

in waiting on his borders. Jamāl K.—who was the Aḥmadnagar general—in apprehension that the two forces would join—displayed activity. He took¹ with him his (i.e. Burhān's) son Ismā'il and hastened to fight the Bijāpūrīāns before Burhān-al-Mulk should join them. After a short conflict he was successful. When Burhān-al-Mulk came to Barār, Amjad-al-Mulk, 'Aẓmat-al-Mulk, Saif-al-Mulk, Shuj'aat K., Jahāngīr K., Ṣadr K., 'Azīz-al-Mulk and other leaders joined him. Without a battle he became secure about that country (Barār). On the very day that Jamāl K. was exulting in confidence he (Jamāl) got this news, and hastily marched without proper plan or preparation. He passed through the defile of Fardāpūr,² and on the 17th a battle was fought near there. Out of farsightedness Rajah 'Alī K. kept Burhān-al-Mulk and the Barār officers apart from one another, and himself engaged in the fight. There was a hot contest, and in it a bullet reached Jamāl K. and killed him. The army of the Deccan dispersed, and a great victory was gained. In a short time Ism'ail was brought in as a prisoner and was put into confinement. Then the ruler of Khāndes returned after leav-

¹ *bardāshṭa*. This sometimes means "to defeat," as at III. 98, line 11, and it has been so translated by Dowson, Elliot VI. 87. But the context shows that the meaning is that Jamāl took Ismā'il with him. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 also shows that this is the meaning here, for it says that Jamāl made Ism'ail an instrument of strife-mongering. The account of Burhān's expedition is in this MS. different from Bib. Ind. text, and is more detailed. It says that Jamāl defeated 'Ādil K. at Dhārasūr in Bijāpūr.

² Fardāpūr is a village near the Ajanta caves, and is used as a starting point by visitors to them. Ferishta does not mention Fardāpūr in his account of Burhān-al-Mulk. He says Jamāl tried to march through the Ghāt Rohangīr

Pass, and that when he found it closed, he went by a more difficult route. He dates the battle 13 Rajab 999 (27 April 1591) which corresponds to A. F.'s 17 Ardībihisht. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 calls the place Farīdābād, and gives the date of Jamāl's defeat as the day of Sarosh 17 Ardībihisht (Tuesday, 13 Rajab). The expression of Rajah 'Alī keeping Burhān and the Berar officers apart from one another, is explained by this MS. which says that Rajah 'Alī got hold of a letter of the Berar officers which said that they would desert Burhan on the day of battle. It also says that after the battle Shuhail the eunuch conveyed Ismā'il to a fort, and that Burhān entered Aḥmadnagar on 20 Sh'abān or 3 Khurdād (3rd June 1591).



ing some men (with Burhān) and Burhan-al-Mulk quickly went to Aḥmadnagar and became victorious over the whole country.

One¹ of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of Shāh Abbās the ruler of Persia. From right-thinking and enlightenment H.M. opens his court to all conditions of men. The entangled thereby obtain deliverance. Difference of faith does not play tricks and no dust of difference is raised by their being either strangers or friends. High and low seek for his friendship, and every one attains his desires. At the time when the sovereignty of Persia came to his father Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda, selfish strife-mongers stirred up dissension in Herat and incited him to assume the supremacy. They made his inexperienced youth the means of obtaining their own ends. The sovereign of Persia came to Khurāsān, but owing to his blindness, the presumption of the ministers (*dastūr*), and the duplicity of the soldiers, he was obliged to 588 return without effecting anything. He (Abbās) sent Murshid Tabrizi to court and asked for assistance. The just Shāhīnshāh did not regard him as worthy of an answer. He remarked how could he assist one who contended with his visible god (his father). At this time he represented anew his own purity and the activity of the wicked and selfish, and begged for encouragement. On 6 Khurdād, 16th May 1591, Yādgar Sultān² Shāmlū, who was old in years but of fresh wisdom³ and was one of the ancient servants (*bābariān*) of the family, was exalted by doing homage. He presented a supplication (*niyāzi-shnāma*) and choice presents. The excuse-accepting

¹ This is made a new chapter in I.O. MS. 236 and is so also in a variant noted in the Bib. Ind. ed.

² Text Rūmlū, but at pp. 656 and 705 he is called Shāmlū, and that this is correct is shown by B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 and by the Iqbāl-nāma. Perhaps this is the ambassador to whom Akbar refers as about to arrive, in his letter to 'Abdullah, p. 499.

³ Text *kahn sāl-i-nau khirad*. The word *nau* is curious, ut I think it means that the ambassador though old had a fresh and vigorous under-

standing. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has *mard kahn, khirad dost* "an old man who loved wisdom." The same MS. gives the Hijra date of the ambassador's reception 3 Sh'abān, 17 May 1591. The long digression about the Šafwī dynasty is not given in this MS. Here it may be remarked with reference to the note to Mr Oliver's paper J.A.S.B. for 1887, p. 37, that though the dynasty took its name from Šafī-u-dīn, yet their followers are often called Šufiā in MSS.



sovereign was gracious to the envoy, and held a council about furthering his designs. Some were of opinion that he should send one of his sons with an army and take Khurāsān from the Uzbegs, and in an excellent way obtain the renown of a helper. As the ruler of Tūrān had sent select men one after another and made strong the agreements of unity, this proposition was not accepted. H.M. said it was proper in the first instance to try advice. Perhaps there would be no contest.

I shall here give some¹ account of the Šafavī dynasty, and so refresh the garden of my words. He (Abbās) is eight removes from S. Šafī Ardabīlī, and the latter is twenty removes from Imām Mūsā² Kāzīm. Shāh ‘Abbās is son of Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda, s. Shāh Tahmāsp, s. Shāh Ism‘aīl, s. Sultān Haidar, s. Sultān Junaid, s. S. Šadru-d-dīn Mūsā, s. S. Šafī-u-dīn Abū Isāḥaq, s. S. Šadru-d-dīn Ibrāhīm, s. S. Khwāja ‘Alī, s. S. Amīnu-d-dīn Jabrail, s. S. Šāliḥ, s. S. Quṭbu-d-dīn, s. Šāliḥu-d-dīn Rashīd, s. Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ, s. ‘Īwaz, s. Firūz Shāh Zarrīn Kalāh, s. Sharf Shāh, s. Muḥammad, s. Ḥasan, s. Muḥammad, s. Ibrāhīm, s. J‘afr, s. Ismāīl, s. Muḥammad, s. Aḥmad Ghazzālī Abū Muḥammad, s. Abū-l-qāsim Ḥamza, s. Imām Mūsā Kāzīm. Firūz Shāh lived in Zangān³ near Sultāniya Ardabil. He spent his days in comfort and with a good name. ‘Īwaz made his home in Isfaranjān Ardabil. Quṭbu-d-dīn established himself in Ardabil. Piety had a fresh glory from the brow of S. Šafī. He strove with himself and became victorious. In order to learn sciences he went to Shīrāz and made the acquaintance of S. S‘aādī and other good men. Some pure-minded ones indicated that he might attain the end of his seeking by getting the help of S. Zāhid in Gīlān. He had lighted the lamp of knowledge from S. Jamālu-d-dīn Gīlānī. The fountain-head of the latter was S. Junaid B‘agḍādī. Of necessity he went thither. He made his acquaintance in the village of Halkgīrān.⁴

¹ There is a full account of the early history of the Šafavī family in the *Ḥabību-s-Siyar*, 4th part of 3rd vol. See also the ‘Ālam Ārāī.

² See D’Herbelot s. v. Moussa Bin Giafar Šādik. He died at Bagdad. on 182 A.H. or 799 A.D., and is the

father of the Imām Rezā whose shrine is at Maṣḥhad.

³ The *Ḥabību-s-Siyar* has Zangīn.

⁴ The word appears to be Hiliya-gīrān in the MSS. It is perhaps the Kelheran of Olearius’s *Travels* (Davies’s translation), p. 244, which is



The Shaikh made over his daughter¹ to this spiritual son, and increased the glory of his own family. When Şāhibqurānī (Timūr) returned after conquering Rūm (Turkey) he interviewed S. Şadrud-dīn Mūsā in Ardabil and begged inspiration from him. He asked him what he desired, and the Shaikh requested the liberation of the Turkish prisoners. He obtained this, and many persons belonging to the Ustajlū, Taklū,² Rustāq, Rūmlū, Zā-al-qadr, Afshār, Qājār, Ughlū and other tribes were released. Many of them out of gratitude took the burden of devotion on the shoulder of their heads and chose Şūfism³ (şūfigarī). The desire of splendour brought out S. Junaid from the corner of freedom, and the concourse of followers gave him courage. Jahān Shāh of the Black Sheep, the ruler of the two ‘Irāqs and Āzarbaijān became apprehensive on hearing of this, and drove out the Shaikh from his kingdom. He went to Aleppo and from thence to Dīarbekr (Mesopotamia). Uzan Hasan of the White Sheep, the ruler of that country, treated him with respect and married him to his sister Khadīja Begī Āghā. Sultān Ḥaidar was the offspring of this union. When he (Junaid) was killed in battle with the Shāh of Shīrwān, his son was brought up on Ardibīl under the protection of dervishes and sought after supremacy. He placed the red cap of twelve pleats on the head of his followers. When Uzan Hasan got the victory over Jahān Shāh, he gave his daughter Ḥalima⁴ Begī Āghā, also called ‘Alam Shāh Khātūn, in marriage to Sultān Ḥaidar. Three sons were born of this union, viz. Sultān ‘Alī Mirzā, Ibrahim M., and Ism‘ail M. The last proceeded to revenge himself on the Shīrwān Shāh. Farakh Afshar who had become the Shāh of Shīrwān fought with him and was defeated. There was another battle and in it Sultān Ḥaidar was killed. Y‘aqūb

described as a league and a half from Ardabil and as the site of the tomb of S. Saḥī’s father; Olearius 374 calls Zāhid S. Saḥādī.

¹ The Ḥabību-s-Siyar says her name was Fātima.

² The proper spelling seems to be Nikalū. The Rustāq are not mentioned in Malcolm. The text has Qarācār, but Qājār is right.

³ S. Sufi’s name has nothing to do with Şūfism, but apparently A. F. connects the two words. Perhaps the Şafavī dynasty sought to do this.

⁴ Olearius calls her Martha and says she was the daughter of Despina the daughter of John King of Trebizond.



Beg imprisoned his three sons in Iṣṭakhar (Persepolis). Amīr Qarā 'Uṣmān governed Dīārbekr in the time of Ṣahībqirānī and Shāh-rukh M. When he died, he was succeeded by his son Uzan Ḥasan. He fought with Jahān Shāh the son of Qarā Yūsuf, and killed him. He had two sons Sultān Khālil and M. Y'aqūb. The first succeeded. But as he did not recognise who were his friends, his soldiers left him and joined his brother. In fighting with him (Y'aqūb) he was killed. When Y'aqūb Beg died, the government went to Rustam Beg the son of Maqṣūd Beg son of Uzan Ḥasan. He released Ḥaidar's three sons. Many days had not passed when he got frightened at the number and devotion of their followers. He formed other ideas. The brothers went in distress to Ardabil. An army followed them and Sultān 'Alī M. was killed in battle. The two other brothers fled to Gilān, and obtained the help of Kārgiyā 'Alī the ruler of that country. In Muḥarram 905, August 1499, Ism'ail came to Īrān, and the Sūfiān gathered round him. He proceeded to take vengeance on Farrakh Afshār. The latter was killed in battle. He took possession of that country and proceeded towards

590 Āzarbaijān. There he was successful. In 907, 1502, at the age of 15, he had the *khutba* read in Tabriz in his own name. Instead of the cap of Ḥaidar he introduced the *tāj* (tiara?) of twelve *tarke* (gores). He had five sons—Tahmāsp M., Altāsh M., Sām M., Rustam M., Behrām M. He fought with Sultān Murād the son of Y'aqūb Beg near Hamadīn, and was victorious. He took possession of Irāq, Fārs, and Kirmān. He prevailed over 'Alau-d-daula Zu-al qadr, and increased his territories by Bagdad and part of Irāq Arab. He also got possession of Khozistān. He killed Shāh Beg K. near Merv, and Khurāsān up to the Oxus became his. He reigned 24 years, and left the world at the age of 38. On Monday, 19 Rajab, 930, 24 May 1524, he died, and his son Shāh Tahmāsp succeeded at the age of twelve.¹ The word *Zill* denotes that year (930). He fought a battle with 'Abdullah K. in Zorābād-i-Jām² and was victorious.

¹ Should be 10. Tahmasp was born on 22 February 1514, and succeeded his father on 24 May 1524, but according to the lunar calendar he was eleven, viz. from 919-30.

² Text has Rozābād, but I.O. MS. 236 has Zorābād. The battle was fought on 10 Muḥarram 935 = 27 August 1528. See Mr. Oliver's paper, J.A.S.B. for 1887, p. 41.

Sultān Sulaimān the ruler of Turkey made an expedition against Irān. The *Shāh* did not consider it proper to fight a pitched battle, but he attacked Sultān Sulimān's country and protected his own from injury by the Turkish soldiery. Garjistān (Georgia) and Gīlān fell into his hands. He imprisoned *Khān*¹ Aḥmad in the fort of Qahaqa. As his second son Ism'aīl M. was perverse and shameless, he summoned him from Herat and imprisoned him. For many years he ruled in Qazwīn with skill and moderation. Many good deeds adorned his reign (lit. adorned the face of his fortune) except that he in 966, 1559, sheltered Sultān Bayāzīd the son of Sultān Sulaimān with his four sons and 12,000 followers, and (then) owing to the instigation of flatterers, who were house-destroyers, stained his hand with the sacred (*garāmī*) blood of his guests. If the might of the Sultān of Turkey had constrained² him to this, he should not have taken silver and gold for it. He reigned for fifty-four years. On 4 *Khurdād*³ of the 21st Divine year 15 May 1576, at the end of the night, he died of fistula (*nāsūr*). Some say that he was poisoned by the intrigues (*koshish*) of Sultān Ḥaidār. The putting to death of Sūfi Ḥakīm Abū Naṣr the son of the Ṣadru⁴ *shariya* in the palace

¹ He was the ruler of Gīlān. See above, p. 144.

² Ṭahmāsp's conduct in this matter is described in Malcolm's History of Persia, ed. 1829, I, p. 332. It is there stated that Bayāzīd was at first kindly received, but that he and his servants behaved badly, and so Ṭahmāsp gave him up to his father Sulaimān. It seems certain that Ṭahmāsp behaved badly, and his own Memoirs, and the account in the 'Ālam Ārāī, do not clear him. The story that Bāyazīd tried to poison Ṭahmasp is ridiculous.

³ 15 Ṣafr 984. 'Ālam Ārāī, p. 94.

⁴ The text seems corrupt. The variant *Sūfiyān* is supported by the I.O. MSS. Instead of *dar maḥfil-i-shāhī* these MSS. have *dar mātam shāhī* "during the royal mourning."

Apparently, the meaning is that the story about Ḥaidār's having brought about his father's death is corroborated by the fact that the *Ṣūfis*, i.e. the followers or devotees of the dynasty, put to death the physician during the public mourning—presumably because they thought he had, at Ḥaidār's suggestion, poisoned his master. The title of the physician's father *Ṣadr-i-shariya* signifies chancellor or chief ecclesiastical judge. Olearius, p. 367, says the ecclesiastical judges are called *Shahrū*. The text of the next clause is corrupt. As there given it seems to say that Sultān Ibrāhīm poisoned Ṭahmāsp. The real meaning is that some people said that Sultan Ibrāhīm (a son of Ṭamāsp's brother Bahram) got up the story about the physician on

supports this view, but some say that Ibrāhīm M. out of enmity with the physician brought this about. When the illness (of Ṭah-māsp) increased, Sultān Ḥaidar, at the instigation of flatterers,¹ took into his head thoughts of greatness. As he was his honoured father's sole *vakīl* (minister) the thought of supremacy ruined his understanding. At this time the *Shāh* got better. Though he did not call Ḥaidar to account, yet the latter did not remain in the rank of *Vakīl*. When Ṭahmāsp died, Parī Khān Khānim his daughter sent for the second son Ism'ail M. and by stratagem had Sultān Ḥaidar brought inside the female apartments. The leaders of the Rūmlū 591 (*Khālfa-i-Rūmlū*) *Shamkhāl* Circassian, *Shīb K.* Wali Sultān, the *Taklū* officers and other well-wishers of Ism'ail M. were on guard. They closed the entrance and exit of the *daulatkhāna* (palace) and resolved² upon an attack on Sultān Ḥaidar. Meanwhile Parī Khān Khānim from within set about contriving his death. Meanwhile Sultān Maṣṭafa M., Zāl Beg, Ḥusain Beg, Pīr K. and other officers of the *Istajlū* clan to the number of about 10,000 assembled in order to bring out Sultān Ḥaidar. *Shamkhāl*³ took the initiative and went inside and put him to death, and flung his head outside. The tumult ceased. Ism'ail M. became king and had the *khutba* recited near Qum. The intoxication of the world led that madman to disregard of propriety and to bloodshed. He indulged his disposition for 1½ years, 14 days and died on 3 Āzar of the 23rd Divine year, 13 November 1577. During his short reign he stretched out his hands to slay his brothers, and other relatives, and the grandees. Out of six⁴ brothers he put to death Sulaimān M., Sultān Maḥmūd

account of a private quarrel he had with him. The variant to the text clears the matter a little, but the *az dushmanī-i-ān ba tang amida* there should apparently be *az dushmanī-i-ān pishab* "out of enmity with that physician." This is the reading of I.O. MS. 235.

¹ Cf. Olearius, who says Ḥaidar, who was only 17, put the crown on his head, and presented himself before his father who was then near his death.

² This seems the meaning of the phrase *yāzish namirdand*.

³ His maternal uncle. He was a Circassian or Georgian. See Price's *Jahangir*, p. 72. The Maṣṭafa M. who tried to release Ḥaidar was his brother. *Sham Khāl* was put to death. *Ālam Ārāi*, 162.

⁴ So in text, but the preposition *az* does not occur in the I.O. MSS. and is probably wrong. Ṭahmāsp apparently left more than six sons. According to Olearius he had eleven.



M., Imām Qulī M., and Sultān Aḥmad. He also blinded Sultān ‘Alī M., and killed Sultān Ibrāhīm M. and Badī’u-z Zamān the sons of Bahrām, and¹ Sultān Ḥasan M., the eldest son of Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda. He exerted himself to promote the tenets of the Sunnīs, but did not succeed. Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda his elder brother sate on the throne in the 23rd Divine year, and the world blossomed out. The bloody Shāh (Ism‘aīl) had sent persons to kill him, and this was near being effected, when the report came that he (Ism‘aīl) was dead. Unexpectedly he (Khudābanda) came to power. The administration of justice devolved upon Fakhru-n-nisā Begam, daughter of Mīr ‘Abdallāh the ruler of Māzh-indarān, who was his (Khudābanda’s) wife. She exerted herself to reunite the disputants (lit. to knit together the broken-hearted), and when the Turkish soldiers proceeded towards Shirwān, and the Persians were defeated and returned, she left the Shāh in Qazwīn and went off to that quarter. After brilliant contests she obtained possession of her own (ancestral) territories. When she returned, the Qizilbāshīs became irritated and put that great lady to death. The beginning of their prosperity rested upon loyalty (*ikhhlāṣ*). Now when they have gone so much astray, I do not know what will be the end of such somnolent ones. The Turkish commotion again rose high, but the Shāh (Khudāband) put an excellent ending to it by the good service of M. Sulaimān the Vizier.

At this time the officers of Khurāsān made ‘Abbās M. an instrument of strife and had the boldness to attack Mashhad. Though

The ‘Ālam Ārāī, p. 95, says Tahmāsp left nine sons and eight daughters, p. 102. What A. F. means, I think, is that Ism‘aīl killed six of his brothers. The text only mentions four or almost five, but then it omits one—Sultān Maṣṭafa, who was killed by Ism‘aīl and who is mentioned in both the I.O. MSS. and in Price’s *Jahāngīr*, 72. I.O. MSS. 235 mentions six.

¹ ‘Ālam Ārāī, p. 96. He was 18 when his grandfather died.

² She is mentioned in the ‘Ālam Ārāī, p. 160. She was a capable woman and probably the real contest was between her and her sister-in-law Parī Khānim. The ‘Ālam Ārāī notices her death, p. 179, etc. She apparently instigated her husband to put Parī Khānim to death. In the ‘Ālam Ārāī, 180, she is called Khairu-n-nisā. Both she and her mother were put to death by the discontented officers, do. 182.

Murtaza Qulī was defeated in battle, yet he displayed activity in defending the city. The Shah (Khudābanda) led an army in that direction and invested Turbat, which is on the way to Herat and was held by Murshid Qulī K.¹ On account of the duplicity of the
592 disloyal he made a peace after six months and returned to 'Irāq. At this time news came that 'Abbās M. was meditating the giving of battle, but that he was indulging in the slumber of security on account of the withdrawal of the Shah. The latter left his baggage and, owl-like, made a night attack on his ('Abbās') camp. Many leaders were killed, and some were made prisoners. Much booty was obtained. The Mirzā shut himself up with some men in Herat, and was besieged there. Owing to the folly of intriguers within and without (Herat), men proceeded to the height of shamelessness, and forcibly took M. Sulaimān² out of the palace and killed him. The Shāh was obliged to make an insincere peace (a wolf's truce) and to return. He led his army into Azarbaijān in order to dispose of the Turkish commotion. Hamza M. (his son) became the general. The disloyal Turks³ (i.e. the Turks in the Persian service) behaved badly also to the Mirzā (Hamza) and prevented the success of the campaign. They separated from him and came to Qazwin, and raised up Tahmāsp⁴ the young son of the Shāh. Hamza left his quarters and showed activity in attacking them. He was victorious and then returned to his former enterprise. Meanwhile Murshid Qulī succeeded by stratagem in taking Mashhad. 'Abbās M. under the guidance of 'Alī Qulī proceeded to give battle, but was defeated and went to Herat. Murshid Qulī became the Atāliq of the Mirzā ('Abbās). At this time Hamza M. was killed by the son of a barber.⁵ The officers made Abū Tālib M. the young son of the Shāh their leader (pešhwā). The report of the coming of 'Abdullah K. to take Herat became general. Murshid Qulī K. took 'Abbās M. to

¹ His biography is given in Maaṣir-ul-Umra, III. 423.

² Khudābanda's Vizier. For account of his death, see 'Ālam Ārāī, 210.

³ Perhaps Turkān is a mistake for Turkoman.

⁴ 'Ālam Ārāī, 241.

⁵ Text dālāl, a broker, but the variant dallāk, a barber, seems right. Olearius 347 mentions the barber story, but assigns it to Ism'ail. He says Hamza was killed by some men who were disguised as women, and he represents this as occurring after Khudābanda's death.



Irāq, and the Qizilbāsh¹ deserted daily and joined him. At last Shāh Sultān¹ Maḥmūd and Abū Ṭālib also joined. Both were placed in retirement. In the 32nd Divine year, 1587, the *khutba* was recited in his ('Abbās's) name. He out of suspicion put many to death. Though he could not succeed in taking Āzarbaijān and gave up Khurāsān for a while, yet when the ruler of Tūrān² died, he got hold of Khurāsān. On account of the tumult of youth he shed blood without consideration, and disgraced some persons, but he subsided somewhat at the remonstrance of the world's lord. It is to be hoped that a good day will come.

Also, in this year Mihtar Ibrāhīm brought from Qandahar the petition of Mozaffar Ḥusain M. He conveyed presents and supplications. The excuse-accepting Shāhinshāh showed kindness to the envoy.

On the 18th the elephants³ which Rajah Mān Singh had obtained at the time of the Orissa Peace arrived at Court and H.M. took pleasure in beholding them.

An occurrence was the arrival of Miriam Makānī from Agra. When news of her approach reached H.M., he sent his sons, one after the other, to greet her.

On 21 Khūrdād (31 May 1591) H.M. embarked in a boat, and went to the tent of that great lady and did her reverence. Next morning they enjoyed themselves in river-palaces (boats) and came to the city.

¹ So in text, but Muḥammad seems the correct spelling, and occurs in the MSS. The person meant is 'Abbās's father Khudābanda.

² 'Abdullah did not die till 1597, 6 February = 2 Rajab 1006.

³ *Pīlānī* is, I think, used elsewhere in the A. N. to mean ele-

phants. It may, however, mean a single, large elephant. It appears from a report by Sarmadī Bakḥshī, p. 414a of B.M. Add. 27,247, that 106 elephants were obtained in Orissa. It is also said that the Afghans were to send 300.

CHAPTER CV.

VICTORY OF THE K. Ā'ZIM M. KOKA AND THE DISGRACE OF MOZAFFAR GUJRĀTĪ.

When Gujarat was taken from the Khān-Khānān and assigned to the Kokaltāsh, and when there was delay in his going there, and the august standards were spread out in the Panjab, the evil-minded of that country rent the scarf of respect and withdrew their heads from obedience. The Jām,¹ who was the head of the set, gathered together wicked men, and brought out his treasures and made Mozaffar Gujarātī the general. He also summoned to his aid Daulat K., the son of Amīn K. Ghori, the ruler of Jūnagarh and Sorath, and Khengār,² the ruler of Kach (Cutch). The Koka arrived there before the rebels could effect much. For a time he did not pay much attention to the matter, and he thought that the affair would be easily disposed of. At last the intoxication of the wicked increased, and the K. Ā'zim withdrew his hand from all other things and proceeded to remedy matters. The brothers of Qulij K. and the sons of Ism'ail Qulī K., who were holders of large fiefs, made unfitting excuses and did not accompany him. Apparently their non-arrival was a Divine aid, for the fewer presumptuous ones there are in an expedition the better is the work done. The cowardice of one man will upset a whole troop, and unsuitable words will confuse a world. He made war, backed by the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhīnshāh, against numerous enemies and the folly of well-wishers who did not understand the position, and proceeded to chastise the short-sighted opportunists. Near Bairamgāon,³ Fath K., son of Amīn K. Ghori; Candar Sen, the Zamindar of Halūd, Karn Pirmāl, the Kalāntar (chief) of Morbī, and many presumptuous ones joined the

¹ (Satr Sāl).

² See Bayley's Gujarat 55 and note. He is called there the ruler of Girnān. The Iqbāl-nāma calls

him Rajah Khengār. See J. II. 249, n. 2.

³ The Veirumgaon of Bayley's map. W. Ahmadabad.



victorious army. Naurang K., Saiyid Qāsim, Khwāja Sulaimān, and other brave men were sent forward by the K. Ā'zim. They¹ halted in Morbi, 25 *kos* from the enemies' country, and indulged in foolish talk. I comprehend that they did not think of service, but why did the nobleness of eternal fortune remain behind a veil? From distorted vision they brought forward proposals of peace. They did not succeed, and turned their faces to abjectness (perhaps, to a truce). The wicked and presumptuous (rebels) did not accept the proposals and conceived the idea of fighting. The Kokaltāsh from his awakened fortune and bright star set himself to remedy matters, and though the soldiers were less than 10,000, and there were more than 30,000 of the enemy, he prepared for battle. He arranged his forces in seven bodies.² In the centre were Khānam,³ Khwāja⁴ Abū-l-qāsim Diwān, Ḥakīm Mozaffar Ardistāni, Qizil⁵ Abdāl and other heroes with 2000 men. On the right wing was Naurang K. 594 with 1500 men; on the left wing were Khwāja Rafī', Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Qāzī Ḥusain, Saiyid Abū-isāḥaq, Candar Sen with 1800 men. The vanguard consisted of Saiyid Qāsim,⁶ Saiyid Bayāzid, Saiyid Bahādur, Saiyid 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, Saiyid Salīm, Mir Sharfu-d-dīn, Saiyid Muṣṭafa with 1400 men. The *altamsh* consisted of 1600 men.⁷ The Kokaltāsh, Kāmran Beg, Muhammad Toqbāi, Khwāja Bābā, and Qādir Qulī Koka formed the reserve with 400 experienced men who loved their honour; Gūjar K. with 600 men formed the reserve of the right wing, and Khwājam Bardī with an

¹ This obscure passage becomes clearer in the Iqbāl-nāma. It was this advance force which indulged in foolish negotiations.

² Text *karohī* "kos," but the true reading is *gurohī*. See the T. A. which has seven bodies (*fanj*).

³ This is M. Koka's son. B. 328.

⁴ B. 485. He was brother of Akbar's teacher.

⁵ Text *qaral*. The MSS. have Qizil, and this seems right, as Qizil occurs at p. 767.

⁶ MS. No. 235 MS. Sayyid Qāsim Bārha.

⁷ So in text, but the MSS. have the name Anwar instead of the word *hasār* (1000), and the account in the Iqbāl-nāma shows that Anwar is right. Anwar is for M. Anwar, the son of the Kokaltāsh: see Blochmann 328 and 475. 1600 seems too large a figure for the *altamsh* and is reduced in MSS. to 600 or 300. Anwar is no doubt the M. Nour of Price's Jahāngīr, 42, who was put to death for a murder. In B.M. MS. Add. 27.247, the name is written Nūr.



equal number formed the reserve of the left wing. On the other side were, in the centre, Moẓaffar with 4000 of the Lonakāthī tribe and of others; in the right wing was Daulat K. with 4500 men; in the left wing, the Jām with 8000 men; in the vanguard were Ājā, the son and heir of the Jām, his paternal uncle Manīh, and other brethren, and Jasā with his relatives, together with 4500 men. It was decided that they would cross the Sai¹ (?) river and give battle on 30 Tīr, 10th July 1591, and test their respective courage. When they crossed the river, there was such thunder and rain that for two days and nights the opposing forces could not meet. The enemy held the high ground, and the imperialists were in difficulty, on account of the lowness of the land, the abundance of water, and the scarcity of provisions. Twice they (the enemy²) tried a night-attack, but were unsuccessful.

When their hardships became intolerable, they of necessity proceeded towards Nawānagar, to the dwelling-place of the Jām, in order that they might distract the enemy, and get supplies. They marched four *kos*, and came to an inhabited village, where they got provisions and much plunder. The enemy were compelled to move, and took post three *kos* off on the other side of a stream. Many went off to look after their homes. On 4th Amardād (14th July, 1591) the forces came forward to fight, and there was a hot engagement. The valiant men of the left wing passed³ by the vanguard. Daulat K. (Amin Ghorī's son) fought strenuously. Khwāja⁴ S. threw himself upon the foe, and Khwāja Rafī' on account of ties of friendship stood by with him, along with some others. They (the enemy) seized his reins and killed him. Fifteen⁵ brave men from among his relatives died

¹ *Siyah āb* "Blackwater." Perhaps the Ran of Cutch is meant, but most probably it is the name of a river. The K. A'zim was marching along the south side of the Ran. Perhaps the *Siyah āb* is a name of the Sabarmatī.

² The B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 distinctly states that it was the enemy who attacked.

³ That is, they got ahead of the *altamsh*.

⁴ It appears from the *Iqbāl-nāma* that this is Khwāja Muḥammad Husain who afterwards died of his wounds.

⁵ The fifteen who also fell were apparently related to Khwāja Rafī'. For S. Kabīr see B. 519, note. His father Mukammal Khān of Gujarat translated a work on Astronomy for Akbar. B. 105.



gallantly. S. Kabir, son of Mukammal K., also fell bravely. The reserve of his force (the left wing) did not behave well, and many fled. Some came behind the centre. Muḥammad Husain S., wounded, was among the men (of the left wing). He soon died. Some in the mid-centre and the *altamsh* drew their rein. The enemy exulted in their success, and pursued and fell upon the baggage. Meanwhile the brave men of the *altamsh* supported Daulat K., and some who had fled, returned and took part in the fight. The enemy's right wing which was pressing on slackened their speed somewhat. In the beginning of the contest the enemy's van contended with the imperialists, and there were strenuous efforts.

Verse.

You'd say all the hearts¹ of the swords swelled,
The earth groaned beneath the horses;
The brain of the clouds became filled with the sound of the drum;
The cup of the sword was filled with red wine.

595

The work of arrow and sword was over, and they contended with knife and dagger. Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn² bravely yielded up his life. The army was nearly meeting with a disaster. The brave men of the *altamsh* defeated the enemy's right wing. The hostile Rajpūts acted according to their custom and got off³ their horses and stood to be slain. Meanwhile the Kokaltāsh arrived, and the face of victory was displayed. Mīhrāwan with his brother and two sons and Jasā with 500 Rajpūts yielded up their lives in one place. Zarīf al-Mulk, the *vakīl* of Daulat K., was captured. The Jām and Mozaffar fled without fighting. Daulat K. was wounded and went off to Jūnagarh. 2000 of the enemy's warriors were killed; 100 of the imperialists were killed, and 500 wounded; 700 horses were lost. The artillery, the elephants, etc. of the enemy were captured. The general returned thanks to God. All, small and great, were encouraged. On the 28th⁴ the news of victory was conveyed to

¹ The middle part of a sword is called its heart (*dīl*).

² Brother's son of Abū Turāb.

³ Cf. J. III. 8, end of 1st para. The Iqbāl-nāma adds "girt up their trowsers (*fautahā*) and stood like

Alexander's rampart." Cf. Elliot I. App. 535.

⁴ 28th Amardād = 8th August, 1591. The battle is described by Nizāmud-dīn, Elliot V. 459, and by Badayūnī, Lowe 385. It is not cor-



H. M. and there was Divine praise. The Kokaltash had written that he had become hopeless on account of the dismay of great and small, but the world's lord had appeared to him in a dream and had encouraged him so that *the water that had dispersed had returned to its channel*. If such glorious apparitions were recited, one by one, the ears of the superficial could not contain them.

At this time Qāzī Nūr Ullah and Qāzī 'Alī were sent to Kashmīr. Enemies trumped up stories against Tōṭā,¹ who was one of M. Yūsuf

rect to say that it had no results, for it was followed by the surrender of Jūnagarh, etc. See Elliot V. 461 and the Maasir U. I. 683. The date of the victory is said to be 6th Shawāl 999 = about 18th July, 1591. The T. A. and Badayūnī make it 998, but Faizī's chronogram and A. F.'s statement show that it should be 999. According to I.O. MS. 235, M. Koka's force amounted to 8000 men, and the enemy's to 17,000. I.O. MS. 236 has 8900 for M. Koka's force and 21,000 for the enemy's. The Cawnpore edition has 8900 for M. Koka's force, and 17,000 for the enemy's. I think that we may take 8900 to be the number of M. Koka's men and 21,000 as that of the foe. The latter number agrees with Nizāmu-d-dīn's statement that the enemy had about 20,000 horse. The reduction from 30,000 to 21,000 is not inconsistent with A. F.'s first statement, for he says that many of the rebels left when M. Koka made the forward movement towards their homes. Though the authorities speak of M. Koka's arranging his force in seven bodies, A. F. mentions eight. Horn's Das Heer und Kriegs wesen der Gross Moghuls, Leyden, 1894, pp. 65 etc., and also 113, has some interesting remarks on

this battle. The MS. Add. 27,247 says M. Koka held a review (*shān*) and that he found the number of his men was 9000. The total of the figures given in the MS. for the enemy seems to be 17,000. It says the day first fixed for the battle was the *Yzān* (also called *Anīrān*), that is, the 30th day of the month (of *Tir*) and which corresponded to Monday the 1st of the *Ramzān*=13th Jul., 1591. It gives 600 as the number of the *altmash*, and calls the *Jām's* son *Aca*. The actual day of the battle it gives as 4th *Amardād* or 6th *Shawāl* (18th July). Instead of *Siāh āb*, black river, it seems to have *āsīya āb*, i.e. mill-stream.

Text Bartūta, and there is the variant Hartūta, but it appears from B.M. MS. 27,247 that the man's name was Tōta and that he was a Khatri, and that *bar* is the preposition. Qāzī Nūr Ullah is apparently the author of the *Majālisat-l-Mūminān* who was afterwards flogged to death by Jahāngīr's orders on account of his Shiism. See Rieu Cat. I. 337a, and Badayūnī III. 137, who praises Nūr Ullah in spite of his being a Shia! It has been stated above, p. 549, that Akbar on his visit to Kashmīr raised the revenue from 20 to 22 lakhs. The paragraph is rather obscure. I

K.'s confidential servants, and represented that his skirt was stained with embezzlement. The Mirzā, without making inquiry, put him to the torture, and he, after being ill used, escaped and came to court as a suppliant for justice. He represented that the revenue of Kashmir had been fixed at 22 lakhs of *Kharwārs*, and that M. Yūsuf had got the fief at the rate of sixteen *dāms* for each *Kharwār*. At present the number of *Kharwārs* (received by Yūsuf) was 50 per cent more than this, and each *Kharwār* was worth 28 *dāms*. All these facts could be ascertained by inquiry. On the 16th (Amardād = 27th July, 1591) these two able and unavaricious officers were sent to inquire into matters.

On the 18th (Amardād = 29th July, 1591) 'Urfī of Shiraz died. He had opened¹ a door of the house of eloquence. If he had not had self-love, and had regulated his life properly, and if Time had given him some leisure, his work would have risen high. About this time (the time of his death) he composed this quatrain.

*Verse.*²

Urfī! it is the last breath, and still thou art intoxicated
After all, of what value are the goods thou hast packed?
To-morrow the Friend with the ready money of paradise in
his palm

Will ask for thy wares, and thou wilt have an empty hand. 596

think the words *u Daryāft-i-hamwāra bar gash* must be a phrase meaning that everything would be ascertained by a local investigation. It seems as if the author of the *Iqbāl-nāma* so understood them, for he says that the clerk (Tota) said that the truth would be ascertained if an Amīn were sent. Qāzī Nūr Ullah retreated in time, but Qāzī 'Alī was killed by the Kashmiris. The subject is referred to by Blochmann at p. 346, but apparently he has taken his account from the *Maasir* III. 315 and not directly from the A. N.

¹ Possibly the rendering should be

"A pearl of eloquence has dropped." But it appears from B. 571 that 'Urfī spoke of his standing before a door, etc. Possibly there is a pun in the remark about self-love, and *dar khud* may mean both "in himself" and "his own door."

² Cf. B. 571, "Not a grain, etc." The translation is Mr. Lowe's, 387. B. 569 says 'Urfī died in Lahore in Shawwāl 990. Badayūnī has a notice of 'Urfī III. 285. See also *Khāfi* K. I. 200 where two witticisms of 'Urfī at Faizī's expense are recorded. His real name according to B. was *Khawaja Sayyadī*, though



On the 30th (Amardād) Bibī Rūpa¹ covered her face from the troublous spot of the earth (i.e. died). H.M. was grieved, but from profundity of view he became resigned, and craved forgiveness (for her). She was one of the choice nurses. She always spent her time with propriety, and out of her right-thinking she obtained long life. On this day the Aḥadīs came to court after performing good service. Before this, some Rajputs had killed Karam Beg, the son of Sher² Beg, and gone off rapidly. Ḥamza³ 'Arab had a *jāgīr* in Bhimbhar. Umrā, the brother of Rai Rai Singh, became disobedient and practised violence. He received suitable punishment from the fief-holder. Kesū Dās, his (Rai Rai Singh's) brother's son, lay in wait to take revenge. One night he killed Karam Beg, thinking that he was Ḥamzā's son, and then fled with some companions. When the thing was known, swift men went off in all directions. S. Adam and S. 'Azōya-llah Aḥadī went off in search via Multān. Between Dībālpūr⁴ and Qanūlā (?) they came up with the fugitives near the town of Naushahra. Some Rājputs of Rai Rai Singh's and some servants of the Khān⁵ Khānān also joined them. Kesū Dās and five others were killed and three men were brought in as prisoners. The Aḥadīs were graciously received.

On this night after three *pahars* 1½ *gharīs* 'Abdu-r-raḥmān,⁶ the son of the writer of the noble volume, had a son. There was great rejoicing and the world's lord gave him the name of Bishotan. It is hoped that his distinction will increase, and that he will soon get fitting employment. Also at this time S. Ibrāhīm⁷ died. He had a large share of practical wisdom, and the province of Agra was managed by his cleverness. He died on 4th Shahriyār, 14th August, 1591, and H.M. begged forgiveness for him. His surviving relatives

Beale says it was Jamālū-d-dīn. His poetry appears to have been translated by Maulvi 'Abdu-s-Salām. See Rieu, Cat. 667a, for an account of 'Urfi.

¹ See translation I. 131. She was one of Akbar's wet-nurses.

² Sher Beg Yasāwaltāghī B. 515.

³ Perhaps No. 277 of B. 497. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 calls Karam Sul-tān Beg.

⁴ Should be Dībālpūr. It is the Dībālpūr Lakhī of J. II. 332 and Qanūlā appears to be the Qabūlah there mentioned.

⁵ The Khān-Khānān had Multan as his fief.

⁶ See B. xxxv and for Bishotan id. xxxvi.

⁷ B. 402, and Badayūnī, Lowe 387. He was very wealthy. Add. 28,247 gives the Hijra date as 7 Zi-l-Q'ada.



received favours. By the royal command Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram proceeded from Mewāt to that quarter (Agra) and in a short space of time they (the inhabitants) discoursed¹ of his administration of justice and good deeds.

One of the occurrences was the sending of ambassadors to the south. When Burhān-al-Mulk prevailed over Aḥmadnagar he should have increased his devotion and gratitude, and been an example of obedience to the other rulers in that quarter. The wine of success robbed him of his senses, and he forgot the varied favours he had received from the Shāhinshāh. In his evil fortune he set himself to oppress the weak, and considered that his profit consisted in the injury of others. The world's lord, on account of graciousness and benevolence, resolved that he should in the first instance send an able person to Rajah 'Alī K.—to whom Burhān was submissive—and to convey, in accordance with his suggestions, counsels to the somnolent one (Burhān) and the other rulers of that quarter. If they listened and apologised, he would withhold his hand from retribution. Otherwise a victorious army would be appointed, and chastisement be inflicted. On the 14th the Mulku-sh-sh'uarā² S. Abū-l-faiḡ Faḡī was sent to Rajah 'Alī K. and Burhān-al-Mulk. Amīnu-d-dīn was sent along with him. Mīr Muḥammad Rīḡavī was sent to 'Ādil K., and Mīr Manīr to Qutbu-l-Mulk. Many messages of instruction were sent. 597

One of the occurrences was the proceeding of the officers to Jūnagarh. When M. Koka gained his victory, he hastened next morning to Nawānagar, and gathered immense booty. The Jām and Mozaffar fled to the highlands of Barra (Bardā, also called Jaitwār). The Kokaltāsh remained where he was to punish the evil-doers, and sent Naurang K., Sayid Qāsim, and Khwāja Sulaimān to take Jūna-

¹ The meaning is obscurely expressed in the text, and I have been obliged to paraphrase A. F.'s expressions. A. F. speaks in another place of the people of Agra being very difficult to manage. Ibrāhīm Cistī accumulated an immense fortune during his governorship, and the most of it went into the government coffers.

The expression *bar guḡrānd* seems identical with the words *bar guḡā-rand* on the next page, line eleven.

² Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 389-90, and Elliot V. 460. B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 gives copies of the *fīrmāns* (see that MS., pp. 398b and 400) to Rajah 'Alī and Burhān. Apparently these also occur in the *Inshā*, Book I.



garh. His thought was that when his mind was at rest about that country he would follow them. Those sent encountered great hardships in consequence of the desolation of the territory and the high price of provisions. When by endurance they approached the place, Daulat K., the son of Amīn K., died of his wounds, and there was some talk of surrendering the fort. The garrison said, "The governor of the fort is dead, and the victorious army has arrived. The proper thing is to conclude a treaty, and make over the keys." The answer sent was that they should send a confidential man in order that their wishes might be carried out. At this time news came that a set of Kāthis had fallen upon the baggage. Of necessity the troops had to go to that spot. Just then, Mozaffar came there, and the garrison resumed their haughtiness. The Khān 'Aẓīm was indignant, and resolved upon taking the fort. Mozaffar came out and it was reported that he had hastened off to Aḥmadābād. The Kokaltāsh sent an army after him under the command of Kharrām (his son) and intended that he himself should invest the fort. Meanwhile it appeared that the Jām was in the neighbourhood and proceeding to his home. M. Koka hastened thither. The Jām turned back and had recourse to supplications. Meanwhile the disturbance of Nazar¹ Be and his sons arose. M. Koka was obliged to accept the Jām's apologies and to return. In Dandūqa Mir Abū Turāb arrived from court and brought a rescript, and choice horses and robes of honour for the servants. The officers on hearing of the glorious news offered up thanks. Just then the news of the quelling of the Mālwa rebels gave a fresh brightness to the countenance of joy. The Kokaltash's idea was to return to the capture of the fort, but he was hindered by the hanging back of his companions.

¹ These were Uzbegs who had left 'Abdullah K. See B. 455 and 519. Their fate is recorded below, p. 600. Add. 27,247 mentions three sons,

Qambarī, Shādī and Pīrū (?). They and their father had gone to the Deccan and joined Burhānu-l-Mulk without obtaining leave from Akbar.



CHAPTER CVI.

DEPARTURE OF PRINCE SULTĀN MURĀD TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE PROVINCE OF MĀLWA.

The best worship by a sovereign is the choosing of right thinking men and the appointing them to look after the weak, especially 598 when the former adorn high birth by good qualities. Such is the conduct of our sovereign lord. He is always testing friends and strangers, and exalting the humble. He looks after the neighbouring rulers. If they sympathise with mortals by administering justice, etc., no harm comes to them, and he encourages them. Otherwise entreaties do not prevent him from inflicting retribution. But he begins by giving advice, and holds forth both hopes and fears. When the rulers of the Deccan took to behaving ill, he sent able men to advise them. He also exalted Prince Sultān Murād, who was adorned with fitting qualities, and gave him a standard, a kettledrum, an umbrella and a *togh* (banner), and appointed Mālwa as his fief. On the night of 4th Mihr, 14th¹ September, 1591, after the lapse of two hours, he was sent off there after receiving weighty counsels. H.M.'s idea was that if the rulers of the South were not impressed by the good advices, punishment should be prepared for them. I record here some of the weighty advices which he hung on the ears of that honoured son, and thereby communicate the materials of wisdom.

"The first step is to enquire into what is God's Will, in order that right actions may be performed. After that, outward purification is to be pursued. Food and clothing are not to be made ends. Profundity of view is to be exercised. Tyrannous actions are to be

¹ Elliot V. 460 gives 23 Zī-l-ḥajja as the date, but the Newal K. ed. gives 8th and Badayūnī, Lowe, 391, has 12th. The 8th would correspond to 18th September, 1591. The

Iqbālūma says Murād was also made a commander of 8,000. B.M. MS. 27,247 gives 9th Zī-l-ḥajja as the date when Murād was sent.



abstained from. The rules of moderation and of fitting season are not to be departed from. Every member (of the body) is to be kept to its proper office. Much speaking and laughing are to be avoided. Sleep is not to exceed one-third part of the day and night (nycthemeron). There must be an endeavour to improve the army, and the country, to provide for the safety of the roads, and the obedience of the refractory; and thieves and robbers must be put down. Then attention is to be paid to internal improvement. Lust and wrath must be subjected to the commands of Wisdom, for the Creator has placed two¹ sentinels in the palace of the body. The one sees that proper things are done; the other that evil things are abstained from. The children of men out of somnolent intellect have given these two a loose rein, and have made what should be the adornment of life the supplier of death. Do not neglect the knowledge of what is right, and support the power of the ruler (Reason). Preserve the equability of the four humours, and keep far from excess and defect which constitute evil. Use justice and discretion in this daily market of hypocrisy and double-facedness. The worship of the choosers of bypaths who have severed the links of association is one thing, and that of those who are bound in the improvement of the world is another. Though² the idea of both is development, yet the former never departs from awakedness, while insouciance is suitable to the latter. Study the actions of every one, and be not disturbed by seeing improprieties. Let not love or hate, or threats or encouragements, transgress bounds. A frown will effect with many, what in other men requires a sword and dagger. Let not difference of religion interfere with policy, and be not violent in inflicting retribution. Adorn the confidential council with men who know their work. If apologies be made, accept them. Be not stiff in your own opinions.

599 Do not consider any one suitable for this employment (the giving of advice) except a far-seeing, right-thinking and disinterested person. Do not make ease³ your rule, and do not reject help in the

¹ Referring, apparently, to the two recording angels who attend every man. One records his good actions, and the other his evil deeds. See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, article, Angels.

² The passage is obscure, but apparently the meaning is that the devotee is always engaged in worship, while the layman is necessarily subject to interruptions.

³ The text here differs from the



day of (your) distress. Do not be dismayed by much ill-success. Choose the observance of your promises above all advantage to your self, and live so that the crowds of foreigners be not distressed. Especially see to it that merchants have a good opinion of you for their report carries far. Expect¹ from every one service in proportion to his ability. Be not deceived in your inquiries by glozing words. Love is produced by one of four things. 1st. The idea of worldly advantage. This is slow to come and soon goes. 2nd. Spiritual advantage. This is the opposite of the first. 3rd. Goodness of disposition. This lasts throughout life. Its permanency or its non-existence depends upon wisdom.² 4th. Loyalty (*Ikhlaṣ*). One must by the route of this fourfold stream look narrowly into the condition of followers, and regulate his actions according to such knowledge. You must study instructive books, and apply your knowledge to practice. Secure the affection of contented hermits and of the matted-haired and barefooted. Be not uplifted by beholding those who have been robbed of splendour. Apply yourself to sympathising with the soldier, and give him his pay in due season. Demand from every one suitable horses, arms and tents for him. Reward good service. Do not lose sight of an old servant. Fail not to encourage the husbandman. For every employment secures truthful and active-minded men, so that they may do good work without desire of money,³ or of greatness

MSS., but they too are not very intelligible.

¹ That is, do not expect more from an ordinary man than he can do.

² This sentence is obscure and there are different readings in the MSS. Perhaps, instead of *khirad* "wisdom" we should read *khūd*, and the reference may be to the oriental proverb that every thing returns to its original. The word *bachīra* "at the end" occurs in the Lucknow ed. and in a MS. of my own.

³ The text has *bāda*, wine, but some MSS. have *pāra*, money. The words in text are *be khāwīsh-i-bāda-i-buzurgī farokhtan*, "without the

desire of selling the wine of greatness" (?). Apparently, what is meant is that they are not to be accessible to bribes. Badayūnī, Lowe, 391-92, has a sarcastic account of Prince Murād's administration of Mālwa. The Prince was then under twenty-one years of age. No doubt he was preferred to his elder brother on account of the latter's drunken habits. The MS. Add. 27,247 gives a very long Wājibu-l-'Arḡ or Petition of the prince to his father, asking for instructions in the performance of his duties. To each item of his queries is appended Akbar's order thereon. Each of these is headed

or praise. Do not withhold your own supervision from them. Exalt the right-thinking, and admonish and punish the foolish. Be not satisfied in the administration of justice with oaths and witnesses. Make various inquiries and study the book of the forehead (the physiognomy). Do not introduce new customs which yield little advantage and much evil. Make over the Passes to brave and experienced men and neglect not the security of the roads. In prosperity remember adversity, and prepare remedies for everything. Choose a good companion, and be not offended at his truthful speech. Obey wisdom and refrain from ebullitions of temper." He gave him many delightful counsels. It is to be hoped that fortune will favour him, and that something of what has been said will lead to action. Ismāil

600 Qulī K. . . . (here follow 7 lines of names) and many others accompanied that nursling of fortune. The fief-holders of Mālwa were also appointed to choice service. From among them Ismā'il Qulī K. was made Vakīl and Mukhtār Beg, Bakhshī. Next day the writer of the noble volume was sent to expound some of the admonitions, and represent that there was spiritual union (with Akbar) though there was physical separation. I was also to ascertain and report the wishes of the prince, and to endeavour to carry them out. There was a confidential meeting. The pearl of the kingly diadem (Murād) uttered pleasing words, and the sovereign was delighted on hearing them, and said "I hope that prosperity will not produce somnolence and that the society of the good will act as a guard.

ḥukm shud. In the same MS. A.F. describes how after Akbar had given directions to the prince, A.F. was sent next day to give verbal instructions, and to receive his applications for orders. Murād asks a great many questions. He begins by saying that he dreads the separation from his father, and says he would have liked to remain near him as his ewer-bearer. He fears he may be attacked by enemies in his absence and that he may be accused of hypocrisy. He asks how he is to act with regard to *kornish*, how he is to check drunkenness among his

followers, how he is to regulate his time of sleep, etc. He begs that two persons, whom he names, may be allowed to accompany him. Akbar replies that one of them will be sent, but that the wife of the other man objects to his going, and that until she can be persuaded to let him go, he cannot be sent. Murād asks about amusements, and about days of fasting (*sūyāna*). He also asks for books, and is told that the translation of the *Mahābhārat* will be sent him. Also that the sacred names of God will be sent him to help him in his devotions.



On the 21st H.M. went out to hunt, and some ladies accompanied him. He went as far as the Cenāb, and he enjoyed himself. Though hunting was the object, yet many oppressed persons obtained justice; and many refractory persons were chastised. On the 25th near Shāham 'Alī he received the news of the disaffection of Nāzar Be and of his death. He and his sons had received high rank and been given a *jāgīr*, in Handiā. As the wine of self-will does not agree with narrow capacities, they soon became oppressors. When Burhān-al-Mulk went to the Deccan . . . Nāzar Be's sons accompanied him without orders. He himself, thinking that Gujarāt was empty, went off there. On hearing this, M. Koka made peace with the Jām and returned. When that crooked-minded one (Nāzar) saw that fortune was not in his favour, he represented that he had come in order to see how things were going on. When the Kokaltāsh heard this, he did not expose¹ him, but politely dismissed him. He did not go to his *jāgīr*, but went to the Deccan. When he came to Khāndesh, Rajah 'Alī K. gave him a warm welcome for a time, but had the prudence to send him back unsuccessful. Near Sāwal² the Kūliān (a tribe) blocked his path, and in the fight he was killed. At this time his sons left Burhānu-l-Mulk, and stirred up strife in Mālwa. Khwāja Muhibb 'Alī Dīwān gathered together Jamālu-d-dīn Husain and other fief-holders of the province, and set forth to remedy matters. The wicked men dispersed thereupon, and near Bijagarh³ fought with the landholders and were defeated. Qambar⁴ Be was wounded, and died. Shādī Be and some followers came to Nadarbār (Nazarbār). The agents of Qulij K. bound him and brought him to court. H.M. was kind to him and sent him to Bengal.

¹ *ban rū nī āward*, "did not bring him to book (?)." Perhaps it means, did not attend to him. Add. 27,247 has *nekoishāmid*, "he was censured."

² Perhaps, Sāvda in Khāndesh, the Sāodā of J. II. 225.

³ Not identified.

⁴ Text has Qambar Be, Raḥim Be *hardū*. But Raḥim is a mistake for *zakḥmi* as Add. 27,247 and the Iqbāl-nāma show. Nāzar Be had a third

son, called Bāqī at III. 487. Add. 27,247 says Qambar took shelter with Tewārī, a dependent of Mozaffar Gujarātī, after he was wounded. This is interesting, for it supports the statement of I.O. MS. 235, p. 684a, last line, that the wounded man took refuge with the zemindar of Rāj-pīpla, for his name was Tewārī. See J. II. 251. I.O. MS. 236 also speaks of Qambar Be's taking refuge with



On 1¹ Ābān the festival of the solar weighment was celebrated. In Badalgarha H.M. was weighed against twelve articles, and the world rejoiced. All got their desires. An order was given to Zain K. Koka, who was the fiefholder of the place, to convert the site of the weighment into a garden. H.M. gave it the name of Zainābād. At this time it occurred to H.M. to found a large city on the
601 bank of the Cenāb, and that thus an old idea would be carried into effect. Skilful men pointed out several sites. On the 6th (Ābān) Ḥakim Miṣrī, Ḥakīm 'Alī, Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥusāin and Mīr Tāhir were sent to examine both banks of the river. They selected two spots. One was on the other side, between Pargūwāl and Ḥāj-wāl, and was a dependency of Bahlūlpūr.² The other was on this side, and near the town of Sūdhara. An order was given that the Greek and Indian astrologers should ascertain a propitious time. As they fixed one that was somewhat remote, the work was not undertaken.

On this day Mīr Sharīf 'Amulī was sent off to Bengal and Bihar and was entrusted with four³ great offices (*manṣab*), viz. those of Āmin, Ṣadr, and Qāzī. Sharīf Sarmadī⁴ was made Bakhshī.

Tewārī, and adds that he died at his place.

¹ 6 Muḥarram 1000, according to Add. 27,240.

² Bhilalpūr or Bahlolpūr of I.G., VI. 205, in the Ludiana district. The names of the two villages which were dependencies of Bahlūlpūr are different in Add. 27,247. The wording too of the passage is different. The names in the B.M. MS. seem to be Barkowāl and Jaguwāl. The other site was in the village of Kahūra near Shādra. Akbar was then in the village of Shāh 'Ālam, and while there he discussed and reprobrated some trick perpetrated by Alexander against Porus. This subject is referred to in the "Sayings of Akbar," given in the Ayīn, J. III. 392 and note.

³ The text, following apparently the Lucknow edition, says he was made a commander of 4000. But this, as B. has pointed out, 452, n. 1, must be a mistake. I.O. MS. 235 gives one of the four offices as *Khalīfagī*, "apostleship." Evidently the text is wrong, for it only mentions three offices. Add. 27,247 has a very curious statement. It says that the highest office was to give advice to the Prince Royal (Jahāngīr) who had gone wrong through drink.

⁴ He too is one of Badayūnī's heretics. B. 391 N. and 607. Sarmadī wrote a long and interesting account of Mān Singh's conquest of Jagannāth (Pooree), which is preserved in B.M. MS. 27,247.

On 28th (Ābān) the standards were upreared at Lahore, and crowds rejoiced to see H.M. One day, while hunting, a fawn was seen. By the royal command a bitch¹ (named) Teztak (the swift) was let loose. The fawn was nearly caught when the mother devised a stratagem. She pretended to be lame, and came near the bitch; the latter thought her an easy prey, and went after her. The fawn escaped, and when the mother had conveyed her to the herd and was at ease about her, she left off her lameness, and went away swiftly. H.M. said he had seen such a remarkable thing in a *qamrgāh* hunt in Bazarah,² but that the mother had not escaped.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of the Arghūniāns.³ It has been mentioned that a choice army was appointed under the command of the Khān-Khānān to take Qandahār. As Multan and Bhakkar were in his fief he left the near road by Ghaznī and Bangash and took a long route in order to look after his *jāgīrs*. Meanwhile mercenary people who did not understand what should be done represented the large spoil of Tatta and the little spoil of Qandahār. The commander took⁴ leave to conquer Sind. Near

¹ *Qanjaq* or *qānjaq*, a canine bitch.

² Badrak in text, but Bāzārāh or Bazārak (a little bazaar) in Afghanistan seems meant. See *ante*, translation I. 526.

³ They derive their name from the grandson of Hulāgū. Elliot I, 303. At p. 428 i.e., it is stated that the dynasty ended with Shāh Husain, but see B. 361, 362. The Tarikhāns represented the older branch.

⁴ Presumably this means that the Khān-Khānān obtained Akbar's consent to the change of plan. A.F. does not give the date of the Khān-Khānān's arrival at Bhakkar. M'aṣūm, Elliot I. 247, says he himself arrived there on 14 Šafr 999 (2 December 1590), and that Khān-Khānān came there at the same time. On account of the hot winds, and the violence of the river, he stayed there

some time, and then sent M'aṣūm to Schwāp, and himself followed afterwards. The naval battle was not fought till about eleven months after the K. K.'s arrival at Bhakkar.

There are some words in the B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 which are omitted in the text. It appears that Akbar, or at least A.F., disapproved of the change of plan, for the remark is that Qandahar could have been easily reached by way of Ghaznī and Bangash, and that the alteration of plan made an easy task difficult. There is a paragraph about Qandahar in the annals of the 35th year, page 584 of Bib. Ind. ed. It corresponds to a passage in Add. 27,247, but the wording is different. According to the latter, Qandahar had always belonged to India, but Humāyūn had resigned it to the ruler of



Multān the Balūchīs waited on him and made promises. Near Bhakkar he drew up his forces. At this time the ambassadors of M. Jānī Beg came to the Khān-Khānān and represented, "The conquest of Qandahar is the object of the army. It would have been fitting that (our master) should join on this, but as the disturbance of strife-mongers prevents this, he is sending an army to serve." The envoys were put into confinement and the troops advanced somewhat faster. Just then news came that fire had broken out in the fort of Sehwan and consumed the provisions. On hearing this the troops went on rapidly by land and water. Those who went by water passed under the fort of Sehwan and took Lakhī.¹ It is like Garhī in Bengal and Bārahmūla in Kashmīr. No harm came from the cannon and muskets of the garrison, and the gate of the country fell into their
602 hands. The Khān-Khānān approached the fort (i.e. Sehwan), and set himself to take it. Some call this country Siwistān. This fort of the ruler is situated on the bank of the Indus on the top of a ridge. The glacis (*khākrez*) is 40 yards, and the wall seven yards (high). Near it there is a lake² eight *kos* in length, and six in breadth.

Persia. Now that the star of the Persians was setting (*dar ufūl ast*), it occurred to H.M. that it would help Persia if he took Qandahar, and so saved it from the Uzbegs! Also the Mirzās (nephews of Tahmāsp) had grown deaf of heart, and were not acting properly. Akbar proposed to take Qandahar from them, and to bring them to India. The Khān-Khānān therefore was sent off with a large force on 24 Mihr—the day of Dīn, corresponding to 17 Rabī' ul-awwal (999) = January 1590; but from self-interested motives, and a desire to gather the spoils of Sind, he did not go by Baluchistan. M. Jānī Beg's offence was that he had not paid his respects to Akbar at Lahore.

¹ See B. 335 and note Hughes' Gazetteer of Scinde, p. 686, says, "Be-

tween the towns of Lakī and Sehwan the mountain has a nearly precipitous face about 600 feet high towards the Indus, between which and the precipice there was at one time a road, though in some places so narrow that only a single camel could pass at a time. The defile was swept away in 1839." Part of the Khān-Khānān's forces went by water, and part by land. Apparently, he himself went by land. The taking of the Lakī Pass secured the route to Tatta. The Sehwan Fort stands on an artificial mound, and, according to legend, was built by Alexander the Great. It is known as the "Kāfur Qila?" See also about Lakī and the taking of it by the K. K., Elliot I. 285. Lakh means a defile in Balūchi. (Pottinger).

² The Mauchhār lake, I.G., XVII.



Three branches of the river join it. It is a place of refuge for the garrison. Some men live on islands in it and some in boats. Qarā Beg and some men embarked on boats (*ghrāb*) and went towards it. As they came suddenly, they collected much plunder. The land-owners asked for quarter. On hearing this, M. Jānī Beg prepared to give battle. At the pass of Naṣīrpūr¹—a place which lies on one side, the river,²—and on the other, streams, he constructed a fort. He strengthened it by war-boats and a park of artillery. The army was doubtful about advancing. At this time Rāwal Bhīm, the ruler of Jaisalmīr, and Dalpat s. Rai Singh, represented: "Our intention was to have come by Bhakkar. Having lost³ our way we are coming by way of Umarkot." From apprehension that the enemy would prevail over this force, (the K. K.) left the work of taking the fort and of making the road, and set off by land and water. Maqṣūd Āqā and some men were left at the ferries so that the garrison might be alarmed, and the route be in some measure safe. On 18 Ābān he arrived within six *kos* of the enemy, and out of precaution put up four walls. On the 21st,⁴ *Khusrū* the Circassian prepared his boats and came out to fight. Although they were moving up stream, they were forced downwards by the strength of the current. The fight went on from evening till dawn. Owing to a report that M. Jānī was coming by land, Farīdūn Barlās and others on that dark night left the river. In the morning there was a hot cannonade, and a great battle. The enemy could not come to close quarters owing to the shallowness of the water. Those who had left the river (i.e. the imperialists) came by the other bank and took to shooting with arrows (bullets?). The brave soldiers went down the stream in war-boats. For a time they fought with bullets, but soon they contended with spears and daggers.

122 and J. II. 338, where it is called Manchūr. See also Hughes' Gazetteer.

¹ The Nasarpūr of the I.G., XVIII. 398, in the Hāla division of the Haidarābād district, J. II. 341.

² Variant and also I.O. MSS. *buaurg daryā* "great river."

³ Text *az gumrāhī* "from losing

our way." But the I.O. MSS. have *az kam ābī* "deficiency of water," and this seems right. Apparently the reference is to the want of drinking water on the route by Bhakkar.

⁴ 21 Ābān = 31 Oct. 1591. The *Tārīkh Akbarī*, Elliot V. 461, has 26 Muharram 1000 = about 3 November, as date of battle.

Verse.

Flashed the diamond-like swords.
 The steely spears were made bloody.
 You'd say a smoke arose from the earth.
 Out of it there shone the fire of battle.

The enemy withdrew their hands from the work and fled, and there was a great victory. Bardāna—(var. Parwāna) a noted man—was killed, and M. Qulī was wounded and captured. Four *ghrābs* full of men and stores (*khwāsta*) were captured. In one of them was the ambassador¹ of Ormuz. The rule is that the governor of Ormuz leaves one (ambassador) at Tatta, in order that there may be a feeling of security² among the merchants. M. Jānī had brought him with him in order to proclaim that so many tribes had come to help him. 603 He also brought some servants of his own, dressed up in their clothes. 200 of the enemy fell into the waves of destruction, and more than 1000 were wounded. Owing to the Divine protection, few of the victorious troops were hurt. Active men brought up their *ghrābs* and wounded Khusrū, and he was nearly made prisoner. Suddenly³ a gun burst and the boat was broken to pieces, and some were killed. The far-seeing and experienced urged that they should proceed by land and water to the dwelling-place of M. Jānī. As the morning of success had blown in the evening of despair, most did not approve of this, and so they made difficult a task that had become easy. On 13 Āzar H.M. was enquiring about the condition of Tatta, and said, "Search well, for some one is coming from that quarter. Suddenly a swift camel-rider (*bukhtī-suwār*) brought the news of victory.⁴ New thanksgiving was offered up.

¹ Text *waḥshūr*, ambassador. But the variant *qaiṭūr* قیطور is supported by the I.O. MSS., while the Iqbāl-nāma twice has *ṭaiṭār*, and calls the officer the gomastah, or agent, of the governor of Ormuz. The Cawnpore ed. has *manṭūr*. A MS. of my own has قیطور *faiṭūr*, and this is evidently the true reading for the word intended is the Portuguese feitor, equal to factor, and which occurs in a quotation in Hobson-Jobson.

² Apparently the meaning is that the governor of Ormuz (perhaps a Portuguese) left a representation at Tatta as a sort of hostage so that the Tatta merchants might feel safe in going to Ormuz.

³ M'aṣūm says the powder magazine in the imperialists' boat caught fire.

⁴ M'aṣūm Bhakkari's account of the battle will be found in Elliot I. 248, etc.



On the 26th (Āzar) Āṣaf K. was sent to the Cinab and the Bihat. As information was received that the landholders of that quarter were oppressing the weak, this good officer was sent to punish them. In various places *Faujḍārs* were appointed. Zia-l-mulk was appointed to Mūng, Allah Bakhsh Maral to Rasūlpūr, Ḥāfiẓ Wali (to the tract) from Jandāla to Lahore. In a short time many met with their deserts, and some were brought bound to court. The persons above named were left in their place.

One of the occurrences was that the ruler of Tibet sent his daughter to court. From the time that Kashmīr had been included in the empire, the ruler of that country (Tibet) had continually made supplications. It occurred to 'Alī Rai the ruler of Little Tibet that his daughter might enter into the gynaeceum of the Prince Royal. H.M. approved of this, and on 22 Dai she¹ was conveyed along with presents of the country. He obtained his wish. At this time a glorious son came into being, and there was a feast of joy. Inasmuch as the Incomparable Creator waters the garden of eternal dominion, auspicious sons were bestowed, one after the other, and the garden of fortune was kept verdant. Accordingly this noble record tells thereof. A fresh instance was when on the 26th (Dai) after four hours and 24 minutes, during the sign of Libra, the daughter of the Mota Rajah gave birth to a son in the harem of Prince Sulṭān Selīm (in Lahore). He received the name of Sulṭān Kharṛam.²

One of the occurrences was the appointing of an army to Qandahar. When the Khan-Khānān chose the conquest of Tatta, Prince Sulṭān Daniel was sent off to that quarter (Qandahar) with a large army. H.M. ordered that if the Mirzās chose service, he should accept them and make them hopeful of royal favours. Otherwise he was to conquer the country and make it over to some able and just officer.

¹ Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 388.

² This is Shah Jahān. He was born on 30 Rabi'-al-awwal 1000 on 5 January 1592 at Lahore, B. 311. His mother's name was Balmatī (Beale). Jahāngīr, Price 20, calls her Jagat Gosāine. MS. Add. 27,247 writes the name of the child as Sultan Khūram

خوهر. A space is left in the MS. for the horoscope, but it is blank. There is one in the 'Amāl Ṣāliḥ. It states that the child was made over to the care of Rukhiya Begam, Akbar's first wife, and who was childless. She was his cousin, being the daughter of M. Hindāl.



604 Several of the imperial servants made suggestions for his (Daniel's) turning back, and from his acceptance of humble representations he (Akbar) assented. On 4 Bahman Khidmat Rai¹ (?) died of dysentery. He belonged to a tribe which was unequalled in India for wickedness. They are also called Māwī and Candāl. H.M. favoured him and made him chief of his tribe, and guided him towards honesty. He opened somewhat the windows of his heart, and many from conversation with him turned away from evil courses. At the present day, the guards in every house come from them. As he had the title of Khidmat Rai, every one of the tribe is called Khidmatiya.² On the 6th, choice mountain productions, which had been sent by Bahādur Singh, the Rajah of Khistwāra, were shown to H.M. The envoys received favours. On the 20th the nursling of fortune Sultān Khusrū was put to school. First, he was shown how to pray to God and then taught the letter Alif. An order was given to the writer of the noble volume to teach him something every day, and then to leave the completion of the teaching to his younger brother³ Abū-l-khair, who bore the mark of uniqueness for goodness and acquisition of wisdom. May the Almighty make the blessing of external teaching the material of real knowledge, and preserve him from the injury caused by current sciences—which are a place of stumbling to mortals.

One of the occurrences was the plundering of the home of Rajah Madhukar. When Prince Sultān Murād was sent to Mālwa the chiefs and the landowners everywhere came forward and paid their respects, and returned after receiving favours. News came to Agra the capital that this landowner (Madhukar), out of presumptuousness, did not intend to pay his respects. An admonitory letter was sent to him, and near Narwar he sent his grandson, and made excuses for not coming himself. A second warning was sent to him,

¹ There follows the word نکداری Nakdarī (?) which I do not understand and which is wanting in some MSS. Perhaps it is *kaidī* "vomiting," which occurs as a variant. It can hardly be *Nikodarī*.

² See B. 252. The text has Bawī for Māwī, but a variant gives

Māwī. See Elliot Supp. Gloss. I, 99. The Māwī are a branch of the Gājar tribe. They claim to be descended from a Chauhān. They are apparently also connected with the Dhānks.

³ See J. III. 448. He was born on 18th February 1560.



and threats and hopes were held out to him. He awoke from the heavy sleep of carelessness and proceeded to tender his service. When he arrived within four *kos*, he expressed a wish that Ism'ail Quli K. and Jagannāth should take him into their charge. This was agreed to. Ism'ail Quli quickly came, but Jagannāth delayed somewhat. The landowner out of fear went back, and hastened off to the defiles. The Prince became somewhat angry with the slovenly executants of orders (*khāmkārān*) and ordered that they should go after him and bring him back. Otherwise they were to punish him. Out of want of wisdom they refused to do this, and he, without regard to his rank, personally went on this errand. Madhukar had recourse to blandishments and sent his sons Rām Sāh¹ and Ranjit. The attack on his home was delayed. Near the fort of Karkara² the son of Hamīr Sen asked for quarter, and this was granted. At the instigation of inexperienced men he (Murād) broke the agreement 605 and set himself to take the fort. He who had been admitted to quarter fled, and the prince took the fort. 400 Rajputs died manfully at their homes. When Rām Sāh beheld this breach of agreement he fled at midnight. Jagannāth who was his custodian felt ashamed and had no answer to make. The Prince took up again his first resolution, and the frightened one (Madhukar) withdrew. His home was plundered, and the imperialists encamped there. H.M. did not approve, and issued an order, asking why had there been a deviation from appreciativeness and the recognition of rank, and why had he without orders attacked the landowner. He also severely censured the prince's companions. They should now feel ashamed and proceed to redress matters, and the prince must return quickly to Mālwa. If he did³ not submit to orders, a large army would be sent (against him). The prince left Saiyid Rājū and a party there and came to Mālwa. When the landowner heard of this, he had recourse to supplications. Šādiq K. conveyed his⁴ excuses to H.M. They were accepted. On the 27th, Bāz Bahādur was

¹ B. 487. He is also called Rām Cand.

² In Sarkār Bayānwān, J. II. 189. See B. 356. The I.O. MSS. call Hamīr Hamīr. Perhaps he is the Hamīr of pp. 490, 91.

³ The person referred to here is Madhukar and not the prince.

⁴ *pozish*, but I.O. MSS. seem to have *pūrash* "his son, but apparently Rām Sāh did not come to court till later. See p. 628.



sent to convey him to the prince in order to make his submission.

At this time a new arrangement was introduced. The world-adorning sovereign in his enlightenment divided, on 2 Isfandār-maz, 12 February 1592, the crown-lands (*khālīsāt*) into four portions, and made over each of them to an able man. The provinces of the Panjab, Multan, Kabul and Kashmir were made over to Khwāja Shamsu-l-dīn, the provinces of Ajmīr, Gujarat and Mālwa to Khwāja Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, the province of Delhi to Rai Patar Dās, the provinces of Agra the capital, Allahabad, Bengal and Behar to Rai Rām Dās. Though Qulij K. received¹ the reports, yet this act of foresight was done on account of the extent of the country. H.M. also attended to the matter of the currency, and the old diseases of silver and gold (coinage) were remedied, as has been described in the last volume.

On the 12th Balarām was killed. He was the brother's son of Rajah Bhagwant Dās. As the turbulence of youth led him into the commission of improprieties, he fell out of favour and was dismissed to Behar to the charge of Rajah Mān Singh. In Benares he mounted an elephant while in a state of intoxication, and then wanted to get down again at an unfitting place. Miṣrī Khanyagar (musician) was acting as driver, and as he had some sense he refused to let Balarām dismount. The latter abused him, and Miṣrī killed him with his dagger and then let himself down and went off.

One of the occurrences was the capture of 'Umarkot. When Dalpat and Rāwal Bhīm passed by it with a choice army on their way to Tatta, this birthplace of the world's lord fell into their hands without a struggle. The Rai² of the place accompanied them in

¹ *Wā mirasīd*. I am not sure of the meaning. Qulij K. was Dīwān or Finance Minister after Todar Mal's death. The reference to the Āīn seems to be to B. 35, where we are told that on 26 Bahman in the 36th year Akbar adopted 'Az du daulah's method about the currency. Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, p. 393. Probably what is meant by Qulij K.'s

receiving reports is that he still remained at the head of affairs, and that reports were made to him, but that the work was lightened by the appointment of additional officers.

² It appears from the Beglār-nāma that his name was Rānā Meg-rāj. See Elliot I. 297. It does not appear that Akbar ever visited 'Umarkot.



performance of service. There was a wonderful piece of fortune in the circumstance that some of the land-owners had filled up the wells and had poisoned them. Consequently the soldiers were in that sandy land distressed for want of water. They remembered the holy personality and prayed to God, and then sate down and waited in expectation. Suddenly rain fell, though it was out of season, and the 606 dried-up tanks ran over with water.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Rai Rai Singh to Tattah. When the victorious troops succeeded in the river-fight, and when owing to the folly of shortsighted persons there was delay in advancing, the enemy who had been disconcerted made a stand. After much discussion, the fort which M. Jānī had constructed, was invested on 9 Āzar. There was hot fighting, and every day the brave men on each side distinguished themselves. One day, Sikandar Beg, who was among the noted men on the imperialists' side, was wounded in the leg by a bullet, and after some time he died. The enemy were confident on account of the strength of their position, number of men, abundance of provisions, and the help of the peasantry, and were watching for the rains. Then everything would be under water, and the foreign army would be dispersed without an engagement. Among the imperialists, provisions became very dear, and consternation seized upon the weak-hearted. The Khān-Khānān reported the circumstances and asked for help. On the 21st Rai Rai Singh was sent off. Khāki Gallabān, Khawāja Hīsamū-d-dīn and other brave men went by the river-route. Provisions, guns, gunpowder (*dārū*), etc. were dispatched.

One of the occurrences was the death of Gūrdhan (Gordhan of B.), the son of Rajah Askaran. Rajah Prithīrāj was the head of the Kachhwāha clan. He had eighteen¹ sons of whom ten were by one mother. When he died, Pūran Mal his eldest son was raised to the Rajahship. He was killed in M.² Hindāl's battle. Sūjā his son was young, and they raised his (Pūranmal's) brother Ratan Sai to the headship. He from the turbulence of youth, and bad companionship, insulted men. Some instigated Askaran his step-brother to attack his life in hopes of the chiefship, and with the help of wicked

¹ Tod says 17, and that 12 of them grew up.

² Apparently referring to the victory Hindāl obtained over the Mirzās. See translation I. 322.

men, the idea became fact. For some time things happened according to his wish. In a short time his uncle¹ Bārahmal obtained the power. His (Sūjā's?) sons were always lying in wait for Askaran. Karan, in revenge for his ancestor (*nīyāg*), chose to become Askaran's servant and on the 23rd, when he got an opportunity, he killed the Raja's son in the father's presence, and then made an attack on the latter. A pillar saved him from harm, and active men killed Karan. The sympathetic sovereign cast the shadow of his graciousness on his mansion, and by his cordial commiseration healed somewhat the wound of those who had been deprived of a child.

¹ According to B. 458, Askaran was a brother of Rajah Behārī Mal. See also his article in the Calcutta Review for April 1871, which gives a genealogical tree. Though Askaran is stated in the T.A. to have been an officer of the rank of the 3000, his name is not mentioned in A. F.'s list. Tod calls Askaran the son of Bhīm and says Askaran killed his father because his father had killed his own father Prithīrāj! Behārī Mal was a son of Prithīrāj and younger brother of Pūran Mal. See the *Māṣir-al-'umrā* II. III. The author of that work puts most of the Hindus under the letter R. on account of their being Rajahs. There is some confusion in A. F.'s narrative,

caused by his affected brevity; possibly also, the text is corrupt, Blochmann in the article above referred to calls Ratn Sai Ratn Singh. Apparently, Karn, who was Sūjā's son, killed Askaran's son in revenge for his granduncle's murder. Sūjā, or Soja, grew up and in the 6th year, A.N. II. 155, we find him leagued with M. Sharafu-d-dīn in oppressing Bihārī Mal. As B. remarks, the disturbances consequent on Pūran Mal's death ended with the appointment or usurpation of Bihārī Mal. He adds that Askaran was adopted to the guddee of Narwar, and so his branch (*gotrā*) became extinct.



CHAPTER CVII.

BEGINNING OF THE 37TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, 607
TO WIT, THE YEAR FARWARDĪN OF THE 4TH CYCLE.

On Friday, 5 Jamāda-al-akhārī 1000 Hījra, 11 March 1592, after the passing of 10 hours, 5 minutes, the glorious Sun illumined Aries, and filled the world with varied delight. Beauty acquired fresh splendour, and the Age received new ornament.

Verse.

The awnings were raised up to heaven.
The blemishes of the skies were veiled.
On every wall there were skilful paintings.
Heaven was astonished as if they were demon-wrought.¹

The third cycle ended and the fourth began. Together with strength of heart, and the glory of dawn, a window of enlightenment opened partially and brightness took possession of my darkened mind. A fresh desire to continue my narrative seized me, and my strength increased.

Verse.

Again, my fortune became lightsome;
The delight of speech possessed my soul.
When fortune supplies the opening key
A jewel emerges from the dark stone.

From New Year's day to the culmination (*sharḥ*) there were continued feasts, and liberality exceeded desire. A prosperous time ensued for the desert-wanderer, and a new veil was placed over spiritual beauty. The cup² of worldly success and of joy arrived, but

¹ The lines are extravagant and not easily intelligible. I presume that a play is intended on the two meanings of *dewār*. In the third line it means a wall and in the fourth

demon-like. Add. 27,247 has *naqsh pargār*, and the Bib. Ind. has this as a variant.

² The sentence is obscure. *Baja-hatmandī* in text is a mistake for



the Shāhīnshāh's fortune made this the material of increased wisdom. That day was hostile to reason and taught disturbance, and was a robber of purity. This day is a day of increase of wisdom, and bears rectitude in its breast.

At this time news came that Jalāla had returned unsuccessful from Tūrān, and that he was stirring up strife in the defiles of Tīrah, and that the tribes of the Afrīdī and Ūrakzai had broken their allegiance, and had given a position to that turbulent one. An order was given that Qāsīm K. should collect the Afghan (Zābulī) army and should proceed to chastise those hot-headed ones. On New Year's day Aṣaf K., Sāid K., Gakkar, and some others, were sent off from court, and an order was given that the fief-holders of Sind and Peshawar should be collected, and should join the Tīrah force. In a short time the hill-country was surrounded, and the Afghans had recourse to supplications and cajolery. They represented that Jalāla had not got a footing, and that he had gone back unsuccessful. Qāsīm K. returned to Kabul without fully inquiring into the matter and without submitting a report to court. Aṣaf K. and the other officers remained there and waited for orders. H.M. did not approve of Qāsīm K.'s haste, and issued an order that he should return and exert himself in making inquiries.

baḥtmandī. Evidently, there is an allusion to Jamshed's cup, and to the difference in the fortunes of the two monarchs who introduced the

solar year. The passage is wanting in the Cawnpore edition, and also in B.M. Add. 27,247.



CHAPTER CVIII.

THE VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS, AND THE DEFEAT OF M. 608
JĀNĪ BEG BY THE FORTUNE OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

When the Khān-Khānān invested the fort, provisions became very dear on account of its being a foreign country, and of the closing of the roads, and the position of the soldiers became somewhat difficult. They were compelled to abandon the siege on 27 Dai of the previous year. All unnecessary¹ stores were put into boats and sent to Sehwan. Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Bakhtiyār Beg, Qarā Beg, and others were sent with them as guards. Most of the soldiers marched towards Tatta in order that by plundering they might get ampler supplies, and also spread consternation among the enemy, and get hold of the country. The Khān-Khānān took up his quarters in Jūn,² which is a central place. Shāh Beg K., Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Qāsim Koka, Murtaẓā Qulī, Dād Māl, Dūda Beg and others were sent to Agham³ in order that they might take that cultivated country and watch over M. Jānī. Dhārū Bahādur,⁴ Khān Qūrdār and others were sent towards Badin.⁵ M. Farīdūn Birlās, Jānish Bahādur, 'Alī Mardān Bahādur, Sarmadī, Ghāzī K. Bilūc went off towards Tatta. Every band went to a certain tract, and had repose. The enemy were somewhat disturbed on account of their families, and many of the landowners submitted. Every detachment did good service, but the troops who were sent to Tatta could not get there as the wicked people set fire to the city. M. Farīdūn and Rāwal

¹ *Besh az nāgazīr*. "Above the indispensable." The Iqbalnāma and Chalmers show that this refers to stores.

² See translation I. 380, n. 1.

³ *ba kuham*. The Iqbalnāma has *barkahan*. But Agham or Akhum is correct. It is known as the place where Shāh Beg died. See

Malet 86 and Elliot I. App. 502 and 362. It was 30 m. S.E. Haidarābād.

⁴ This is Todar Mal's son. He was shortly afterwards killed.

⁵ Madbin مدين in text, but Badin seems to be the true reading. See Elliot I. 250. There is a Bādīn S.E. Haidarābād.



Bhīm¹ and some others were sent to 'Umarkot, and made fitting inquiry into the previous slackness of service (of the Rānā ?). M. Jānī Beg came out of his fort and hastened to Sehwan, thinking that he might lay hands on the boats that had been sent there. On hearing of this, the Khān-Khānān sent Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshī, Dhāru Bahādur K., Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Daulat K. Lodī, S'aid K. Kararānī, and some able men, to that quarter and followed them in person. At the time when the men in the boats were disconcerted, the troops sent arrived and remedied matters. Many thought that they should strengthen Lukhī (Lukh means pass in Bilūchī) and wait for reinforcements. At the words of brave men they prepared for battle. The army was drawn up. In the centre were Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Sher K., Kalān K., Daulat K. Lodī, S'aid K. Kararānī, Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshī. In the right wing were Mir Māṣūm Bhakkarī, and a number of brave men. On the left wing were Saiyid Bahau-d-dīn and other brave men. In the vanguard were Bakhtiyār Beg, Qarā Beg, Shamsher 'Arab, Ibrāhīm Beg, Jūlak Beg, Murshid Qulī, Shāh Qulī Turkamān. They bravely, and under the guidance of fortune, passed Lukhī and encamped six *kos* from the enemy. On the 21st (Farwardīn) they advanced four *kos* with the intention
609 of giving battle. Before the battle began they were rejoiced by the news² of victory. For some days the wind had been blowing from the other side. At this time it blew from this (the imperial) side and gave the news of victory. The battle soon began. First, the enemy's van under the command of Khusrū prevailed over the force opposed to it and also scattered the right wing. Shamsher 'Arab fought bravely in the vanguard; his friends carried him off wounded. Dhārū and others displayed courage. He was wounded in the forehead with a spear and fell from his horse. Soon he played away the coin of life. The enemy's right wing under the command of Malik Muḥammad drove off their opponents, and a number pushed aside Nāhar K. and came as far as the camp, and proceeded to plunder. Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn fell upon the enemy's van which was existing in its success. He placed a stream between him and them (?) and stood to fight. On account of the wind and dust they could

¹ It appears from I.O. MS. 236 that a conjunction has here dropped out of the text.

² Cf. Bhagwant Dās's remark to Akbar, *ante* p. 50.

not see one another. In that place of commotion the imperial centre encountered the enemy's right wing, and after a severe contest defeated it. But on account of the darkness the brave men of this force got separated. Bahādur K., Daulat K. and some others stood firm on the battlefield, and were a spectacle (?). Suddenly Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakkarī, and Khwāja Mūqīm joined them, and there was a great contest. Similarly the enemy got scattered and did not know where the others were. M. Jānī was on the battlefield with 400 men and in a confused state. The victorious army went quickly there. The Mirzā, thinking that the centre was now coming, became still more confused. Meanwhile an elephant from that (the enemy's) side became furious and disorganised his own men. There was a slight contest, and the enemy, owing to the Divine aid, took to flight. 300 were killed, and 100 of the victorious troops. Though the Mirzā turned several times and fought, but of what avail was it to struggle against daily-increasing fortune, although the enemy was more than 5000 and the victorious troops only 1200? Victory declared itself, and the wondrous working of celestial aid was impressed on all. The commander was at a distance and there was no great officer there, and there was much confusion in the beginning of the battle! Dilpat had a choice force, but from cowardice he did not come forward. During this rejoicing, news came of the plundering of the camp. Some active men went quickly there, and the plunderers threw down their booty and fled. The camp became peaceful. On hearing of this good news, the Khān-Khānān proceeded to the fort which M. Jānī had made for his protection, and destroyed it.¹

On 22 Farwardīn the world's lord embarked on a boat and proceeded to the garden of M. Kāmran. He enjoyed the spectacle of the spring. Next morning a happy-starred daughter was born in the harem of the Prince-Royal by the sister² of Abiyā Kashmīrī. At this time news came that Qaresḥ Sultān³ had died in Hājipūr 610

¹ A.F.'s account may be compared with M'aṣūm Bhakkarī's, Elliot I. 250, and the T. A. Elliot V. 463. This account says Daulat Lodi marched 80 kos in two days.

² Presumably this is the daughter

of the prince of Kashmīr referred to in Price's *Jahāngīr* 20. Abiyā is perhaps Yūsūf Shāh's son.

³ Or Quraish Sultān, B. 459. He was a son of 'Abdu-r-rashid of Kashghar. See *ante*, p. 553.



of diarrhoea. The graciousness of the Shāhinshah removed the survivors from the dark days of sorrow. On the 25th the writer of the book of fortune was exalted to a *manṣab* of 2000. He was raised to this high dignity without having performed any distinguished service. I hope that I may return some thanks by the tongue of action, and that the appreciativeness of my lord may become manifest. On the 29th the lunar weighing took place, and far and near obtained their desires.



CHAPTER CIX.

CONQUEST OF ORISSA BY THE DAILY-INCREASING FORTUNE OF THE
SHĀHINSHĀH.

There have always been independent rulers in this country. Among them there was formerly Partāb Deo. His son Narsingh Deo¹ out of wickedness rose up against his father, and lulled him into carelessness by the repeating of charms. When he got an opportunity, he poisoned him and acquired eternal death. About that time Mükund² Deo had come from Telingāna, and entered into the service of the Rajah. He was indignant on beholding this wickedness, and resolved upon vengeance. He represented that his wife was coming to pay a visit³ (to the Rajah) and filled litters (*dolīs*) with arms and sent them off. He also put presents and goods into the hands of skilful and courageous men, and entered the fort. Inasmuch as a parricide does not last long, the latter was soon disposed of, and the sovereignty went to another. It was not the custom that the Rajah should use the accumulations of his predecessors. This one (Mukund) broke the locks of seventy old treasuries and seized upon the deposits of so many of the departed. Though he opened the hand of liberality, yet he turned away from obedience to wisdom, and indulged in self-gratification. At the time when Sikandar Uzbek turned away from eternal fortune, and went to Sulaimān Kararānī, the latter sent his son Bayāzīd on an expedition against that country (Orissa) by way of Jhārkhand, and dispatched Sikandar along with him.

¹ Called Bir Singh, in the M'aagīr and in some MSS.

² Cf. II. 255, where it is stated that he was also called Parmanand Rai. Mukund succeeded in 1550, and was defeated by Kālā Pahār in 1568. Beames' Notes, J.A.S.B. for 1883, p. 233.

³ I.O. MS. 235 says the pretext was that Mukund's wife was going to visit the Rajah's wife, and it speaks of Mukund's sending 200 men in charge of the presents. Chalmers also speaks of 200 men, and so do the Iqbāl-nāma, and the M'aagīr II. 163.



The Rajah, yielding to self-indulgence, sent two chosen officers Jihata Rai¹ and Durgā Panj, with a well-equipped force, to make war. Those ingrates corrupted the officers of the army by gold and turned to attack their own master by the help of the slaves of gold. Hot engagements ensued, and the Rajah surrendered himself to failure and submitted to Bayāzīd. With his aid, a severe conflict took² place, and the Rajah and Jihata Rai manfully yielded up their lives. The government fell into the hands of Durgā Panj. Sulaimān by stratagem got possession of his person and put him to death, and became supreme over the country. Though in the time of Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān and Khānjahān, much of this country was added to the empire, yet from divided thought, and the ignorance of officers, Qutlū Lohānī prevailed over it. Owing to his foxiness no harm ensued to him. When he died, Rajah Mān Singh ignorantly
611 made peace. Though H.M.'s far-seeing mind disapproved of it, yet it was they who broke the treaty.

When the time of retribution arrives for an evil-doer, he exerts himself for his own destruction. So long as Khwāja 'Isā, Qutlū's *Vakīl*, lived, the thread of treaty was not let slip. When he died, the wicked Afghans laid hold of the temple of the worship of Jagannāth, and opened the hand of plunder against the country of Ḥamīr,³ who had for a long time been obedient (to Akbar). Rajah Mān Singh, who repented of the peace he had made, resolved to conquer the country, and obtained leave from the court. He chose the soldiers of Behar and Bengal for this enterprise. On 23 Ābān of the previous year, the Rajah set off by the route of the river. Tolak K., Farkh K., Ghāzī K. Maidānī, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Rai Bhoj, Sangrām Singh, Akkar Pancānan, Catar Sen, Bhūpat Singh, Barkhūrdār, and other warriors went by land. Mādhū, Lakḥī Rai Koka, Pūran Mal Kaidhūrih, Rūp Narain Sisodiah and some land-

¹ These names are very doubtful and vary with MSS. Cf. the translation of the passage in Elliot VI. 88. Cf. also the M'aagīr II. 163.

² The Iqbāl-nāma explains that this severe conflict was between the Rajah, supported by Bāyazīd, and his own officers and army. Presum-

ably the Rajah and Jihata were on opposite sides. The Iqbāl-nāma apparently has Jit Rai.

³ This is the Ḥamīr of Bishenpūr in Bankurah who sheltered Jagat, the son of Mān Singh, after his defeat. See *ante*, p. 580.



holders went off by the route of Jhārkand under the charge of Yūsuf K., the ruler of Kashmīr. When the victorious troops came to Bengal, S'aid K. the governor of that country was ill. The Rajah moved onwards, and when S'aid K. got well, he joined with Makhṣūṣ K., Pahār¹ K., Tāhir K., Bābūi Manklī, Khawāja Bāqar Anṣārī, Makhdūmzāda the son of Tarson K., M. Muḥammad Dīwāna, and other fief-holders of that country, together with 6000 men and 500 horse. Much of that country came into possession. The wicked Afghans broached the subject of a peace. Inasmuch as to try experiments when one has had experience does not accord with foresight, they did not give ear to this, but reproached them for their breach of treaties. But the view of the Bengal officers was for peace. The wicked and black-thoughted Afghans surrounded themselves with a stream at the forest of Malnāpūr² (?), which is in the middle of Orissa, and took their stand to fight. On account of the talk about peace and war, there was no proper drawing-up of forces. The Bengal army settled down at some distance, but among them, Makhṣūṣ K., Pahār³ K., Tāhir K. and Bābūi Manklī advanced their camp somewhat. The Bihar soldiers prepared for battle. Rajah Mān Singh was in the centre; on the right wing were Rai Bhoj, Rajah Sangrām, Bāqir K.; on the left wing were Tolak K., and Farrakh K.; in the vanguard were Darjan Singh, Sujān Singh, Sabal Singh, Nūram Koka, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Barkhūrdār, Shibabu-d-dīn Kūr, the sons of Ulugh K. Habshī, Mozaffar Ījī, Khawājagī Inayāt Ullah. Every day some active men on each side fought and the presumptuous foe fled in disgrace. On 31 Farwardīn the Rajah sent off his vanguard, to take an eminence (*sarkob*)⁴ which 612 was near the enemy, and to proceed to build a fort. If the enemy meant to fight, they should engage him, and he (the Rajah) would join them. The enemy were astonished at this, and drew up their forces and crossed the river. In the centre were Naṣīb K., and Jamāl K.,

¹ Corrected in Errata from Bahādur. See B. 405. But according to Jahāngīr, Price 34, Pahār K. was a Hindu and the uncle of Mān Singh. Probably they were different men.

² The I.O. MSS. seem to have Bīnāpūr. Elliot VI. 89 has Midnā-

pūr! Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1883, p. 236, says the battle was fought on N. bank Subanrekha.

³ Bahādur in text, but see Errata.

⁴ The author of the Iqbāl-nāma seems to have read *sar-i-kulī*, head of a tank, for he has *sar-i-tālābī*.



(who were) the sons of Qutlū, Dilāwar K., Allahdād K., Ḥabīb K., with 3000 horse and 25 elephants. On the right wing were Jalāl K., Khāṣa Khel, Tātār K. Ghāzī, Mubārak K., Khwāja Wais with 2000 horse and 25 elephants. On the left wing were Bahādur Kūrūh, Sher K. Lohānī, Ḥabīb K. with 3400 horse and 25 elephants. In the vanguard were Khwāja Sulaimān, 'Uṣmān, 'Isā K. Auliyāī, Banī Sulṭān Sūr with 1200 horse and 80 elephants. In a short time the two forces met, and shields and daggers were abundant (lit. had a day-market).

Verse.

Eager heroes sunk in coats of mail,
Like fire hidden in iron vessels.
Sons of India clad in steel,
Like black clouds, raged and burned.

Some strove with guns and other firearms, and some grappled with one another and gave a new form to courage. The victorious soldiers struck off heads¹ with their shining swords, as maces and clubs were not of service. Cannon-balls at the commencement killed the elephant Mīyān Loharī² which was the chief of the enemy's elephants, together with other elephants. The latter then brought forward the elephant Kunhar³—which was very famous—and the brave soldiers displayed masterpieces of valour. Mir Jamshēd Badakhshī fought and bravely gave up his life. The elephant caused some confusion, but the archers came up on every side with arrows. The driver was killed, and some men dismounted and lamed the elephant and seized it. Meanwhile Bahādur Kūrūh prevailed over Farrakh K. Rai Bhoj and Rajah Sangrām hastened to his assistance. Jagat Singh and some brave men joined Durjan Singh, and drove off the foe. At this time, the enemy's right wing contended with the soldiers of Bengal. Bābū Mankli fought, but had to give ground. Pahār⁴ K. came behind him and fought nobly. Twice he fell to the ground. The second time a young man offered him his own horse. He replied, You have not yet had the fruit of

¹ Text *sipure* "shields," but the MSS. and context show that *sire* "heads" is the true reading.

² The Iqbāl-nāma has Loharī.

³ Kahtar in MSS.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 611. Pahār was a servant of Humāyūn. See B. 405.



your life. Mount your horse, and rejoice. It is better for me, who have come to the end of my life, to die in combat in my master's service. By good hap his horse (*bāragī*)¹ came up and he was saved by Divine help. *Makhṣūṣ K.* came forward well, and did great deeds. The foot of courage was nearly slipping, when *Khawāja 'Abdu-l-ḥalim* came with a force, and there was victory. *Khawāja Wais* fell bravely, and *Sulṭān Sūr* was made prisoner. In a short time, in consequence of the Divine aid, the rebels fled with blistered 613 feet. More than 300 Afghans fell on the field of battle, and forty of victorious army.

At this time *Zain K. Koka* expressed a wish that H.M. should visit his quarters again. On 3 *Ardibihisht*, his desire was gratified, and that good servant obtained his heart's wish. In the beginning of *Khurdād* H.M. crossed the *Rāvī* with the intention of proceeding to *Kashmīr*. As *Shakrausā Begam* (Akbar's daughter) became very ill, H.M. took a dislike to the city, and went out with this intention. When God quickly sent convalescence, he returned at the desire of high and low. On the 2nd, *Zain K. Koka* was dispatched to *Swād* and *Bajaur*. News came that the turbulent Afghans had again thought their difficult mountains a protection, and were meditating rebellion. The *Kokaltāsh* was appointed to chastise them. On the 4th, after the lapse of ten hours four minutes, a daughter was born in the harem of Prince *Sulṭān Daniel* by the daughter of *Sulṭān Khawāja*. H.M. gave her the name of *S'aādat*² *Bānū Begam*.

¹ *Bāragī* is given in *Vullers* and in *Steingass* as meaning a horse, and also as a packhorse. The word seems connected with *bārgīr*, i.e. load-carrier, and is probably a variant of it. In the *Ayīn*, *bārgīr* seems to be used for the horse and not for the rider; the latter being called *bārgīr suwār*. See B. 139 and 215, also *Wilson's Glossary*. *Bārgīr* is in common use in India as meaning

a trooper's comrade or one who does not ride his own horse. I have heard it explained as a corruption of *bāhū, gīr*, one who takes another's arm, that is, a dependant. Perhaps all that is meant here is that *Pahār K.*'s horse came back to him, and this is the *Iqbāl-nāma* account. At p. 620, of A.N. III, six lines from foot, *bāragī* is used for a riding horse.

² B. 619.



CHAPTER CX.

M. JĀNĪ BEG MAKES PEACE AND SURRENDERS SĪWISTĀN.

When by daily-increasing fortune the victorious troops prevailed, it was time that the Mirzā should waken from the heavy slumbers of ignorance, and have recourse to supplication, and should make apologies the material of obedience. Out of arrogance and self-complacency he regarded his defeat as accidental and again resolved on battle. He resolved that he should proceed all the quicker, and take refuge in the former shelter. On the way he learnt that it was the camp of the victorious troops. He halted to deliberate, and summoned a council to decide on a stronghold. After long contemplation, he approved of a place near Ampūr¹ four *kos* from Hālākandī² and forty *kos* from Sehwān. There, on the bank of the Indus, he built a fort, and surrounded it with a deep and broad moat. On 26 Farwardīn the Khān-Khānān came there and invested the place. He was answered by arrows and bullets, and there was a brisk time of losing and taking life. The enemy was made arrogant by his long residence, his numerous army, large fleet of war-boats, and the nearness of the rains. At this time the fort of Niran-kot³—which is a choice fortress in that country—was taken. There was a great success.⁴ A set of Arabs and Kurds, who were in the fort, 614 quarrelled with the governor Qāsim ‘Alī, and brought in his head, and became loyal. The imperial servants were delighted, and increased their efforts to take the place. After the custom of the Turks,

¹ Oonurpūr in Malet's translation of T. Maṣūmī. Unarpūr and Amar-pūr in Elliot VI. 251. So also in I.O. MS. 236. Text Ampūr or An-pūr probably wrong. Perhaps the place is the Arpūr of J. II. 341.

² Text Bālākandī, but the variant Hālākandī is right. It lies thirty

m. above Haidarābad. Elliot I. Appendix 379.

³ The old name of Haidarābad according to some, but see Elliot I. Appendix 396, who says it certainly was not Haidarābad.

⁴ In the Errata, *niburd* is changed into *nūrū*.



they raised up mounds of sand and carried forward their batteries, and set about filling up the moat. From within they made fissures and emptied the mounds. Great efforts were made on both sides. Sometimes the enemy sallied forth and fought, but they returned unsuccessful. However, on account of the strangeness of the land, and the refractoriness of the peasantry, provisions became scarce, and again food became very dear. There was also much sickness. The extraordinary thing was that it only attacked the people of Sind. In that fatal place of trouble some ascetics had a vision to the effect that "the courage of the country was being impressed with the *Shāh-inshāh's* name, and that the heavens were revolving at his pleasure. The people were beholding the retribution of their disobedience, and were suffering the punishment thereof. The panacea for high and low was to recognize this, and to acquire bliss by supplicating the Unique of the age, and to offer presents in accordance with their means, and give them to the needy." Next morning the secret was revealed, and the proposition was carried into effect. The sickness diminished. When this was reported to H.M. he said, "The True Artist (God) made an old woman the means of the health of a tribe; if He make this servant, who sits upon a lofty seat of rule, a source of good, what is there to cause surprise?" In the time of the great f. Qāan, Cingiz K., in the year 623 (A.D. 1226), the army had invested the fort of Kark¹-Sistān (?), and a great pestilence broke out. On the first day there was fever. On the second the teeth loosened. On the third the cup of life became full. An old woman had a daughter. Her nights turned to days in her anxiety to get her married. Might she grow up and might her mother acquire happiness by staining her with henna. At this time this old woman was seized by sickness. On the second day when the teeth became loose, she, out of love and simplicity, employed herself in putting henna on her darling (lit. her liver-lobe). According to common usage a little spittle was used. Thinking of the bridal, night passed into day (i.e. she lay awake), and she shed tears of sorrow. In the morning, when she was ready to depart, her teeth ceased to chatter, and there were signs of improvement. The neighbours were astonished.

¹ There is the variant Kok, but the *Iqbāl-nāma* has Gargistan (Georgia) and this is probably right.



When they inquired, they could perceive nothing except the use of henna. High and low used it, and a world was delivered from danger of life. Henna became of the value of pearls, and the merchants made great profits.

H.M. sent abundant provisions and money by Allah Bakhsh, and Qazzāq Bahādūr. They arrived in the height of the distress, and hearts received new strength. New efforts were made, and the work was advanced. In a short time the garrison was straitened, and the batteries were brought so near that they could pull the spears out of each other's hands. The garrison were troubled and begged for peace with a thousand entreaties. The soldiers accepted the proposals on account of the scarcity of provisions. The agreement was made that Sīwistān, with the fort of Sehwān, and twenty *ghrābs*, 615 should be given up, and that M. Jānī should accept Īrij, the Khān-Khānān's son, as a son-in-law, and that when the rains were over, he would go and prostrate himself at the threshold. It was agreed that in the first place the siege should be stopped, and afterwards the marriage would take place. When Sehwān was made over, they would spend the rains there. On the 16th Khurdād, the batteries were dismantled, and ceremonies of betrothal performed. Men hastened to give up and to take possession of the fort.

On the 17th Qāzī Ḥasan was sent to the northern hills. As the Tamūz (July) of Lahore was very hot, he was sent off there to look for summer quarters. Near the town of Panhān¹ a proper place was chosen, but on account of certain reasons the idea was abandoned.

One of the occurrences was the submission of the rebels of the eastern province. When the imperialists were victorious, they pursued the enemy and arrived next day at Jellasore which is one of the great cities of Orissa. They adorned the face of the coins with H.M.'s name and exalted the dignity of the pulpits by it. Every tribe of the Afghans retired. The Rajah continued to advance in order to dig up the root of disaffection. Sa'id K. was displeased and returned to Bengal, not accepting the blandishments of the Rajah. Pahār K., Bābūi Mankli, Bāqar K., Mir Ghāzi, Bāqar Anṣārī separated from Sa'id K., and joined the Rajah. In a short time the land-owners asked for quarter, and the country came into possession. In

¹ Cf. B. 56 and 616, who states that the proper name is Pathānkot.



the town of Bhadrak, news was received that the sons of Qutlū (and) Khawāja Sulaimān, Dilāwar K., Jalāl K., Bahādur Kūrūh, Ulugh K., ‘Abdul-l-Ghafūr, Malik Haibat, Malik Dāūd, Kaham Karn, Rajah Mānū, Malik Sikandar, and Purukhotam had collected in the fort of Cuttack with 300 elephants. That fort is at the end of the country and on the seashore. It belonged to Rajah Rām Cand who was a great landholder in that country. It was called Sārangarh.¹ Rajah Mān Singh left Sujān Singh, and some others in the city and went off to attack the fort, and the Afghans took refuge in the forest near the sea. The fort was taken without a contest. ‘Alāwal K., the khāṣṣḥel of Qutlū, surrendered the fort of Āl.² Near Kalkalghātī, the Tila.³ Rajah, who is a distinguished landowner in that part, joined the victorious army. Rajah Rām Cand admitted those who had taken protection to Sārangarh. When Rajah Mān Singh came to Cuttack he left Yūsuf K. the ruler of Kashmīr, the sons of Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Mozaḥfar Ijī, and others, to guard it, and went off to pay his devotions at Jagaunāth. His idea was that he would be nearer to Rajah Rām Cand, and that when an opportunity occurred he could lay hold of him (?). When his thought had been realized he returned and took up his quarters near Salī (?). Every day active men went forth and inflicted chastisement. In consequence of counsels he (Rajah Rām Cand) became obedient, and sent his son⁴ Bīrbal with presents. The Rajah returned to Cuttack and established the foot 616 of conquest near the fort of Sārangarh. At this time news came that Ḥabīb K., Daryā K., Sujāwal K., Mewa K., who had taken refuge with Fath K. of Hijli, had fallen upon Jellalore, and that Bābūi Mankli had not found himself strong enough to fight and had retired. The Rajah sent Pahār K. and some brave men to that quarter, and soon the enemy was scattered without an engagement, and Jellalore again came into possession. The slumbrous ones of Sārangarh awoke from their sleep of neglect. On the 20th they accepted quarter and waited upon the Rajah. Every one was made hopeful of princely favours.

At this time the victorious army of Sind were in some distress,

¹ Three miles S. Cuttack.

² J. II. 142.

³ Perhaps the Taliya of J. II. 142.

⁴ He was Rajah of Khurdah and Pārī, B. 489.

⁵ Iqbāl-nāma has Harmal.



but soon it became joyful. When peace was made, and the batteries were dismantled, M. Jānī Beg—before that he had obtained leave, and had made over *Sehwān*—went off to *Tatta*. The victorious troops thought they had been deceived, and were under apprehensions. Able men were sent to make inquiries. The *Mirzā* (Jānī Beg) represented that the atmosphere of the fort had become dangerous on account of the numbers of dead bodies, and that the position of the survivors had become critical. Some of the soldiers and peasants wished to go to their homes. On that account he had given them leave. The whole camp had been harassed, and so without saying anything it had followed them. No one remained with him and so out of helplessness he too had gone off and halted in *Naṣīrpūr*. God forbid, he said, that I should drop the thread of treaty, or that my words and actions should not correspond. On the 31st they made their quarters in the town of *Sunn*,¹ and on this day *Rustam* the governor of *Sehwān* came and renewed the treaty. He made over the fort to *Ḥasan 'Alī 'Arab*, and to *Maqqūd Āqā*, and all *Sīwistān* was added to the empire. On 22 *Tir*, Prince *Sultān Daniel* took leave in order to capture *Qandahār*. As the guardians of that country were not equal in strength to the *Mirzās*, this jewel of fortune (*Daniel*) was sent there. He crossed the *Rāwī*, and alighted in the garden of *Rām Dās*. On 24th (*Tir*), 4th July 1592, H.M. set off to *Kashmīr*, and his first stage was this same garden. On the 27th, 300 little² stars fell from west to east. The Indian astronomers represented that if the first stage exhibited such an appearance they should return and set out again at a chosen hour. The *Shāh* and the *Shāhzāda* were obliged to go back.

¹ The T.A. says that *Sunn* (or *Sann*) is opposite *Sehwān*. But A.F. III. 633 says it is twenty *kos* distant.

² *Sitārca*, but the variant *safed pārcā*, white objects or clothes, is more likely to be right and is sup-

ported by MSS. 300 falling stars could hardly have been counted. The phenomenon was probably like the cobwebs which A.F. mentions as falling on one occasion in the neighbourhood of *Agra* (see p. 116).



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CHAPTER CXI.

H.M. PROCEEDS TO KASHMĪR.

For a long time he was inclined to go to that country. Most men were averse to his going on account of the difficulty of the journey. Those who had hearts bent on the enjoyment of their master regarded the difficulties of the ravines as slight, but they represented that it could not be proper for H.M.—whose empire it took a year to traverse—to go off to a corner thereof, and to enter that mountainous country. Some farsighted men were convinced from H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries, that there was a secret involved **617** in his intention, and that this expedition would result in glory. On 12 Amardād,¹ 22nd July 1592, in spite of clouds of rain and the opposition of men, he set out. Several ladies accompanied him. On the 17th he advanced from Rāmbārī,² but from the abundance of water there was no place found for his advance-tent (*peṣhkhāna*). He left the camp and the soldiers under the charge of Prince Sulṭān Selim in order that he might bring them on slowly, and went off on elephants with some chosen courtiers. At Shāham³ 'Alī, Qulij K. and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn were sent back to the city. Near this place a woman brought her son and represented that every year his head was growing larger, and his neck becoming weak. No benefit had come from physicians. H.M. bade her to put a leathern cap tightly on the child's head. She did so and the thing was remedied. The skilful were astonished at this cure. On the 28th near Khaima⁴ Chatha (?) the Kashmīr insurrection became known, and the veil fell from the holy purpose. A world had collyrium applied to its eyes.

¹ 24 Shawwāl 1000. Elliot V. 462.

² This seems to be another name for Rām Dās Bāgh.

³ The text makes Shāham 'Alī a person apparently, but it is a place. See *ante*, p. 600. The T.A. says they

were sent back 3 kos from Rām Dās Bāgh. It names the Mota Rajah instead of Shamsu-d-dīn.

⁴ I.O. MS. 236 has *casma* a fountain, or perhaps cīma.

More extraordinary still, when he was crossing the Rāwī, he asked
“of whom is this verse said?”

Verse.¹

Alas, Alas! how have the Cyrus-cap and Shāh's tiara
Become the portion of a bald man?

When the confidant² of M. Yūsuf K. represented the increase of the revenue of Kashmīr, Qāzī Nūru-llah and Qāzī 'Alī were sent to make inquiries. When the Mīrza's agents lost hope of getting bribes they adopted evil thoughts. Qāzī Nūrullah came to court and reported the disorganization of the men and their evil intentions. On this information, some of the evil disposed were summoned, and Husain Beg S. 'Umari was sent to encourage (the loyal). When the condition of the evil disposed became known in some measure, Darvesh 'Alī, 'Adil Beg, Y'aqūb Beg Turkamān, Imām Qulī Cūlāq, Qiyā Beg and other servants of M. Yūsuf Beg plotted together to stir up strife. First, they went to Kamālu-d-dīn Husain Asko,³ who was one of the Aḥādīs, in order to get him to become their leader and to raise a rebellion. He had the auspiciousness not to accept

¹ This verse is quoted by Badayūnī, Lowe, §95. According to the Lucknow ed. the verse is by Nizāmī. The words in the second line are *bahar kul* “to every bald man,” being a play on the name of Yādgar kal or kul who was the cousin of M. Yūsuf. The Rauzāt Tāhirīn calls him the son of M. Maḥmūd. I have taken *bahar* to mean portion and supposed the *izāfat* was omitted for the sake of the metre. Nizāmud-dīn also tells the story. He says Akbar quoted the lines in the garden of Rām Dās, and it would seem (see T.A. Newal Kishor's ed., p. 377) that the word in the original was *gul* a rose or flower, and that the meaning was that every flower was blooming, and had, as it were, put on the royal

tiara. It appears from Nizāmud-dīn (and Badayūnī) that M. Yūsuf had left Kashmīr and had appointed Yādgar, whom he calls his brother's son, as his deputy. It appears from Nizāmud-dīn's account of Kashmīr (T. Rashīdī, Ross and Elias, Appendix) that he accompanied Akbar there. In the first book of A. F.'s letters, N.K. ed., p. 33, there is a letter from Akbar to his son Murād describing his second journey to Kashmīr. In it Akbar claims to have been inspired to utter the verse about the bald man as he was crossing the Rāwī, and also claims other prophecies.

² See *ante*, p. 595 of text.

³ Qn. ? Ashu Koh, a form of Shukoh, majesty.