

their proposals, and then they made Yādgār<sup>1</sup> the cousin of M. Yūsuf K. their instrument. Every day he took into his head thoughts of sedition and developed mischievousness. One day furious men poured a shower of arrows into the house of Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī. One of his servants had contracted a marriage with a member of that set, but at the instigation of wicked people it was broken<sup>2</sup> off. They made this an opportunity and suddenly attacked the house (of Ḥusain B.). His men had gone away, but he closed the door and stood firm. Qāzī 'Alī and S. Bābā intervened and quelled the tumult. Then they got up a disturbance at the Koh-i-Mārān.<sup>3</sup> Ḥusain Beg collected his men and fought with them. There was a slight engagement, and then peace was made. Some surrendered upon promises and were put to death. Their evil thoughts were nearly 618 being realized in action. Ḥusain Beg and Qāzī 'Alī were obliged to leave the city and to take up their quarters at the fort of Nāgar-nagar<sup>4</sup> (Akbar's fort). They became somewhat supine and careless. On 12 Amardād, 22nd July 1592, they (the Kashmīrīs) closed the routes and proceeded to rebel. The extraordinary thing was that on this very day H.M. the mystery-knower came out from Lahore. Some people gathered together on the pretext of visiting the melon-beds and made a league. Ḥusain Beg and Qāzī 'Alī had not the energy to put down this disturbance with vigour and alacrity.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ferishta states that he had married the daughter of a Kashmīrī noble.

<sup>2</sup> The L.O. MSS. have *sadand* in the plural, showing that the Kashmīrīs broke off the marriage.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Harī Parbat where Akbar built a fort.

<sup>4</sup> This is the Harī Parbat: see *infra*, p. 726.

<sup>5</sup> A. F.'s account of the revolt is not clear. The Iqbāl-nāma adds a few explanations. It says that the Kam-ālū-d-dīn whom it calls Mīr Kam-ālū-d-dīn, to whom the rebels first applied, was in the service of M. Yūsuf. The rebels offered him the leadership as he was a Saīyid. I do

not know what the title Askū means. One MS. (I.O. 235) has Ashkūk, which means a roof. A variant calls him Bakhshī of the Aḥadīs, and perhaps Askū or Ashku is connected with the Turkish Ishik, a gateway. Ḥusain Beg's biography is given in B. 454, where he is called Ḥasan. He came to a bad end, having joined Khusrā's rebellion. A. F. does not appear to have fully stated the cause of the disturbance at Ḥusain's house. The Iqbāl-nāma says that M. Yūsuf had 5 or 6,000 piādas of the Dilahzāk tribe in his service and that a servant of Ḥusain had carried off the wife of one of them. There is a variant in which



On receiving this information H.M. went on the faster. On 1 Shahriyūr his tents were pitched on the bank of the Cināb, and though there was a storm, and it was raining, he sate on the bank and superintended the crossing. At dawn he crossed in a boat at the Caugān ferry. On the 4th it appeared that the whole of the Mīrzā's troops had joined the Kāshmirīs, and that Qāzī 'Alī had offered up his life in good service, and that Ḥusain Beg had with difficulty saved himself. When Yādgār came out of the city, and they threw away power and opportunity, he came to Kāmraj, and the success of the rebels increased. At this time they awoke from the heavy slumber of carelessness, and hastened after him. But they returned without effecting anything. Though the Mīrzā's sons did not join him (Yādgār), and the imperial servants did not assist him, that worthless madman returned to the city. Near the Ilāhī garden he was victorious after a slight contest. They were compelled to cross the river and come to the city. Both parties broke down the bridges—the rebels for fear that their comrades would desert them, and the other party for fear that the rebels would pursue them. Qāzī 'Alī wished to take shelter with Fath K. Jangali (?), and to wait for reinforcements. Ḥusain Beg said, "M. Yūsuf K.'s men have all joined the revolt, and it would be very difficult to get there." They were compelled to go rapidly to India. Near Hirapūr some one from ignorance beat a kettledrum, and the guardians of the roads (*rāh-bānān*) got news by this and broke down the bridges. They were obliged to throw themselves into the water. Some were drowned, and some were captured. Ḥusain Beg and Qāzī 'Alī and some Badakhshīs escaped and went on. As the Pīr Panjal road had been closed, they went by the defile of Hastī Watar.<sup>1</sup> By strenuous exertions, and by much shooting they escaped. Qāzī 'Alī became exhausted by the heights and hollows, and was caught and killed. When Ḥusain and some others emerged from the hills, the landowner of the place plundered them, and sought to kill them. Bahabū (?) the chief of Rajaurī came and rescued them.

the defile of Mārān is called Koh-Bārān. The Iqbāl-nāma makes it clear that it was Ḥusain, whom it calls Ḥasan, who broke faith and put some people to death. The I.O.MSS. and the Iqbāl-nāma call the S. Bābā

who helped to quiet the disturbance S. Bābāi Wālī.

<sup>1</sup> See correspondence in R.A.S.J. for April and July 1904. The Iqbāl-nāma has here Hastī Wīr (qn. Watīr or Wairān).



On this news H.M. proceeded more rapidly to that quarter, and an order was given that Zain K. Koka should proceed thither with his men by the route of Swād; that Ṣādiq K. should march by the way of Pūnc,<sup>1</sup> and that the landowners of the northern mountains should start from Jaimmū, and that the fiefholders and collectors of the Panjāb should encourage some brave peasants and send them off. On 5 Shahriyūr<sup>2</sup> S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī was sent off together with Mīr Murād \* \* \* (six lines of names). On account of the nearness of the fall of snow, the soldiers were sent from every quarter in order that there might be no delay in inflicting retribution. On that day the writer of the noble volume took an omen from the diwān of Hāfiẓ. These four lines gave the news of victory.

*Verse.*

Where is the harbinger which tells of victory  
That I may shed my life at his feet, like silver and gold.  
The stage is en fête on account of the return of the Shāh.  
'Tis time for his antagonists to depart to the screen of annihilation.

On this day M. Yūsuf K. was, on account of foresight, made over to the charge of the writer of the book of fortune. When his family came out of Kashmīr he was released. Near Gujrāt (in the Panjāb) the Prince Royal and the great camp joined H.M., and there was rejoicing. On the 16th, Ṣādiq K. took leave to go forward. When he had gone some stages he made unsuitable requests. H.M.<sup>3</sup> was displeased and recalled him in the middle of his march.

<sup>1</sup> Text Baranj, but I.O. MS. 235 and Iqbāl-nāma have Pūnc which seems preferable. There is however a place called Brang. J. II. 355.

<sup>2</sup> As Farīd Bakhshī was his patron, Faizī Sirhindī has a long account of this expedition. He gives the date of Farīd's setting out as 17 Zīl Q'ada, 15 August 1592. He describes the two roads from Rajaurī and calls one the Katrīl or Katarbal Pass, and says that no army had

passed by it before. Farīd found on inquiry at Rajaurī that Yādgār had destroyed the bridges etc. on the Pir Pinjāl route, and so he chose the Katrīl one. Faizī mentions the Hastivanj Pass and, like A.F., he says it is the last Pass into Kashmīr. In the I.O. MS. it is spelt Hashtganj "The eight markets" (2).

<sup>3</sup> This obscure sentence is explained in the Iqbāl-nāma.



## CHAPTER CXII.

### THE CONQUEST OF JŪNAGARH AND SOMNĀTH, AND THE VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS OVER THE COUNTRY OF SORETH.

Right-thinking, and proper, actions produce brilliant results. Success increases, and the countenances of the wishes of servants are brightened. There are various victories, and wondrous works are performed at home and abroad. This tale of victory is a new instance of this. When the Khān Āzim gained his victory, his intention was to take this fort (Jūnagarh), and to annex the country. The vexatious behaviour of his companions caused delay. At this time, when the soldiers were recruited somewhat, he renewed the enterprise, and proceeded to the spot. Khokhan, the son of the 620 Jāin, Jalāl K. Ghilzī,<sup>1</sup> Malik Rājan, Malik Aman, and many rebels of that part submitted and came in. Somnāth, Ghogah (Gogo), Mangalūr, Mahwah,<sup>2</sup> Bīrū<sup>3</sup> and others—16 ports in all—were taken without a contest. Afterwards he proceeded to take Jūnagarh which was held by the grandchildren of Amīn K. Ghori. It is a famous fortress, and the country of Sorath is associated with it. He invested it with seven batteries. Naurang K. and some troops were sent to chastise the Kāthī tribe which was assisting the garrison. On this day fire broke out in the fort and many materials of the strength of the fort were burnt. The Feringhī cannoneer, who had turned Muḥammadan, and who was very skilful in his art, fell in his confusion into the moat. The imperial servants received the good news of victory and raised a pæan of joy. But the garrison, from the abundance of provisions, and the strength of the place, were presumptuous, and every day fired several times a hundred guns—some of which shot balls

<sup>1</sup> Text Ghāzī, but MSS. have Ghilzī.

<sup>2</sup> Mahuwa of I.G. See J. II. 247. It is in the Bhawnagar State, Kāthī-war.

<sup>3</sup> Barwa. Perhaps Barda. But more probably Par-bandar, J. II. 246. It S.S.E. Dwarka.





weighing  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *mans*. They also uttered words of arrogance and contempt. Whenever the soldiers were dispirited, the Kokaltāsh encouraged them in various ways, and renewed efforts. By the guidance of fortune, they became aware of a little hill; they raised it somewhat and prepared a tower (*sirkob*), and from it proceeded to discharge mortars. The somnolent ones were roused from their slumbers and had recourse to entreaties. On 17 Shahriyūr, 27 August 1592, after fighting day and night for three months, the garrison surrendered, and made over the keys. Miyān K., Taj K., the grandsons of Amin K. Ghorī, who were the sons of Daulat K.—the former 7 years old and the representative of his father, and the other 12, but from a concubine—Himmat the brother's son of Amin K., Muḥammad the comptroller of the household, Malik Dahan, Rajān Ḥabshī, Lumba Kāthī, Muḥammad Mirak, Muḥammad Afzal and others—57 noted men—came out, and owing to the Kokaltash's observance of treaties, their lives, property and honour were preserved, and every one of them was made happy by a cultivated fief, a fine robe of honour, and a choice horse (*bāragī*). Sultan Maḥmud Bīgarhā the ruler of Gujarat with a large and well-equipped army twice tried to take this fort, and experienced great difficulty. On the second occasion he took<sup>1</sup> it after a long time. H.M. was near Bhimbhar and intent on punishing Yādgār when he got the news of victory.<sup>2</sup> He returned yet more earnestly his thanks to God.

<sup>1</sup> In 1470.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is translated in

Elliot VI. 90. The T.A. puts the capture into the 36th year.



# CHAPTER CXIII.

## THE CESSATION OF THE DISTURBANCE IN KASHMĪR, AND THE BRINGING THE HEAD OF YADGĀR KUL TO COURT.

Heaven rises up to take vengeance on every one who commits ingratitude. His day turns to night, and his fortune becomes ruined. 621 By his own efforts he hastens to his retribution and plays away his life and his honour. The case of this man of turbulent brain shows this to all. High and low received instruction from it. When the fly-like and mercenary natures gathered together, and (what has been described) happened to the imperial servants, the sons of M. Yūsuf K. approached him with supplications. He eagerly sent<sup>1</sup> them off to India, and then he crossed the river and went to the Mirzā's quarters. He laid hold of the treasure, the gold vessels, the elephants, the horses, the cannon, etc., and shamelessly sate in the seat of the mighty. He stained the pulpit-tops (*farāz-i-mimbar*) and the faces of the coins. By glorious fortune at that time, fever and trembling laid hold of him, and when the sealmaker was making his signet, a bit of steel jumped up and entered his eye. This indicated to the acute among the spectators that his career would not be long. In his folly he gave high titles to worthless people. Bahrām Nayik was called Khān-Khānān, Darvesh 'Alī, Khān Jahān, 'Ādil Begī, 'Ādil K., Maqṣūd 'Alī Aḥdī, Makḥṣūṣ K., Khawāja Muḥammad Moman, 'Aṣaf K., Mūsā M. Khān, Darvesh Miskīn, Bābū K., Jamman his son, Muṣāhib K., Shāh 'Alī Beg Turkamān, Shahbāz K., Shāh Maṣūr, Bahādur K., Mīr Sālīḥ, Naqīb K., Nizāmu-d-dīn, Nizāmu-l-mulk, Dāūd Cakli, Bijli K., Qiyā Beg, Qiyā K. Similarly, he gave great names to people of the bazaar.

### Verse.

Fortune cannot be wrested from the holder thereof,  
Diadem and throne cannot be sold.  
The crow<sup>2</sup> tried for the gait of the partridge.  
He ended in forgetting his own.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 396.

<sup>2</sup> This is a well-known story. See Anwārī Ṣuhailī.





In ignorance of the world's lord's knowledge of mysteries, he thought that "as the roads were closed, news would not quickly come to him, and if it came, would not be credited. If it were believed, the army could not march quickly in such torrents of rain. In winter it would be very difficult to come to this cold country. When a year had passed, his (Yādgār's) strength would be increased by a choice equipment. For a long time a ruler of Kashmīr had not had such a workshop." He did not know of the knowledge of mysteries possessed by the world's lord. From the time that the Age smiled upon him with a sardonic smile, he continually had drinking-bouts with persons of no consequence. They encouraged him and talked foolishly, and suggested to him to squander the accumulations and to make capital out of the honour of the Mīrzā, and he from love<sup>1</sup> of money and from his connection by marriage (with the Kashmīrī) was led into stratagems. When he heard that the Mīrzā had been put in prison, he was compelled to let his family go. When their coming had not yet been heard of, H.M. from his knowledge of secrets sent Hājī Mirak, who was an old servant of the Mīrzā, to bring these helpless people. Near Thāna the wicked men of the country were thinking of plundering them. Suddenly the messengers appeared. Their lives and property became safe, and all at once the news of the coming of the august standards filled the world. That wretch came a little to his senses and petitioned, saying that "Hus- 622 ain Beg S. 'Umarī meant to bring the son of M. Shahrūkh from Badakhshān to Kashmīr, and make him an instrument of sedition. I contended with him, and he has by crafty words given me a bad name." By order, the writer of the noble volume replied to his false statements.

When his cajolery was not successful, he sent off Darvesh 'Alī with many troops to the defiles, and strove to strengthen them. Though the soldiers had not<sup>2</sup> arrived from all sides, S. Farid Bakhshī

<sup>1</sup> Text has only *dosti*, but all the MSS. appear to have *sardosti* "love of gold." I suppose that the words *paivand-i-khweshī* refer to Yādgār's having married a Kashmīrī. If *dosti* alone is correct, the meaning might

be that his poor companions prated to him of the affection that the people had for him.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *barasīd*, but the variant *narasīd* is supported by MSS. and seems more likely.



Begī and his companions made a fort at the foot of the pass,<sup>1</sup> and having left their baggage prepared for battle. On 26 Shahriyār the vanguard proceeded to the defile in front, and the right and left wings made ready. Darvesh 'Alī had put up two walls on the top of the pass and intended to fight. He stationed men here and there, and indulged in arrogance. By the Divine aid the active men of the vanguard drove away the enemy after a slight resistance. The brave men of the left wing took possession of the ground<sup>2</sup> in front of them. A hot engagement took place, and many of the enemy were killed. Four of the victorious soldiers fell. The right wing took without a contest a fortification (*sarkob*) that the enemy had. As there was no road further on, they turned back and came behind the vanguard. Next day the enemy retired from the protection of the walls without fighting. The leaders of the soldiers were influenced by idle talk and thought there was a stratagem. The vanguard and the left wing pressed on, and took the Kapartal Pass and got possession of some quadrupeds. One man ignorantly killed a horse in the pass,<sup>3</sup> and much injury followed from a hailstorm. Next morning they traversed the Akrambāl pass and encamped. Their idea was that they would halt five *kos* from Hastī Watar. Those in front believing it to be deserted pressed on to take it. S. Farīd sent people to recall them. Able men knowing that it was in their power did not draw rein till the top of the pass. Those who were sent chose to join them. At nightfall it appeared that the enemy were in the waist of the hill, and prepared for battle. That night was spent in standing under arms and in watchfulness. When it was morning, parties of Kashmīrīs were seen on the hillocks and many were of opinion that they were coming to fight. In a short time it became certain that they were dispersing. At the close of the day the Shaikh arrived with some men. As the main army was

<sup>1</sup> It appears from Faiẓī S. that the Katrīl or Katarbal Pass is meant. The Iqbāl-nāma says Farīd Bakhshī Begī, who is now known as Martāza K.

<sup>2</sup> Text *Mahakama*. A note suggests that this here means ground. Perhaps it means position. *Maha-*

*kama* originally means a tribunal. Faiẓī S. uses the word '*aqaba* summit.

<sup>3</sup> Text *ikh* ice, but probably *paj* is the true reading. As to the effect of shedding blood in the Pir Panjal Pass, see Price's Jahāngīr 82.





behind, and the star<sup>1</sup> in front he delayed to advance. Meanwhile Muḥammad Kāshī surrendered himself and reported that Yādgār had thrown away endurance and had fled, and that all the men had gone off into retirement. Next morning 2 Mihr, 12 September 1592, they passed through the defile and reached Hīrapūr. Near there a body without a head was seen, and it was conjectured that the headstrong Kul had met with his deserts. In a short time **623** his head was brought in, and the thing became certain.

When that worthless one learnt that the defile had been taken, he left 'Ādil Begī with a force at Srinagar, and came to Hīrapūr. Next day, he gave some presents to the men and moved forward. On the 31st Shahriyūr at midnight an army rushed forth crying "Allah Akbar," and a report was spread that H.M. had arrived. The whole camp was plundered, and that wretch was annihilated. Shahbāz K. Niyāzī, Ibrāhīm K. Kākar, Ibrāhīm K. Miyāna, Sārū Beg Shāmlū, Ḥusain Beg Maṣlū, Yār Beg Uzbeg, Malik Muḥammad and some others of the servants of M. Yusuf K. made a plot, and were lying in wait. When half of the night had passed, they blew the trumpet of "Allah Akbar," and proceeded to pillage. The wretch came out from his enclosure (*saraparda*) and fled into the open. No servant was with him except one Yūsuf. When he had gone some way, he took shelter in some brushwood <sup>2</sup> (*botu*); and sent back his companion to fetch a horse. Some well-wishers of eternal dominion did not turn to plundering, but searched for Yādgār, and were astonished at not finding him. Suddenly, Sārū Beg saw Yūsuf, and put him to torture. He was helpless and told what had happened; and at his guidance Yādgār was found. He had recourse to humility. Shahbāz K. came up and relieved his shoulders of the burden of his head.

*Verse.*

In the garden the pumpkin raised its head beside the cypress.  
Forsooth, to raise the head is to make oneself equal!  
Heaven knows between the cypress and the pumpkin  
Which of them is worthy of honour.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently, the unlucky star or constellation mentioned in Bābur's Memoirs.

<sup>2</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* says "behind a stone."





On 6 Mihr Mathrā<sup>1</sup> Dās brought the head of the brainless one to court, and there was worship of God. The world's lord's knowledge of mysteries was impressed on all; and a world had collyrium applied to its eyes. On the day that he heard of the disturbance of this wretch, this verse came upon his lips.

*Verse.*

The bastard<sup>2</sup> is envious; I'm what my horoscope is.

The bastard-slayer has come like the star of Yemen.

The mother of this man of disturbed brain was the daughter of Nuqra (or perhaps, was called *dukht-i-Nuqra*) and had no equal among prostitutes (*lūlāyān*) for immodesty and wickedness. H.M. said, "It has been indicated to me that the destruction of this wretch, and the rising of Canopus, will take place at about the same time. By his order, the Greek, Persian, Kashmīri, and Indian astronomers examined the skies and reported that Yādgār would meet with his punishment in from two to three months. He said, "Something tells me that the time will not be less than forty days or more than two months." On this day it appeared that the whole time of the rebellion was fifty-one days. On the same day that Canopus appeared, this evil star (Yādgār) set. The secret vision of the world's lord was anew impressed on high and low. A wonderful thing was that about the same time a shoulder-bone was produced before H.M. and that on reading it he said that the disturbance would soon subside, and

<sup>1</sup> Faizi S. says Farīd Bakhshī's party saw the body of Yādgār hanging on a tree.

<sup>2</sup> Waladu-z-zina, which means both a bastard and a glowworm. Canopus is called the glowworm-slayer, presumably because he rises in the cold weather; and he is also called the star of Yemen. There is a play on the double meaning of Waladu-z-zina, Akbar saying that he the bastard-slayer comes as if he were (viz. at the same time as) Canopus. A. F. says immediately after this that Yādgār's mother was the daughter of one

Nuqra. The Iqbāl-nāma says that Nuqra was a woman's name, or perhaps the meaning is, her name was *Dukht-i-Nuqra* "Nuqra's daughter." Nuqra means silvery or white, thus a white horse is called *asp-i-nuqra*. The word also might possibly mean a silversmith. Akbar may be referring to the fact that he was born about the time of the rising of Canopus, meaning the cold weather, viz. October. The verse is also given in the Inshā, in Akbar's letter to his son Murād.





that no one except the rebel himself would be hurt. The saying became fact, and able men were astonished at his knowledge.

In this glorious year there were great victories on four sides. These were the submission of the ruler of Tattah, and the delivery of Sewistan, the conquest of Orissa, and the submission of the rebels of the eastern provinces, the taking of Junagarh and Somnāth, the capture of Mozaffar, the punishment of Yādgār Kul, and the prevailing over Kashmīr. When the disturbance was suppressed, H.M. went<sup>1</sup> on the 13th to perambulate that garden, and he said with his truth-uttering tongue, "On my first visit, I saw the bridal chamber of spring, now I behold the coquetry of autumn, on that day. Beauty's veil was withdrawn, to-day the attributes of Power (*jalāl*) are seen." The Harem and the great camp were left under the charge of Prince Sulṭān Daniel that they might stay at Rohtās till his return. As Sulṭān Khusrū was somewhat ill, he was committed to the care of God, and H.M. made up his mind to part from him. His wish was to take some ladies with him but the difficulty of the road and the severe cold prevented this in some measure. Prince Sulṭān Selim was sent to make close inquiries, and that day the hill of Bhimbhar, was traversed, and an encampment made. In the morning on account of a disagreeable wind the camp was not moved. H.M. said, "Apparently snow is falling to-day in Kabul." When the year and month were noted, H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries was revealed, and there was an increase of the collyrium of the eyes. Next day the tents were set up at Naushahra. On this day the prince returned. He went into Kashmīr by the route of Hastī Watar and returned by Pir Panjāl. He represented the difficulty of the road, and the amount of snow, and the idea of conveying the ladies was abandoned. As the route by Pir Panjāl was reported to be somewhat easier, H.M. resolved to go by that route. On the day that Pūshāna was reached, H.M.'s horse slipped and that skilful rider came to the ground in an agile manner. Next day he passed through the Pir Panjāl defile, and pitched his camp near Nārī Barārī. On that day too there was a similar slipping, and the Divine protection was revealed. On the<sup>2</sup> 23rd, when the hour was favourable—Srina-

<sup>1</sup> That is, he set out on his march to Kashmīr.

<sup>2</sup> Faizī S. says Srīnagar was entered by Farīd on 21 Zi-l-hajja.





gar the capital was brightened by his advent. On the way the soldiers who had gone on in advance paid their homage. In accordance with orders, thirty-four persons entered into the trunk of a *cenār* tree which had been hollow for ages. If they had sate closer some more might have been accommodated.<sup>1</sup> Although the root of rebellion had been dug up, yet, owing to a report that H.M. had ordered the punishment of high and low, people had scattered, and there was no population in any of the villages. Though those who had gone on in front had used soothing measures, they were not  
**825** believed. When H.M.'s intentions were known, and his great benevolence had been impressed on hearts, people came back to the city, and rejoiced on beholding forgiveness and liberality. Able and truthful men were sent out in every direction, and they regarded the apprehension of rebels as the price (*pāironj*) of obedience. Some who had been the leaven of the disturbance met with their deserts, except 'Ādil Begī, who hastened to the Deccan in the dress of a Qalandar. Those who from farsightedness had kept themselves aloof (from the rebellion) obtained high dignities. The world's commander offered up supplications, and thanksgivings had a new foundation. Though on the first occasion he had had the pleasure of water-fowling, yet as it was not the season, he did not care for it. This time he enjoyed it in perfection. On the 2nd Ābān he had a great feast, and the solar weighment took place. He who was of equal value with the heavens, was weighed against twelve things, and high and low shared his bounty. He appointed several persons to distribute money. The writer distributed presents to 14,000 necessitous people in the 'Idgāh. In this cultivated country thieves and beggars were few in number. At this time owing to an evil mixture there was loss, and many failed in patience and contentment.

One of the occurrences was the success of Zain K., Koka. Though a commotion had not broken out there, H.M. had from foresight appointed him to Swād and Bajaur. During the Kashmīr disturbance the evil-minded Afghans broke out into rebellion. As there

18 September 1592. Akbar entered it, he says, on 9 Muḥarram 1001, 7 October, 1592.

<sup>1</sup> The Iqbāl-nāma says that the

tree had exceeded the age of crows, that 34 men found room in it, and that 200 horsemen could be sheltered under it.





were no chosen troops there, the Gagiyānī<sup>1</sup> tribe and the Muḥammadzaī tribe, who had always been loyal, joined with the Tārikīs and Yūsufzais, and proceeded to hunt for the life of Muḥammad Qulī Turkamān, who was in Begrām, in order that they might get possession of the whole of that country. Suddenly, the Kokaltāsh arrived, and the rebels of every tribe withdrew. The Yūsufzai and some Tārikīs came to the hill-country of Bajaur under the command of Wahīdat 'Alī. Jalāla put his family with him and went off to Tīrāh. The idea was that Wahīdat 'Alī would take possession of the land of the Kāfirs—which is close to Kāshghar<sup>2</sup>—and prepare a refuge there, and whenever there was pressure on the part of the victorious he would go there. On 7 Amardād the Koka came from the defile of Malkand to Swād, and easily took the futile but difficult-of-conquest country. He came by the way of Mardān to Bajaur. The rebels had not the strength to resist, and were obliged to hurry to the land of the Kāfirs. In a short time the hill country of Hardil<sup>3</sup> (?) was taken from that tribe. It is bounded on the east by Sawād, west by Kunār and Nūrkāl, north by Kāshghar and Badakhshān, and south by Bajaur. They strengthened the fort of Cankārī<sup>4</sup> (?) and behaved presumptuously. The Koka set himself to put them down, and went there with brave and experienced men. He built forts at 626 each stage and traversed the mountains. Whenever the enemy tried a night-attack, they failed. The Koka invested the fort. On 1st Abān he took it after a severe battle, and the power of the rebels was broken.

On the 9th H.M. went off by boat to visit the saffron<sup>5</sup>-grounds. He arrived there next morning and enjoyed himself. Travellers cannot point out rose-gardens which come up to them in delight and fragrance. Though they (the flowers) resemble the lotus, yet their

<sup>1</sup> Text Kakeyānī. See J. II. 407.

<sup>2</sup> This is Kāshkar or Citral and not Kashghar in E. Turkestan. See J. II. 39142 and Elphinstone's Cabul II. 388. It is marked on Elphinstone's map as a large country east of Chitral.

<sup>3</sup> There is the variant Parāl. I cannot identify the place.

<sup>4</sup> There is the variant Jankārī. Chalmers has Bunkāry. The M'aasgar II. 368 speaks of a fort Kanghāl (?).

<sup>5</sup> Apparently those at Pāmpūr. Cf. Jahāngīr's account, Elliot VI. 304 and 375, and also B. 84.





enchantment and joy-giving cannot be described. A banquet of delight was prepared, and a new door was opened for the Divine bounty. Also at this time Mulla<sup>1</sup> Husain the Turān ambassador died. He had been left behind at Lahore in order that he might prepare for his return, and he was to have got his leave when H.M. came back. Indigestion conduced to his last day. By H.M.'s orders his family and household were sent to their native country. Also at this time Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn arrived and paid his respects. He was summoned from Lahore in order that Kashmīr might be made crown-land (*Khālṣa*) for a time, and that by his sympathetic treatment it might be developed. On the 12th the Dīwālī<sup>2</sup> feast was celebrated, and by orders, the boats, the river banks and the roofs were adorned with lamps. They presented a splendid appearance. Also on this day the daughter of Shams Cak entered the harem. He belonged to the great men of the country, and had long cherished this wish. On this occasion it was gratified. Also in order to pacify the landowners the daughter<sup>3</sup> of Mubārak Khan the son of Husain Cak was made over to the harem of Prince Sultān Selim. Similarly, some of the countries were united by marriage (with Kashmīris). In this year M. Qubād<sup>4</sup> the oldest son of M. Hakīm received some punishment. He was sent to the place of instruction of the prison. He had ignorantly given himself up to wine-drinking. His punishment led to the amendment of many. At this time a kind of ink was introduced to H.M.'s notice. Whatever was written with it was not obliterated by water or by rubbing, nor did any harm happen to the writing. H.M. examined it and taught the use of it to skilful persons.

<sup>1</sup> His death is referred to in the letter to 'Abdulla, *infra* p. 710.

<sup>2</sup> B. 216. It is celebrated on the new moon of Kārtik (October).

<sup>3</sup> Apparently it should be "the

daughters of Mubārak K., and Husain Cak. See B. 619. A. F. tells us, J. III. 449, that he had a Kashmīrī wife.

<sup>4</sup> Generally called Kaiqubād.





## CHAPTER CXIV.

## RETURN OF THE WORLD-ILLUMINATING STANDARDS TO INDIA.

On account of the delightful climate and of its adaptation to H.M., his idea had been to spend the winter in Kashmīr, but from consideration of the fact that the high price of food incommoded high and low, and of the severe cold making life difficult for the inhabitants of hot countries, he resolved to leave the country. He 627 wished to make over the territory to M. Yūsuf K., but the latter again was eloquent about the question of the revenue. By the wonders of fortune the (papers of the) assessment which Qāzī 'Alī had made, was found, and the representations of the Mīrza's confidant were proved. The Mīrza felt ashamed for not having accepted (the increased revenue). H.M. in accordance with his first idea made Kashmīr crown-land (*khālṣa*) and entrusted it to Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, and assigned him 3,000 cavalry. When the holy heart turned away from the country, he on 20<sup>2</sup> Ābān, 31 October 1592, embarked on a boat, and went off to India. The army went by land. On that day he halted at Andarkūl. There was the dwelling of M. Haidar

<sup>1</sup> Qāzī 'Alī's assessment is referred to in the Ayin, J. II. 366-67. It amounted to 30 lakhs odd. This was an increase on the original assessment, which was 22 lakhs, and apparently supported the statements of Ṭuḡa (A.N. III. 595). M. Yūsuf declined to accept it, and the territory became crown-land. But almost immediately afterwards (p. 627) M. Yūsuf was restored at the request of Prince Selīm, and the revenue was not raised, but certain sources of income were reserved. A year or two afterwards (in the 39th year) Yūsuf was again recalled and made

darogha of the artillery, and fiefholder of Jaunpūr, and Āṣaf K. was appointed (p. 654). Āṣaf made a fresh assessment, raising the revenue somewhat in appearance, but in reality, lowering it (J. II. 367). Qāzī 'Alī had made himself very objectionable to the Kashmīrīs, for they mutilated and killed him. (Bada-yānī, Lowe, 394.)

<sup>2</sup> The T. A. Elliot and V. 464. Akbar entered Pīrnagar on 8 Maḥarram 1001 and stayed 28 (not eight) days there and left 26 Ṣafr, = 2 November 1592. Faiẓi S. has 7 Ṣafr.





there, which was a grand building and a memorial of him. At the request of Prince Sultān Selīm, Kashmīr was given in fief to M. Yūsuf K., and he was sent off there. The *jāgīr* in India<sup>1</sup> (of M. Yūsuf?), the saffron, the silk and the game, were made *khālṣa*. Other increases were remitted. On 23 Ābān he came to the Wular<sup>2</sup> lake. He obtained information about the marvels of that tract. It is an extensive reservoir. Its circumference is twenty *kos*, and the river Bihat flows through it, and hastens on to India. Sultān Zainu-d-dīn erected,<sup>3</sup> after great difficulty, a stone platform (*ṣaffa*) in it, 119 yards long, and 82 broad. Upon that he built choice mansions as a memorial of himself. Afterwards other rulers erected buildings there. A high wind always blows there, and boats encounter storms. On this occasion H.M.'s advent made the water calm. High and low were delighted. At dawn the tents were pitched at Barāhmūla. Though for two months no day had passed on which some soldiers did not get furlough to India, there was still a large army. H.M. chose out of the seven sets of guards some men as his companions, and appointed active and energetic men to the remainder in order that each party after the other might, after a suitable interval, march off. On 3 Āzar, 13 November 1592, while the camp was at Paklī, it rained (snowed?) the whole night, and snow gathered round the camp. The advance-tents could not proceed. H.M. went off on horseback to select a suitable camping ground. As a fitting place was not found, he left the household behind and went on quickly with some companions. In the course of the journey it came on to rain and snow. He halted in the village of Mānglī<sup>4</sup> (?) which is a dependency of Paklī. For a long while it snowed heavily, and high and low were astonished. One month before this, when it was very cold, and the Indians were apprehensive of its snowing, H.M. said, "I hope<sup>5</sup> that when we pass Paklī, and get sight of India, the fall

<sup>1</sup> Apparently M. Yūsuf's *jāgīr* in Bihar. See p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Text *Isar*, but Ular or Wular in variant. See J. II. 364 where the circumference is given as 28 *kos*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the island of Lanka, for an account of which see J. II. 346 and Colonel Jarrett's note in J.A.S.B.

for 1880, p. 16, and T.A. Elliot V. 465.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Manglor which Hwen Thsang calls Mangala and was the capital of Swād. See J. II. 391 and note 7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Elliot V. 465.





of snow will afford delight, and that the inhabitants of warm countries will not be disconcerted, but will enjoy the spectacle." His prescience was manifested, and the lamp of guidance was kindled. In the morning the wind rose. He went forward, and on that day he halted for a while at Damtour at the request of M. Shahrukh's<sup>1</sup> son whose home was there. On the 7th he hastened on so rapidly **628** that he passed Rāwal Pindī, Rabāt,<sup>2</sup> Nagarkot, Thāna and Serai Carwa (?). He traversed a difficult hill and near Serai Har (?) rested for a while on the top of a hillock. On the way Šādiq K. was exalted by doing homage. At the beginning of the expedition he had fallen ill, and had been sent back to Lahore. When he got better he proceeded towards Kashmīr. Unexpectedly he had this blessing (of meeting Akbar). His son Yār,<sup>3</sup> and Rām Sāh, had the honour of kissing the threshold. He had obtained leave in order that he might tame Rajah Madhkar and this proprietor (Rām Sāh ?) and convoy them to Mālwa to the Prince (Murād), and might free those frightened savages from their consternation. The land-owners got new life from these royal favours and came forward with supplications. The Rajah, though he was ill, intended to come also, but died of his illness. He (Šādiq) brought his son Rām Sāh to Ujjāin, and from thence to court. He was received with favour. As the camp of Šādiq K. was set up, he expressed a wish that the sovereign would spend the night there. When evening came, H.M. sent him away in order that he might come slowly after him, and himself set off. The Prince Royal and other servants begged that he would take some repose in a litter. He did not agree. In a night and a day he travelled 22 kos. On the 8th he unexpectedly cast the shadow of his graciousness over Rohtās—where the ladies were. Crowds of men, who were going to Kashmīr (?), had the pleasure of doing homage. Prince Daniel and Sultan Khusrū illuminated their foreheads by paying their respects near the city (Rohtās).

<sup>1</sup> M. Shahrukh of Dhamtaur. His son was Bahādur, B. 524.

<sup>2</sup> Serai Rabāt is marked on Elphinstone's map S.E. Rāwal Pindī. The name Nagarkot is doubtful. The I.O. MSS. have Bīkakot, and for

Serai Har they have "in the morning" as in the variant.

<sup>3</sup> Text has Bāz. Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 391 and B. 499. I.O. MSS. have Yār.





## CHAPTER CXV.

## CAPTURE OF SULTĀN MOZĀFFAR GUJRĀTĪ AND THE END OF HIS LIFE.

When Jūnagarh was taken, and the landed proprietors had become obedient and had made their submission, the Kokaltāsh made courage shoulder to shoulder with skill. He applied all his energies to the capture of Mozaffar, who was the thornbush of the sedition. That evil-thinking man had given himself up to failure and had taken refuge with Sīvābād<sup>1</sup> Hail who was the ruler of the country of Hālār. The temple of Dwārka belongs to him. The Kokaltāsh sent to that quarter Naurang K., Gūjar K., Anwār,<sup>2</sup> Nizāmu-d-dīn<sup>3</sup> Ahmad, Bābā Khwāja, Qādir Qulī Koka, the Saiyids of Cambay, M. Qulī Mogal and other soldiers. On 16 Mihr they left the camp 25 kos from the enemy and arrived in morning (*cāsh*) at Dwārka, and took it without a contest. There it was learned that Mozaffar was in Basīna<sup>4</sup> (?) the residence of Sīva<sup>5</sup> (?), and that in the town of Arāmrah,<sup>6</sup> Sangrām, a relation of that landholder, was behaving arrogantly. Qādir Qulī and some others were left at Dwārka, and then

629 two bands were made out. Naurang K. with a large force proceeded to chastise Mozaffar. Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, Bābā Khwāja, and a number of gallant men also went off in that direction. At the end of the day they arrived at his residence, and a severe engagement took place. A little before this, the report of the approach of the victorious troops had made the landholder demented, and he sent off

<sup>1</sup> Text سیوآباد میل. But evidently the text is corrupt. Perhaps the meaning is that the chief belonged to the Sesodia clan. The text goes on to describe him as the chief of Lār. I.O. MS. 236 has Hālār, and perhaps Hālaria, I.G. XIII. 9, is meant. Or it may be Hālār, *id.*

<sup>2</sup> M. Koka's son.

<sup>3</sup> This is Nizāmu-d-dīn the son of Shāh Muḥammad, B. 561, and not the author.

<sup>4</sup> I do not know where this place is.

<sup>5</sup> Amra. The place is variously spelt. See J. II. 248. It was ten kos from Jagat, *i.e.* Dwārka, and on the seashore. Bayley 196.





Mozaffar and his household by boat to an island<sup>1</sup> which he had fortified. He himself went after them. The imperialists followed him, and he, from being doomed, turned and fought with them. On account of the heights and hollows, the brave men got off their horses and engaged. Naurang K. beheld this from a ridge. A force, thinking that he had few men, attacked him, but by the Divine help they had to retire with disgrace. There was close fighting up to evening. During the struggle an arrow reached the turbulent one (Sīva?), and he went to annihilation. The rebels were dispersed, and many were killed. Those also who had gone to punish Sangrām were successful. By the Divine succour the breeze of victory played on the pennants of fortune, and in both places much plunder was obtained. Some said that Mozaffar had been drowned. He could not remain where he was, but fled to Cutch. Bihāra Jāreja the ruler of that country placed him in retirement. On 26 Ābān the Khān A'zim went there from Jūnagarh, sending on ahead his son 'Abdullah with some brave men. Mīr 'Abdu-r-Razzāq M'amūrī, who had been appointed Bakhshī of that country, arrived on this day. On 9 Āzar he arrived, after traversing 55 kos in ten marches, at the village of Amrān,<sup>2</sup> which is the burial-place of Dāwar-al-Mulk. The Jām came with his sons and other relatives and renewed his promises of good service. The ruler of Cutch sent able men and had recourse to cajolery. He spoke about obeying orders and sent his son to do service. His pretences did not lull asleep the Kokaltāsh, and he replied that if he wished to be delivered from the victorious troops, he should deliver up Mozaffar, and come in person. At this time, Lokan Kohal (?) went off with evil thoughts and without leave to his house, and the soldiers in Jūnagarh plundered his house and household. His three sons were killed. The Khān Ā'zim sent his son Khurram to that quarter with some brave men. He himself left

<sup>1</sup> No doubt this is Sankūdhar, J. II. 248. It is now called Beyt Shakhodhar. It is in the Gulf of Cutch and N.E. Dwārka. It was near Arāmrah. See I. G. VIII. 17 and Bayley 195 and note. It is a sacred island. Beyt apparently means "island" in Gujarātī.

<sup>2</sup> The Amrūn of Bayley, 232, where it is said to be ten kos from Morbi. It is the burial-place of Dāwar-ul-Mulk, whose proper name was 'Abdu-l-Latīf and who was regarded as a saint. The M. Sikandarī, p. 127, calls the place Anbarūn and says it is in Cutch (not Sorath).





Morbī, and having marched 31 *kos* in five stages arrived at the village of Cārbāra.<sup>1</sup> As the words of that proprietor<sup>2</sup> in those two matters did not produce action, he (M. Koka) wished to make over his estates to the Jām. He left his pretences and sent a message to the effect that if the town of Morbī—which had belonged to his ancestors for a long time—were given to him as a reward, he would deliver up Mozaffar. His proposals were accepted, and some persons were sent ahead of the army. On 13 Dai, 23 December 1592, they arrived there. The proprietor's agents represented to the turbulent 630 one (Mozaffar) that Bihāra was coming to wait upon (*dīdan*) him. He was pleased<sup>3</sup> and came out with alacrity. When he came near, they arrested him and brought him back. That night passed on the journey. Next morning, he retired<sup>3</sup> on pretence of easing himself, and put a razor—which he had kept hidden—to his throat. Thus by his own hand he gave the final touch to his retribution. Apparently this was well, for the Khān A'zam would not have put him to death

<sup>1</sup> Variant Jācāra, and this is supported by I.O. MSS. and Add. 27, 247.

<sup>2</sup> This is the ruler of Cutch whose residence was at Bhūj, I.G. VIII. 151. A.F. calls him Bihāra and the T. A. Elliot V. 466 calls him Khengār. These statements are reconciled by Bayley, p. 17, where we find the Zamindār of Bhūj called Bihāra Khengār. The Jām whom M. Koka threatened to give Bihāra's property to was the Jām of Nawānagar. The two matters, or conditions, which Bihara was to fulfil were evidently, 1st, the surrender of Mozaffar; 2nd, Bihāra's coming on in person to visit the K. K. The text makes them alternative, but *yā* seems a mistake for *bā*. The Zamindar Bihāra who delivered up Mozaffar appeared before Jahan-gir in the 13th year of the reign of the latter. He was then an old man of about 90 years of age. Tāzūk J., 234.

<sup>3</sup> The text seems corrupt here, and the word *bapazīra* is not very intelligible. Add. 27,247 has a different reading, p. 416b. After giving the message that Bihāra had come to wait upon Mozaffar, who, of course, was regarded as a prince, and of higher rank, it has *khūsh waqt gashta, banda barah barāmid*. This seems to be part of Bihara's message, and to mean, "It is a fortunate time and so your slave (Bihāra) has come on the road to wait upon you."

The Iqbāl-nāma and the Mirāt Aḥ-madī say that Mozaffar sate down at the foot of a tree to wash, and that he had the razor concealed in his drawers (*shahwār*). The Mirāt Si-kandārī and Aḥmadi, pp. 387 and 190, say the occurrence took place at the village of Dhamon or Dahar, 15 *kos* "on this side," i.e. east of Bhūj. Ferishta adds that Mozaffar always kept the razor with him against this day.





without orders, and if they had brought him into the Presence, H.M.'s abundant graciousness would not have hunted for his life. In revenge for Qutbu-d-din K., his head was severed from his body and hung<sup>1</sup> up at the door of Naurang K., and afterwards Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad<sup>2</sup> brought it to court. Two days previous to this H.M. had said, "Inasmuch as the help of God towards this suppliant increases daily, every one who turns away his head from obedience descends into non-existence. The ingratitude of Mozaffar has gone far. Something tells my heart that about this time he will be killed." On beholding this intelligence, eyesalve became cheap and a door of auspiciousness was opened out for many.

<sup>1</sup> *Bar dar*, "at the door," but perhaps *bar* here means body. If the head was taken off to Akbar, it could hardly have been hung at Naurang's

door or gate, except for a short time.

<sup>2</sup> The son of *Shāh* Moḥammad K. (*Iqbāl-nāma*).





## CHAPTER CXVI.

## RETURN OF THE AUGUST STANDARDS TO LAHORE THE CAPITAL.

Thanks be to God that the veil was once more withdrawn from the world-ruler's knowledge of mysteries and that high and low obtained materials of guidance. During his return, his idea had been that he would locate the army for a time on the bank of the Indus, and enjoy some hunting. The soldiers would recruit and the rebels would be reduced to obedience. For this reason Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfi was sent off to prepare the camping ground at Attock. H.M. halted in Rohtās and questions<sup>1</sup> were put to Zain K. Kokaltāsh and other officers who had been appointed to chastise the Tārīkīs. As it did not appear proper to proceed in that direction, he on 2nd Dāi<sup>2</sup> went on towards Lahore. After sixteen marches he arrived in that city on the 19th Dai, 29 December 1592. Crowds of men obtained the material of fortune, and largesse was the order of the day (lit. there was a daily market of largesse). From Srīnagar to Rohtās is 112 kos, 30 poles, and the distance was traversed in eighteen marches. To Lahore (from Rohtās) the distance is 162½ kos, 16 poles, and it was traversed in thirty-four marches. An account of the Divine favours which were bestowed during this expedition has been given. A world sate gathering bliss, and the Age rose up to the fruition of its desires. At this time Balbhadaḥar the son of Rām Cand the ruler of Bhat'h<sup>3</sup> obtained lofty rank. His father had left him to wait upon H.M. At this

<sup>1</sup> A. F.'s letter to Zain K. Koka inquiring about the expedition against the Tārīkīs, and suggesting that the business was too unimportant to require Akbar's presence at Attock, will be found in the second volume of the *Inshā*. It is dated 9 Āzar (the day after the arrival at Rohtās) of the 37th year = 28 Šafr 1001, 23 November 1592.

<sup>2</sup> The text and also the I.O. MSS. have Āzar, but clearly Dai must be meant.

<sup>3</sup> Text Tattah! It is Bhet'h or Bhattah, and also Pannah, and is in Central India. See B. 8406, where the son is called Bīr Bhadr. He died of an accident in the following year. See below p. 641. The *Iqbāl-nāma* also calls him Bīr Bhadr.





time news came that the father had died on 27 Shahriyūr. On 27 Dai H.M. appointed him to the same dignity of Rajaship. He conferred favours on him and sent him off to that country. On this 631 day Khawāja Sulaimān, the Bakhshī of Gujarat, had an audience and the presents of the Mirzā were produced. On the 29th H.M., contrary to his morning custom, came into the daulatkhāna. After seeing<sup>1</sup> that everything was as usual he went to the gynocaeum. The pigeon house, in the shed of which many animals were reposing, fell down, and the cause of his unusual coming out became evident. On 2 Bahmān news came that Ghāzī K. Qazwinī had died in Bengal of diarrhoea. On the 4th a female elephant which did not use to hurt a tiny ant broke out and killed her keeper and fourteen others.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army to the northern mountains. As the proprietors there showed themselves refractory and did not accompany<sup>2</sup> the expedition to Kashmīr, H.M., on the 16th, at the request of Qulij K., sent his son Saif Ullah there, and gave him Qāzī Hasan as a companion. Though some proprietors came forward and paid their respects, Lāl Deo the ruler of Jammū was recalcitrant. Zain K. gave him quarter and brought him to court, and the northern rising subsided. At this time the home of Rām Cand was plundered. He is one of the famous zamīndars of Orissa, and by the glory of H.M.'s star he became obedient, and sent his son to do service. Rajah Mān Singh summoned him and he objected. The Rajah from inappreciativeness consigned his goodnesses to oblivion and sent Jagat Singh, Mīr Sharif Sarmadī, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Barkhūrdār, Abu-l-baqā, Maḥmūd Beg Shāmlū, Shihābu-d-dīn Diwāna and others to wage war on him. A commotion arose. Rām Cand entered the fort of Khurdah<sup>3</sup> which was the strongest of his fortresses. The imperialists took up their quarters close by, and proceeded to attack the country. The forts Sahajpāl (?) Khāragarh, Kālūpāra, Kahnān, Longarh, Bhūnmāl, and many populated places fell into possession. On hearing of this,

<sup>1</sup> The sentence is not in the Cawnpore ed. For Akbar's mode of spending his time see B. 153. Ordinarily he went first to the harem. The pigeon-house was in the inner apartments. See p. 646.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 619.

<sup>3</sup> Text has Chorgarha, but the variant Khūrdah must be right. Several of the forts are mentioned in J. II. 142 et seq., but the names in text do not appear.





H.M.—who appreciates dignities—became angry, and issued censures. The Rajah recalled his troops, and apologised. Rām Cand, on seeing the graciousness of H.M., took the thought of paying his respects. On 21 Bahman he visited the Rajah (Mān Singh), and was treated with much respect.

One of the occurrences was the going astray of the Afghans. When the rebels of Orissa submitted, the Rajah wisely gave Khwāja Sulaimān, Khwāja ‘Uṣmān, Sher Kh. and Haibat Kh. fiefs in Khali-fahābād, and selected Tāhir K. and Khwāja Bāqir Anṣārī to accompany them. From the shortsightedness and foolish talk of inexperienced persons he afterwards took away their *jāgīrs* and sum-  
 632 moned them to his presence. Out of ignorance, the Afghans became frightened and made sedition-mongering the means of their deliverance. On the 27th Bāqir was near Kharakpūr<sup>1</sup> and was going with some elephants to his estates when that crew cast aside the veil of respect and opened the hand of plunder. He was wounded, and retired. Pahār K., Tolak K., Farakh K., and the men of S’aid K. gathered together to remedy matters, but from want of courage did not address themselves to battle. The Rajah sent his son Himmat Singh with some troops. The Afghans went on plundering and came to the port of Satgāon.<sup>2</sup> But as they could not lay hands on it, they returned unsuccessful, and proceeded to the house<sup>3</sup> of Cānd Rai. The officers came from Jahānābād. Himmat Singh went

<sup>1</sup> Text Gorakhpūr. But the variant Kharakpūr is supported by MSS. and seems right. It was in Fathābad Sarkār, J. II. 132. I.O. MS. 236 and also another MS. have *pūr* “son,” after Kharakpūr and before Bāqir, thus making it Bāqir’s son who was attacked and wounded. Perhaps this is the Bāqir K. Safarcī who is mentioned at p. 649 as being attached to Jahangir’s troops, and at p. 672 as having died in Bengal. He was, evidently, a different man from Bāqir Anṣārī. Bāqir, or Bāqī, was the son of Tāhir, who is perhaps the Tāhir of p. 631.

<sup>2</sup> Text Sangāon. But there is no such place and Sonargāon is impossible. No doubt it is Satgāon or Sāt-gāon near Hugli. See J. II. 125 and note, and 140. Jahānābād is in the Hugli district. The Iqbāl-nāma has Sāt-gāon.

<sup>3</sup> Four MSS. which I have examined have *ba Busna* before the word house. Probably this is right and the place meant is Bhūshna in the Farīdpūr district. It was a famous *pargana* in old times and the seat of a Hindu zamindar. The Cawnpore ed. has *بستا* Basta.





on a little way and then turned back. When the Afghans came near that place, Cānd Rai, at the suggestion of his father, conceived the idea of capturing them, and by his unskilfulness forfeited his own life. When Dilāwar, Sulaimān, and 'Uṣmān encamped within four *kos* of the place (Bhūṣhna), he adopted the manners of a host. On 1 Isfandārmaz the first two came to his house. When Dilāwar got up for a necessary<sup>1</sup> purpose they seized him. Sulaimān, seeing this, laid hold of his sword and scattered the men. He killed three men and got to the gate of the fort. He killed several and bravely made his exit. On the road some men joined him, and he got on his horse and went quickly to his quarters. Cānd Rai followed him, and 'Uṣmān, on hearing of the affair, came to help. On the way, Sulaimān told the tale of Dilawār's capture, his own escape, and of the coming of the foe. Of necessity they set their hearts upon dying, and there was a hot engagement. The servants of the proprietor who were mostly Afghans, turned traitors and joined their country men, and he (Cānd) was killed. They plundered, and then set off for the fort. Those inside thought it was Cānd Rai and opened the gate. In this way the Afghans prevailed. By the intrigues of 'Isā zamīndār they took shelter with him, and made over the fort and territory to Kedār Rai the father of Cānd Rai. At this time the fort of Mānpūr was taken. It lies between Orissa and Telingāna. An army marched against it and took it without much trouble. Rajah Mān Singh gave it to Rām Cānd.

One of the occurrences was the marriage-feast of Prince Sul-tān Selīm. Just as for other people more than one wife is not suitable, so for great persons more are necessary, so that their dwellings may be more<sup>2</sup> splendid, and a large number of people may be supported. Especially is this so with nobly-born persons who are the ornament of the Age. At the beginning of this spring Gulrukh Begam, the daughter<sup>3</sup> of M. Kāmran, begged that her daughter might enter the harem of the Shāhīnshāh's son. H.M. agreed and there was a banquet of joy. There was largesse and there were marriage presents. On the night of 7 Isfandārmaz H.M. had a meet-

<sup>1</sup> *ba kāre*, lit. for a business. Cf. *Iqbāl-nāma*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the meaning is that there may be more progeny.

<sup>3</sup> Her name was Nurū-n-nisā. B. 477 n.





**633** ing in the house of Miriām Makānī, and the marriage was solemnized at an auspicious hour.

On the 23rd Pahār<sup>1</sup> K. died in Bardwān. His heirs were treated with princely favours.

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<sup>1</sup> B. 405.





## CHAPTER CXVII.

BEGINNING OF THE 38TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO  
WIT, THE YEAR ARDIBIHISHT OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

One the eve of Sunday 17 Jumāda-al ākhiri, 1001 A.H., 10 or 11 March 1593, after 3 hours 55 minutes, the spiritual and physical light-increaser cast his rays on the Sign of Aries. Melancholy terrestrials had heavenly bliss, and had equal rank with the celestials.

*Verse.*

The hand of morn kindled the torch of the new spring.  
The branching<sup>1</sup> standards took to torch-bearing  
By the side of the wind, the black earth clothed itself in  
green.

Every flowerpot<sup>2</sup> drank milk from the breast of the clouds.

There was a daily feast till the day of Exaltation, and high and low rejoiced.

On 8 Farwardīn the Khān-Khānān came from Sind and was exalted by doing homage. M. Jāni gathered bliss by having an audience, and placed the forehead of supplication on the ground, while the crown of his fortune was exalted to the skies. After the peace, the victorious army took up its quarters in Sann, 20 *kos* from Sehwan. When the rains came to an end they were in expectation of the arrival of the Mirzā and of his departing to court. Suddenly a message arrived that as he was a little indisposed, and there was a long journey in prospect, he would go to court after collecting the autumn-revenue; also that the agreement was that this side of Sehwan would be restored to him; but Puran (?) and Hālākandī had not been given up. The imperial servants took the envoy under their

<sup>1</sup> Meaning that every branch bore flowers.

<sup>2</sup> Khazaf. The MSS. seem to have khazaf meaning an old, weak

man; and the metaphor may be that they grew young, i.e. became sucklings. But khazaf seems right.





supervision and proceeded to take active measures. Shāh Beg K., Ghāzī K., Jānīsh Bahādur, Nūram Khwāja Khizrī, and other brave men crossed the Indus and proceeded by land towards Tatta. Bakhtiyār Beg, Qarā Beg, Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshī, ‘Alī Mardān Bahādur, Khwāja Hīsamū-d-dīn, Sālār Beg, Sarmadī, Mubārīz Beg, Subhān Qulī, Tāj K., Nūru-d-dīn, S’aid Beg and others went in war-boats by the river. Sher K., Khūlgān, Langā, Dada Beg, ‘Alī Āqā and others went by the river bank. It was arranged that all three bodies should keep touch of one another, and that they should take possession of Naṣīrpūr which was on the

634 route. The idea was that the Mīrzā must go to court. After some days the Khān-Khānān sent an ambassador with weighty advices, and followed in person. The troops prevailed over Naṣīrpūr. The Mīrzā came out of Tatta and took post at a distance of three *kos*. His intention was to make his rear<sup>1</sup> safe up to the river (?). When the Khān-Khānān arrived at Naṣīrpūr he sent on the three corps with the same arrangements as before. They attacked the Mīrzā’s camp and plundered it, and some of the Arghūniāns joined them. The Mīrzā had recourse to supplications, and he sent able men to inquire why the treaty was broken. The reply was, “We are not breaking the treaty, and we have no new ideas in our minds, but we have heard that the Feringhī soldiers of Ormuz intend to come to this country. Hence we intend to go on to Bandar Laharī.”<sup>2</sup> The plunder which had been taken was returned with apologies (?). The Khān-Khānān always had an eager desire for concord. On 10 Ābān of the previous year they met each other on horseback. Out of foresight the Khān-Khānān proceeded as far as Tatta. His ostensible motive was to see the place, but his real intent was to secure the lower part of the river, and to prevent any change in the feelings of the Arghūniāns. When he had gone some way in that direction, and his mind was set at rest, he returned. “As the bond of friendship had been established, it was fitting that the Mīrzā should deliver up his fleet so that no one could have occasion to make any remark,

<sup>1</sup> عقبات ‘*aqabāt*. I.O. MS. 236 has *qanāt*. The meaning seems to be that M. Jānī wished to keep open his communications with the river as there was a prospect of the Portu-

gueses coming to help him. ‘*Aqabāt* may mean “communications.”

<sup>2</sup> Lahorī Bandar in the Karāchī district, now quite decayed. I. G., XXII. 403, and Elliot I., App. 377.





and that foolish praters might be reduced to silence." The Mirzā was thus constrained to give up the whole country to the victorious army. He prepared to go to court. After viewing Tatta, the Khān-Khānān went on to Bandar Laharī. He dispatched Shāh Beg K., Bakhtiyār Beg, Farīdūn Barlās and others to go forward with the Mirzā. He left some in Tatta and returned by land. Near Fath Bāgh he arrived in person. On 29 Bahman he left Saiyid Bahān-d-dīn . . . . . to guard the country and went off to court with the Mirzā. Though he (the Mirzā) wished to leave his family in Tatta, he could not. His household went off by land and water, and he himself went on with the Khān-Khānān, and set his heart upon kissing the threshold. Shāh Beg K. . . . . . and, from among the nobles of Tatta, Shāh Qāsim Arghūn, Khusrū Bāi K., 'Il Dastam, Saifullah 'Arab, and Nadīm Koka had the honour of being presented, and every one of them received princely favours.

M. Jānī<sup>1</sup> is the son of Payinda Muḥammad, s. M. Bāqī, s. M. 635 'Isā, s. 'Abdu-l-'Alī, s. 'Abdu-l-Khāliq, 'who was descended from Shakal<sup>2</sup> Beg Tarkhān. As his (Shakal's) father Atkū<sup>3</sup> Timur fell bravely in the war of Taqtamish K., the Ṣāhib Qirānī (Taimūr), cherished him in his early years, and gave him the rank of Tarkhān. He is four generations from Arghūn K. s. Abāgh<sup>4</sup> K., s. Hulāgū K., s. Tūlī K., s. Cingiz K. Just rulers exempted some among their servants from certain injunctions and prohibitions, and distinguished them by this name (Tarkhān). A Tarkhān of the Ṣāhibqirān was one whom his ushers (Chāwashān) did not keep out of any place, and from whom, and from whose children, no inquiry was made up to the number of nine faults. The great Qān Cingiz K. exalted Qishliq and Bānā<sup>5</sup> to this rank because they had given information

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. 361 and J. II. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Shankal in B. and I.O. MS. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Text, Ikū, and it is Ekū, in Elliot I. 497. B. has Atkū, and so have the I.O. MSS. It is Ikū in Zafarnāma I. 525 etc. The Zafarnāma seems to have Shāh Mulk instead of Shankal or Shakal, I. 530. These privileges of Tarkhāns are referred to on the same page.

<sup>4</sup> Ayāgh in text.

<sup>5</sup> Bātā in B. Neither of these two names, nor the reason why Cingiz bestowed the honour, is mentioned in the T. Rashīdī. The story is, however, told in Elliot I. 498, where the names of the two men are given as Bā'ta and Kashlak. It is there said that they heard of Āvang K.'s intending to kill Cingiz, and came



about the enemy, and, from his abundant graciousness, relieved them from the burden of attendance (*bār-i-farmāish*), and did not exact from them the royal share of the booty. For a while the Tarkhān had seven privileges, viz.—1st, A *Ṭabb* (kettle-drum). 2nd, A Tumantogh (standard). 3rd, A Naqqāra (also a drum). 4th, A Tarkhān could confer on two of his select servants a qushūntogh<sup>1</sup> (the standard of a squadron?). 5th, He also could carry a Chatrtogh. 6th, He had a qūr.

It is a Moghul regulation that no one except the sovereign can carry his quiver in his hand. His hunting-ground is also taboo (*qurq*). If any one enter it, he becomes a slave. He<sup>2</sup> is the head of his tribe. The Amīrs in the high-divan sit further off and on both sides of him, and are a bow's length away. When Amīr Būlāgī raised Tughlaq Taimūr (to the throne of the Khānate), there was conferred upon him the right of appointing and dismissing officers up to the rank of one thousand (*hazārī*). It was also ordered that no inquiry should be held about (the offences of) his children up to nine generations. When the offences exceeded nine in number, an inquiry would be held. Then when retribution for this was to be inflicted, he was to be placed on a two-year old white horse, and a white cloth was to be put under the horse's feet. His representation was to be conveyed (to the Khān) by one of the chiefs of the Barlās tribe, and the answer by one of the chiefs of the Arkīwat tribe. Then his neck vein (*shāhrag*) was opened and the two Amīrs stood on each side and watched, until he died. Then they removed him from the presence and buried him with lamentation. Khizr Khwāja raised Amīr Khudādād to this rank, and he

and told him. Apparently, the story is contained in the Tarkhānāma.

Haidar speaks, p. 55, of Cingiz's having conferred the seven privileges of a Tarkhān on Urtubu, who, we learn from p. 17, was grandfather of Amīr Būlāgī. At pp. 23 and 56, Haidar says he once saw the original *firmān* of Toghluq Timūr.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the meaning is that the Tarkhān could appoint two of his servants to commands. This was

afterwards made a general power to appoint officers up to the rank of 1000. The last of the seven privileges is obscure both in the T. Rashīdī and in the Akbarnāma. Abul Fazl seems only to mention six. Cf. Dr. Bellew's translation of the T. Rashīdī in his History of Kāshghar, p. 153 of the Yarkand Report, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> Text *khvāh*. Is this a mistake for *khākān*?





added three other privileges. 1st, On feast-days, when all the grantees stood, and one *yasāwal* of the ruler was on horseback to keep order, the Tarkhān also had a horse. 2nd, As when in that feast of joy the cup of *qimōz* was held on the Khān's right hand, so also did a cupbearer hold one on the left hand for the Tarkhān. 3rd, His seal appeared on the face of the *firmāns*, but the seal of the king is put at the head of the last line, and that of the Tarkhān below that.

If all favours be in accordance with discretion they will agree with the performance of God's will. The provision about not inquiring until nine faults have been committed, of whatever nature they may be, does not appear to be consonant with propriety. If farseeing princes are engaged in testing men, and take care that no evil deed be committed by them, and if such orders have been issued for the exaltation of some persons, then it is something comprehensible. But as for that provision that no inquiry is to be made for nine generations, it would look as if the Almighty had given him (the Khān) the power of knowing the future! Whither have my words strayed! And whither have I gone in order to refresh my narrative? <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.F. has copied this account of the Tarkhān and his privileges from Haidar M. See the T. R. Ross and Elias, pp. 23 and 55. But the translation there given is not wholly correct, and the passage has to be explained by Mr. Blochmann's note, B. 364. Possibly too A. F. did not altogether understand his authority, and his copyists have certainly made mistakes. In one or two places I have ventured to differ from Mr. Blochmann, who apparently was not aware that the original passage was in the T. R. The words *tamantogh* and *catrtogh* are explained in B. 50. See also the note to the explanation of Plate 9, B. IX. Mr. Blochmann, translating A. F., says the amirs sate, arranged in the form of a bow. I have preferred Denison Ross's translation, which comes from

A. F.'s original, and makes them sit a bow's length away. There is an useful preface of A. F. in the Maagir III, pp. 302-4, in which the mistakes of some of the copyists are corrected. The mention of the Arkīwat tribe, and of "the two amirs" instead of "two amirs," in the account of the Tarkhān's punishment, seems due to a corrupt text. I do not find the name of such a tribe, and there is no such name in the T. R. In a MS. of the T. R. in my possession, the words are *askagrat-ādub* "with great respect." Perhaps this has been read as Arkīwat. Denison Ross has "from an elevation," the whole of the passage being as follows: "The accused should be set upon a white, two-year-old horse; under the hoofs of the horse, nine folds of white felt should be placed





## Verse.

What words do I utter, whither have they driven my conveyance?

Whether have we gone, and where has our steed halted?

M. 'Abdu-l-'Alī attained to high rank under Sultān Maḥmūd M. the son of Sultān Abu S'aid M., and became ruler of Bokhāra. Shāibek K. Uzbek was in his service, but when he attained the Sultanate, he killed his master<sup>1</sup> and his five sons, and so gathered the materials of eternal ruin. M. 'Isā was six months' old. The Arghūn clan being without a head, left Transoxiana and some came to Khurāsān. Mir Zū-n-nūn Beg Arghūn became a great man under Sultān Ḥusain M. Qandahār, Sistān and Zamīndāwar were given to him as his fiefs. When Badī'u-zamān M. had the wickedness to rebel against Sultān Ḥusain M. (his father), Mir Zū-n-nūn joined him, and gave him his daughter. When Sultān Ḥusain M. died, his two sons Badī'u-z-Zamān and Moẓaffar ascended the throne, and there ensued distractions in the country. Shāibeg came to fight, and Zū-n-nūn was killed in battle against him. His son Shāh Beg was kept in Qandahar under surveillance (by Shāibānī). Shāh Beg sent for Bābur from Kabul in order that he might enter into his service and proceed to Khurāsān, but when Bābur approached, he fought with him. A great battle took place, and Shāh Beg was defeated, and Qandahar and the collections of years were lost. Bābur left Nāṣir M. (in Qandahar) and returned to Kabul. At the

as a token of respect—and he should in that position address the Khān, while the Khān should speak to him from an elevation. When the interrogatory and investigation have been conducted in this fashion, if the offence should be a mortal one, and the other nine crimes should also be proved against him, two Amīrs should stand by and watch him while his veins were opened and all his blood drawn from his body." N.B.—The word for veins in the T.R. is shāhrahā, i.e. "principal veins";

in A. F. it is the singular, shāhrah. Perhaps A. F. has gone into such detail about the title of Tarkhān because Akbar nominally revived it and conferred it on Maulānā Nūru-d-dīn, the guardian of his father's tomb. See B. 542, Badayunī III. 198 and M'aasir I. 480.

<sup>1</sup> The master, or rather benefactor, whom he killed was Sultān Maḥmūd Khān son of Yūnus K. and not Sultān Maḥmūd M. the son of Abū S'aid. A.F.'s elliptic mode of writing might lead one to suppose that the





instigation of Muqīm, Shāh<sup>1</sup> Beg's brother, Shaibānī (Uzbeg) came to Qandahar. Nāṣir carefully guarded it, and as there was a report of a disturbance in Khurāsān, Shaibānī made peace and returned. After some time Nāṣir left Qandahar without cause, and came to Kabul. Shāh Beg acted promptly and took Qandahar. When Shaibānī in battle with Ism'ā'il Ṣafavī got his retribution for killing his master, Shāh Beg came to Herat at the summons of the Shāh (Ism'ā'il), and was put into prison. Sanbal<sup>2</sup> by name, a slave, from goodness and faithfulness, made a plot with forty leaders of the Arghūns, and, going to Herat, set up as a shopkeeper. He set up a shop for a while. He made clever arrangements and by means of pretexts contrived to convey news to the prison, and he in a consummate manner revealed his secret plan. Shāh Beg got the help of the other prisoners, and that faithful one brought together strong horses and had them shod backwards. At night he drugged the food of the guards and brought Shāh Beg out of prison. He himself guided him to Qandahār. After some time Firdūs Makānī (Bābur) made an expedition against him. He did not think himself strong enough to resist and retired into the fort. After two years peace was made. He went towards Shāl<sup>3</sup> and lay in wait. From there he came to 637 Sehwān and took Sewistān from Jām Nandā<sup>4</sup> who was of the Jādūn tribe and known generally as Samma (?). During the time of his son Jām Firūz, Shāh Beg got possession of the whole of Sind. He also took Multan from the Langāhs. When he died, he was succeeded by his son Shāh Ḥusain. Jinnat Āshiyānī (Humāyūn) came to him at the time of his misfortune, but Shāh Ḥusain in his folly went to war with him. Some account of this has been given in the first

master he killed was either Abū S'ād's son or Abdu-l-'alī, but both of them died a natural death. See T. R. 166. A. F. does not give Zū-alnūn's descent. It is stated in the Tarkhānāma quoted in Elliot I. that he was the son of Amīr Basrī.

<sup>1</sup> The name is not in text, but occurs in I.O. MS. 236.

<sup>2</sup> See the story in Erskine's Hist. of India, I. 345, and also in Malet, T. Sind, 76.

<sup>3</sup> Text *basūr Damsāl*, I.O. MS., 235, has "towards Shāl," and so has the *Iqbāl-nāma*.

<sup>4</sup> Text has Jām Banda. See Elliot I. 233. Also for Samna, the text has *bahamma*, I.O. MS. 236 has Samma, and 235 has Samand. See Tārīkh Sind, Malet 55, and Jarrett II. 343, 346 and B. 362. See also Elliot I. App. 494. The Sammas became Muhammadans about the end of the 14th century.



volume (of the Akbarnāma). As <sup>1</sup> a retribution for his wickedness, he lost his intelligence, and could not distinguish a friend from an enemy. He took flattery and cajolery to be the tests of goodness. He constantly spent six months in ascending the river, and six months in going down stream. When he was going towards Bhakkar, Kastak, (?) , Mīr Shāham, and Kīrchak, who were noted men among the Arghūns, raised up M. 'Isā—whose ancestors had been the heads of the Arghūn clan—and seized Tughlaqābād <sup>2</sup> and Tatta. On hearing this, Shah Ḥusain turned back without going to Bhakkar. With the help of Sultān Maḥmūd his foster-brother, who was governor of Bhakkar, he prepared for war, and encamped near Koh Haftdākhtar (the hill of the seven daughters), and with a stream in front of him. For six months, naval fights went on. By the evil machinations of Sultān Maḥmūd, a sort of peace was made. The country of Sind was divided into five portions, three being assigned to M. 'Isā and two to M. Shah Ḥusain. Afterwards <sup>3</sup> that ingrate deprived his master of the wine he was accustomed to. He died in the same <sup>4</sup> year as that in which Humāyūn went to heaven, and the whole country came into the possession of M. 'Isā. When he died, his son M. Bāqī succeeded him. Madness overcame him, and he stuck a sword-hilt in a wall, and drove

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Malet 121.

<sup>2</sup> Variant Kabīk, and this agrees with Elliot I. 320, which has Mīr Kabaik. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has Kīstīk.

<sup>3</sup> A fort about two miles S. Tatta. Elliot I. App. 402. It is mentioned also in Elliot I. 272 and 319.

<sup>4</sup> *Sipās ān na sipās sarāb rū as khudawand khwesh ke bān-i-khūd dāshī bāgirift*. This is an obscure sentence. The text has sirāb or sarāb, but all the MSS. seem to have *sharāb*. Instead of *khūd dāshī* I.O. MS. 236 has *khū dāshī*. No. 259 of Ethé has *sharāb*. We are told by M'asūm, Malet 124, that Shah Ḥusain, after he was attacked by palsy, constantly drank wine, and remained in an intoxicated condition. Appar-

ently then, A. F. means that Sultān Maḥmūd caused Shah Ḥusain's death by depriving him of wine, to which he was accustomed. Perhaps, however, the meaning is quite different, and is that Shāh Ḥusain experienced the ingratitude which he had shown to Humāyūn. The T. Ṭāhīrī has a great deal to say about Shah Ḥusain's misconduct towards Humāyūn, and contrasts it with the kindness and loyalty shown by M. 'Isā to Humāyūn. The latter in consequence prophesied that M. 'Isā would get the kingdom.

<sup>5</sup> Humāyūn died in 963 (1556) and Shāh Ḥusain in 962, or according to the Tarkhān-nāma Elliot I. 323, on 12 Rabi' al-awwal 961 = 15 February 1554.



the point into his belly. He died,<sup>1</sup> and the Arghūns assigned the name of royalty to his son M. Pāyinda, but as he was a recluse, and of an insane disposition, the administration was committed to his son M. Jānī Beg. In the previous year (1000 ? 1592) the recluse died. For the sake of refreshing my narrative, I have digressed somewhat. Now I return to my tale with the same straightforwardness as formerly. May this quality never fail!

On 15 Farwardīn Shāham K. Jalāir and Qāsim K. Tamkīn came from their fiefs and had the good fortune of an audience, and were exalted by princely favours. On the day of exaltation (*sharf*) the feast of the lunar weighment took place. That noble personality was weighed against eight articles, and many necessitous ones had their desires gratified. On this day, the territory of Tattah was given in fief to M. Shāhrukh. (M. Jānī Beg was given a *mansab* of 3000, and the province of Multan. All those who had served in Sind received 638 the reward of their service. Shāh Beg K. was made an officer of 2500 and Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn one of a 1000. Similarly, every one received in accordance with his merit. On this day, M. Qubād, who had learnt wisdom in the school of the prison, was released.

One of the occurrences was the departure of M. Koka for the Hijāz. For a long time fancies had taken possession of him. He thought that H.M. disliked him, and he regarded<sup>2</sup> marks of favour as censures. At the time when he showed good service, H.M. out of excessive affection summoned him to his presence. The old frenzy boiled over, and he sank into improper thoughts. He had not the courage to treat his imaginings as realities, and yet come to court, nor the discernment to rid himself of his wrong ideas. He dismissed Naurang K., Gūjar K., Khwāja Ashraf and many of the royal servants to their *jāgīrs*, and went off himself to Jūnagarh. But without going there, he proceeded to Dwārka, in order that he

<sup>1</sup> Malet 136 says, he committed suicide in 1571 (979). But apparently the true date is 993 (1585). See B. 362 and the MS. T. M'asūmī.

<sup>2</sup> Probably this refers to his appointment to Aḥmadābād, which according to Khāfi K. was procured by the brothers Faizī and A. F. in

order to get him away from Akbar. See Tāzūk Jahāngīrī, p. 38, for account of a seditious letter written by M. Koka to Rajah 'Alī K. See also the letter which he wrote to Akbar from Mecca. Darbār A. 859 and Khāfi K. I. 201.





might after the fashion of thorough-going men take the road of exile. He disclosed his secret to some confidants, and hurried off to Pūr Bandar. That is a populous place on the seashore. It has a stone fort, and most of the wall is of stone. From there he went to Mangalūr.<sup>1</sup> He gave out that he meditated the capture of the port of Diu, and he stopped the coming and going of traders from all the ports of Gujarat—a traffic which makes Diu prosperous. The Christians were put into straits and made a peace. It was agreed that this year the Divine<sup>2</sup> ship (*Jahāz-i-Ilāhī*) which is always filled up in Diu, should only be half filled (there) and that the other half should be freighted wherever the owner of it (*khedive*) chose, and that the 10,000 Mahmūdīs,<sup>3</sup> which was the hire, would not be demanded, and that the embarkation might take place wherever he chose (?). No one would interfere with this. In order to deceive people, he wrote to the Jām and to Bihāra (of Kach) that he was going to court by way of Sind, and asked that they would arrange to accompany him. He also described the route, stage by stage, and requested them to make suitable arrangements for food and water. When he came to Pattan Somnāth he confined Mīr ‘Adn-r-Razzāq Bakhshī and Saiyid<sup>4</sup> Bāyazīd, and took a promise from the soldiers that they would not prevent him from going. On 15 Farwadin,<sup>5</sup> 25th March 1593, he embarked on the ship Ilāhī at the port of Balāwal<sup>6</sup> which is near

<sup>1</sup> The Māngrol of I.G. It is in the Jūnagarh State. Supposed to be the Monoglossum of Ptolemy.

<sup>2</sup> Many MSS. have *Jahāz Ilāhī-i-Kokaltāsh*. B.M. MS. 27,247 has *Ilāhī guft Kokaltāsh* “The Divine ship called the “Kokaltāsh.” Apparently the ships belonging to Akbar or those employed for the pilgrimage were all called *Ilāhī*, and *Kokaltāsh* was the name of this special ship. Possibly *jahāz* here means ships or fleet, and the meaning is that M. Koka would get one ship to himself. Probably there were at least two pilgrim-ships.

<sup>3</sup> The Mahmūdī was worth about

a shilling; Bayley 16 n., 10,000 then would be worth £500.

<sup>4</sup> B. 501. The *Iqbāl-nāma* says that, before departing, he released them and apologised for having imprisoned them.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Rajab, 24th March 1593. Elliot V. 466. Cf. *Badayūnī*, Lowe 400, 401, *Maasir* I. 683, and *Khāfi* K. I. 197 *et seq.* M. Koka disliked A. F. and his brother, and they in their turn intrigued to have him employed far from court. He wrote to Akbar and sneeringly asked if he regarded these brothers as *Ugmān* and ‘Alī. B. 326 n.

<sup>6</sup> The *Verāwal* of I.G. 2 m.





Somnāth. Six of his sons—*Kharram*, *Anwar*, ‘*Abdu-l-lah*, ‘*Abdu-l-latīf*, *Martazā*, ‘*Abdu-l-Ghafūr*, and six daughters, together with their mothers, accompanied him. He took <sup>1</sup> with him *Khawāja Bābā*, *Hāfiz* ‘*Abdu-r-raḥmān*, *Mullā Yūsuf*, *Ḥakīm Masa’ūd*, *Muḥammad Husain*, *Qāsīm ‘Alī*, and others, to the number of one hundred persons. The anchor was raised at night, and he went afar from the *Qibla* of hope. *H.M.*, on hearing of this, forgave the crookedness of his vision, and his errors, and prayed to God for his deliverance, and for the success of his journey. He said, “Inasmuch as I have trod the path of peace with Jews and Nazarenes and others, how can I rise up against my own protégé? I so love ‘*Azīz* that though he show evil thoughts, we can think nothing but good of him. 639 Should his mother die of grief for his absence, it will be hard for him to be delivered from the harshness of the world. Otherwise he will soon repent of what he has done.” He also said, “Before this, the mother of the *Mirzā* came into our presence. Before I knew what she was going to do she made a cup of water revolve round my head and then drank it. When I asked what she meant, she said, ‘This night I had a dream that something untoward had happened to the *Shāhinshāh*. I have taken it upon myself.’ Apparently she had seen her son in my <sup>2</sup> form.” *H.M.* was most gracious to his sons and servants—who were in a state of great perplexity—and raised

N. W. Somnāth temple. It is 20 m. S. E. Mangrol. The *Iqbāl-nāma* says that when ‘*Azīz* was leaving, all the soldiers and others stood on the shore and beat their drums. *Badayūnī*, *Lowe*, 401, says people compared *M. Koka*’s journey to that of *Ibrāhīm Adham*, but that afterwards it did not matter whether he had gone or not (meaning that he lost all the merit by his afterwards accepting the Divine Faith of Akbar). He also says that Akbar had sent for him before he left, and had deprived him of *Jūnagarh*, and given it to *Rai Singh*. In *A. F.*’s *Insha*, Book I, there is a letter from Akbar to *M. Koka*, reproaching him for dis-

tressing his mother and himself by going off without leave, and for exposing his family to the dangers of the ocean. *M. Koka* soon repented and came back.

<sup>1</sup> The *T. M’aṣūmī*, *Malet*, 131, mentions a *Ḥamīd* of *Uc* as one who accompanied ‘*Azīz* to Mecca.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar paikar-i-man*. But there are different readings in the MSS., and I think *paikar*, “form,” must be wrong. Possibly, the true reading is *paigar*, or *paigār-i-man* “fighting with me.” The *B.M. MS.* has *در سیرک* *dar sīr* *wāḡa’a*, but *sīr* may be *paikar*. *B.M. Or.* 116 has *dar nāmālāim* “acting improperly.”





his eldest son Shamsī<sup>1</sup> to the rank of 1000, and his other son Shād-mān to the rank of 500. A fertile *jāgīr* was also bestowed. They got new life on beholding his kindness, and felt ashamed on account of their father's conduct.

One of the occurrences was the appointment of Prince Sultān Murād to the government of Gajarāt. When M. Koka took the road of disobedience, and that country remained without a guardian, an order was issued on 10 Ardibihisht to that nursling of fortune, informing him that skilful and liberal men were being sent and that he should use them in the administration. When the Governor of Mālwa arrived, he should make over the province to him and proceed to Gujarat. On the 28th the standard of the seekers after knowledge, the Poet Laureate S. Faizī, returned from the Deccan, and, after an absence of 1 year, 8 months, 14 days, did homage. He was exalted by various favours. He had gone on an embassy. Burhān in his arrogance and self-will had not listened to his counsels. He had not sent fitting<sup>2</sup> presents and had prepared the materials of his own injury. Rajah 'Alī K. had to some extent listened to the commands, and had sent his daughter with choice bridal gifts for the wooing of the Prince Royal.

One of the occurrences was the capture of Kanshān.<sup>3</sup> When Zain K. Koka took Činkārī he stayed at Fort Fathābād which he had founded in Bajaur. He sent Mubārīk K., Jalāl K. and some troops to watch over Swād. At this time the watching over the country from the other side of the Indus up to the Hindu Koh was made over to him, and the fiefholders there were directed to assist him. He applied himself to the uprooting the thornbrake of the Tārikīs, and went to Tirāh. Qāsim K. came unattended to Jalālābad. A feast of concord was held, and it was arranged that he should go *via* Bāzarak to the hill-country, and that the army of Bangash should come from that quarter. With this idea, the Koka went to Kabul by the Ham<sup>4</sup> Pass. Near Gagīānī Āṣaf K. came in from

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards known as Jahāngīr Qulī K. B. 450.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Elliot V. 467 where it is stated that only fifteen elephants and a few other things were sent.

<sup>3</sup> I.O. M.S. 236 has Kanshāl, and

so have the Ma'asir II. 368, and the Iqbāl-nāma.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be the Ailum range of Elphinstone. Cabul I. 129. It is mentioned again at 702. It was apparently a Pass into the Tirāh





Bangash, and accompanied him. At Bigrām Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and other officers—who had obtained leave from court—joined him. The Koka took up his quarters at the Pass. Qāsim K. proceeded with the Kabul troops to Tirāh by way of Bāzarak. The Yārān (?), who 640 were among the leaders of the Afrīdīs, were killed in battle, and though other soldiers had not arrived, the Afrīdī and Orakzai tribes had recourse to entreaties. They submitted and gave some hostages. Jalāla Tārīkī left Tirāh and went to the country of the Kāfirs. At the time when the Koka took the Fort of Cinkārī and returned, Wahdat 'Alī his (Jalāla's) relation (son-in-law?) with the help of the Yūsufzai prevailed over the fort of Kanshān and parts of the territory of the Kāfirs. He (the Koka) left Qāsim K. in Jalālābād, and Muḥammad Qulī and Hamza Beg Atālīq in Bigrām. He took with him Āṣaf K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, S'āid K. Ghakar, Takhta Beg and others, and went to that quarter (Kanshān). Before the ill-fated Tārīkīs had crossed the Kabul river, the victorious troops came and barred their road. They failed and had to go back to the hills of Tirāh. Some were of opinion that an effort should be made to chastise them. The Kokaltāsh said, "The land-owners of Tirāh have submitted. Probably they (the Tārīkīs) won't get access there, and they will become vagabonds. Now let our efforts be directed to overthrow Wahdat 'Alī. Before he make this difficult country secure we shall be at our ease regarding him." All approved. They left their baggage, and entered the Kāfir country by the route of Shāhzādī. Near the village of Kandī Kahār they made a new bridge over the Bajaur<sup>1</sup> river—which is 70 yards broad and is very swift. The Tārīkīs, when they crossed, had broken down the bridge. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was left to guard it, and to keep the road open. They marched seventeen stages of heights and hollows and came to a great pass, eight *kos* from the enemy. The latter had strengthened the fort of Kanshān, and were exulting in their arrogance. Halfway, at this defile and uneven ground—where a single horseman could with difficulty proceed, and there were four *kos* of straits (*tegħa*)<sup>2</sup>—they had collected stones in ten places, and were

territory. Or it may be the Shah Ālam ferry on the Kabul river. That river is also called the Shah 'Ālam.

<sup>1</sup> I presume that this is the Kashkar or Citrāl river.

<sup>2</sup> *tegħa* means a sword-blade. I presume the meaning is that the



prepared to give battle. On 6 Khurdād, 16 May 1593, the Koka advanced with some men and was searching for a camping ground. Takhta Beg, S'aid K., Ḥaidar 'Alī 'Arab and other brave men were sent on as the vanguard. They were to select a choice spot and halt there, and not to engage in fighting. The Afghans attacked this party, and a battle became inevitable. The enemy was driven off four times. When the Koka heard of this, he joined with the few men who were with him. The sound of the trumpet restored courage to those of the vanguard who had lost heart. Many had left their place, but Takhta Beg, S'aid K., Ḥaidar 'Alī 'Arab and some others did not shift their foot from the arena, and fought stoutly. On the arrival of the Kokaltāsh they renewed their efforts and devotion. Brave men too came up from the rear and took part in the fight. First, Aṣaf K. came up. The place was narrow and for three pahars there was a fight of spears and daggers. Suddenly Wahdat 'Alī could not get out of the defile<sup>1</sup> (? *tegha*). With a large number of followers he went down into a deep hollow, and by the Divine help the enemy was dispersed, and victory exalted the hearts of the imperialists. The fort of Kanshān, and much cultivated country, came into possession. There was a daily market of  
641 submission. The wicked went off to the high mountains, and perished (?). This hill-country is the seat of the officer (*dārogha nishān*) of the ruler of Kāshghar.<sup>2</sup> It is full of snow throughout the year. Active men followed, and made many men and women prisoners. Many Kāfir leaders submitted and helped to put down the Afghans. Some went off towards Caghānsrai and Badakhshān in order that they might cross the Bajaur river and get shelter with the other Kāfirs. A party of the victorious troops broke down the bridges on the other side, and so the heads of the Yūsufzai—Hātim, Bābā 'Alī, Hindāl, S. Ḥusāin—came in and paid their respects under the safe-conduct of Qāsim K. and others. Wahdat 'Alī too could not help coming in (i.e. surrendering). Four hundred of the enemy were killed, and 7000<sup>3</sup> were made prisoners. On the side of the imperialists thirty persons gave up their lives with honour, and 150 were

place was as narrow as the edge of a sword.

<sup>1</sup> I presume the meaning is that he could not force his way through

the pass, and had to escape by the side of the valley.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Citrāl. <sup>3</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe, 401, says 14000. Cf. Elliot V. 467.





wounded. The country was conquered up to Kāshghar and Badakhshān.

At this time Shahbāz K. was<sup>1</sup> set free. His success had somewhat darkened his understanding, and the gracious sovereign placed him in the school of instruction (the prison). When signs of instruction showed themselves, he was, after two years and more, made the recipient of favour on 24 Khurdād. On the 30th, Sher Beg Ta-wācibāshī arrived from Bengal, and produced 127 elephants and other articles which Rajah Mān Singh had obtained at the conquest of Bengal. At this time Naqīb K.<sup>2</sup> represented that Qāzī 'Isā his uncle had made his daughter a present to H.M. and that this chaste and secluded lady had for a long time been spending her days in cherishing this wish. The world's lord—though at this time he paid less attention to such matters—accepted the representation, and on 12 Tīr he visited the house of Naqīb K. and received that chaste lady according to ancestral rites. The long-standing desire was gratified. On this day the Mota Rajah took leave to go to Sir-ohī in order that he might reduce the proprietor there to obedience, or else prepare punishment for refractoriness.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Sādiq K. as Atāliq to Prince Sultān Murād. As Ismā'il Quli K. did not do well in this appointment, Sādiq K. was on the 13th appointed to the high office and sent off. By his skill, things were well managed there. On the 12th Amardād H.M. visited the house of Rai Rai Singh and by heartfelt sympathy soothed his grief. His beloved daughter was married to the son<sup>3</sup> of Rajah Rām Cand. When that Rajah died, his son was treated with favour and sent to that country (Pannah or Bāndhū). On the way he fell out of his litter. To cure him, he was bled, but, from unseasonable bathing, he died near his home in the town of Khora (Jarrett II. 193). On hearing of this Rai Singh's daughter thought of burning herself, but H.M. induced her to refrain from<sup>4</sup> such an idea on account of the tender age of her children.

One of the occurrences was the restoration of the country of 642

<sup>1</sup> It appears from Badayūnī that he had been imprisoned in the fort of Kāngra and that he had to pay a fine of 7 *lakh*s.

<sup>2</sup> Text Naṣīb, but see B. 449.

<sup>3</sup> This was Bīr Bhadra or Bal-bhadra. B. 406.

<sup>4</sup> B. 358.





Tatta to M. Jānī Beg. Though the farseeing sovereign read goodness on the forehead of the Mirzā, and had this idea (of restoring him), yet he delayed somewhat on account of the objections of undiscerning persons. At this time it came to be known that the Arghūn tribe, to the number of 10,000—men and women—was coming upstream by boat. Owing to the emigration,<sup>1</sup> the boatmen and servants were in distress and were tearing themselves with their hands and teeth. H.M.'s benevolence was touched, and on the 17th the Mirzā was gratified by this great favour. Though some courtiers represented in a proper manner that he should be restrained from returning, their suggestions were not successful. Bandar Lahori was made crown-property (*khālṣā*), and Sewistān, which had been a present (*peshkash*) in the first instance, was given in fief to Bakht-yār Beg and some others. The emigrants got fresh life and returned from near Bhakkar.

On the 20th Zain K. Koka did homage. When Kanshūn was taken, and the neighbouring country conquered, and all the rebellious made submissive, he encouraged the Kāfir chiefs to settle and develop the country. He then withdrew his thoughts from the country and returned. When he had come midway, news arrived that Jalāla was two stages off. Apparently, after he heard of the victory and of the capture of Wahdat 'Alī he had returned back and was hastening to Tīrāh. The Koka was on the point of either leaving a body of troops to protect the camp while he himself should hasten on, or of sending a party of soldiers to that spot. Owing to the ignorance of his companions neither thing was effected. Near Bajaur it became known that Jalāla was passing in the neighbourhood. They blocked the roads and halted to look for him. He, owing to the somnolence of a few, passed near the camp. The Koka sent some of his own servants in pursuit of him under the charge of Tālib Beg Badakhshī. He came up (with Jalāla) with a few men and played away his life. At the end of the day when the villain had entered the hills, Zain arrived in person with some men and Jalāla went off rapidly to Tīrāh. The inhabitants had given hos-

<sup>1</sup> Apparently it was not those who were left behind who were suffering from the emigration, but those who

were obliged to take part in it, for we find that they were relieved by being allowed to return.





tages and so did not give him a passage. He went off in a distracted state to Kānguram (?). The Koka came to Begrām, and was thinking about entering the hills. At this time an order came, summoning him, and he went off to court. In this year he attained his wish. 'Aṣaf K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and others of his companions had the bliss of an audience, and each of them was exalted by royal favours.

One of the occurrences was that a day of distraction came upon the writer of the noble volume. At the close of the 24th (Amardād) corresponding to 17 Zī-l-qāda, 5th August<sup>1</sup> 1593, my honoured father, the Teacher of the Age and the guide of the intelligent, departed to the sublime world. A carbuncle formed on his neck, and after eleven days he left this transitory life. Wisdom rose up to mourn, and knowledge sate down helpless.

*Verse.*

The Imām of science, the venerated councillor, the perfect 643  
teacher,

Who in world-guidance was the confidant of universal Reason.  
200 Bū Naṣr<sup>2</sup> and Avicennas departed that he might be born.  
Fate in her nine<sup>3</sup> shops oft practises such trafficking.

<sup>1</sup> B. XVIII has 4 September, but, as J. has pointed out, J. III. 442, this must be a mistake. J. has Tuesday 4 August, but A. F. says it was on a Sunday. He was born in 1505, and so was 88 years old. He died at Lahore, but his body and that of his wife were sent in September 1594 by A. F. to Agra and there buried in the family burial-ground. See A. N. III. 654, last line. A. F. says his father was ill for 11 days, and in the Ayīn he mentions 7. What is meant is that he died 7 days after taking leave of his son. He had been already ill, and it was the sense of his approaching end which made him bid adieu to his son. There is a full account of Mubārik in the Darbārī Akbarī.

<sup>2</sup> Bū Naṣr is Abū Naṣr Fārābī, for whom see D'Herbelot s. v. Farābī. Avicenna is called in text Bū 'Alī. See D'Herbelot s. v. Sina. 200 is used for any large number.

<sup>3</sup> A metaphor, I presume, for the nine heavens, but I.O. MS. 235 has *tah* instead of *nah* or *nih*. *Tah dūkan* would mean the bottom, or inner part, of the shop, and the meaning would thus be that Fate often keeps such goods as Mubārik in the bottom, i.e. in the hidden part of her storehouse. This seems to make more sense. Possibly, the *nah* is for "not" and means that Fate does not often possess such precious goods. The proper translation seems to be, "Fate oft keeps such goods in her inner shop."





Whiles he circled the earth with the caravan of the Peripatetics,

Whiles he careered o'er the skies with the Illuminati,

The Ages contended for his perfect birth

With the era of Jalālu-d-dīn Akbar Ghāzī.

Who would have supposed that the ocean would sink into two yards of earth or that a mountain would at a breath be moved from its place? Had substitution been permitted, many life-lovers had shed their lives! What question then of a life-hater? The condition of myself—who had but little understanding—was upset, and I was near abandoning my life.

*Verse.*

My heart became blood, and blood rose above my chest,

Because that soul of the world passed from my view.

Alas, it is in every respect a day of orphanhood,

For to-day both my sire and my saint have passed away.

He held high rank in the rational and traditional sciences, and had on his tongue the views of the philosopher, the orator, and the Sūfī, and of every form of religion. He had received from the Great Teacher (God) every kind of knowledge. He removed the veil of formal science from over spiritual beauty, and cultivated seclusion in the midst of society. The ways of contemporaries stained not the hem of his soul. In spite of his profound insight he did not see his own perception and devotion (i.e. was not conscious of them), and did not bring his goods to market. He did not sell his ecstasy (*hālāt*) and knew no finesse (*hīlat*). The turmoil of the world did not engage his mind. His search for proof made no distinction between the great and the small, and from his intelligence, he when vexed took the path of humility. He did not withhold the truth from the powerful, and in giving counsel he never troubled for himself. At the close of his life, and when little <sup>1</sup> time remained to him, he at the desire of some friends completed a great commentary, and left an abundant memorial of himself in every description of knowledge. The discerning remained in astonishment. In his <sup>2</sup> hundredth year

<sup>1</sup> *ḍandak rūzgār*. I think these words mean when time was nearly over with him.

<sup>2</sup> This account of his father should be compared with the fuller biography given in the *Āīn*, J. 419 etc





he possessed the fire of youth, and fulness of years did not restrain him from expending soul and body. At the beginning of his illness he sent for this one (the author) who was bewildered with existence and took him in his arms. He spoke many heartfelt words and bade him adieu. On account of my crudity I was in a state of distraction, but was silenced somewhat by the kindness of H.M. Ten years before this a severe illness befell him (Mubārik). H.M. said, "If it does not end within ten hours, there will be danger on the 10th day : if not, there will be danger in the 10th month : and if not, there will be (danger) in the last day of the tenth year." Afterwards it so happened, and the veil was once more removed from H.M.'s knowledge of hidden things. Out of his stout-heartedness and strong life, he did not die, and bore the burden of life on the shoulder of weakness. There is no contending against Fate ! Nor any remedy against its hunting after life, and its destruction of endurance !

*Verse.*

Gone is the world's philosopher to whom

While yet on earth ! the gates of the spiritual heaven were open.

Without him, his kindred are orphans and dead of heart.

He was the Adam of his race and the Jesus of his family.

644

Where is the strength to control my grief for that unique one of God ? My heart is lacerated with its own grief. I, who am an inmate of the hermitage of resignation and submission, was struck a heavy blow, and nolens volens I became impatient. I cannot tell if this misfortune (his father's death) was the result of destiny or

Shaikh Mubārik was born in 911 (1505) and he died in 1001, August 1593, so that he was under 90 when he died. The *Darbārī Akbarī* has a long and interesting notice of him. A. F. does not say much about his father's commentary. It appears from the *Iqbāl-nāma* that Akbar was not pleased at its being written without reference to him, and was still more displeased with A. F. for send-

ing copies of it to various foreign princes without his permission. The story is also told in the *Khulāṣat-tawārīkh*.

<sup>1</sup> Text in first line has *arjahān*, but the MSS. have *barjahān*, and it is *bar* in the *Āin* II. 271 where the same stanza is quoted. See J. III. 442 where there is a spirited translation in rhyme. The D. Akbarī 354 has another reading.





was one greater than could be imagined. This story of grief and pain is very long, and this tale of a lasting sore is life-consuming. It is better that I wrap up this mortal event in this book of fortune, and with this verse<sup>1</sup> control my disturbed mind.

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

Happy are they, for the bitter waters of death's poison  
Have smote their pitchers with the highest and deepest  
organ tones  
Close the lips, for the incurably wounded of Fate  
Have become wild, and have cried from the depths.

On the 26th Mir Manīr—who had been sent with counsels to the ruler of Golconda—arrived with the ambassador and the tribute (*peshkash*), and was honoured by an audience.

One of the occurrences was the accepting of Shāhrukh M. as a son-in-law (*farzandī*). On 11 Shahriyūr (September 1594), that jewel of a noble family, who joined modesty with knowledge, received his exaltation. In the quarters of Miriam Makānī, Shakruisā Begam—the beloved child of the Shāhīnshāh—was united to him. When this auspicious meeting was over, another great feast was prepared and another daughter, *viz.* Khānim<sup>3</sup> Sultān, was united to Mozaffar Husain M., the son of Ibrāhīm Husain M. On the 19th the daughter of Rājah Āli K. was made over to the harem of the Prince-Royal, and that family obtained a strong protection. On the 23rd, Adham, the son of Niyābat K. died. The world's lord conveyed his sympathies to Māmā<sup>4</sup> Āghā. From there he went to the

<sup>1</sup> The I.O. MSS. have a different reading here.

<sup>2</sup> See Vullers s.v. *sabū*. The allusion is perhaps in part to the custom of throwing down old pitchers from a roof on the last Wednesday of a month, and crying out, "Go, Sorrow: Come, Joy!" But probably the main reference is to the noise made by a pitcher when it strikes the water in a well. Those who have died, that is, those whose pit-

chers have struck the waters of death, have sounded the highest and deepest notes of sorrow.

<sup>3</sup> Also called Shahzāda Khānim. She was Akbar's eldest daughter and was born in 1569.

<sup>4</sup> She was the widow of Shihābud-dīn and was related to Miriam Makānī, A. N. III. 716, and B. 333. Perhaps she was a daughter of Māham Anaga. Niyābat was Shihābud-dīn's nephew, and was put to





quarters of Zain K. Koka and reposed there a little. At dawn M. Yūsuf K. came from Kashmīr and had the bliss of performing the *kornish*.

One of the occurrences was the sending Shāhrukh M. to look after Mālwa. H.M. had been searching for a governor of Mālwa from the time that Gujarat had been made over to Prince Sultān Murād. As his ability and consideration for the peasantry were conspicuous, he was on 7 Mihr raised to the high rank of 5,000, and after receiving weighty counsels he was sent off there. Shahbāz K. was raised to the office of Atāliq and sent with him—Haidar Dost and . . . . . (three lines of names) were also appointed.

death in 997 (Badayūnī, Lowe, 308).  
He had been married to a daughter  
of Nahīd Begam. See T. M'āqūmī.

His proper name seems to have been  
Najāt. B. 439.





## CHAPTER CXVIII.

## ARRIVAL OF RUSTUM M. AT COURT.

From the time when, by the order of H.M., Shāh Muḥammad  
645 Qilāti made over Qandahar to the agents of Shāh Tahmāsp and came to India, the Shāh (Tahmāsp) had given it to his brother's son Sultān Husain M., the son of Bahrām M. He always behaved respectfully to H.M. and sent presents, and reckoned himself as a servant. As he always kept the chain of obedience in motion, Qandahar was not taken from him in spite of the Shāh's death. He died of drinking in the 21st year, leaving four<sup>1</sup> sons: Mozaffar Husain M., Rustum M., Abū S'aid M., Sanjar M. From courtesy and appreciation of rank, that populous country was left to them. Shāh Ism'ail—that blood-shedder—set about, in his distracted brain, the slaying of his brothers and his other relatives. He appointed some persons to put those at Qandahar to death. Those sent got hold of them, but cupidity and the gratification of their wishes led to the preservation of life. When the Shāh heard of this, he became indignant, and assigned Qandahar to Shāh Qulī Sultān Zū-ul-Qadr, and the latter sent Budāgh Beg to take their lives and to annex the country. The murderers trembled<sup>2</sup> for themselves and arranged that on the following morning they would put them to death. Suddenly a report spread that the blood-shedder was dead, and the innocent persons escaped. When the government of Persia came to Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda, he left them in possession of the country. M. Mozaffar Husain, the elder brother, was in Qandahar, while Rustum M. and his two other brothers lived in Zamīn Dāwar. From selfwill and the turbulence of youth, they quarrelled among themselves. Mozaffar Husain was de-

<sup>1</sup> The Maagir III. 696 speaks of five sons.

<sup>2</sup> For not having carried out the

previous order for the murder of the Mīrzās.





feated and retired to the fort. Rustum M. invested it for forty days, but by contrivances, peace was made and they met one another. When 'Abdullah Khān, the ruler of Tūrān, besieged Herat, Īgān Sultān Afshār, the governor of Farāh, by means of entreaties brought Rustum M. to his aid. He fought with the Turanian soldiers and did not give up Farāh. From not knowing his friends, and from somnolence of intellect, he (Rustum) killed Īgān Sultān. Sulaimān Khalifa joined him from Khurāsān in order that he might make the Mīrzā an instrument of strife, but a happy star prevented the Mīrzā from acceding to this. But at his instigation he laid hands upon Sistān which is commonly known as Nimroz. Mozaffar Husain M. found his opportunity and hastened to make an expedition against Zamin Dāwar. Rustum M. came there, and a great battle ensued. Mozaffar Husain M. could not withstand him and retreated to Qandahar. Mercenary and fly-like creatures were continually going from one to the other, and were disturbing the public peace. When the old animity had got the upper hand, they severed the ancient connection with Persia, and did not attach themselves to the Shāhīnshāh's court. At last, the elder brother prevailed, and took Zamin Dāwar. M. Rustum came to Herat and attacked Qilāt. Meanwhile a report was spread of the approach of the victorious troops, and M. Rustum had the good thought of making friendly overtures to Sharif K. Atka, the governor of Ghaznīn. He also sent a humble representation to the sublime court, and expressed a wish to pay his respects. A comforting letter was sent to him by Mirak Jalair and Mihtar Ibrāhīm, and an order was given to the fief-holders on the route that they should regard the coming of the Mīrzā as an honour, and show him proper respect. When he arrived within the empire, Qarā Beg, Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Bahhtyār Beg were sent one after the other, and when he had nearly approached, Sharif K. Atka, Shāh Beg K., Āsaf K. and other officers were sent off (to meet him). On 12 Mīhr, which was the festival of the Dasaraha, the Khān-Khānān, Zain K., and others received him and brought him into the presence. He glorified his forehead by performing the *sijda*. Sanjar M., his younger brother, and his four sons, Murād, Shāhrukh, Hasan, Ibrāhīm and 400 Turkomans had the honour of an audience. Every one of them was exalted by princely favours. H.M. conferred on him a *mansab* of 5,000, Multan





and many *parganas*, and Bilūcistān—which is larger than Qandahar.<sup>1</sup> On the 18th, Qāsim K. came from Kabul and did homage, and was the recipient of royal favours.

In this year Prince Sultān Daniel was saved by the Divine protection from a sudden danger. A great uproar occurred in the female apartments. The souls of the servants there melted. The world's lord came out to offer prayers. At evening there was some carelessness on the part of the sentinels. A madman thought it was the public hall, and entered the harem. The prince saw him and ran after him. Near the inner pigeon-house he flung him on the ground and got on the top of him. Thinking the man might use a weapon, he held both his arms tightly, and twisted them. The inner servants, who were Circassians, Qalmāqs, Russians (*Arūs*, text has *Ardūs*), and Abyssinians, rushed after him, and taking the prince for a stranger they attacked him with sticks and clods (*khishī*, perhaps bricks). From promptitude, the prince did not let go the man. At this time H.M. came out, and saw the affair. He stated: "When I approached, I thought of using my sword, and so drove off the girls. A beam which had been left at the pigeon-house prevented me from doing what I intended. Thinking that the prince was a stranger I seized him by the hair, and dragged him, and wanted to prick him with the point<sup>2</sup> of my sword. Suddenly, my wrath subsided and mighty love seized the skirt of my heart." At the same time it appeared that the prince had thought the madman was an evil-intentioned man in his senses and so was holding him down. The lunatic was let go.

One of the occurrences was the despatch of Prince Sultān Daniel to chastise Burhān-ul-Mulk. As words of enlightenment did not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. 313. 314.

<sup>2</sup> *Sanjagī palārak*. Apparently, *sanjagī* is connected with the Turkish *sanjmak*, to pierce. The *Iqbāl-nāma* represents Akbar as saying he wished to inflict a wound. The account given there is more intelligible than A.F.'s. It was the darkness that caused the confusion. The Qalmāqs and Russians, etc., were women. See

B. 45. "The inside of the harem is guarded by sober and active women."

B. M. N. 116 has *zakīm-i-palārak*. The beam had probably been left at the pigeon-house in consequence of its being under repair after having fallen down (p. 631). There is nothing in Add. 27,247 about Akbar's pulling his son by the hair.





enter his ears, and he regarded advices as futilities, H.M.'s idea was that he would go to Agra and from there appoint the troops. But as provisions were somewhat high in that quarter his intention was not carried out. He was obliged to send away Prince Sultān Daniel on the eve of the 25th Mihr to carry out the undertaking. He sent with him the Khān-khānān, Rai Rai Singh and many officers, and treasure, a park of artillery, and elephants. An order was given to Shāhrukḥ M., Shahbāz K. and the other fief-holders of Mālwa to equip troops and to proceed with the prince. An order was also given to Rajah Mān Singh to the effect that if he could turn away his attention from Bengal he should proceed from there to the Deccan. An order was also written to Prince Sultān Murād that he should make preparations for the conquest of the Deccan, and that when the soldiers had been gathered together from every side, near him, he should carry out the order. On the 4th Ābān, the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. A world had its desires gratified. 647

At this time the marriage-feast of Prince Sultān Daniel was arranged. For a long time it had been H.M.'s intention that the daughter of Qulij K. should be united to this pearl of the crown. At this time the idea was renewed, and on the 5th, the grandees were assembled outside of the city, and the marriage was effected. There were various rejoicings and there was a daily market of enjoyment. It occurred to Qulij K. that H.M. might visit his house. In gratitude for this great favour he arranged a feast. His request was accepted, and on the 13th there was a time of enjoyment. On the 20th, H.M. spent some time in the Rāmbārī garden, and M. Yūsuf K. obtained leave to go to Kashmir. Artificers by the command of H.M. commenced to build four ships. On 7th Āzar, Sultān Khusrū commenced to learn Indian philosophy. Shīv Dat Brahman, who was famed as the Bhattācārje of the age, and had few equals in science, was appointed to this service. Sultān Rustūm<sup>1</sup> and Sultān Parvīz were set to learn knowledge; and by H.M.'s orders the writer of the book of fortune taught something of the alphabet. On the 17th, the elephants of M. Koka, which had been left in Gujarat, were brought, and were presented. On 3rd Dai, H.M. went to

<sup>1</sup> This is Murād's son, B. 618. Parvīz is Jahāngir's. Both were children.





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Sultānpūr to hunt. On the 8th, near Haibatpūr, news came that Prince Daniel was still in Sirhind, and that the army was not making progress. H.M. did not approve, and his former idea revived (of going in person to Agra, etc.). He summoned the Khān-khānān to come post to him. Near the town of Shaikhūpūr<sup>1</sup> he had an audience. He represented that "the time for the army to enter the Deccan was after the rains. Water and forage would then be plentiful, and corn cheap. On this account there was slowness of movement." When a council was held it was unanimously agreed that Prince Daniel should return, and that when the rains were ended, the royal standards should advance, and that the Prince should remain to guard the Panjab. H.M. also said, "Since I ordered Prince Sultān Murād to go on this service, perhaps this sending (of Daniel) may vex him." Qulij K. was sent off to turn back the Prince. At this time a large black deer appeared on the hunting ground. The sovereign so struck it with an arrow that it did not move, and when an enquiry was made it was found that the bones of its waist were broken. The head (of the arrow) came out with difficulty. Some persons stated that in the Ajmere expedition a large tiger had been knocked over in this way. The acute of sight were astonished. On the 15th near Sultānpūr the Khān-khānān obtained leave in order that he might assemble the troops in Agra. H.M. returned. On the 17th, near Patialā, Prince Sultān Daniel did homage. An extraordinary thing was that on this day a petition came from Prince Sultān Murād representing that "he had come to Aḥmadābād on 6 Āzar, and was preparing for the expedition to the Deccan. He had heard that Prince Sultān Daniel had also been appointed to this service. H.M.'s sublime thoughts were pleasing to God, but he (Murād) feared lest he might have done something improper, or meddlers might have said something unfitting." H.M., from his knowledge of secrets, had anticipated his wishes. On the 22nd, H.M. arrived at Lahore, and the world reposed anew.

One of the occurrences was the increase of saffron<sup>2</sup> in Kashmīr. Formerly each seed yielded less than three flowers, and the amount received by government did not exceed 20,000 *traks*, but was not

<sup>1</sup> Shaikhūpūr in text, but Shaikhūpūr in I.O. MS. 236 and in Elliot VI. 91. Sultānpur is on the Beās, 35 *kos* from Lahore. Elliot V. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. B. L. 4 and J. II. 357.





less than 7,000. Once in M. Haidar's time it was 28,000 *traks*. This year when it became *khālṣa* the ruler's share was 90,000 *traks*. Though there was more land under cultivation, yet the flowers were also more than usual. Every seed yielded up to eight flowers. On 18 Bahman, the report was received, and thanks were returned to God.

One of the occurrences was the destruction of the Kashmir porters. Numerous traders were bringing their goods. Near Pir Panjal there was a fall of snow, and a hillock was dislodged. 115 men lost their lives under it. In accordance with justice the goods reached the owners and the despairing had their desires gratified.

At this time Rai Patr Dās was sent to conquer the fort of Bandhū. It is one of the famous fortresses of the world. When Rajah Rām Cand and his son died, wicked men made the young grandchild an instrument of strife, and rose up to oppress the peasantry. H.M. on 1 Isfandārmaz sent that servant to civilise the country and to punish the evil-doers, and to take the fort. Next day Abū S'aid M. had an audience. He was the brother of Rustūm M., and had remained behind in Qandahar. At this time he was exalted by doing homage, and was gratified by princely favours. On the 13th, Rajah Mān Singh did homage. After conquering 649 Orissa, he came to Rohtās. H.M. had called him to himself. When he arrived within one stage of Lahore, the Prince-Royal was given leave<sup>1</sup> from the hunting field. An order was given that as during the mourning for Rajah Bhagwānt Das, condolences had not been sent to the Rajah (Mān Singh, the adopted son of Bhagwānt), the Prince-Royal should proceed from the hunting-ground to his quarters. The order was carried out, and that chosen servant (Mān Singh) obtained high honour. Naṣīb, Lodī and Jamāl, the sons of Qutlū, Jalāl K. Khāshkel . . . . Yūsuf Kāshī Pānde, Purusotam—who were headmen in Orissa—were introduced by the Rajah. On the 14th, Ismail Qulī K. arrived from Gujarat, and did homage. On the 22nd, M. Yūsuf<sup>2</sup> arrived from Kashmīr.

<sup>1</sup> *Rukhsat shikār farmūdand*. This might mean "gave him leave to hunt." But the context seems to show that it means he was allowed to leave the hunting field. Perhaps Jahangīr was to go to 'Ambar.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the *Iqbāl-nāma* that Yūsuf had gone back to Kashmīr to settle matters, and that the present entry refers to his return from there.