged into grief. It was the turn of the elephant Malūl<sup>3</sup> Rai. On account of his bad disposition and of his being mast, H.M. mounted on a female elephant, and advanced<sup>4</sup> thereon. Before he had put his foot into the kalāwa (the rope which forms the mahout's stirrup) the furious animal ran at the female. The royal rider fell to the ground (threw himself off?). Though the Divine Protector made the turbulent brute blind, and took him to the other side, yet the fall produced some insensibility in His Majesty.

*Verse.*

I went to the elephant to slay him with my sword.  
He said, "Hear first my excellent excuse :  
"I'm not the Earth-Ox that I can carry the world,  
Nor the fourth heaven that I can draw the sun."

At the time none of the devoted followers was able to be present. There was a wonderful exhibition of destiny. How could harm accrue to one who believed justly and walked wisely? There had been no impropriety that the thing could be considered as a retribution. Nor had he trod the path of negligence so that this might be taken as an awakening message. If the might of God be

<sup>1</sup> Text Rahnās.

<sup>2</sup> The making of two bridges is referred to again at p. 575, line 5. Hilān is a ferry on the Jhelam. See B. 127 and note, and also 360.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Malāl Rūi, i.e. "Sulky," is not the elephant's name, but refers to his disposition.

<sup>4</sup> *Bar farāz-i-ān barāmid*. Perhaps this means, Came on to the neck of the female elephant. It is supposed that no elephant, however *mast*, will attack a female.





considered and the instances of former saints, this apparently difficult circumstance becomes easy. It will become still easier if we consider with farseeing eyes the ups and downs of affairs. In a short time, H.M. came to himself, and by the power of God he brought the steed of his fortune into the arena. Though he had received wounds in the previous fall (that at Daka), this was more serious.

- 575 Sedition-mongers spread improper reports, and many remote parganas were plundered.<sup>1</sup> When he came to his camp, he was in great pain. Physicians assembled, and held a consultation. He did not approve of any of their remedies, and said, "Apparently, it will be good to let blood." Skilful men opened the vein of his arm, and, immediately, he obtained relief. Out of wisdom he did not halt, but crossed the Cināb by the two bridges at the passage of Bānī Kābīn. Next morning he recovered, and went on by elephant. Next day he was attacked on the road by a pain in his abdomen, and for a time his servants were distressed. He soon got well. On the 25th near Amnābād, Qulij K. and Mādhū Singh did homage. From the day that he crossed the Cināb, every day crowds of servants came and paid their respects. At this stage many had this bliss. On the 29th at two *kos* from Lahore he held an elephant review. To every one of them he gave something to eat. When the turn of one of them came, he said that it appeared that the driver was a slave.<sup>2</sup> He (the driver) did not admit the fact. The elephant refrained from eating. When an inquiry was made, and the driver admitted the fact, the beast resumed its eating.

<sup>1</sup> The Rājputs made a disturbance. See Maasir II. 607, second last line, and A. N. III. 577.

<sup>2</sup> *Ghulām*. Possibly the meaning

is that his name was *Ghulām*. The elephant was ashamed at his driver's telling a lie!





## CHAPTER CIII.

BEGINNING OF THE 35TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE  
YEAR BAHMAN OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

In that delightful plain, where he had the design of entering the city and was looking for the chosen hour, the drums of the New Year beat high, and a new joy filled the brain of the Age. Spring came with exultant face, and brought news of the happiness of the State. Though the officers were sent off to adorn the reception-hall in the city, yet that pleasant plain was also decked out.

(Verse.)

On the night of Wednesday, 14th Jamāda-al-awwal 998 (10th or 11th March 1590), after 10 hours and 57 minutes, the Lord of Lights cast his rays on the Sign Aries, and the eleventh year of the third cycle began. The world's lord gave a higher rank to justice and liberality, and the face of joy assumed new splendour. On 2nd Farwardin he entered the city. From Kabul to Lahore he traversed 196 *kos*, 28 poles, in four months less by two days, and in 53 marches. The whole expedition lasted 10 months, 14 days. He **576** sat on his throne, and prosperity unveiled her countenance. A new day was added to the New Year's day, and a new Spring to the Spring. Every day, a grandee presided at a feast, and there was various joy. On the 10th M. Yūsuf came from Kashmir, and paid his respects.

One of the occurrences was that Muḥammad Zamān gained a victory over 'Abdu-l-Mūmin Sultān, the son of the ruler of Turān. As he claimed to be the son of M. Shahrukh, and regarded himself as one of the loyal servants of the court, he soon gathered together a number of men. He defeated<sup>1</sup> many of the Uzbegs. 'Abdu-l-Mū-

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that the text is wrongly pointed. According to it the meaning is that many Uzbegs

joined M. Zamān to defeat 'Abdu-l-Mūmin.



min marched out to fight with him, and sent on ahead 'Abbās Sultan, Dastam Be, and Ḥamid Qarāwal and others. They crossed the Amū and made a stockade at Jargān Kūlāb. They thought that the strength of the defiles would be their protection. M. Zamān engaged this advance force and defeated it. In the pursuit, he got near 'Abdu-l-Mūmin, and he was nearly being caught. He escaped by the help of well-wishers.

At this time the peshkash (presents) of Rajah Mān Singh arrived. When he was sent from the court to the province of Bihar, he united ability with courage, and genius with strenuous action. By H.M.'s fortune he administered the province excellently. The refractory became obedient. Pūran Mal of Gidhaur embarked upon presumption and self-will. The Rajah hastened to his dwelling, and obtained much plunder. Pūran Mal could not preserve the fort which he had regarded as his protection in the day of calamity. The turbulence of his intoxication ended in the lassitude of crop-sickness. He had resort to entreaties, and asked for protection. He produced <sup>1</sup> noted elephants and choice goods, and uttered thanksgivings. He gave his daughter in marriage to the Rajah's brother Qandra Bhān. From there he proceeded to attack Rajah Singrām. He submitted and came forward in a proper manner, and presented elephants and rarities. The Rajah returned to Patna, and from there made an expedition against Anant <sup>2</sup> Cerūh (?). He obtained much plunder. At this time his son Jagat Singh did good service. He was keeping watch and ward in the town of Bihar. Suddenly Sultān Qulī Qalmāq and Kackena the wicked, who were among the ingrates of Bengal, stretched out the arm of strife. They went by Ghorāghāt and plundered Tājpūr and Purnea. From there they came to Darbhanga. Farrukh <sup>3</sup> K. failed in courage, and came to Patna. Jagat Singh's happy star made him offer battle, and Farrukh and the other fief-holders took courage and accompanied him. When they came within seven kos of Ḥājīpūr the enemy did not see  
**577** in themselves the strength to fight, and fled. Jagat Singh pursued

<sup>1</sup> As pointed out by B., Mān Singh's exploits are recorded by Stewart. See his "Hist. of Bengal," ed. 1813, pp. 180-91. Stewart speaks of Jagat Singh's going to Jessore, I

know not on what authority. Apparently it is a mistake for Tājpūr.

<sup>2</sup> The Maasir II. 162 has Ranpat Cerūh.

<sup>3</sup> B. 480. He was s. Khān Kilān.





them, and their collections fell into his hands. The Rajah sent the valuable parts of the plunder and 54 elephants to court. They were produced before H.M. on the 23rd (Farwardīn).

On the 26th<sup>1</sup> Padre Firmiliūn came to court from the port of Goa. Owing to H.M.'s appreciativeness, he received high honour.

<sup>1</sup> 26th Farwardīn 998 corresponds to about 6th April, 1590. I believe the Padre in question to be Leon Grimon who was a sub-deacon of the Greek Church. Perhaps A. F. wrote قارمیلیون Qarmiliyūn and the Q has been changed into an F. The mention of the Padre's being employed to translate Greek books seems to point to his being a Greek, and we know from Du Jarric III. 147 that Grimon was of that nation. Du Jarric adds that he was skilled in Persian and Turkish. The passage has been translated in Elliot VI. 85. See also General Maclagan's paper on Jesuit Missions to Akbar, A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 42. The mention of China goods may also point to Leo Grimon, for he seems to have come from China. He was long at Akbar's court, and married in Agra or Lahore. He accompanied Benedict Goes in February, 1603, as far as Kabul, if not to Yarkand. Maclagan quotes Yule as saying that Grimon returned from Kabul, but Du Jarric says he went as far as Yarkand. The question however of who Padre Firmiliūn was is not free from doubt. A. F. speaks in text of his coming from Goa, but it would appear from the Father Provincial's letter that Grimon did not come from Goa in the first instance. It speaks of Grimon's turning aside to the Mogul's court while returning to his own country and of Grimon's com-

ing to Goa from the court. Moreover one would not expect a sub-deacon to be called a Padre, and Farmiliūn is not a very likely corruption of Leo Grimon. The name really resembles more that of Edward Leiton, Maclagan, p. 6. But then Leiton did not come to Lahore till 1591 and Padre Firmiliūn's visit was in April 1590. Moreover, Leiton was accompanied by another father, and we should expect him to be also named by A. F. Possibly, A. F. has mixed up the two men Leiton and Grimon. I am inclined to think that the visit in question was Grimon's second visit. He was Akbar's envoy to Goa, and may have returned from there early in 1590, and alone, or at least before Fathers Leiton and Du Vega arrived. Unfortunately neither Akbar's *paricāna*, or safe-conduct, to Grimon, nor his letter to the Fathers, contains the year of writing. The letter only says, "At the commencement of the moon of June." The safe-conduct speaks of the Khān-Khānān's having been directed to look after the safety of the Fathers. This must refer to the time when the Khān-Khānān was in charge of Gujarat, but we know that he, i.e. 'Abdu-r-Rahīm, the son of Bairām, was with Akbar near Kabul about the end of November, 1589, and that on the 13th Dai, i.e. 23rd December, 1589, he was made Prime-Minister.



He possessed abundance of sense and knowledge. H.M. made over some quick-witted and intellectual persons to be instructed by him in order that the translation of Greek books might be carried out. Varieties of knowledge were acquired. Also a large number of Fir-inghis and Armenians arrived and brought with them China cloths and other goods of that country. Some time was spent in admiring them.

One of the occurrences was the disturbance of Paklī. A proprietor named Hindāl crudely assumed the title of Sultān Naṣīr, and was joined by some wicked men. Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umari's men did not behave courageously, and so Hindāl took possession of Paklī. H.M. on the 28th ordered Ḥusain to march with many Aimāqs of Badakhshān. In a short time he inflicted punishment (on Hindāl). On 1 Ardibihisht Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram was sent to Mewāt. When H.M. fell from the elephant, some Shaikawatī Rājput̃s indulged in evil thoughts, and though their leaders were gathering bliss in H.M.'s service, they plundered Bīrāth,<sup>1</sup> while a party of them oppressed Rewārī. Shāhbāz<sup>2</sup> K. the collector of that territory behaved in a cowardly manner, and went off to Kūl (Allyghar). Dīala<sup>3</sup> (?) rose up to plunder, near Mīrtha. On hearing this, Shāh Qulī was sent

On that day the charge of Gujarat was transferred to 'Azīz Koka though the latter does not appear to have gone to Gujarat (see A. N. III. 593) till June 1590, and Rai Rai Singh, if he be the Captain Raizza, did not go to Bikanir till 1590. The Provincial's letter is loosely written. Writing in November, 1590, he says it is now nearly nine years since Akbar summoned to his court some Fathers, including Father Acquaviva. But Akbar's embassy reached Goa in 1579, and his letter must have been written earlier, so that in November 1590 more than eleven years had elapsed. Then too the Provincial apparently speaks of enclosing a copy of the letter to the

Viceroy, whereas what we have, Maclagan 61, is a letter to the Fathers. I note here that n. 3, of Maclagan, p. 63, stating that Akbar returned to Lahore in October 1590, is incorrect. He returned from Kashmīr and Kabul early in 1590 and entered Lahore city on the day after New Year, viz. 2nd Farwardin 998 = 12th March, 1590. See Noer's Akbar, translation II. 220.

<sup>1</sup> In Alwār, the Bīrāt or Parāt of J. II, 191. The Iqbāl-nāma calls it Bīrāt and says it has a copper-mine.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably not Shāhbāz K. Kambhū.

<sup>3</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma, apparently, calls him Dīpaya, and says he was related to Nāzīr Daulat.





there to chastise the evil-doers. In a short time the thorn of sedition was uprooted, and the world pacified. On the 9th Ghaznīn K. received favour, and was given Jālaūr. From the time that he showed recalcitrancy, the Khān-Khānān gave his home to another fiefholder. After some time he came to court, and always waited upon H.M. As repentance was read on his forehead, H.M. restored his old home to him.<sup>1</sup>

On the 20th the lunar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against eight articles, and the needy were gratified. On 2nd Khurdād Zain K. Koka was exalted by being made the guardian of Prince Parvīz. That new fruit of the garden of dominion was sent to his house.<sup>2</sup>

On the 4th a great boon was granted by H.M., and numbers of men were comforted. On account of the extent of cultivation, and the goodness of the administration, prices fell very low, and many cultivators were unable to pay the government revenue. In the provinces of Allahābād, Agra, Oudh, Delhi, and the Sarkārs of Sahāra 578 raupur and Budāon, one-eighth was remitted, and in Sarkārs Sirhind and Hiṣār one-tenth. In the Khālṣa (exchequer or crown-lands) this came to 7 kros, 97 lakhs, 81,800 *dāms*. On the 5th a girl<sup>3</sup> was born to Prince Daniel by the daughter of Sultān Khawāja. It is to be hoped that she will become a great lady of the age, and that her advent may increase auspiciousness. On the 10th, Paklī was given to the old proprietor.<sup>4</sup> A long time ago, he had come with his family to court, and had felt ashamed of his former misconduct. At this time news came that Husain<sup>5</sup> Beg had on account of ignorance entered the mountain defiles, and that the wicked Hindāl had prevailed against him. H.M. meditated sending another force under the

<sup>1</sup> See B. 493 and 622, and A. N. III. 472. He had behaved badly when the Khān-Khānān was marching to Gujarāt. His son Pahār was executed by Jahangir for matricide. *Tūzūk* translation, I. 353, and also *Errata*, do., p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* says the prince was made over to Zain K.'s mother who had been Akbar's nurse. Parvīz's mother was Zain K.'s cousin.

<sup>3</sup> The name of this daughter is not given. A sister was born in the 37th year and called S'aida Bānū Begam. Altogether Daniel had four daughters, A. N. III. 837.

<sup>4</sup> This is Sultān Husain.

<sup>5</sup> This is Husain Beg S. Umarī. He was afterwards cruelly put to death by Jahāngīr.





charge of a qualified person. At this time Prince Selīm begged for Husain's<sup>1</sup> forgiveness and H.M. granted his request. He having gained his object, went home. On the 14th, Dhārū s. Rajah Todar Mal came from Jaunpūr and had an audience, and presented his father's servants. They were suitably rewarded.

On the 28th the envoy of 'Abdu-l-Mūmin Sultan was drowned. In crossing the Jehlam his boat sank in a whirlpool. Though the letter was not read, some persons represented that in the intoxication of youth he had demanded the Badakhshān Aimāqs who had gone to court. Apparently<sup>2</sup> the celestial managers were guiding that infatuated one. Also on this day Khwājagi Muḥ. Ḥusain and Khwāja 'Abdu-ḡ-Ṣamad Kāshī came from Kabul, and had the joy of performing kornish.

One of the occurrences was the fall of rain at the wish of H. M. For some days there had been no rain, and the feeble-hearted were distressed. One of his intimates represented that if a request were made of the Almighty, it would be very proper. H. M. replied that the Creator well knew what was good for his servants, and added some

<sup>1</sup> The Sultan Husain of Pakli.

<sup>2</sup> Akbar refers to this in his letter to 'Abdullah, *infra*, p. 706. A note to the Newal Kishore ed. of A. F.'s letters says that Akbar had the messenger drowned because the letter asked for Akbar's daughter in marriage. Neither A. F. nor the Iqbāl-nāma says this, but the latter while stating that 'Abdu-l-Māmin demanded the surrender of the Aimāqs who had fled, with their families, to Akbar on account of 'Abdu-l-Mūmin's tyranny (Akbar had sent them to Pakli with Ḥusain S. Umar), adds that the letter contained other improper things, and that perhaps the drowning was in accordance with an intimation from Akbar and was just. I am not sure if the author means to suggest that Akbar had the messenger drowned, or that it was a miraculous intervention in

accordance with the secret desire of Akbar. Probably it was an act of insolence for 'Abdu-l-Māmin to write direct to Akbar, instead of through his father. See also *infra* 583, last paragraph. Yet Akbar received an embassy from Khudā-banda the Governor of Khurāsān during Tahmāsp's lifetime. B. M. MS. 27. 257 gives an abstract of a letter of Akbar's to 'Abdullah in which he says that his court was the asylum of the world, and that he could not surrender any one who took shelter there. As for the proposal of marriage story, it is not likely that 'Abdu-l-Māmin would make it in a letter in which he was asking for the return of fugitives. Probably the other improper things referred to in the Iqbāl-nāma were complaints of Akbar's supporting M. Zamān.





words which bore<sup>1</sup> the character of knowledge. The other repeated his entreaties, and increased his wishes. H.M. accepted his prayer and on 3 Tīr engaged in prayer. In a short time there was a down-pour, and the world was refreshed.

On the 8th (June 1590) the Khān A'zim M. Koka came to Aḥmadābād. At the end of last year Gujarāt had been taken from the Khān-Khānān and given to him. He, thinking that Mālwa might be better, delayed to go there and petitioned the court. When he came to his senses he went off there, and made proper arrangements.

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the crooked Kashmīrīs. On the 16th, Husain, Muḥammad, Abūzaīd Ghāzī, Lohan Cak, Husain Dēv fled from the court with evil intentions. They went by Jammū to the hill-country and took refuge with 'Alī Rīnā. Before they had taken any other steps, the Kashmīr officers seized 579 them, and executed<sup>2</sup> them in the city (Srinagar). It was a source of instruction to foolish thinkers. (At this time Qāzī<sup>3</sup> 'Alī was made Nāzīr Biyūtāt. Though Šādiq was a skilful major-dorno (Mīr Samān), and Khawāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn<sup>4</sup> Beg was diwān, yet as in every department there was much income and expenditure, the more help there was, the better for the work. On this account that skilful and honest man was appointed to this duty. As there was incompatibility between Qulīj and Šādiq K., an order was given that Qulīj K. should not interfere in the work of the Biyūtāt.

One of the occurrences was the fall of rain at the request of the Shāhīnshāh. Astronomers had represented that on the 23rd<sup>5</sup> there

<sup>1</sup> The text has a negative *bar-natābid*, but this is surely wrong.

<sup>2</sup> Add. 27,247 says 16 Tīr = Sunday 4 Ramazān. This would be 27th June 1590. It adds that the execution took place in Srinagar and by Akbar's orders, and that the heads were sent to court. There were four men executed.

<sup>3</sup> This is Qāzī 'Alī Bagdādī, the settlement officer of Kashmīr.

<sup>4</sup> B. 508. He was father of Nūr Jahān and is better known as ʿItimād-u-d-daula.

<sup>5</sup> 23 Amardād = 1st or 2nd August, 1590. The date however is doubtful. There is the variant 28th and I.O. MS. has *hashṭam*, 8th. This looks more likely to be correct as shortly below we have the 13th mentioned. But *hashṭam* is written very like *bīṣṭam*, and perhaps this is the true date as *L'Art de verifier les dates* says there was an annular eclipse of the sun on 31st July, 1590. The account of the affair is differently worded in Add. 27,247. It is there said that some days previously Akbar





would be a total eclipse of the sun. The skilled scientists of India said that if there were rain seven days before or after, no harm would occur from the eclipse. Though they tried, they were unsuccessful (in producing rain). They were ashamed and retired. When the time arrived, H.M. applied himself to supplications to the Incomparable Deity. In a moment (?) clouds gathered, and there was rain until that hour passed away. A world was amazed. H.M. said: "The Almighty has accepted the petition of this suppliant, and has cast a veil over the boastful astronomers. If their statement had been true, the darkness would have increased."

On the 13th Sharif came from Mālwa, and did homage.

One occurrence was the marriage of 'Abdu-r-Rahmān. Inasmuch as H.M. exalts the writer by varied favours, he wished that his son—who showed quickness and reverence—should be married to one of the good court-families. On the 28th he was united to the niece (brother's daughter) of S'aādat Yārkaḳa who was distinguished for her chastity. There was a joyous time. I hope that God will open the springs of bounty, and that there will be increase of seed<sup>1</sup> together with auspiciousness and prosperity. On the 30th Qasim 'Alī came from Khairābad, and had an audience.

One<sup>2</sup> of the occurrences was the return of the victorious soldiers from Orissa after making a peace there. When the province of Bihār had been settled by the ability of Rajah Mān Singh, and the refractory had been reduced to obedience, he at the close of the previous year set before himself the conquest of Orissa by the route of Jhārkhand. He halted near Bhāgalpūr, and made proposals to S'aīd K., the Governor of Bengal, and asked him to accompany him.

580 He, on account of the near approach of the rains, referred the matter to another time. The Rajah, who understood his business, set out

said it would be good if rain came at the time of the eclipse, and hid it. So A. F. was ordered to assemble the Brahmans and see if they could bring about the rain. They could do nothing. Half an hour before the eclipse, clouds gathered. Akbar remarked that perhaps this occurred in order to save the astronomers' credit as in spite of the

clouds the sun was still bright. Apparently this alludes to the fact that the eclipse was not total, and the darkness not complete. This MS. does not give any date for the eclipse.

<sup>1</sup> 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was then 20. He had a son, Bishotan, by S'aādat Yār's niece.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is translated in Elliot VI. 85.





in the beginning of this year by the route of Bardwān. Pahār K., Bābū-i-Mankalī, Rai Patr Dās joined him from Bengal with the artillery. They encamped in Jahānābād.<sup>1</sup> The idea was that when the rains ceased, S'aid, Makhsūs, and the landholders would join. Qutlū, who was raising the head of presumption in Orissa, came to Dharpūr, 25 kos from the army, and prepared for battle. He sent Bahādur Kūrūh with a large force to Raipūr.<sup>2</sup> The Rajah sent an army under Jagat Singh, and the worthless Bahādur Kurūh took refuge in a fort, and had recourse to cajolery. By devilish tricks he lulled the inexperienced youth into carelessness, and then asked for help from Qutlū. On 10th Khurdād, while Jagat was slumbering from the effects of wine, the wicked Qutlū suddenly fell upon him with a large force and prevailed over him. Qutlū sent Jalāl and many brave men under the command of 'Umar, the brother's son of Mīrū, and son of Kāsū, and Khwāja 'Isā Vakīl. Though the landholder Hamīr warned Jagat of Bahādur's craft and of the dispatch of an army to his assistance, he did not accept the news. After thousands of efforts he sent (was induced to send) some scouts. The enemy entered a forest, and having left their tents and baggage there they hastened on by hidden ways. The short-sighted men who had gone ahead represented that the enemy had encamped, and so increased Jagat's carelessness. At the end of the day the enemy arrived. Owing to the breaking of the thread of deliberation and arrangement, most of the men fled without fighting. A few stood their ground and fought. Bika Rāhtor, Moheśh Dās, Narū Cāran bravely sacrificed their lives. Though the imperial army was defeated, yet 'Umar K., Mīrū, and the sons of Humayūn Qulī with some of their relations were killed. Hamīr brought away that infatuated young man and took him to his quarters at Bishanpūr.<sup>3</sup> A report arose that he was killed. The Rajah held a council, and considered how to remedy matters. Most gave it as their opinion that it was proper to return to Selīmābad, where the families of the soldiers were, and there to prepare for battle. Mān Singh replied that to retreat was to encourage the enemy and to give up the undertaking. He called

<sup>1</sup> In Hūglī district, on the Dhāl-kishor.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Raipūr of J. II.

<sup>112</sup> in the Sarkār of Jalesar. It is described as having a strong fort.

<sup>3</sup> In the Bankura district.





for equipments and resolved upon fighting. At this time the fortune of the Shahinshah declared itself. After ten days Qutlū died. He was ill, and the cup of his life soon ran over. Khwāja 'Isā made his young son Naṣir the chief, and the success of the Afghans somewhat declined. They had recourse to flatteries and cajolery, and sought for peace. The army accepted their overtures on account of distress of mind and the heavy rains. An agreement was made that the khutba and coinage should be in the name of the Shāhinshāh, 581 and that the Afghans would be obedient and serviceable. Also that Jagannāth, which is a famous temple, and its environs should be made crown-land, and that no harm would happen to the loyal zamīndārs. Out of opportunism and fraud they subscribed to all this (*khāt sipardand*). On 4 Shahriyār Khwāja 'Isā brought Qutlū's son to the Rajah, and presented 150 elephants and other choice articles. Mān Singh encouraged him and returned to Behar.

On the 23rd M. Yūsuf K. got leave to return to Kashmīr. H.M. went as far as the first stage and imparted various counsels to him.

On the 3rd Zain Koka was sent to the northern mountains. As the landholders there, on account of the strength of their country, and their littleness of understanding, were becoming recalcitrant, that good officer was sent off with a large force. On 20 Mihr Tardī K. came from his fief, and had an audience. On the 23rd Mir after 3 hours, 13 minutes, a daughter was born to Prince Selīm by the daughter of Kishū<sup>1</sup> Rāhtor. H.M. called her Bihār Bānu. On the same night a daughter was born to the Prince by the Mota Rajah's daughter. H.M. gave her the name of Begam<sup>2</sup> Sultan.

One of the occurrences was the departure of Miriam Makānī (Akbar's mother) for Fathpūr<sup>3</sup> (Sikri). She had travelled rapidly and unencumbered (*jarīda*) from a desire to behold the Shāhinshāh, and had thought that he would soon be returning (to Agra). When

<sup>1</sup> See Price's *Jahangir*, 20. The child only lived two months. Her mother is there called Bībī Karnutty.

<sup>2</sup> Died in twelve months. Her mother was Jagat Gosain, i.e. Jodh Bāi.

<sup>3</sup> Akbar was then at Lahore. His mother had left Fathpūr some

months previously, to see her son, and also in hopes of seeing Kashmīr. Gulbadan Begum was with her. But hearing that her son was marching to Kabul she went there and they met at Begrām (in Afghanistan). *Akbarnāma* III. 568. No doubt she accompanied him to Lahore.





this idea was frustrated, she took leave on the 24th (Mihr == about 10 October, 1589) to look after her household affairs. On the 28th H.M. travelled the first stage out of respects to her, and having spent the night there he took leave next day. The prince-royal was directed to accompany her for several stages. On 2 Ābān 'Ārif the son of Sharif K. was killed in Agra. His women were angry with him on account of his bad behaviour, and killed him while he was intoxicated: they received the retribution of their conduct. On the third the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. There was a proclamation of liberality, and small and great obtained their desires. On the 7th, Rai Rai Singh was sent off to Bikānīr, and Masiḥu-l-Mulk<sup>1</sup> came from Gujarat. On the 11th a son was born to Prince Murād by the daughter of the Khān A'zim, and received from H.M. the name of 'Ālam Sultan. On 7th Āzar Mednī Rai arrived from Gujarāt. Among his presents were a deer and a leopard (*Yūz*). The deer had been left in a snare. The leopard made a spring, and was caught by the feet, while the deer was bewildered and caught.

In the feast of this month, sense-increasing wine was drunk, and 582 Mir Ṣadr Jahān Muftī and Mir 'Abdu-l-Ḥai the Mir 'Adl also quaffed their cups. This verse was quoted by H.M.

*Verse.<sup>2</sup>*

In the era of the fault-forgiving king  
The Qāzī drained flagons, the Muftī quaffed cups.

On the 15th Aḥmad 'Alī Atāliq the Turanian ambassador died. Untimely eating made him ill, and want of abstinence added to his sickness. He had a large share of knowledge and sense. On the 13th the Khān-Khānān had a third son. He had always wished for a son, and had been impatient in his seeking for one. When he was in Gujarat, H.M. said one night to the writer: "When you write the firman styling<sup>3</sup> him Khān-Khānān, say in it that the life-

<sup>1</sup> B. 543. He was Murād's physician.

<sup>2</sup> B. 468. The verse is from Hāfiz.

<sup>3</sup> I am not sure if the meaning is

that the letter was written when he was made Khān-Khānān, or simply that when A. F. wrote to him he was to tell him so and so. Irij must have been born long before 998 for





giving Deity will soon give him three sons, and that he is to call them Īraj, Dārāb, and Qaran." In a short time the saying was fulfilled, and great and small had a new proof of H.M.'s. knowledge of hidden things. The Khān-Khānān gave a feast, and begged for the presence of H.M., who granted his request.

On this day news came that Sher Fulādī, an increaser of commotion in Gujarāt, had died, and that the sedition-mongers had retired to the straits of failure.

On the 14th, the daughter <sup>1</sup> of Mīrzā Sanjar entered the service of the Prince-Royal. Her father was the son of Khizr Hazāra. By H.M.'s. order she (or he?) was brought from her home, and her (or his) desire was accomplished.

One of the occurrences was the seizure of Y'aqūb and the death of Abiyā. These two brothers were plotting to escape, but they did not get an opportunity. The gracious sovereign did not approve of punishing those to whom quarter had been given. He sent them with Hasan Beg Gurd to Rajah Mān Singh, in order that they might be far from their home, and also that they might be reduced to some measure of quiescence (?). On the 18th <sup>2</sup> they were passing

in the 40th year he was made a commander. Qāran is not mentioned by B. or in the Maaṣīr. The Khān-Khānān had four sons, but he survived them all.

<sup>1</sup> B. 477, note.

<sup>2</sup> The date given on B.M. MS. 27, 247 is 18 Ābān and Sunday 3 Muḥarram 999. This is equal to 22nd October, 1590. The same MS. calls Y'aqūb's brother Ibrāhīm and says the attempt at escape took place near Māhimpūr (or perhaps it is Yāhirpur and in the pargana of Nizāmābād). This is a pargana in Jaunpūr J. II. 164 and is mentioned in Badayūnī, Lowe 85 as a place where Akbar was once weighed. The Iqbāl-nāma says that Hasan Beg recovered from his wounds and that

he conveyed Y'aqūb in chains to Rajah Mān Singh. According to the author of a history of Kāghmir B.M. MS. Add. 24,029 Y'aqūb was eventually poisoned by Akbar who sent him a poisoned robe. See Rieu Catalogue I. 300. The story told in MS. 24,029 and referred to by Rieu is that Akbar was prejudiced against Y'aqūb by his courtiers so he sent him to Allahabad to assist in putting down a rebellious zamindar. At the same time he instructed his generals to cut off Y'aqūb's head as soon as he had finished the business of the zamindar. Y'aqūb behaved with great valour, crossed a river which Akbar's generals had been unable to cross from want of boats, challenged the landholder to





through a town (in Etawa?) near Bāburpūr. Ḥasan Beg had divided his men into three bands. One band was with the women and children, one was guarding Y'aqūb, who represented himself as ill and so was travelling in a litter, and a third was with himself. Some evil-minded tricksters raised an alarm, saying that robbers had attacked the baggage. Ḥasan Beg sent off his men in that direction. At this time Abiyā, who was in the plot, killed the torch-bearer with a sword, and wounded Ḥasan Beg. The latter struggled with him and threw him down, and despatched him. In the fight, Muḥammad, Y'aqūb's foster-brother wounded Ḥasan with a sword, and Ḥasan seized him also, and flung him down. Men now came up, and Y'aqūb and the other conspirators were seized.

At this time Rāwat<sup>1</sup> Dat (?) paikār, who was the headman 583 (*dih kiyāi*) of Mau which belongs to the country of Baksar (?), was wounded by his deadly enemies on his back, and on the lobe of his ear. About this time his son-in-law (*khvesh*) Rām Dās had a child which bore two similar marks. People said that the deceased had taken form again, and pointed to several indications of this. An order was given to have the child brought. On the 26th that four-year old child was brought. By the brilliant acuteness of H.M. the foolishness of the story was demonstrated. He said that in metempsychosis the body must be changed. In this case the body had been wounded, not the soul. Apparently this wonder was the result of imagination. It was not improbable that the child's mother had thought that the deceased would come out of her womb.

a duel, took him off his elephant, and brought him in a prisoner. The general reported Y'aqūb's bravery, and as he felt unwilling to kill so brave a man, he referred to Akbar for further orders, thereupon Akbar sent a poisoned robe of honour which killed Y'aqūb as soon as he put it on. But Rafi'u-d-dīn the author admits that there is another version, according to which Y'aqūb died a natural death, and he concludes with a "God knows which is the truth." See MS. 1266 etc.

<sup>1</sup> It is Dat ۛۛ in text, but there is the variant Rāwat Paikāra. I.O. MS. 235 has Bangāla, and the Iqbāl-nāma seems to have Bega. It also says that the village was in Bakar, but does not name it. It adds that the child said he was Rāwat. I.O. MS. has Mau, a village belonging to Baksar. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 seems to have Bhakkar, and to call the village Mūarkana. It says Qāsim 'Alī brought the child. The *Khulāṣat-tawārīkh* has Baksar.





During pregnancy she had been thinking of the wounds. She had taken a style and made the same marks (on herself) and then stories had been made about it. He said that one day before his own birth Miriam-Makānī was making marks with a needle (qn. tattooing?) on her foot. Jahānbānī (Humāyūn) asked what she was doing. She said that she wished that some memento might appear on the foot of her child. When he was born, similar marks appeared; and he uncovered his lower leg, and showed them to those who had the privilege of being present.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at Court of Qāin Kokal-tēsh. It has been mentioned<sup>1</sup> that this approved servant had been sent to the Northern Hills. He came out near Pathān<sup>2</sup> and proceeded towards Kahlūr,<sup>3</sup> on the bank of the Satlej. All the inhabitants submitted and tendered presents, Raja Badhī Cand from Nagarkot, Paras Rām from Koh-i-Jammū, Raja Bāsū from Man,<sup>4</sup> Raja Anrūda from Jeswāl,<sup>5</sup> Raja Tīla<sup>6</sup> from Kāhlūr, Raja Jagdes Cand from Gwālyār,<sup>7</sup> Raja Sispāl from Dahpāl,<sup>8</sup> Rai Sānsar Cand from Sībah,<sup>9</sup> Rai Partāb from Mānkot, Rai Bhūnar from Jasrota,<sup>10</sup> Rai Balbhadrā from Lakanpūr,<sup>11</sup> Rai Daulat from Sharkot<sup>12</sup> Bharta, Rai Krishn from Fort Bhīla, Rai Narayan the proprietor of Sukat<sup>13</sup> Mandī, Rai Krishn Īlādiya,<sup>14</sup> Rai Udiya Dhamri-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 581.

<sup>2</sup> Text Nepāl, but the variant Bathān seems nearly right. The place meant seems to be Pathānkot. It is Pathān on I. O. MS. 236 and in the M'aasir II. 367.

<sup>3</sup> A Simla hill state. J. II. 325.

<sup>4</sup> In the Bārī Doāb Sarkār, J. II. 319.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the text is corrupt. Jeswāl appears from the MSS. to be a Raja's title and not the name of a country. The Iqbāl-nāma has Rajah Sirinjāwal.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently this should be Bhika.

<sup>7</sup> A Gwālyār in the Bārī Doāb. J. II. 319.

<sup>8</sup> Dahwāl in the M'aasir Umari.

<sup>9</sup> Sīha in text. J. II. 317.

<sup>10</sup> Jasrota is an extinct principality in Kāshmir. I. G. VII. 147. It lies on the south of the province of Jammū, and on r. bank tributary of Rāvi.

<sup>11</sup> B. 345 has Lakhinpūr, but perhaps Lakhnūr, J. II. 321, is meant.

<sup>12</sup> Sharkat in Bijnaur, I. G. XII. 380?

<sup>13</sup> Haskanat in text. It is the Sakhat-Mandaewī of J. II. 317. See I. G. under Sukat and Mandī. They are hill-states.

<sup>14</sup> Mulawariya (?) in I. G. 236. No. 235 has Talwāriah, from Talwārah in the Bārī Doāb. The M'aasir II





wāl.<sup>1</sup> Though their cavalry was (only) 10,000, their infantry was more than 100,000. On 7 Dai he did homage, attended by all the landowners, and each of them received various favours. They presented 18 elephants, 115 horses, 205 hunting animals, consisting of hawks, falcons, etc. and also Yāks (*qaṭās*) and other varieties of that country.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the Turanian ambassador. From the time that the ruler of that country recognized the glorious and eternal dominion, he tendered friendship and supplication, and on every occasion displayed new flattery, and spoke of concord. He was anxious on account of Aḥmad 'Alī Atāliq's not having returned, and at this time he was still more troubled on account of the improper conduct of his son in demanding the Aimāqs of Badash-shān. He had censured that hot-headed one and shown his disgusts with him. He made apology the forefront of his application and brought forward his former proposals. He sent Maulāvī Ḥusain, who was one of his old servants, to court with valuable presents. On the 15th he obtained an audience, and uttered 584 sweets words.

Also in this year Shihābu-d-dīn<sup>2</sup> Aḥmad died in Ujjain. He had done much good service in the empire, and was one of the most distinguished men of the Age in the matter of developing the cultivation of the country. In order to sympathise with his relicts the lord of the world made Khwāja<sup>3</sup> Muḥibb 'Alī K. *diwān* of Mālwa, and left Shihāb's fiefs to his servants.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K. to the school of the prison. On the 17th Dai (27th December 1590) he came without orders from Swād and fell into the toils of censure. It also came out that he had out of avarice given up Kālpī which

367 has Balāwrih. See Balāwarah. J. II. 320.

<sup>1</sup> Bhannī in text. It is Dhamrī in I.O. MSS.

The Iqbāl-nama also gives a list of the Rajahs. Some of the names are very doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> He repaired and reopened Firūz Shāh's Canal. See B. 332

and S. Aḥmad's Aḡār Sanādīd, p. 3 of Part III, and I. G. S. V. Jumma Canal, XIV. 234. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 386. His wife Bāba Agha or Māmā Aghā was related to Miriām Mahani and died in 1005 A.H., 1597. See A. N. III. 716.

<sup>3</sup> B. 516. He was a Khawāfī.



was in his fief. The displeasure of the holy heart increased, and spiteful and tyrannical people (*qābūciān*) brought to notice other crooked proceedings of his, and did so as if they were speaking the truth and were acting in a disinterested manner. The sovereign put him into prison<sup>1</sup> and sent an acute person to ascertain the truth. On this day Ḥakīm Ain-ul-mulk came to do homage. His fiefs were in India and Mālwa. As he came without order, he was not admitted to an audience. As it became known that the Khān A'azim M. Koka had taken away his *Jāgīr*, and that he had come to complain about it, he was summoned to the presence. On the 20th a special pigeon took a flight. A hawk made an attack on it and was nearly capturing it. When H.M. saw this, he said, "Strike and seize." Suddenly a troop of crows gathered from the plain and surrounded the hawk, and he withdrew his claws from the pigeon and fell into consternation. A cry arose from the spectators. Glory to the prince that seeks nothing but the will of God. The heavens revolve at his wish. What wonder then that a few birds acknowledge him !

One occurrence was the sending a force to take Qandahar. Jinnat Āshiyānī (Humāyūn) had made it over to Shāh Tahmāsp, the ruler of Persia, and hence H.M. had not thought of taking it. Now that the star of the Persians' fortune was not as brilliant as formerly, and that Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. and Rustūm Ḥusain M., the sons of Sultan Moẓaffar, had, from the intoxication of youth, revolted against the ruler of Persia, and that their deeds did not conform to their words about obedience to the Shāhinshāh, it occurred to H.M. that he should send an army to that quarter. Help would

<sup>1</sup> He was kept in prison for three years, not being released till the end of 1001, August 1593. Elliot V. 467. The *Iqbāl-nāma* says his fault was partly his unruly tongue. Jahāngīr describes him as foulmouthed. The sentence about his having given up Kālpī seems obscure. The Persian is *bāz guzāshī*. Perhaps it means "he went to Kālpī." But probably it means that he had given up, or

transferred, Kālpī to somebody else, for at p. 585 we find that Kālpī was in the fief of Qāsīm 'Alī. There is a somewhat different reading in I.O. MS. 236, and perhaps the meaning is that Kālpī was taken from him on account of his avarice. But I do not think this is the meaning. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has also a different reading. Apparently, what it says is that Shahbāz gave away Kālpī.





thus be given to the ruler of Persia. If the Mirzās should proceed to the court they would be caressed, and another country would be given to them, and that cultivated territory would be put under the guardianship (*pāshīnā*) of a discreet and just officer, and the Usbeks would be restrained from thinking of seizing it. This assistance<sup>1</sup> (to Persia) would have a kindly appearance.

On the 24th (Dai 4th January, 1590) the Khān-khānān took leave. Shāh Beg K.,<sup>2</sup> Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Bakh̄tiyār Beg, Gūrdhan, Rāwal, Bhīm, Dalpat, Jānīsh Bahādur, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, ‘Alī Mardān Bahādur, Balbhaddhar Rāthor, Sher K., Qarā 585 Beg, Faridūn Barlās Sarmadī, Mir M’aṣūm Bhakkarī, Hasan ‘Alī, ‘Arab, Kh̄wāja Hisāmu-d-dīn, Saiyid Darvesh, Qāsim Koka, Khākī Gallabān, Nūr Muḥammad, Kh̄wāja Khizri, ‘Abdu-l-ghānī, Ulugh Beg, Sāl Alangī, Khākī Beg, Saiyid Mir ‘Alī, Mirzā Beg, Sālār Qulī, M. Muḥammad, Saiyid Banda ‘Alī, Ibrāhīm Beg, Murshid Qulī, Jolak Shams̄her ‘Arab, Muḥammad Zamān, Bāqī Cārdāngī, ‘Abdu-l-laṭīf, Bahādur Malik, ‘Izzat ‘Alī Kabulī, Allah Bardī Tulakcī, Ilyās Tūpcī, Muḥammad Qulī, Tingrī Bardī, Farrakh Beg, Qul Muḥammad and many other brave and capable men accompanied him. Kh̄wāja Muqīm was made bakhshī, and an order was given that they should march via Baluchistan. If they<sup>3</sup> submitted, that fertile country was to be restored to them, and they were to be brought along with the army, otherwise they were to be punished, and were to be made over to just administrators. Also, the ruler of Tatta (Scinde) had not paid his respects. An able army should be sent to him, to advise him. If he came in person, or should send an army, it would

<sup>1</sup> A variant contains the clause that the assistance would benefit the Persians.

<sup>2</sup> The list is a very long one, and Nizāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 459, judiciously remarks that the names of the officers are too numerous to record. The Bakhshī was his father. It seems from the T. A. and Badayūnī and from Faizi's chronogram that Tatta was the main object of the expedition. M’aṣūm Bhakkarī is

the well-known author. B.M. M.S. 27,247 gives the Muḥammadan date of the expedition as 17 Rabi-ul-awwal 999, corresponding to 3rd or 4th January, 1590.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the Biluchīs are meant. The Khān-khānān never got to Qandahar. See *infra*, p. 601. According to B.M. Add. 27,247, it was the Biluchīs who were to join the army.





be better, otherwise he was to be temporised with, and should be punished on the return.

On 1st Bahman, H.M. got into a boat and visited the Khan-khānan at the first stage, which was a league off. He gave him valuable advice.

On this day also Sultan Parviz had a sister born.

On the 6th, Ism'ail Quli came from Gujarat. On the 9th, Qāsim Ali was allowed to go to Kālpi, which was his fief. On the 22nd, H. M. had toothache, and was relieved by the application of leeches. On the 3rd, Isfardarmaz H.M. crossed the Rāvī, and enjoyed hunting for eight days and wandered about in the pleasant plains.





## CHAPTER CIV.

BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH DIVINE YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR  
ISFANDĀRMĀZ OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

On Thursday, 24th Jumāda-al-awwal 999, 10th or 11th March 1591, after the lapse of 4 hours, 16 minutes, the Light-increaser of heights and depths filled Aries with Light. The court artificers decked out the halls, and gave spiritual beauty to externals. The material, as well as the intellectual, world became fresh and verdant.

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

O joyous bride, blame not fortune.

Make ready the bower of beauty, for the bridegroom hath come.

I scent the fragrance of joy in the world's state.

Joy has flowered, and the morning breeze rejoiceth.

Every day there was a fresh feast, and a new market day of 586 thanksgiving to God. On the 6th (Farwardīn) the rank of Zain K. Koka was increased, and he attained the lofty position of 4,000 and the right to drums. On the 9th H.M. entered a boat along with many veiled ladies and proceeded to Mirzā Kāmran's garden and enjoyed the spectacle of the variegated spring. On the 17th the presents of the Khān Ā'zim were produced. He had sent some choice elephants and other rarities from Gujarat, and in this way he brought himself to remembrance. On the day of culmination (*sharf*, i.e. the 19th) when there was a great feast, the Tatta ambassadors obtained an audience. They presented a petition and presents. The purport of the representation was that it was from somnolence of intellect that there had happened what had happened, and that if the tidings of forgiveness could reach (the ruler of Tatta), former

<sup>1</sup> These lines are from Ḥāfiz, but the quotation is not exact. They

are the 4th and 5th stanzas of ode 104 in Bicknell.





stumblings would be rectified. The excuse-accepting sovereign made the envoys hopeful, and a comforting rescript was issued. On 9<sup>1</sup> Ardibihisht the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a season of liberality and largesse.

One<sup>2</sup> of the occurrences was the recovery of the writer of the book of fortune (A. F.). On 4 Bahman of the preceding year (14 January 1591) his illness had increased, and the physicians conjectured that there was a stone in the bladder. They applied remedies, but the pain increased from time to time, consequently skilful persons lost hope. This news produced some joy in me, for, from the days of discretion I had no love for life. The currency of hypocrisy and the worship of the creature made me heart-sore. But as I was inclined<sup>3</sup> to perform military service, my disposition deviated from the commands of wisdom and became sad. This mixture of joy and sorrow always held possession of my heart, and I cherished the hope that I might tell some tales by the tongue of the sword, and convince high and low of the appreciativeness of the world's lord, and by the words of action reduce to silence the narrow-minded ones who strutted about in the insolence of courage, and cocked the little turban of boasting. Whenever H.M. cast the shadow of his kindness over the invalid (i.e. whenever he visited him), he conveyed to him the tidings of recovery. The others only nominally encouraged me. Two days before the new year the wise Ḥakīm<sup>4</sup> Misrī arrived from the Deccan, and was exalted by performing the

<sup>1</sup> This corresponds to 19 April 1591 and 5 Rajab 999 which was the anniversary of Akbar's birthday. The B.M. MS. adds that Akbar was now fifty years of age, and that the writer hopes he will live for 150 years.

<sup>2</sup> This passage does not occur in the Cawnpore edition, and only occurs in a mutilated form in I.O. MS. 235. It occurs in full in MS. No. 236. The B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 ascribes A.F.'s cure to the benign influence of Akbar. The illness

began on 4 Bahman, the day of Shahriyār of the preceding year.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is a little doubtful. The text has *ba āin-i-sipāh* while I.O. 236 has *basipāh*.

<sup>4</sup> B. 491 and Badayūnī III. 165. Even he has a good word for this physician. His death is described *infra*, p. 783. See also Darbār Akbarī 713. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 adds line 13 from bottom of page 395a, the statement that the Ḥakīm had been imprisoned on his way from the Deccan by Amīn K Ghori





prostration. At that very moment the kind sovereign sent him to see this one (A. F.) who was prepared for the last journey. His cheerful countenance caused new delight. His skill perceived the inefficiency of the former doctors. He diagnosed the malady and set himself to cure it. In a short time there were signs of improvement and my health continually mended. On the 15th I recovered and performed the *kornish*, and high and low were once more impressed by H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries. The Divine strength helped me greatly in this sickness. For many years I had been perplexed to comprehend the rational soul, and every proof that former (writers) had brought forward had been criticised by me. It was natural to expect that wisdom would come with equability of the temperament, but this is not what happened to me. The thing became clear to me while I was ill, and I reposed in the illuminated spot of intelligence. 587

One<sup>1</sup> of the occurrences was the success of Burhān al-Mulk. When on the first occasion he returned unsuccessful, as has already been partially described, he spent his days on his fiefs in Mālwa. At this time, when the Khān 'Āzim went to Gujarat and Shihāb K. died, he went to Rajah 'Alī K. the ruler of Khāndes. He in accordance with the holy commands of the Shāhīnshāh strenuously assisted him, and agreed with 'Ādil K. of Bijāpūr that when the latter should march to Aḥmadnagar, he would also send an army from his side (Khāndes). With this idea he sent off some soldiers to remain

of Jūnagarh. At p. 393a the same MS. gives a statement of Ḥakīm Miṣrī and others of the revenues of the various rulers of the Deccan. It is stated there that the Deccani *dām* is equal to eight *tankas* of Hindustan. The revenue of Khāndesh is given as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  krors = 40 krors of *dāms*; that of Aḥmadnagar as 9 krors of *tankas* equal to one *arb* 44 krors of *dāms*; Bijāpūr's revenue is 12 krors of *tankas* = one *arb* 92 krors of *dāms*; that of Golconda is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  krors of *tankas* = 56 krors of *dāms*.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is translated in Elliot VI. 87.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 states that a report came from Mālwa, from Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Anjū, on 26 Rabi'-ul-awwal, that Shihābu-d-dīn had died in Ujjain on the day of Dai ba Mihr of the 11th Divine month equal to 8 Rabi'-ul-awwal (January 1590). It says Muḥibb 'Alī Khwāfi was appointed in his room. The same place records that an elephant called Behūl Nigār had killed another elephant.